



MP4: WP1 Literature Review

A 'live' working
document

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Contents

Acknowledgements	3
Introduction	3
The MP4 project	3
Format of this report.....	4
What do we mean by place-making?	4
What do we mean by place-keeping?.....	5
The wider context and the need for place-keeping	7
Place-keeping and sustainability	8
Place-keeping and social sustainability.....	9
Place-keeping and environmental sustainability.....	10
Place-keeping and economic sustainability.....	10
Political context of place-keeping.....	11
New Public Management	12
Area-based initiatives.....	13
Crime prevention policies.....	14
Environmental/ ecological policies	15
The process of place-keeping.....	17
Partnership models and stakeholders	18
Public-private partnerships.....	19
Town Centre Management and Business Improvement Districts	22
User-centred stakeholders.....	24
Governance: leadership and coordination.....	26
Engagement of communities in place-keeping	28
Financing place-keeping.....	32
Place-keeping: a product	37
How is place-keeping measured?.....	38
Evaluation at the broad scale	39
Micro-scale evaluation.....	40
Gaps in evaluation	43
Conclusions: achieving place-keeping in situ	45
Bibliography	47

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Introduction

In Bristol in 2005, Ministers from the EU Member States agreed that, 'despite the diversity of geography, socio-economic performance and demography, all [member countries] share a similar set of...challenges to building more attractive places – 'sustainable communities' – where people want to live and work, both now and in the future (ODPM, 2006, p. 9). The Ministers endorsed the *Bristol Accord* which recognises the importance of place-making and investing in skills to build and maintain high-quality cities, towns and regions for EU citizens. Place-making is a term widely used by architects, town planners and urban designers to describe the process of creating attractive squares, parks, streets, and waterfronts. Place-making skills include 'leadership, community engagement, partnership working, project management [and] community governance' (ibid., p. 15).

It was highlighted in the *Bristol Accord* that successful urban policy must be long-term, but there was no clarification of how long a period 'long-term' describes, nor to the long-term challenges of maintaining and managing places after the physical development (or place-making) has been completed. It clearly follows that to deliver sustainable communities, a long-term commitment to managing and maintaining high-quality places is required.

However, as became clear in this literature review, too much emphasis is placed on 'creation' rather than long-term upkeep. Many local authorities and public agencies face a constant struggle to obtain sufficient resources for the long-term open space management (CABE Space, 2009c), with budgets often directed at one-off high profile capital projects. In this way, a considerable amount of existing knowledge relates to place-making rather than long-term management and maintenance, or 'place-keeping'. This is a concern felt transnationally, at every level and across all sectors. This report aims to address this lack of focus on place-keeping by pulling together for the first time existing knowledge, formal and informal, in policy, practice and theory of long-term open space management. As a starting point, it is useful to consider Carmona et al's definition of management¹ which is described as the 'set of processes and practices that ensure that...space can fulfil all its legitimate roles [and manage] the interactions between, and impacts of, the multiple dimensions in a way that is acceptable to its users' (Carmona et al., 2008, p. 66).

The MP4 project

This literature review forms part of the MP4 Making Places Profitable project which is funded by the EU through the Interreg IVB North Sea Region (NSR) programme (2007-2013). The aim of the NSR programme is to 'expand the scope of territorial cooperation and focus on high quality projects in innovation, the environment, accessibility, and sustainable and competitive communities' (NSR Programme Secretariat, 2007). The programme brings together seven countries connected by the North Sea: Sweden, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, the Flemish Region of Belgium, the UK and Norway.

The MP4 project aims to:

- demonstrate how the positive socio-economic impacts of open space improvements can be maintained in the long run by promoting innovative partnership approaches involving private enterprises, communities and government;
- provide workable solutions to address maintenance and management requirements and to mainstream best practice in place-keeping across the whole of the NSR;

¹ It should be noted that Carmona et al examine public space management, while the focus of this literature review is open space management, public and private.

- embed place-keeping innovations into improved policies at every level; and,
- develop a shared agenda for the long-term improvement of open spaces and bring about a major shift in EU cohesion policy towards the long-term security of its investments.

Format of this report

This literature review is a 'live' document: it will be revisited, added to and updated over time. It discusses and evaluates what we already know about place-making and place-keeping, with reference to particular aspects including partnerships and governance, community engagement, funding and evaluation. It makes reference to current policy and practice through a set of in-depth case study reports developed as part of the Transnational Assessment of Practice for the MP4 project. These case studies explore existing examples of policy and practice in urban and rural areas within the EU North Sea Region. An exhaustive review was conducted of existing sources of information including peer-reviewed journal articles, books, policy documents and guidance, non-governmental guidance and online resources. For more information, contact Nicola on: N.Dempsey@sheffield.ac.uk

What do we mean by place-making?

A starting definition of place-making is provided by national European policies as the creation of high-quality places (e.g. parks, plazas, waterfronts) that people want to visit, experience and enjoy. It implies a people-centred approach which emphasises designing spaces that promote health, wellbeing and happiness. These spaces engender a sense of belonging and attachment for those who have access to and use them. Place-making fits within policy interpretations of concepts such as 'sustainability', 'sustainable communities' and the focus on physical regeneration throughout Europe over the last 20-30 years (Carpenter, 2006, CLG, 2007c, IISD, 2004, Swedish Ministry of the Environment, 2004, Dekker and van Kempen, 2004).

Such regenerated places should be clean, safe, attractive and welcoming, fostering social interaction and creating stronger communities (ODPM, 2006). In Sweden, long-term regional development is underpinned by objectives including 'reduced environmental impact, good health and a good living environment' (Swedish Ministry of the Environment, 2004, pp. 18-19).

The policy focus on place-based (or area-based) responses to social problems can be seen as a direct response to public interpretations of wellbeing and quality of life. Problems increasingly experienced in urban Europe include rising crime rates and anti-social behaviour with an associated reduction in perceived safety, disparities – socially and spatially – between rich residents in affluent and high-quality areas and poor residents in generally poorer quality of housing and environments in less affluent areas (Dekker and van Kempen, 2004, Hastings et al., 2005, Mitchell and Popham, 2008). For example, fear of crime tends to be higher where there is a poorer quality environment with litter, graffiti and anti-social behaviour (Kullberg et al., 2009, Audit Commission, 2006). It therefore follows that there are many examples of place-making in socially and economically deprived areas. One of the areas of funding, intervention and particular focus for the EU is the regeneration of such areas. An aim of the NSR programme is the promotion of sustainable communities by tackling the needs of urban and rural areas in decline, with the aim of enhancing the viability and vitality of such areas (The North Sea Region Programme, 2008). In this way, a number of the case studies which are called upon throughout this literature review are situated in deprived areas.

The aims and objectives behind place-making correspond closely to those of urban design. The relevant key principles of urban design focus on creating places for people which are good quality, safe, comfortable, varied and attractive, as well as having distinctiveness and giving residents/ users choice (Llewelyn-Davies, 2000). While it is not imperative in the place-making process that places and spaces must build on, or 'enrich' what is already there, it forms an increasingly important part of urban planning and design policy and practice (after Gehl et al., 2006). It will be outlined in the

following section how such ‘enriching’ and enhancing of places can be considered part of ‘place-keeping’.

Further key dimensions of place-making relate to the ease of movement both within the space that is easy to navigate and also within a wider context in terms of its connectedness with its surroundings for pedestrians, public and private transport users. Successful places are also argued to have some level of adaptability to change when users’ requirements change over time, e.g. during the day and after dark (after Roberts and Eldridge, 2007), as well as being robust to stand up to day-to-day use. This is an issue for the Temalekplats case study where the very successful playgrounds are experiencing over-use (see text box on p. 30).

One critical issue with the creation of high-quality and successful places is the lack of clarity in what might exactly constitutes, for example, a *safe* and *welcoming* public space with *character*, and an associated lack of consensus supporting such urban designs (Dempsey, 2009). For example, the *Secured by Design* principles of urban design adopted in the UK from the USA advocate elements such as CCTV (Home Office and ODPM, 2004) and strong physical demarcations between public and private space (ACPO, 2004). This has been strongly criticised (Stevens, 2009) and it is argued that certain physical ‘safety features’, specifically CCTV, have no effect on reducing crime and may actually contribute to fear of crime (Minton, 2009).

Having said all this, it can be argued that to establish a shopping list of ‘ingredients’ of a good quality place is in itself is an oxymoron: it is often a unique combination of various elements that give a place its own physical and non-physical *character* (Dempsey, 2009). This point recognises that place-making (and as will be discussed later, place-keeping) is not simply about an ‘end-product’, but is also about the *process*.

What do we mean by place-keeping?

It has already been outlined that place-making is described as the creation of high quality places that people want to visit, experience and enjoy. The concept of ‘place-keeping’ is the ***long-term management of places to ensure that the social, environmental and economic quality and benefits can be enjoyed by future generations***. ‘Place-keeping’ encompasses, for the first time, aspects of long-term open space management (Wild et al., 2008) such as maintenance, partnerships, funding and evaluation which have not been considered as parts of a broader concept.

Place-keeping by its very nature is a multidimensional and multi-scalar concept (see Figure 1). The dimensions are inter-related and it can be useful to consider it within a conceptual framework which can be applied to a number of different scales (e.g. site, neighbourhood, city, region).

Place-keeping essentially relates to what happens after high quality places have been created. It means retaining, maintaining and enhancing² the qualities and benefits – social, environmental and economic – of places through long-term management. Place-keeping is underpinned by the broader concept of sustainability: both have the aims of creating places that people want to spend time in now and in the future (after DCLG, 2007c). This inherently involves the provision of places that support the needs and aspirations of present and future generations (after WCED, 1987). Place-keeping and sustainability are discussed in more detail below.

Figure 1 shows that the **place** to be managed is multidimensional, provides a variety of physical and non-physical functions for users, and has a combination of characteristics contributing to the essence of ‘place’ (after Carmona and de Magalhães, 2007, CABE and DETR, 2000), including:

² A simple example of how a place may be enhanced in the long term is illustrated through the increased benefits (e.g. biodiversity) experienced when trees grow to maturity. A further example can be seen where a place is used for particular events (e.g. community festivals) which contribute to residents’ sense of community and place attachment over the long term.

- access and movement – to/from the space and within it
- design – including layout, features and landscaping
- aesthetic quality – attractiveness/ appearance
- sense of place – local character and distinctiveness of the space
- ecological quality – natural environment supports biodiversity
- function – space has a range of activities, uses and users

The **users** are critical in understanding the context of a particular space. They have specific needs in a space – e.g. children need to play safely away from dogs (and dog mess) – and engage in active and passive behaviours/ uses of the space – e.g. walking, cycling, playing and sitting. Users and potential users also have their own perceptions of the space – relating to, e.g., safety, cleanliness and other users – which have a real influence on how they use the space (or not).

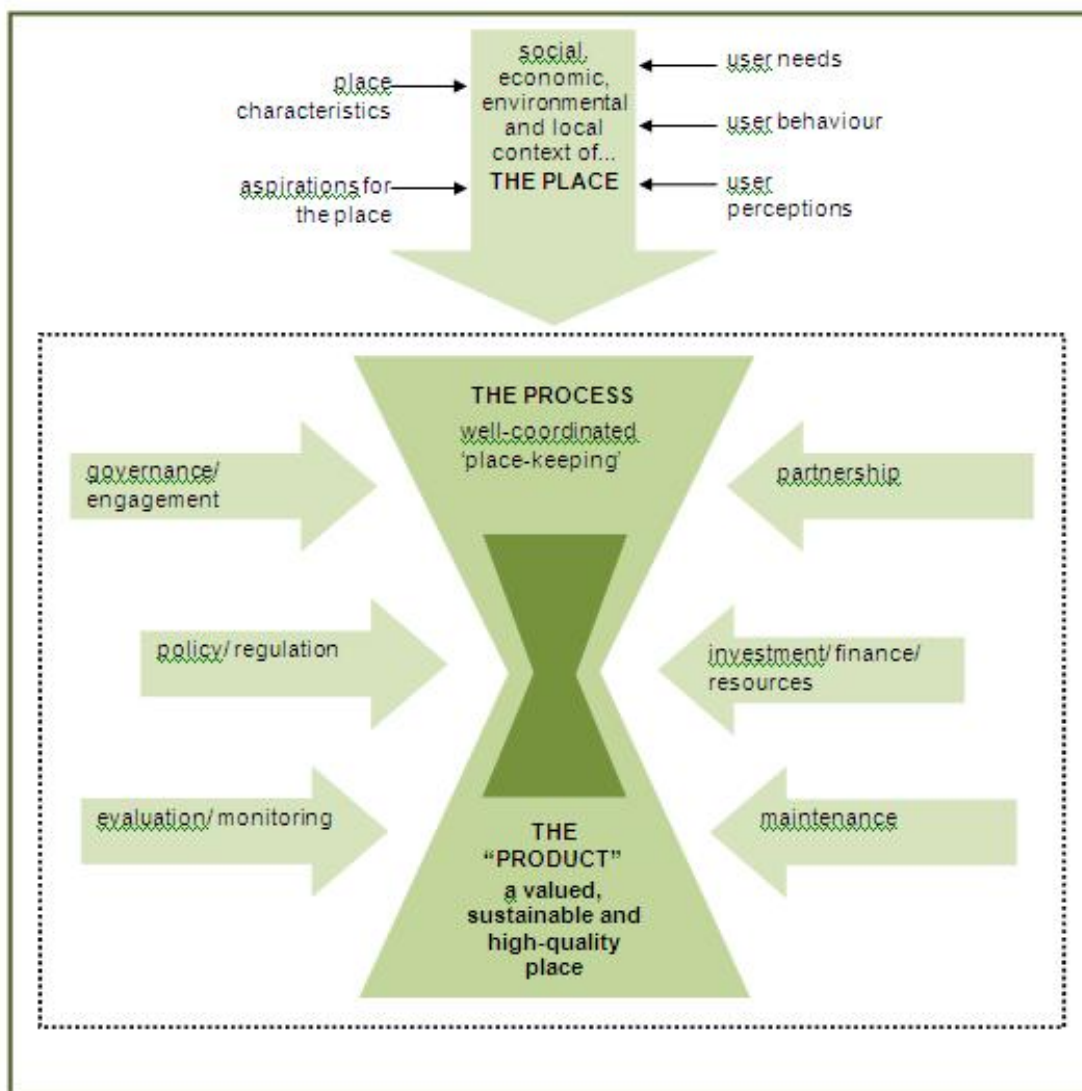


Figure 1. Conceptualisation of place-keeping

Partnership is defined here as agreed shared responsibility for the place-keeping process. While no particular partnership model is prescribed here, it is often the case that third sector³ and local/community organisations are involved in place-keeping. This has the benefit of ensuring the

³ Third sector organisations are: non-governmental, value-driven and principally reinvest any financial surpluses to further social, environmental or cultural objectives (Cabinet Office, 2008).

exchange and sharing of knowledge within the local context forms an integral part of the long-term management of the space (Wild et al., 2008). **Governance** is closely related to partnership and reflects a shift from 'government' or the 'executive role' where the state acts as the primary governing body (Smith et al., 2009) to describe the relationship between and within the range of stakeholders, usually governmental and non-governmental, involved in the decision-making process, a part of the state's new 'enabling role' (Lawless et al., 2009, Bovaird and Löffler, 2002, Curry, 2000). **Engagement** is an aspect of governance particularly relevant in forms of participatory governance (Murdoch and Abram, 1998). It describes successful models of working with communities and encouraging appropriate long-term use, and engagement in the management, of the space through e.g. community programmes, events and activities.

Maintenance encompasses a range of land management techniques and the day-to-day operations required to ensure the 'fitness for purpose' of a place (Barber, 2005, Welch, 1991). It relates to a place's condition and cleanliness and to its robustness - how well it stands up to everyday use. It also relates closely to the design of the place: for example, specific features and landscaping may require particular maintenance equipment and expertise: e.g. high-pressure water cleaning for natural stone, a range of mowing equipment for grassed amphitheatres or specialist knowledge for particular planting.

Policy can relate to place-keeping at different scales: national, regional, local, site-specific, and aims to embed best practice into local planning, urban design and other related disciplines. Place-keeping is more often written as policy guidance, than statutory legislation, however related aspects may be covered by policy (e.g. health and safety regulations). **Rules and regulations** can also be employed to influence people's use and behaviour in the space (e.g. through signage), in an attempt to overcome potential conflicts of uses and between users with the aim of long-term positive use of and behaviour in the space.

Place-keeping **evaluation** monitors the process and the product of place-keeping by measuring the economic, social and environmental benefits. The underlying aim is to improve place-keeping and deliver the associated benefits more effectively and efficiently with fewer resources. This may be evaluated through regular surveys of public use, satisfaction and attitudes towards the space and the use of award schemes to improve the quality of the space (e.g. Green Flag in the UK). Evaluation may also be used to monitor procurement options, staff development and retention to challenge existing practices and raise standards (Barber, 2005, Carmona et al., 2008).

Investment, finance and resources describe the range of financial models used for efficient long-term management. Ideally, funding is in place for place-keeping from the outset of the project and may come from a range of sources. This also relates to resourcing in more general terms and includes staffing, training and skills.

The key to successfully achieving place-keeping is **coordination**. It is critical to coordinate the overlapping dimensions of place-keeping – e.g. the day-to-day maintenance of the space may involve various land management techniques, a range of stakeholders and varying levels of available resources. There may be a need to follow specific regulations and undertake ongoing evaluation. All of these require coordination, which may, for example, manifest itself in a long-term open space strategy document or management plan (depending on the scale).

These dimensions of place-keeping feature throughout the discussion of the concept which follows hereafter with some background and contextual information. The document continues with a review of literature which discusses place-keeping as a process and an 'end-product' or outcome.

The wider context and the need for place-keeping

To fully understand place-keeping, the literature is reviewed within a 'new institutionalist' framework. New institutionalism provides a view of place-keeping which focuses on the institutions,

or structures and mechanisms, which govern the ensuing relationships, process and interactions (Cohn, 2008, Smith et al., 2009). A key contribution to this is Patsy Healey's work which developed the notions around collaborative planning, which called for 'the embedding of planning practice in its social context through collaborative consensus building' (Smith et al., 2009, Healey, 1997).

When applied to the context of urban development (e.g. urban regeneration) Institutional analysis conceptualize it as a socio-spatial process (Madanipour, 1996). In this way, long-term maintenance and management is conceptualised as a socio-spatial (rather than simply a spatial) process. New institutionalism allows a wider understanding of the built environment by focusing on the physical *and* non-physical dimensions of space, (economic, social, cultural and organizational) and the interrelationships therein (Smith et al., 2009, Carley et al., 2001). This is essential if place-keeping is to be fully understood because many of its dimensions (e.g. partnerships and governance) are not physical concepts but can have direct impacts on the physical environment.

Before exploring the literature, it is important to be clear about what is meant by 'open space'. For the purposes of this review for the MP4 project, all open spaces are considered. These tend to be publicly accessible but not exclusively. In this way, it is useful to evaluate the discussion of open space presented by Kit Campbell Associates for the Scottish Executive (Kit Campbell Associates, 2001) which recommends a typology of open space which is a mixture of civic and green space. Definitions of open space can be very broad (Williams and Green, 2001), so it is useful to consult the large, and to some extent separate, bodies of knowledge on green space and civic space for more concrete and practical definitions. A useful point of reference for green space is the UK government's *Planning Policy Guidance 17: planning for open space, sport and recreation* (CLG, 2002b) which recommends that open space is defined as 'all open space of public value...which offer important opportunities for sport and recreation and can also act as a visual amenity'. This definition includes parks and gardens, natural and semi-natural urban green spaces, outdoor sports facilities, allotments, cemeteries, community gardens, canal and riverbanks, and communal amenity space. Civic space is excluded from PPG17 but is defined elsewhere as open space which is predominantly paved (Kit Campbell Associates, 2001) and made up of civic squares, market places, pedestrian streets, promenades and sea fronts (Williams and Green, 2001).

Place-keeping and sustainability

There has been long been recognition of the importance and the value of open space. There are examples of enclosed gardens and private space dating back over three thousand years in Egypt and Babylon designed for sitting, growing fruit and vegetables, and in Persia, creating paradise within and keeping out the unpleasant world (Aben and de Wit, 1999). The *agora* has long been cited as an important civic space, which was the main public square and meeting place but foremost a marketplace in ancient Greece (Madanipour, 2003). The publicly accessible park as we recognise it today stems from the idea of the garden as a place of repose, a natural environment (Nilsson, 2006) and is essentially a Victorian invention created in response to the rapid industrialization of the time (Chadwick, 1966). The need for parks came about from the rapid population growth in urban areas and the problems associated with this massive urban migration which saw the proportion of urban dwellers in the UK rise from 20% in the mid-1700s to 50% in 1851 (Conway, 1996). An aim of the early park designers was to create the illusion of countryside in the city or *rus in urbe* (Taylor, 1994). This was an aim shared by Frederick Law Olmsted's Central Park in New York, which was designed to alleviate over-crowding and the unsanitary conditions of working-class life in industrial areas (Schuyler, 1986). One of the interesting aspects of place-making and place-keeping projects in practice is how they (like area-based initiatives which are discussed later) often have very broad social, economic and environmental aims and objectives. While these aims clearly resonate with dominant interpretations of sustainability, they will be critiqued later on in this review as being beyond any reasonable scope of the open space regeneration project.

Place-keeping and social sustainability

It can be argued that, certainly in the UK, there is an ongoing policy shift back towards the aims of the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth century social reformers who fought for publicly accessible green space, albeit within today's very different political, environmental, economic and social contexts of the 21st century. There is growing consensus in theory and policy that open space is vital to urban life because of the significant contribution it makes to urban dwellers' well-being (e.g. Deutscher Städtetag, 2006, Hansmann et al., 2007, Newton, 2007). This perspective acknowledges that open spaces 'provide a range of social, aesthetic, environmental and economic benefits' (Caspersen et al., 2006, p. 7). These benefits come about because of the perceived value that open space has for everyday quality of life, serving as 'a stage for urban publicness, sport, art, and cultural activities...for all members of society when they go about their daily business' (BMVBS und BBR, 2008).

With this provision of useable spaces with all residents in mind, it has been pointed out by de Magalhães and Carmona (2009) that wider demographic and cultural forces continue to change the way in which open space is used: they cite the example of an emerging 'young, alcohol-based sub-culture providing the mainstay of the evening economy' in the UK, which has brought about conflict with, for example, night-time and day-time users or different age groups (Roberts and Eldridge, 2007). Tastes and habits have clearly changed dramatically since the advent of the public park in the mid-eighteenth century, particularly in the last half-century in terms of leisure pursuits: the part that publicly accessible green space plays in people's everyday lives is not as significant as it once was. This is in part because of the busy lives that people lead and a general tendency to do less physical activity outdoors which is a particular concern for the health of children (Hill et al., 2003, Lake and Townshend, 2006), but it is also due to broader societal factors such as the potential conflict between different park users (e.g. dog owners and young families; cyclists and pedestrians) (Shoreditch Trust and OISD, 2009). Fears for personal safety have also had a detrimental impact on park use with more and more leisure and recreation taking place indoors: at home, in the gym or at the sports centre (Bird, 2007, CLG, , 2007a, Gallacher, 2005). Some factors that influence the use of open space are outside the control of green space providers such as the weather, while others can be controlled and improved, such as the maintenance and management of green space (CABE Space, 2005b).

The current policy drive in European countries is to encourage people, particularly children and teenagers, to do more exercise and do it outdoors. The focus is on the use of 21st century green spaces for exercise as a method of combating obesity, getting fresh air and using green space more passively as a restorative environment in which to 'unwind' and cope with everyday stress and mental illness (Abraham et al., 2010, Pretty et al., 2005, Mitchell and Popham, 2008). More and more urban residents around the world are obese or overweight and neighbourhood green space is identified as a potential tool in national health strategies (Bird, 2004, Coombes et al., 2010, Nielsen and Hansen, 2007). A growing body of research from around Europe shows that encouraging people to spend time in local green spaces can help improve mental health problems such as depression and work-related stress (Newton, 2007, Hansmann et al., 2007, Ulrich, 1979). There are numerous studies showing that the closer people live to green space, the more likely they are to use it (Schipperijn et al., 2010, Shoreditch Trust and OISD, 2009, Neuvonen et al., 2007). Other social benefits relate to sense of place, identity and spirituality with green space (Irvine and Warber, 2002), which are explored in particular reference to the Danish context by Konijnendijk (2008).

Further social benefits experienced in open spaces, and not necessarily green spaces, relate to the opportunities for social interaction and engaging with other people who might not be encountered elsewhere (Gehl, 2001, Whyte, 1980). Considerable literature focuses on the benefits enjoyed in open spaces which are publicly accessible, citing the importance of democratic spaces that all members of society can use with equal rights (Amin, 2008, Kohn, 2004, Minton, 2009). There are also assertions made of the relationship between urban open spaces, such as formal parks and

squares, and civic pride, sense of community and place (Amin, 2008, McIndoe et al., 2005). The belief in such a relationship partly informed the creation of the public parks in the 19th and 20th centuries around Europe (Conway, 2000, Ebert et al., 1994, Tate, 2001) alongside the long-standing premise, supported by empirical research, that urban residents need some respite from the daily pressures which can be provided by green space (Barber, 2007, Barbosa et al., 2007). Such benefits can however only be achieved if people use the spaces, and a key determinant behind use is the safety and comfort of potential users (Dunnett et al., 2002, Holland et al., 2007, Luymes and Tamminga, 1995, Pasaogullari and Doratli, 2004).

Place-keeping and environmental sustainability

Green spaces have been identified as providing critical habitats for biodiversity and form an important part of the ecosystem in urban areas (Gaston et al., 2005, Barbosa et al., 2007). Urban green spaces such as parks, green roofs and waterways provide habitats for a range of species of birds, bats, butterflies, fish, invertebrates and small mammals to name a few (Davies et al., 2009, Fuller et al., 2008). Trees and green spaces provide shade and cool (CABE Space, 2005c, Davies et al., 2006) which, in light of growing concerns about environmental change, explains why urban green space is highlighted as an important asset for climate change mitigation and adaptation. A 'healthy natural environment' has been described as providing good air quality, reduced temperature extremes, reduced flood risk and increased storm water storage and absorption, reduction in noise pollution, carbon storage (Natural England, 2009).

The concept of sustainability is underpinned by widespread recognition of the importance of natural resources for the long-term wellbeing of the world's population. Within this broad context of sustainability, there has understandably been recent increased focus on the part that green space can play in people's lives (Sandström et al., 2006). The recently completed European Greenkeys project highlighted the well-established understanding that good-quality green space is a vital ingredient for urban sustainability, borne out by the prevalence of green space strategies in many European towns and cities (GreenKeys Project Team, 2008b). There is clear consensus that natural environments can contribute to aspects such as good air and water quality which bring environmental, social and economic benefits (ODPM, 2004). For example, empirical research findings by Irvine et al. (2009) on soundscapes in green spaces suggest that people's opportunity to access quiet, natural places in urban areas (highlighted above to be a benefit for mental health) can be enhanced by improving the ecological quality of urban green spaces. In this way, it is argued that ecological environments in a range of settings – urban, peri-urban, suburban and rural – must be provided, protected and maintained (Haughton and Hunter, 1994). However, conflicting demands on these settings endanger the existence and quality of such environments. These demands include pressure to create more housing and commercial development and with it the encroaching urban infrastructure which can have detrimental effects on biodiversity and habitats (Barber, 2005).

There are therefore clear challenges to understanding the part green spaces play in both providing habitats for biodiversity and places which support human activity. One example of this can be seen in research recently conducted in Sheffield shows that there is a clear and negative association between the amount of green space in a city and its residential density (Davies et al., 2008). This points to a tension between environmental and socio-economic needs in the city. One potential solution is the installation of biodiversity-supportive environments in urban areas, such as green roofs and walls (Dunnett and Kingsbury, 2003, Natural England, 2009).

Place-keeping and economic sustainability

A key challenge to place keeping is that open space is often not considered to be a financial asset: for example, urban green space is described as a 'market failure' (Choumert and Salanié, 2008) as it is (in the main) provided free of charge and may be very well-used which drives up management costs, particularly in the case of city centre civic spaces such as the Peace Gardens in Sheffield. The

authors point out that such space, if considered as a 'public good', cannot be replicated for just one person, indicating that there is little incentive for private investors to produce such spaces voluntarily as the financial costs will not necessarily be covered and will ultimately make a loss. This is reflected in the findings from CABA's report in the UK that local authorities perceive their parks to be of little economic value but be a large strain on resources, with most of them valuing their parks at £1 (CABA Space, 2009c). However, recent empirical research carried out in the Creating a Setting for Investment (CSI) project counters this position. It illustrates the negative impact that low quality, poorly or un-managed landscaping can have on business confidence, improving rental income and increasing land value over the long term (Swanwick and Walker, 2008).

There is a growing body of research which focuses on the economic value of green space. This can range from the associated increases in property prices for housing which, for example, overlooks a park, to the amount that people would pay as an entrance fee (Hanley et al., 2001, Jim and Chen, 2006). Mielke (part of the CSI research project) points to a variety of direct and indirect economic benefits of high-quality landscaping in addition to those cited above which include the possibility of selling off privately owned green spaces to the municipality if they are made publicly accessible (Mielke, 2008). Furthermore, such high-quality green spaces can indirectly contribute to property tax revenue through improving local and regional business performance by increasing confidence which helps to attract skilled labour (ibid.).

Webster (2007) argues that providing freely available open space is inefficient because of the inability of providers to control consumption and avoid degradation of such space: he argues that there should be more debate on the assumption that open space should necessarily be open to all. While this idea is not widely replicated elsewhere in the literature – the majority of theorists and policy makers support the provision of open space which is publicly accessible to all – there is a growing body of practice and policies which endorse the private management of public space. This does engender a policy of exclusion to some extent where 'undesirables' such as vagrants, street drinkers and in some cases, buskers, are excluded from such spaces (Carmona et al., 2003, Kohn, 2004). This is discussed in more detail later but it should be pointed out here that there is considerable opposition by theorists and researchers to such privatised public spaces in the USA and UK where this has taken place for some time (Davis, 1990, Davis, 2007, Minton, 2009).

Political context of place-keeping

It is clear from the literature that the political context has a profound influence on place-keeping, how it is manifested, who is involved and how it is funded. For example, fiscal pressure in European cities on (local) government departments responsible for public spaces has had a detrimental effect on how such spaces are maintained and managed (Carpenter, 2006). In the UK for example, the policy of Compulsory Competitive Tendering in place during the 1980s-90s meant that maintenance and management were contracted out to the lowest bidder, which led to a slow and real reduction in the skilled workforce looking after parks and other green spaces and a rise in low-maintenance and low-interest landscapes and features (CABA Space, 2005a).

There is considerable literature which examines the provision of public services such as open space. On the whole, this has historically been state-provided and state-managed, at different scales – for example, state-owned open spaces are often managed at the city, municipality or district level (Carmona et al., 2004a) although this is increasingly changing. The majority of this literature supports a fundamental and widespread⁴ acceptance of need for provision of alternative service delivery, or 'any form of public provision other than direct delivery by the state to the public' (Cohn, 2008, p. 32). Cheung attributes this to

⁴ Widespread in terms of the countries under scrutiny in the MP4 project, and widespread on the part of theorists in the literature.

‘the rise of the privatization paradigm in “Western” OECD public administration in the 1980s and the subsequent ascendancy of New Public Management theory and practice [which] reinforced a global regime of international benchmarks and “best practices” that many other countries seemed obliged to emulate and adhere to’.

(Cheung, 2009, p. 1034)

New Public Management

In brief, New Public Management (NPM) is exemplified by the freeing up of the market to improve the quality of public services and the performance of public agencies (Taylor et al., 2001, Lindholst, 2008) which emphasises the decentralisation of responsibilities (Carmona et al., 2004a). Within this NPM framework, public agencies use procurement and contract-based arrangements via a hierarchical public service where each office or department is headed by an expert making decisions on a narrow range of issues within a legal framework (Loader, 2010). This has been described as ‘a sort of assembly line for mass-producing standardized decisions which are fair and honest’ (Cohn, 2008, p. 31, Bovaird and Löffler, 2002). Within the UK’s political context, for example, this approach was adopted as a means of achieving equality and fairness in public service provision by capitalising on the potential role of private and voluntary organisations, as opposed to monolithic public sector ownership, funding and delivery (Taylor et al., 2001). This approach involves the separation of the funder and the provider of public services, and attracts competition between non-state potential providers for service delivery (Taylor et al., 2001, Cook, 2009).

One of the dominant manifestations of NPM is the public-private partnership (PPP⁵) which is discussed in more detail below. PPPs are widespread in some European countries such as the UK, France, Netherlands, Italy and Germany (Bovaird, 2004) but less well-known in others such as Denmark (Lindholst, 2009b). The PPP emerged in the UK and Germany as part of the respective governments’ drive to modernise, reorganise and improve public services by harnessing the skills of other sectors (Bovaird and Löffler, 2002). Policies which directly or indirectly support PPPs include Germany’s Section 171f of the Federal Building Code (BauGesetzbuch BauGB) on “Private Initiatives in Urban Development” which directly supports the creation of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs⁶) (Kreutz, 2009). In the UK, BIDs are directly supported by the Local Government Act of 2003 (HMSO, 2003, Hogg et al., 2007). Other PPPs such private finance initiatives (PFI) are supported by the UK’s 2004 Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act of Parliament (HMSO, 2004) which helps secure land for the development or redevelopment of an area⁷. In Denmark, a small number of PPPs have been promoted and adopted since the early 2000s (Lindholst, 2009b), actively supported by economic growth policies (Regeringen, 2002), policies focused on sustaining public investments (Regeringen, 2003) and an action plan for PPPs (Regeringen, 2004, Lindholst, 2009b).

Critics of the dominant NPM paradigm point out that the top-down bureaucratic nature of NPM-led public service provision and delivery can lead to inflexible and inefficient processes that are difficult to speed up or change when there is a need to adapt to, for example, economic recession (Cohn, 2008). It has also been pointed out that this approach can generate conflict between service funders and providers when public and private interests are not compatible (i.e. public good versus profit-driven interests) (Taylor et al., 2001). There is also a danger of interests becoming overly-compatible,

⁵ PPPs are discussed in more detail below, but can be briefly described here as cooperative partnerships between public and private stakeholders. The PPP is based on financial investment from both parties with the project carried out by the private stakeholder with ultimate responsibility held by the public stakeholder.

⁶ BIDs are discussed in more detail below but for the purposes of the discussion here can be described as a model for financing capital and maintenance improvements to a designated area, funded by mandatory taxes/fees paid by the private sector.

⁷ In the case of housing, PFIs have been criticised for promoting economic interests at the expense of the social wellbeing of prospective residents (Minton, 2009).

where long-term partnerships 'may be suspected of undermining competition between potential providers' of management services (Bovaird, 2004, p. 200).

It has also been argued that there has been a disproportionate focus by the public sector on developing partnerships with the private sector and business as opposed to the third or voluntary sector (Cook, 2009). However, this is not necessarily the case everywhere. In Germany for example, while it is clear that local authorities are not able to sustain third-sector and community participation in place-keeping activities (Banner, 2000, in Bovaird and Löffler, 2002), a growing number of grass-roots initiatives have emerged (Bovaird and Löffler, 2002).

Area-based initiatives

Within the dominant paradigm of sustainability which increasingly underpins policy, research and practice, a conceptual link (albeit as yet not fully tested) has been made between increasing the quality of the physical environment and improving social disadvantage in neighbourhoods (Walsh, 2001). This link is manifested as the 'area-based initiative' which has been applied to deprived neighbourhoods throughout Europe (after Carpenter, 2006). Put simply, the argument is that urban regeneration in a deprived area can combat urban poverty and the ensuing environmental degradation, and promote economic growth (Urban Task Force, 1999).

An example of an area-based initiative is the widespread adoption around Europe of 'urban renaissance' policies which aim to promote economic growth and combat urban poverty and decay' (Urban Task Force, 1999). Government policy, e.g. in the UK and the Netherlands, promote urban living and working in vibrant, compact and sustainable communities (Stead and Hoppenbrouwer, 2004, Williams et al., 2000, VROM, 1997). In the UK, this has been translated into policy focus on *liveability* which has been described as a necessary ingredient of a sustainable community (Brook Lyndhurst, 2004). Liveability policies impinge on place-making because they 'focus on people's perception and use of their local built environment within their everyday lives, and how well that local environment serves a range of human needs' (Stevens, 2009, p. 374). Thinking about place-making and place-keeping, relevant aspects include how a space is designed to attract people to come and use it, and also how durable and robust is the physical environment. Stevens goes on to argue that government advocates an approach which reduces the 'unliveability' of a place (ibid.), through regeneration and environmental improvements, as well as crime and safety policy instruments. However, it is our contention that regeneration funding on the whole does not focus on the long-term management of such spaces: current interpretations of urban regeneration (certainly in the UK) would appear to be synonymous with place-making, but have no provision for place-keeping. Rare exceptions to this rule include the UK's 5 year Single Regeneration Budget and 10-year New Deal for Communities programmes where organisations were created over a longer period of time to become self-funding through the start-up public funding (Lawless et al., 2010). An example of this can be seen in Sheffield where the social enterprise Green Estate is now a self-funding social enterprise which was originally charged with the task of clearing public spaces which were blighted by such anti-social behaviour to be used once again by residents. This involved removing hundreds of abandoned vehicles and installing barriers to block access by joy-riders to these cleared sites (Green Estate case study).

Such area-based regeneration can be argued to be a powerful political tool as it reinforces the perception that deprivation is bounded within particular areas and, as such, funding in these areas can seem to have a greater impact (after Carpenter, 2006). Carpenter does make the caveat that such area-based regeneration can have unsustainable consequences such as a rise in property prices, the displacement of the local community (who may be priced out of the market) and potential gentrification (ibid., Walsh, 2001). Furthermore, following our contention that place-keeping does not necessarily follow such regeneration efforts once the funding has run out, it is clear that there is a need to examine how effective such regeneration is in the long term or if only *temporary liveability* is achieved. This position is supported by Hull who found that it is only possible

to 'turn around' disadvantaged areas but only if a long-term 'support mechanism is maintained', which is incompatible with short-term political goals and funding streams (Hull, 2006).

Crime prevention policies

A well-rehearsed and increasingly implemented policy reaction to security and safety issues in the city which impacts directly on place-making and place-keeping can be loosely termed the *privatisation of public space* (Minton, 2009). This is due, in part, to the intensified focus on safety and security in the public realm brought about by the continuing terrorist attacks on cities around the globe which has generated a worldwide re-examination of how to make cities safer (Edwards, 2009). Alongside this is a growing body of knowledge which provides empirical evidence on how the design and quality of the built environment affect one's perceived safety (Dempsey, 2009, Kullberg et al., 2009). In New York since September 11 2001, research shows that 27% of 'aggregate non-building area' (or the space between buildings) in two districts is now closed-off, where pedestrian movement is effectively blocked in areas described as 'security zones' (Németh and Hollander, 2010). It has been argued that such high-level security measures have simply heightened ongoing security and safety fears (Mitchell, 2003, in Németh and Hollander, 2010). This is arguably illustrated in the re-discovery of Oscar Newman's 'defensible space' (Newman, 1972) which is fundamentally about residents controlling the space around one's dwelling (Newman, 1996). This has been re-interpreted and adapted into urban policy in the UK. BIDs and Town Centre Management models of public space management are particularly focused on security, however they can be interpreted in different ways. For example, CCTV cameras feature very frequently in BIDs in the UK⁸, whereas in Germany they are much less commonplace, and in Denmark, CCTV camera surveillance is generally forbidden (Gras, 2004).

Secured by design policy has been adopted as a tool in good design and all new UK housing developments must adhere to the SBD principles, based on the USA equivalent Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) which are both based on interpretations of the 'defensible space' theory, aiming to create safe environments for residents. In UK public spaces, this can involve widespread installation of CCTV cameras and less than comfortable seating designed to stop people lingering for too long (Carmona et al., 2003, Minton, 2009). Furthermore, it is argued that the insurance and security industries support this policy, creating increasingly privatised spaces that are designed for shopping and consuming which finance the increasingly ubiquitous maintenance and security services based on the US model (Minton, 2009). For long-term place-keeping, this can bring about a potential clash between services provided by the local authorities and those provided by private companies which must be above and beyond this local provision (as in the case of BIDs). Residents and businesses may therefore be paying twice for services which, in the past, were provided by the state (Cook, 2009).

It is argued that these policy initiatives are part of an underlying intention of improving economic attractiveness and competitiveness of cities by improving security and safety in public spaces (Bannister et al., 2006). It has been pointed out that there are real economic costs associated with crime and fear of crime, which historically can be seen through businesses moving out of areas (Home Office, 2003): this was the case in Langthwaite Grange (see case study). Theorists argue that such strategies in public space attempt to 'recreate the perceived security advantages (attained through surveillance and policing) enjoyed by privately owned, but publicly accessible, spaces such as the out-of-town retail centres' (ibid., p. 922, Minton, 2009, Holland et al., 2007). This arguably has an impact on the nature of place-making and subsequent place-keeping as the public spaces that are created and regenerated are increasingly designed to be low-maintenance, welcoming (to a point)

⁸ In 2004, there were around 40,000 CCTV surveillance cameras monitoring public areas in the UK (Hempel and Töpfer, 2004), which constitutes less than 1% of the total reported CCTV cameras in operation (over 4.2 million) (McCahill and Norris, 2002). As a comparison, France had under 40,000 CCTV cameras in 1999 and Sweden had around 30,000 in 2000) (Gras, 2004).

with clearly designated public routes which are easily monitored by surveillance equipment (after Groundwork, 2004). There is a growing body of literature arguing that the regeneration of public spaces for urban renewal and economic growth is creating commodified spaces and sterile environments that are no longer places for 'social gathering' (Bannister et al., 2006). Carmona found this in the Isle of Dogs and Canary Wharf, London where a highly visible security force (dressed 'to reflect the attire of the Metropolitan Police Service') is employed to keep spaces clean, well maintained and crime-free, and to control access, stopping any unapproved activity occurring (Carmona, 2009).

For those involved in conducting and enforcing place-keeping, there is a raft of relevant crime prevention policies and legal instruments that have a direct impact on the management of public spaces. Such policies may relate to street management: e.g. in the UK there is extensive legislation on litter, fly-posting, street events, abandoned vehicles, parking, dogs and street trading, anti-social behaviour orders, fines and fixed penalty notices (Carmona et al., 2004b, CLG, 2007b, Home Office, 2003). In Belgium, there is an arguably complex situation where different stakeholders (public and private) are responsible for the enforcement of maintenance and management policies at a regional, municipal and city scale (IPO case study). Some of the policies which relate to place-keeping will influence the provision and delivery of public service which may cross departments, such as those responsible for parks and countryside, streets and highways, transport infrastructure, health and crime prevention as exemplified in Sheffield City Council's policies on healthy green spaces (Sheffield City Council, 2009). The Green Estate case study uses its close partnership with the police help enforce some of these crime policies through participation in local neighbourhood crime meetings and regular updates on local anti-social behaviour as it occurs in the Green Estate-managed sites.

Environmental/ ecological policies

Following the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) was signed by 170 governments who have adopted national Biodiversity Strategies and Action Plans (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2009). Related to this (as part of the EU's 1992 Habitats Directive), the Natura 2000 network was established as an EU-wide network of nature protection areas (European Communities, 2009). This network is part of a broader European policy move towards a Europe-wide green infrastructure (Sylwester, 2009), a term which is rapidly gaining popularity internationally (Blackman and Thackray, 2009, Davies et al., 2006), due to the growing interest in the economic value of nature and green space (Natural England and Northwest Regional Development Agency, 2009). Green infrastructure incorporates other closely related terms such as green corridors (Briffett, 2001), ecological networks (Finck, 2009), multifunctional urban green space (Barber, 2005) and climate corridors (Vos, 2009). Currently there is no planning legislation at the national level for green infrastructure and there is no or limited ring-fenced funding as yet in Germany or the UK (Finck, 2009, Blackman and Thackray, 2009).

The European Landscape Convention has been signed and ratified by a number of European countries including Denmark, Belgium, the UK and the Netherlands (Council of Europe, 2010). The aims of the Convention (European Landscape Convention, 2000, Article 3) are 'to promote landscape protection, management and planning, and to organise European co-operation on landscape issues'. The implementation of the Convention relates to four broad areas: landscape protection, landscape management, landscape planning and European cooperation. Clarification has been made of the implications of the convention within the English context (but is equally applicable elsewhere): 'future landscapes will continue to be influenced by changes in climate, agriculture, housing and development needs, and by progress towards a low carbon society. The ELC provides a challenge to improve perception, understanding and care for all landscapes through improved collaboration and better public involvement as well as through integration of policies and actions' (Natural England et al., 2007, Section 2.2). In this way the ELC can be considered as one statutory and regulatory framework within the broader policy context of sustainability.

There is variation in how green space is considered across the European cities. According to Busck et al. (2008), in the Netherlands green space is considered as a part of an integrated whole landscape with many spaces serving multiple functions such as water storage, agriculture and biodiversity habitat. A consequence of the Dutch compact city policies of several decades has been less green space provision and an associated urgent need for green space in and near cities; this is addressed in the ongoing state programme 'Green in and around the City' (Busck et al., 2008).

In Sweden, there was a shift in nature conservation values from primarily environmental protection to supporting socio-environmental goals and the growing demand for outdoor recreation in the 1960s and 1970s. This led to the setting aside of large tracts of land for recreation and natural interest and a general growing demand for green spaces which has been supported in municipal planning (Busck et al., 2008) and the national Environmental Code (Miljödepartementet, 1998, in Busck et al., 2008).

As in the Netherlands, Denmark has a strong compact city policy portfolio which considered town and country as separate entities via the 1970 Zonation Act and in Copenhagen's 1947 Finger Plan (Caspersen et al., 2006) which 'distinguished between urban areas along main infrastructures and green wedges in between'. This has now been given legal status and adopted in other Danish cities (Busck et al., 2008, p. 10). There is also an Afforestation Programme (initiated in 1989), aiming to double the area of forest in Denmark within 80-100 years, to provide residents with green recreational areas.

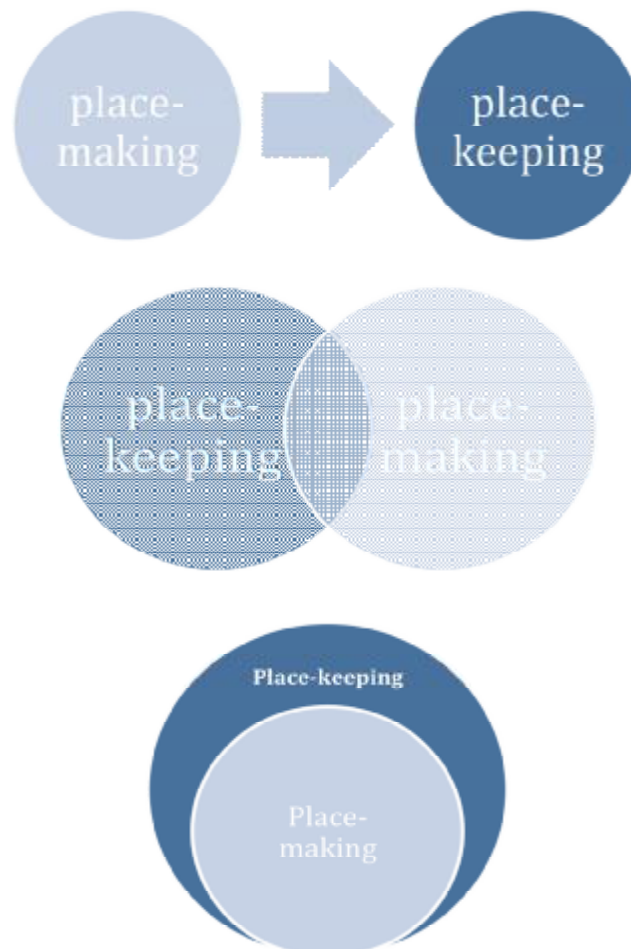
An example where environmental policy has caused problems is where natural landscapes lie within urban areas. For the River Stewardship Company (RSC) in the UK, the Local Biodiversity Action Plan (LBAP) adopted in Sheffield generated conflict with other policies relating to flood risk management in the city which is one of the RSC's main concerns (RSC case study). For example, the flood risk management activities include the clearance of channels of all materials considered to be debris. The removal of such materials can require the use of heavy machinery in the rivers which can not only detrimentally affect fish passes, but also disturb heavy metal industrial waste on the riverbed. Such conflict in policy means that compromises are required and issues are not necessarily resolved, e.g. relating to fish passes, river habitat and maintenance and access routes. Furthermore, the industrial and recreational use of such waterways can also conflict with ecological concerns, pointing to real gaps in policy coordination and implementation in practice which need further detailed examination.

Riparian ownership legislation and regulation in the UK has a significant impact on the work that the RSC do in Sheffield, but largely because it is not enforced. The current situation of multiple (private and public) owners of spaces along the river results in no overall responsibility for maintenance and management (Wild et al., 2008). It does not look like this situation will change in the foreseeable future which means that RSC, as a coordinating body, have to informally engage with riparian owners to convince them to sign up to maintenance and management schemes (RSC case study).

There are also examples where policies are either not working, or where place-keeping is not fully supported by policies. For example, in the Flemish region of Belgium, the current situation is not adequate for place-keeping, and so the Intergovernmental Rural Dialogue (IPO) has been established to critically assess care and maintenance of the landscape and recreational infrastructure in the Flemish countryside, with the commitment by policymakers to adopt the findings within policy (IPO case study). This ties in with a general point about the political context of place-keeping and the need for cross-political commitment to green spaces (Carmona et al., 2004a). Having the political support underpins place-keeping and is therefore crucial: the Greenkeys project found that mayoral changes in Volos, Greece led to the abandonment of their green strategy (GreenKeys Project Team, 2008a).

The process of place-keeping

It emerges from the literature that dimensions of place-keeping, as defined here, are considered part of both an ongoing process and a product (see Figure 1). Theorists, practitioners and policy-makers discuss some of the processes involved in place-making and place-keeping, specifically related to partnerships, governance and engagement, and funding (Shiel and Smith-Milne, 2007, de Magalhães and Carmona, 2009, Dekker and van Kempen, 2004). It is our contention that place-making and place-keeping are part of a dynamic, continuous process: the ongoing process of place-keeping maintains the product of place-making as a valued, sustainable and high-quality space within a particular policy context. It is difficult to divorce the process from the product when considering place-keeping dimensions. For example, maintenance is described as both a process (e.g. a cleaning service) and a product (e.g. a tidy open space) (Dempsey et al., 2008, Carmona et al., 2008). Community engagement can likewise be considered an ongoing process of continued involvement in a range of programmes and events, or leading to a more tangible outcome such as the creation of a green space (Bovaird and Löffler, 2002, Dempsey et al., 2009). Theoretically, one might also consider the dynamic relationship as: a) place-making which leads to place-keeping as distinct activities; b) place-making which is influenced by place-keeping (this can be manifested (and conceptually modelled) in different ways, e.g. the use of high-quality materials to help reduce maintenance over time); and c), ideally, a two-way inter-dependent relationship between the two where place-keeping is considered from the outset as integral to place-making (graphically represented in simple diagram form in Figures 2a-c). The next sections examine components of place-keeping that can be considered as processes, starting with partnerships.



Figures 2a-c. Place-making and place-keeping: different approaches conceptualising the relationship.

Partnership models and stakeholders

For the MP4 project, partnership is defined as agreed shared responsibility for the place-keeping process. While no particular partnership model is prescribed here, we have found that, both in literature and in many of the case studies, the involvement of local, community organisations in place-keeping activities is strongly advocated (e.g. CABE Space, 2007a), as will be shown later in this section. This arguably has the benefit of ensuring an exchange and sharing of knowledge within the local context to form an integral part of the long-term management of the space. It is however unclear to what extent this assumption that community participation in whatever guise to be pursued in place-keeping has been examined in any detail or is supported by empirical research. This point will be returned to later in the document.

It has already been outlined that there is considerable support for the transfer of responsibilities for managing open spaces from the state to other organisations (Cohn, 2008). This is due to the multiple stakeholders involved in the ownership, management and maintenance of public spaces, and the increased policy attention towards a more collaborative and integrated approach (Swanwick and Walker, 2008). Within the UK context, it is claimed that no one organisation is responsible for the overall place-keeping of neighbourhood public spaces (CLG, 2007c, Urban Green Spaces Task Force, 2002): generally speaking, the services required for place-keeping – including environmental, transport, utilities, security and housing services – are provided by a combination of different agencies. It therefore follows that good leadership, governance and strong partnerships between agencies, as well as with the local community, are critical to achieving effective place-keeping (after Carmona et al., 2004b).

De Magalhães and Carmona (2009) provide a framework for considering partnerships, which is particularly useful with the dominant neo-liberal context within which most European cities operate (Geddes, 2006). They differentiate between a state-centred, market-centred, and user-centred model (de Magalhães and Carmona, 2009). The state-centred model is the typical starting point for many public spaces where the local authority plans, delivers and maintains with minimal external input. It is often the case that this model is considered to suffer from inertia where processes have remained in place unchanged for decades and may be subject to, among other issues, bureaucracy within a hierarchical structure and lack of responsiveness (ibid.). One of the key issues relates to funding and how, in practice, investment in open and public space tends to be precarious and disproportionately subject to fiscal pressures when central government funds are reduced (CABE Space, 2005c).

It is argued that different urban management partnerships have emerged due to what Broadbent and Laughlin call a 'liberalisation in thought' (2003, p. 332) and a liberalisation of the rules governing who provides and delivers public services, particularly with regard to the private sector (through NPM). The market-centred model will be discussed in more detail below as this is the model widely adopted in this shift towards a less centralised, state-based approach. Public-private partnerships (PPPs) are increasingly widespread in public/ open space management (Loader, 2010) and include examples of private sector contracts and procurement, larger-scale town centre management programmes in England and Sweden, and BIDs in the UK and Germany. All of these examples involve a private, profit-driven organisation used by the public sector, often in a contractual relationship which can (but not always) call on resources from outside the public sector (Carmona et al., 2008).

The user-centred model is another example of devolved responsibility from the state (BMVBS und BBR, 2008) which involves user-based organisations such as 'Friends of...' groups, local interest and community groups, charities and other non-governmental organisations. These organisations are not profit-driven, unlike private sector stakeholders: 'they have a direct interest in the quality of the public spaces and related services primarily for their use value' (de Magalhães and Carmona, 2009, p. 125). Networks are very important in the user-centred model, with a hierarchical approach abandoned for a more horizontal approach to using formal and informal networks and contacts,

making effective use of local knowledge and enthusiasm (ibid.). The benefits of involving local knowledge and expertise in partnerships would appear to be unambiguous however they have not been fully tested in empirical research to examine the extent to which they are successful.

There are clearly disadvantages as well as advantages with each of these models which will be discussed in the following sections (de Magalhães and Carmona, 2009, Carpenter, 2006). While it has been pointed out that the ideal open space management scenario is one in which the same organisation owns and manages the spaces (Carmona et al., 2004a), there is widespread consensus in theory and policy that a partnership approach to public space management is an effective one, however there is a need for empirical evidence to support this (Bovaird, 2004, Carpenter, 2006). De Magalhães and Carmona (2009) suggest that a combination of the state-, market- and user-centred models could prove most advantageous for effective public space management.

Public-private partnerships

Public-private partnerships (PPPs) have a very long history, dating back to Pharaonic Egypt when the state bought and stored food from private producers (Wettenhall, 2005), and include the first ship that sailed to America – an example of a ‘joint effort between public and private actors’ (Greve and Hodge, 2005, p. 2). There is variation in the adoption of the PPP around Europe.

While there is no consensus on how PPPs are defined, generally speaking, they are described as ‘cooperative institutional arrangements between public and private sector actors’ (Greve and Hodge, 2005, p. 1). It is claimed that PPPs fill the gap between ‘traditionally procured government projects and full privatisation’ (Grimsey and Lewis, 2005, p. 346). Grimsey and Lewis argue that PPPs are not synonymous with privatisation because the government retains ‘ultimate responsibility’ and ‘a direct role in ongoing operations’ (ibid.). The PPP is based on the ‘central premise that the most effective use of public money...is to access greater investment from the private sector’ (Adair et al., 2000, p. 149).

The literature points to two main drivers behind the recent and relatively widespread interest in, and emergence of, public-private partnerships (PPPs). The first is outlined within the UK context by Gore (1991, p. 209) but also experienced elsewhere as the ‘rediscovery of the inner city problem in the 1970s’. Partnerships between public and private stakeholders were considered to be a solution to this problem for three main reasons. Firstly, it was clear that deprived neighbourhoods in real need of regeneration would not attract private-sector investment without a concerted effort on the part of the public sector. Secondly, where private investment was forthcoming, it was often in the form of luxury, high-end housing, which does not bring about the economic and social regeneration for all residents which is clearly necessary. Thirdly, throughout the 1980s, there were increasingly numbers of viable re-development opportunities in these inner city areas of which private investors wanted to take advantage.

The second driver behind the PPP was the need for local authorities to improve the quality of services provided (Grimsey and Lewis, 2005, Ahmed and Ali, 2006). A primary aim of undertaking PPPs is to achieve better value-for-money (VFM) than the public sector would gain under the traditional state-centred approach (Zitron, 2006). Underlying this is the recognition that ‘the modern state may not be the best manager of public services and that other structures may deliver improved levels of service’ (Flinders, 2006, p. 230). The advantages of the PPP include the transference of risk and management from the public to the private sector, the ability to carry out large-scale public sector projects without increasing taxes or government debt, and the increased knowledge and expertise involved (Nisar, 2007, Henderson, 2010). Large-scale projects include infrastructure such as tunnels in Germany and the Channel Tunnel between England and France and the high-speed rail Trans-European Network (TEN) project in the Netherlands (Grimsey and Lewis, 2005). Such projects tend to be examples of the private finance initiative (PFI) which can be described as a ‘design, build, finance and operate’ (DBFO) system (Broadbent and Laughlin, 2003). Private funding is secured for

public sector projects in return for part-privatisation which provides for a long-term commitment from the private sector, e.g. a 30-year lease of a building which allows all money and profits to be recouped (Nisar, 2007). PFI is particularly popular in the UK: in 2003 there were 450 PFI contracts to be completed, with a cumulative value of over £50 billion (Broadbent and Laughlin, 2003).

A widespread method of public-private partnership is the contracting-out of services by the public sector (Lindholst, 2008) which is used in place-keeping maintenance activities. This has led to what Lindholst describes as the dismantling of hierarchies which were based on professional open space management knowledge and expertise within the public sector (Lindholst, 2009a). This has certainly been experienced in the UK, Denmark and Sweden where there has been an ongoing de-skilling of open space management due to ever-reducing budgets (Carmona et al., 2004a, CABE, 2009). The basis of the standard arrangement of contracting out is widely accepted as a framework for competitive tendering, which emphasises 'specification, pricing, monitoring, and enforcement of service delivery' (Lindholst, 2009a). In Belgium and the Netherlands, the procurement process requires public sector contracts to be awarded based on price: the cheapest will win the contract. One recent exception to this rule is the approach taken by Emmen Revisited (the Netherlands) which was supported by the public sector. As in the UK, a public space contract in the village of Barger Compascuum was awarded primarily on quality of contract and then on price. In this way, it is argued that the best, rather than the cheapest, contractor is awarded the contract.

Accuracy in costs and the project specification are crucial to ensure that such contracts are effective, and it is argued that such contracts are most effective if they are outcome-based, particularly if increasing biodiversity over the long term is one of the place-keeping goals (CABE Space, 2006a). This type of contracting is dependent on a long-term contract between employer and employee so that long-term goals can form part of the outputs: it is however more usual for an input- or output-based approach to be taken based on specific frequencies and retaining standards of particular activities such as grass cutting and tree pruning (ibid.). Green Estate has developed a strong track record of adding value to maintenance by taking a combined and long-term approach to place-keeping activities in parks and green spaces for Sheffield City Council (Green Estate case study). They are able to consider and carry out the maintenance of such spaces over the long-term rather being forced to think about the spaces on a shorter, possible annual basis (due to the allocation of budgets and funding). This is also arguably the case for HafenCity in Hamburg, where a development company owned by the City of Hamburg has been charged with the large-scale development of former industrial land up to 2025. The HafenCity development company currently manages the open spaces on-site and is considered to be providing good place-keeping of the high-quality public realm created in the place-making stage. However, place-keeping responsibilities will transfer to the District Authority which, according to commentators, cannot be replicated at the same standard applied by the development company. This is due to the fragmented nature of responsibility (and funding) for open space management within the Authority, compared to the development company model which has full responsibility for all spaces and considerable financial capacity (HafenCity case study).

In relation to public and open space management, there are two other main examples of the PPP: town centre management (TCM), which emerged in the 1980s around Europe; and the business improvement district (BID), which recently emerged in Europe from its origins in the US as a model for the financing of activities to improve designated areas at the beginning of the 21st century (BID case study). These are both discussed in more detail below.

As Cohn points out, there are distinct interests involved in a PPP which need to be reconciled satisfactorily to all parties, over the long term (Cohn, 2008, Henderson, 2010). Without a reasonable expectation for successfully delivering the public service and making a profit, the PPP will not occur. Such interests are clearly being reconciled as there is growing belief in the PPP as an effective model for public service provision; it is written into legislation in many countries (e.g. urban policy legislation in the UK and USA, into national industrial policies in France and into economic

development policies in Italy, the Netherlands and the UK) (Bovaird, 2004). Each country has its own regulation and interpretation of the PPP and at the project level, there is wide variation in contextual differences (i.e. funding, institutional arrangements and stakeholder involvement): this means that one partnership model cannot be directly applied to another project (Hardy and Koontz, 2010).

Focus on Denmark⁹

Public-private partnerships are in their infancy in Denmark (Greve and Ejersbo, 2005). They were introduced into national policy in 2002 as part of the country's overall economic growth plan to provide a cost-effective and competitive alternative to traditional models of large-scale infrastructure delivery (Lindholst, 2009b). The main driver behind its introduction was the saving to be made through the associated procurement and outsourcing of public goods and services (Regeringen, 2002, 2003).

From 2004 onwards, all state agencies and state-financed projects were obliged to consider the viability of public-private partnership or other partnering in construction projects. The corresponding policy stipulates that projects with more than 50% state funding are obliged to provide evidence of their consideration of public-private partnership/ other partnering and also provide a cost analysis in comparison to traditional organized construction projects (Økonomi- Og Erhvervsministeriet, 2004).

There are examples in the construction sector where partnerships have been successful and have been adopted for some maintenance contracts by public authorities (Høgsted and Olsen, 2006). Examples of these include road management (Høgsted, 2005), the construction of schools and commercial properties (Kommunernes Landsforening, 2008). In policies developed in 2007, these partnerships continue to be promoted as a viable option of public-private cooperation and have been extended to cover not only infrastructure projects, but also projects in the areas of employment, energy supply and health.

For urban and rural regeneration as well as forestry management, there has been limited adoption of any partnership model. Despite this overall policy shift, to date very few formal public-private partnerships have been formed in Denmark. Overall, it can be argued that, in practice, it has been a case of adapting new terminology rather than adapting new practices (Lindholst, 2009b).

The PPP is a widely accepted model for service delivery and written into legislation in a number of countries. However, the use and concept of the PPP 'has been hotly contested in most countries' (Flinders, 2006), described by some as 'privatisation by stealth' and criticised for the profit motive in public service provision, Bovaird points out that the PPP has gone from a contested concept to prevalent practice (2004).

There are numerous critiques of the public-private partnership, which largely relate to the stakeholders, their interests and the duration of the partnership. Forsberg et al (1999, p. 316) in their discussion of partnerships in Sweden suggest that there are inherent problems in 'organising co-operative behaviour between rational actors such as urban stakeholders, who are intent on maximising their own utility (particularly if from the private sector)'. From a traditional state-centred perspective, PPPs are suspect because of the associated dilution of political control of decision-making (Bovaird, 2004, p. 200). From the New Public Management perspective, it can be argued that long-term partnerships bring a danger of overly-compatible interests which may be 'suspected of undermining competition between potential providers' (ibid.). Bovaird states that trade unions resist PPPs because of the potential reductions in employment and employment conditions, while some citizens and users have expressed concerns at profit-driven public service providers (ibid.). Bovaird claims that PPPs bring a fragmentation and blurring of responsibility because each stakeholder makes a sacrifice in terms of their own autonomy, indicating that 'the partnership rather than [the individual stakeholder] is the accountable body' (ibid., p. 203). This idea of sacrifice is one that occurs in a couple of the case studies (although not always in a PPP), where compromises are

⁹ This section on Denmark is based on a working paper produced by AC Lindholst (2009).

reached and not necessarily to the satisfaction of all the parties. For example, in Grassmarket, Edinburgh, residents felt disempowered because the community organisation set up to represent them did not have adequate power alongside the public and private partners: some residents felt this resulted in poor decision-making in favour of private rather than residents' interests.

Hardy and Koontz (2010) point out that while an increase in (financial, human and social) capital can lead to successful partnerships, involving too many actors can lead to problems in partnerships, making it difficult to gain consensus on collaborative decisions. There is also a danger of becoming uncompetitive and lacking value-for-money where long-term partnerships 'may be suspected of undermining competition between potential providers' (Bovaird, 2004, p. 200). This adds complexity to the generally positive interpretation that MP4 takes of long-term partnerships, particularly from the perspective of strategic place-keeping and securing funding and skills over a long period.

One final caveat is particularly pertinent in the current economic climate. The Audit Commission (UK) states that for the public-private partnership model to succeed, credit must be available to private sector partners. The current economic recession has undermined the model to some extent, where, for example, urban regeneration projects have stalled, which threatens economic recovery in some areas (Audit Commission, 2010).

Bovaird claims that there is tentative evidence that private companies, alongside their overarching goal of profit-making, are increasingly interested in their corporate social responsibility' (2004, p. 213). This suggests an increase in companies bidding for contracts which are not necessarily wholly profit-driven, but may have complex social, economic and environmental outcomes. Such relationships require long-term timescales (at least ten years (Adair et al., 2000)) to fully develop the joint commitment and trust (as well as permitting the private actor to recoup all money and profits (after Nisar, 2007)). This viewpoint is not shared by others (Henderson, 2010). Adair et al (2000) claim that the private sector believes it has no role in promoting urban regeneration in deprived areas as this lies squarely within the responsibility of government. They argue that once an area is made more attractive to investors, it is then much easier to gain long-term private sector support: urban regeneration in deprived areas is perceived to be a risky business for the private sector without funding provided by the public sector (ibid.)

Town Centre Management and Business Improvement Districts

There are various urban area management schemes around Europe which include Town Centre Management and Business Improvement Districts, Neighbourhood Renewal Schemes, Market Town Initiatives, Community Business Centres, Trade Improvement Zones, Mainstreet Programmes and Suburban Centre Improvement Schemes (Coca-Stefaniak et al., 2009). Town centre management (TCM) is a dominant form of PPP in Europe which aims to improve the public realm of town centres through services such as street cleaning, CCTV monitoring, mobile security patrolling and horticultural improvements (Cook, 2009). TCM-like schemes have become increasingly popular in Australia and European countries including the UK, France, Italy and Spain (Forsberg et al., 1999, Coca-Stefaniak et al., 2009). There has been a rapid expansion of TCM in Sweden which were first established there in the mid-1980s, with around 60 existing schemes reported by 1998 (Forsberg et al., 1999). In the UK, TCM emerged in the late 1980s as a reaction to the increased competition from out-of-town shopping centres and the declining quality of town and city centre public spaces, contributing to the uncompetitive nature of city-centre retail space (Hogg et al., 2007, Page and Hardyman, 1996). TCM can therefore be argued to be an urban regeneration tool (Otsuka and Reeve, 2007) which aims to improve the competitive advantage of town and city centres by involving the public, private and voluntary sectors in the maintenance and development of public and private spaces (Warnaby et al., 1998). TCM in the UK was led by large-scale retailers (Otsuka and Reeve, 2007), while in Spain, Italy and France, such schemes are led by small independent retailers, and in Sweden by a strong formal public-private partnership (Coca-Stefaniak et al., 2009).

TCM schemes are financed through voluntary payments from the private sector which can lead to a situation of ‘free-riding’ where other private businesses in the designated area can benefit from the TCM activities without having to make a contribution (Cook, 2009). In the UK in the late 1990s, retailers (large and small) increasingly refused to contribute to TCM schemes, which led to fears of inability on the part of town and city centres to attract investment and remain economically competitive (Cook, 2008). An alternative method of funding was required to rectify the low levels of private sector funding (Cook, 2009). There was increasing awareness of the US Business Improvement District (BID) model, particularly heralded in New York as a success (Cook, 2008).

The BID recently emerged in Europe from its origins in the US as a model for financing activities to improve designated areas (BID case study) which may have been run-down and poor quality (Cook, 2009). BIDs can be found in New Zealand, South Africa and parts of Europe, notably Germany, Ireland, Albania, Serbia and the UK (Cook, 2008). Through capital improvements, street cleaning, security and marketing the area, the BID aims to make designated places attractive, safer, cleaner and more marketable, and are therefore similar to TCM (Mitchell, 2008, p. 3). The BID is funded by mandatory (not voluntary) taxes or fees levied on property and/ or business owners and is managed by a professional organisation to cover a designated area (ibid.). BID legislation has been introduced in the UK and Germany (Kreutz, 2010, BID case study, Cook, 2008). In the UK, many BIDs are extensions to the original TCM scheme, with very few situated in urban areas (the majority are found in out-of-town business parks and industrial estates) (Cook, 2009). If implemented, the BID is enacted for a period of five years (and reaffirmed through a vote) and are therefore considered to enhance long-term revenue streams in town centres as opposed to one-off capital projects which often have additional revenue costs (Carmona et al., 2004b, Kreutz, 2009). There are still few BIDs compared to TCM schemes¹⁰ in Europe although there is increased interest on the part of the Association of Town Centre Management to promote the BID model (ATCM, 2010). A key difference between TCM and BIDs is that prospective private sector partners¹¹ can vote on the establishment of a BID in their area, which is not available to them if a TCM is planned (Cook, 2009).

Focus on Germany

In Germany, the generic term ‘Urban Improvement District’ (UID) describes BIDs, Neighbourhood Improvement Districts (NIDs) and Housing Improvement Districts (HIDs), which have common constituent features including state legislation, ballot procedures for implementation, limited duration, joint financing from private proprietors through compulsory self-assessment. Seven UIDs have been successfully implemented in Hamburg and two have been renewed recently in the standard second ballot. All of the UIDs developed from local interest from proprietors: unlike the UK BID model, German UIDs are financed through a levy from proprietors, rather than tenants (Kreutz, 2009). Key BID activities in these areas, above and beyond those provided by the state, have included ‘streetscaping’, street cleaning and marketing. Depending on the priorities of the stakeholders and the location of the UID, budgets differ widely from around €110,000 per year to over €1 million per year in the city centre (Kreutz, 2007). The local authority audits the UID proposals to ensure that they conform with public interest and checks the urban development plans before the ballot is held. Experience to date in Hamburg shows that there have been no conflicts with public interest in the established UIDs (BID case study).

While some of the advantages to TCM and BIDs have already been outlined, there are perceived disadvantages to TCM and BIDs. For example, while it can be argued that the localised ring-fencing of funding for activities taking place within a given boundary is a good thing (Schaller and Modan, 2008), there may be outside interest pressures from private sector stakeholders, whose head office interests may not be located within the area, as well as from local and national government (Cook,

¹⁰ In early 2010, there are 112 BIDs (www.ukbids.org) and over 500 TCM schemes were reported in late 2008 (Cook, 2009). There are over 1000 BIDs in the US, with more than 40 in New York City alone (Schaller and Modan, 2008).

¹¹ This applies to commercial tenants and building occupiers, as opposed to owners.

2009). It is also pointed out that while both TCM and BIDs are examples of public-private partnerships, in the case of BIDs, private sector stakeholders are 'happy to contribute as long as the BID was not perceived to be public sector-led' (Cook, 2009, p. 938). However, Cook also found that some private sector stakeholders perceived the levy to be an unnecessary cost which should be covered by the public sector rather than the private.

There is also considerable unease at the privatisation of public spaces that TCM and BIDs are perceived to bring. It is argued that that BIDs 'apply the logic of the shopping mall to downtown centres' (Kohn, 2004, p. 82). Kohn goes on to argue that BIDs permit the private sector disproportionately more influence to exert over local government (Kohn, 2004). This is also linked to the 'anti-democratic decision-making structure of BIDs', which wholly excludes residents and users, in spite of the effect that BIDs can have on their experience and use of urban open space (Schaller and Modan, 2008, Minton, 2009, Cook, 2008).

From the users' perspective, it is argued that TCM and BIDs control public space turning it into 'hybrid space' which is publicly accessible but under private management (Berding et al., 2006, Berding et al., 2009): for example, 'unlike the police, private security firms seem to be able to eject 'undesirables' off the streets' because of the private management stipulations in place in efforts to attract a specific class of well-to-do consumer and resident (Kohn, 2004, p. 87, Schaller and Modan, 2008). Notification of the rules in place is provided through signage, indicating that potential users must abide by the rules to proceed. Socialising in spaces may therefore be controlled and accompanied by architectural features which do not promote lingering (Schaller and Modan, 2008, Dempsey, in press). Such urban management techniques are therefore argued to be primarily driven by commercial goals with the aim of improving business and profits, rather than quality of life and liveability for users and residents (Stevens, 2009, Reeve, 2004).

User-centred stakeholders

The user-centred model of partnership types provided by de Magalhães and Carmona (2009) includes a whole range of stakeholders who are not from the public or private sector but have an active interest in public space management.

The theoretical background to this model relates to the concept of public governance, as opposed to the traditional public-sector led model discussed earlier (Geddes, 2006, Smith et al., 2009). Unlike New Public Management and the drive to make public services more efficient, the aim of public governance is to solve complex social policy issues or 'wicked problems' which cannot be solved by the public sector alone (Bovaird, 2004, Rittel and Webber, 1973). Public governance calls for the inclusion of the voluntary sector (alongside the public and private sectors), underlining the important contribution that local communities and user-based organisations can make to addressing such problems. It therefore follows that good governance is achieved when multiple stakeholders work together to improve quality of life through shared principles and processes (Bovaird, 2004).

User-centred stakeholders are not subject to the hierarchy of public sector or the market forces of the private sector: they are able to use their apolitical status to avoid the bureaucracy inherent in the public sector and use local knowledge and networks to gain results (Rhodes, 1997, in de Magalhães and Carmona, 2009), although it should be noted that such organisations do not always act apolitically¹². This is arguably shown by the trend (certainly in the UK) towards the co-production, or user-engagement in the provision of public services through clear devolvement of responsibility (and arguably costs and problems) such as the transfer of social housing estates management to housing associations (de Magalhães and Carmona, 2009). The Cabinet Office commissioned a research report on the contribution that third sector organisations can make to different activities

¹² Personal correspondence with Dr Harry Smith, Heriot-Watt University, June 2010.

with the public sector and the general public (Cabinet Office: Office of the Third Sector, 2008). This publication highlights a range of roles that the third sector plays which include:

- capacity builder through educating and empowering both third sector and community members;
- bridge-builder between communities and the public sector;
- deliverer of services on behalf of the public sector or of specialist services not provided by the public sector;
- 'critical friend' as an advisor and consultant to the public sector;
- campaigner looking to influence the public sector;
- activity-led groups around particular interests; and,
- infrastructure provider as a deliverer of information and support to the third sector.

Thinking about the UK context, there is a strong policy shift (from all the main political parties) towards a more important presence for local and community organisations in local decision-making. This is currently exemplified by the Community Assemblies, local forums led by local residents, which directly control a small amount of funding to spend on community activities.

Other policy-driven user-centred initiatives in the UK include the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), which began in 1994 and the New Deal for Communities (2000), which brought together a number of government programmes with the aim of simplifying and streamlining the assistance available for regeneration. The SRB provided resources to support regeneration initiatives in England carried out by local regeneration partnerships with the aim of enhancing the quality of life of local people in deprived areas. A number of social enterprises and other charitable organisations were established during this programme and are now self-sufficient. Examples of such social enterprises include the Shoreditch Trust, based in Hackney, London which, to reduce its reliance on state-funding, has invested in two restaurants and conference facilities to fund its social activities, including the physical regeneration of a number of parks in the area and street improvements (Shoreditch Trust, 2010). Another example is Green Estate, which is outlined in more detail below.

Focus on Sheffield

Green Estate Ltd is a social enterprise with a commercial arm which began life as an environmental regeneration project in 1998 in the Manor Castle area in South Sheffield. It was initially funded by the UK government under its five-year Single Regeneration Budget programme. Manor Castle is one of the UK's most deprived areas due to the devastating economic decline of the steel industry in the 1980s. It suffers from anti-social behaviour in its green spaces including burnt-out cars, joy riding, fly tipping and, more generally, no constructive community involvement.

Place-keeping is core to Green Estate's activities, which include grounds maintenance, green waste recycling/ composting and green roof installation. One of Green Estate's major contracts with Sheffield City Council is the 'Cleared Sites' project whose aim is to improve the visual appearance of ex-demolition housing sites in Manor Castle.

Green Estate engages in formal and informal partnerships with other stakeholders including schools, the police, council departments, businesses, and local community and neighbourhood groups. With a wide network of contacts developed over many years and its political independence, Green Estate is able to develop good relationships with the community, who may be more willing to cooperate than with the council in a traditional state-centred approach.

Another stakeholder group involved in the management of open spaces is the 'Friends of' association where a group of local people volunteer their time to maintain and improve their local spaces. Interested groups may form a 'Friends of' group or a Community/ Development Trust, both of which are formally organised groups which are not a legal requirement (in the UK) but make things considerably easier when applying for funding (Sheffield City Council Parks and Countryside, no date). Residents and users getting involved in managing parks and green spaces is a well-known

phenomenon around the world (Emerson, 2006): the Bürgerpark in Bremen, Germany is an excellent example of publicly accessible space which is owned and managed by third sector Bürgerparkverein (Bürgerpark Association), which dates back to 1872. This association is independent from the public sector, with over 2,600 members, and consistently raises annual funds of over €2 million, which is spent on the maintenance of the park and the Bürgerpark workforce (Bürgerpark case study). One of MP4's investment projects is based in Firth Park, Sheffield, which has a very strong 'Friends of' group, formed in 2000, which has successfully secured funding for path construction throughout the park, and increased signage and facilities for children and young adults. However, it seems that there is no research about the contribution that 'Friends' groups have on open space management, or the part they play in place-keeping partnerships. It is however clear from widespread anecdotal experience that such groups can be critical in bringing place-keeping issues to the attention of local policy makers and in taking action where necessary. Staff at the River Stewardship Company clearly stated that they could not achieve their ambitions in cleaning up the River Don in Sheffield without the knowledge and expertise of local community groups such as the Five Weirs Walk Trust and the Upper Don Valley Walk Trust (RSC case study, Wild et al., 2008).

Partnerships cannot always be effectively instigated by the public or private sectors, where there may be an implicit lack of trust and faith on the part of communities. It may therefore be appropriate to engage an apolitical facilitating agency to coordinate and lead a partnership (Ahmed and Ali, 2006). A non-governmental, local group can act as this facilitating body and bring with it added value in terms of the local knowledge and expertise (e.g. Groundwork in the UK), and by bridging the gap between different organisations (ibid.). This was found to be effective in practice in Sheffield (Green Estate) and a part of future plans in Edinburgh (Hailes Quarry Park). While there are clear advantages enjoyed by community organisations, such as flexible working practices which allow direct responses to citizens' and users' needs, concerns are expressed about their lack of transparency and accountability as they are often not statutory or legal bodies with elected representatives (Barnes et al., 2008). This can also be said for the partnership form of governance which might bring together public, private and third sector organisations into an 'unincorporated association' (ibid.).

It is clear in both policy and theory that there is a call for public-private-community partnerships (Carmona et al., 2004a), rather than the top-down public-private partnership model seen in TCM and BIDs (Ahmed and Ali, 2006). While there are challenges in coordinating stakeholders with different interests and different interpretations of the common goal, a three-way partnership is beneficial for the following reasons. First, it is an effective way of ensuring that different interests are acknowledged and reconciled in the pursuit of the common goal. Second, the breadth of knowledge, expertise and skills is far wider in a three-way partnership than a unilateral or bilateral relationship. Third, there is also greater potential for public agreement and support for projects which are based on a more egalitarian partnership model (de Magalhães and Carmona, 2006, Bovaird and Löffler, 2002, Ahmed and Ali, 2006).

Governance: leadership and coordination

Governance has already been touched upon in the previous section as it is closely related to partnership. Governance describes the relationships between and among the range of stakeholders, governmental and non-governmental, involved in the decision-making process. This reflects the conceptual and policy shift in Europe, North America and elsewhere (Geddes, 2006) from 'government' where the state acts as the primary governing body to a 'new local governance' (Bovaird, 2004, Delgado and Strand, 2010).

There is no consensus on the definition of governance: it is a contested concept (Smith, 2004). Jenkins defines governance as: "the sphere of relations between government and other actors in civil society or non-governmental sectors – including the private sector. It also refers to the processes of interaction between these in defining roles and relationships. The idea of governance is

that government does not work in isolation, but in the above sphere and through these types of relations, and thus government has to be seen in this context” (Jenkins, 2004, p. 64). A less neutral definition of governance is provided by Garcia who describes it as a form of negotiation used to formulate and implement policy that looks to actively involve community, voluntary and other non-governmental stakeholders with the public sector. This participatory model of decision-making puts emphasis on consensus, an idea which has been gaining popularity in European cities (Garcia, 2006). Governance is underpinned by social policy: for example, in the Scandinavian countries, the social democratic model, demonstrated through universal social welfare has contributed to the formation of many different institutions and stakeholders ‘implementing social redistribution at the local level’ (ibid., p. 746). It is also argued that an increase in democratic governance might stem the decline of political engagement among European citizens, especially in light of the urgent environmental problems that require widespread consensus (Delgado and Strand, 2010).

It is clear that democracy underpins these ideas of governance, although it is argued to imply ‘a wider “participation” in decision-making than representative democracy or other forms of government...[accepting] a wide spectrum of actors other than the state, and thus, varying governance contexts and processes’ (Smith, 2004). The traditional public-sector led approach to governing is technocratic in nature, where the ‘experts’ are in control of the decision-making: the polar opposite to democracy (although this depends on the definition of democracy) (Irwin, 2006, Cohn, 2008). The technical experts who form the government within a technocratic system can solve all problems using their specialist knowledge and expertise, which is at odds with the identification of complex social ‘wicked problems’ which are claimed to be unsolvable without taking a democratic approach (Bovaird, 2004). It therefore follows that values of good governance between stakeholders include ‘openness, accountability, transparency and inclusiveness’ (Delgado and Strand, 2010, p. 145).

Carmona et al (2004b) advocate an integrated approach to enforcing decisions in public spaces, which involves multiple agencies. Therefore the need to carefully coordinate such a group (with different and potentially conflicting aims, resources and priorities) is critical. This points to a call for theme-based action in public space management, which is led by a strong leader with vision and coordinated well to ensure that all actors take part (and there are no free riders). Similarly, there will be some variation in the degree of engagement, transparency, accountability in a partnership, as well as differing aims and objectives of the partnership itself. In this way, Bovaird advises that governance in different countries may focus on different aspects of democracy. For example, in Scandinavia it might be more appropriate to focus more on transparency while in Germany and the UK, the focus might need to be on tackling social exclusion (Bovaird, 2004). Carpenter’s research, which assesses the EU-wide URBAN Community Initiative programme, claims that new types of urban governance adopting a partnership approach were required for area-based initiatives dealing with urban deprivation around Europe. This was mainly due to the realisation that ‘urban deprivation was a challenge with many facets...demand[ing] a multiagency, multilevel approach to devise integrated solutions to address those challenges’ (Carpenter, 2006, p. 2156). In the UK, the Millennium Greens project was funded by the National Lottery via the Countryside Agency and aimed to create 250 Millennium Greens around the turn of the Millennium (Curry, 2000). They are green spaces created for the benefit of local communities, often designed by local people. Once completed, each Green was handed over to a local charitable trust in perpetuity, which was a condition of successful applications. In Craigmillar, Edinburgh changes in governance are slowly giving residents a voice in the place-keeping process. By and large, a traditional place-keeping approach is taken where the council manages public open space, Housing Associations manage some common spaces in their housing estates and residents are responsible for their own gardens. There are examples of different arrangements forming including one housing cooperative where the local community is in charge of establishing open space maintenance standards (Craigmillar case study).

Despite the core ideas underpinning governance being based on inclusiveness and democracy, Irwin (2006) argues that, in practice, a fundamentally technocratic approach is often taken to place-keeping. This is reflected in the numerous case study examples which are public sector-led, or which do not include residents or communities in the place-keeping process at all (e.g. Telford and Malmö case studies). Irwin (2006) states that a dated assumption is made that the public are insufficiently knowledgeable and must therefore be educated or informed by the more knowledgeable experts in government. It can be clearly argued that this assumption can be effectively countered if information is clearly communicated to the lay audience. When this does not occur, it can be attributed to poor communication skills on the part of the ‘expert’.

Engagement of communities in place-keeping

Evidence suggests that community engagement and participation have key roles to play in place-keeping. An example is the Millennium Greens initiative in the UK which has been described as the flagship of community participation initiatives for outdoor recreation (Curry, 2000). It is argued that such initiatives can ‘engender a sense of enthusiasm and commitment amongst the community’, which does not wane where an application was unsuccessful (Curry, 2000). Engagement is an aspect of governance particularly relevant in forms of participatory governance. It describes successful models of working with communities and encouraging appropriate long-term use of the space, through e.g. community programmes, events and activities. Engaging different stakeholders is argued to be beneficial for a number of reasons which are prescriptive/ theoretical and largely not tested in practice: 1) those being consulted can bring valuable insight and experiences; 2) the act of consultation itself can improve the legitimacy of the project and secure ‘buy-in’ from the stakeholders; 3) it acts as a support for the relationship between policymakers and the community; 4) local people can be brought together through a common interest, empowering communities and helping generate social cohesion; 5) consultation is an expression of active citizenship which is associated with greater social justice and, 6) the process of participation can lead to services better suited to local people’s needs (after James and Cox, 2007, Cabinet Office: Office of the Third Sector, 2008, BERR, 2008, Brodie et al., 2009). Brodie et al discuss Arnstein’s ladder of participation (1969), where the ‘best’ form of participation is the top (Figure 3).

Citizen Control	Degrees of Citizen Power
Delegated Power	
Partnership	
Placation	Degrees of Tokenism
Consultation	
Informing	
Therapy	Non-participation
Manipulation	

Figure 3. Arnstein’s ladder of participation (1969), in Brodie et al., 2009.

This ladder was adapted by the practitioners at Emmen Revisited, a recognised approach to regeneration and place-keeping in the Netherlands (Figure 4). Here, where participation is subsumed by cooperation: the experience in practice in Zwartemeer was that consensus was achieved where an inclusive decision-making process was conducted (MP4 Project meeting, Emmen, June 2010).

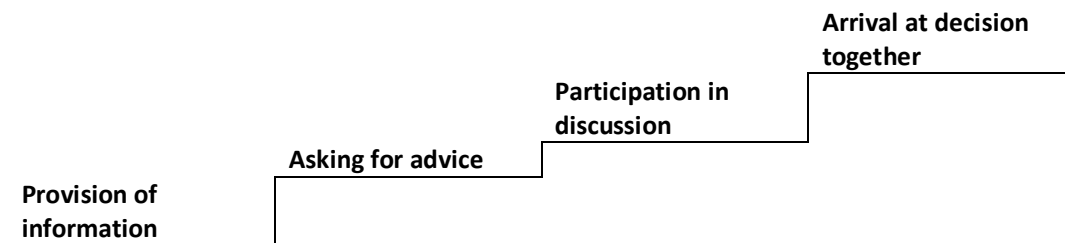


Figure 4. 'Wobbe's ladder of participation leading to cooperation', Emmen Revisited.

An underlying concern about community engagement and consultation relates to its purpose. The question must therefore be asked from the outset: 'can anything change as a result of consultation?'. If the answer is no, then more traditional methods of communication might be more suitable because the unnecessary raising of false expectations can be damaging (Involve and National Consumer Council, 2008). Some of the reasons for carrying out consultation include getting feedback on a proposal/ document, gathering new ideas, building relationships/ discussions, and making a joint decision with the relevant stakeholders (Cabinet Office: Office of the Third Sector, 2008).

It has already been argued that community and local residents' groups can be important assets in the place-keeping process. There are many examples of community engagement in green space management, including the mass efforts in food production during the First and Second World Wars using allotments and other green spaces (Castell, 2010, Helphand, 2006). There has been increased focus on engaging communities, residents and users in the place-making and place-keeping processes. Findings from the Interreg IIC project based in seven regions in four countries in north-west Europe's showed that effective planning should be based on partnership (New Urban Landscapes, 2001). The project showed that different methods of community engagement are called for: direct and pro-active, supporting communities to organise themselves were all described as 'prerequisites for successful participation' (ibid. , p. 30).

Community engagement is a fundamental part of the local governance model which marks a shift away from the non-community oriented traditional government model where experts, and not residents, know best (Garcia, 2006, Taylor et al., 2001). Giving residents the opportunity to deliberate on well-presented and clear information to make an informed decision and contribution to the process is critical for effective community engagement (Involve and National Consumer Council, 2008). Residents spend far more time in and around the neighbourhood's public spaces than the public sector representatives tasked with looking after them: particular groups such as older people, teenagers and young families can spend considerable time in open and green spaces (Barton et al., 2003, Shoreditch Trust and Oxford Institute for Sustainable Development, 2009). Green Estate, in Sheffield, is an example of an organisation engaged in place-keeping in situ: it purposefully located its offices within the deprived area, claiming that their presence allows them to engage with the community in the very places that are the focus of social problems and the urban regeneration the organisation are carrying out (Green Estate case study). Top-down approaches to place-making and place-keeping which do not include resident consultation can fail because spaces are designed with aims and objectives defined by non-resident planners and designers which do not correspond to those of local residents. Gallacher (2005) provides a number of examples in Glasgow, Scotland where inadequate community engagement has led to the installation of public spaces that have since been badly damaged and poorly managed.

When conceptualising community engagement, it is helpful to consider the following formula (Involve and National Consumer Council, 2008):

$$\text{Purpose} + \text{Context} + \text{People} + \text{Process} = \text{Outcome}$$

This acknowledges the importance of having a clear idea from the outset of both the project and the engagement process itself, as well as the (local, city-wide, regional, national) context in which the project takes place (Brodie et al., 2009). The right people need to be involved and a suitable approach taken to ensure the outcome is acceptable and democratic.

It is argued in the UK that community groups want to become actively engaged in the maintenance or restoration of neighbourhood open spaces (CABE Space, 2009b). Such community groups can bring considerable manpower in terms of local knowledge, skills and the significant contribution of volunteering hours: for 75% of community groups, volunteers were reported to be the most commonly used resource. Significantly, as highlighted earlier for 'Friends' groups, such community organisations can also raise and attract significant funding (ibid.). The 'participation matrix' (Figure 5) illustrates the degree of participation and engagement in the planning process at different project stages within the UK context (www.communityplanning.net). This helpful diagram shows the variation of involvement that the community can have in the project process, which runs from initiation to maintenance. In terms of place-keeping (for ease, consider this to be the 'maintain>' stage in the matrix), most of the case studies have local authority-led management, with some community consultation in a number of cases. It is interesting that while community participation occurs in the initiation, planning and implementation processes, it often does not continue to the maintenance stage, except in a consultation capacity. This is also the case in a number of the MP4 implementation projects (such as Firth and Sheaf Valley Parks, Sheffield and Barger Compascuum, Emmen).

Focus on Sweden

Castell (2006) focuses attention on the part that resident involvement can play in neighbourhood space management, particularly tenants. Sweden has a Union of Tenants which has contributed to the development of the empowerment of renting residents (Castell, 2006). In terms of place-keeping however, tenant organisations and coordinated efforts that could be made with landlords for effective open space management are not actively pursued in Sweden or elsewhere in Europe (Castell, 2010). While there are examples of self-management projects such as the cooperative association in Eriksbo, it was found that Swedish social landlords do not generally support tenant self-management programmes (ibid.).

Castell has found that tenants in Sweden have little contribution to make to decisions about their neighbourhood spaces, and are generally only permitted to directly play a part when they are invited to do so by (social, not private) landlords (2010). Control will only be given to the tenants where the landlord has a level of trust and plays a supervisory role. One example of limited autonomous activity for tenant groups is the garden group, a formal organisation with a degree of autonomy over funding allocation, which is similar to the BID and TCM in that the tenants engage in maintenance of communal gardens which is above and beyond the maintenance provided by the landlord (ibid.).

Another recent example from Sweden is the Local Democracy and Self-Management (LDS) project which was initiated by the municipal housing company, Poseidon (Castell, 2006). This project has permitted the formation of many tenant groups with varying responsibilities and control over their neighbourhood spaces. The groups have an organisational framework which involves establishing a charter, an executive board and agreements with the local managers in order to gain access to budgets which they control (Castell, 2010).

		Project stages			
		Initiate>	Plan>	Implement>	Maintain>
Level of community involvement	Self help Community control	Community initiates action alone	Community plans alone	Community implements alone	Community maintains alone
	Partnership Shared working and decision-making	Authorities + community jointly initiate action	Authorities + community jointly plan and design	Authorities + community jointly implement	Authorities + community jointly maintain
	Consultation Authorities ask communities for opinions	Authorities initiate action after consulting community	Authorities plan after consulting community	Authorities implement with community consultation	Authorities maintain with community consultation
	Self help One way flow of information Public relations	Authorities initiate action	Authorities plan and design alone	Authorities implement alone	Authorities maintain alone

Figure 5. The 'participation matrix'. Source: www.communityplanning.net/principles/principles.php

While there is considerable literature which assumes that communities want to engage and take part in the long-term management of neighbourhood spaces, Blakeley and Evans point to a tension in disadvantaged communities where neighbourhood renewal programmes have taken place. In their empirical research, they found that such communities, often living in social housing, are asked to not only look after their own spaces, but also follow the advice of a whole raft of government policies which are all specifically aimed at them, suggesting both that 'the burden falls unequally on their shoulders and that even relatively poor owner-occupiers can feel excluded from the regeneration process' (Blakeley and Evans, 2008, p. 106).

In this way, and building on Castell's findings, Carmona et al. (2004b, p. 64) state that community engagement and involvement in the long-term management of neighbourhood spaces 'is best operated at 'arm's length, so the residents do not feel that the [public sector] is managing them'. They also go on to suggest that such programmes should involve schools and young people so that a long-term 'tradition of environmental stewardship' might be instilled (ibid.).

In their examination of open space management in cities around the world, Carmona et al point out that issues with community involvement can include too much: where those who 'shout loudest' get most out of the system, and too little: where the researchers found that particular stakeholders such as ethnic minority groups were not inclined to participate in decision-making (Carmona et al., 2004a). Efforts must be made for different voices in the community to be heard, which are not unduly influenced by particular interests (ibid.).

Potential barriers to engagement have been identified which include 'the complexity and confidentiality of negotiations and the unpredictability of outcomes [which] are extremely difficult to manage in face of the public' (van Herzele, 2005, p. 252). A lack of openness in the proceedings may cause distrust and detrimentally affect people's willingness to participate (ibid.). The long timescales involved in conducting place-making and place-keeping activities may also constitute a barrier to community participation through unrealistically raising expectations. Maintaining communication may be difficult to organise and be exacerbated by a loss of engagement among participants over time (ibid.). Carpenter highlights related complexities inherent in community engagement which 'always takes much longer than anticipated' (Carpenter, 2006, p. 2155). This can directly conflict with the time constraints that come with such public sector-funded projects when funds must be spent by a specific point in time. In her assessment of the EU's URBAN project, Carpenter found that this led to the funding of some projects which had less of a community focus

as they were perceived to be 'easier' to put into practice (ibid.). Ample time for building up relationships in community engagement is therefore fundamental to the successful involvement of residents and users of neighbourhood spaces. Empirical research assessing the NDC programme in the UK found that community engagement can only contribute successfully to transforming deprived neighbourhoods as is the (well-meaning) intention with 'a significant driver to recharge their residents and to change service delivery practices' (Hull, 2006). O'Hare examined the impact that top-down government-funded regeneration initiatives had on community organisations and the nature of engagement therein. He argues that there are conditions which the 'community' must accept: the statutory 'structures, conventions, and rules of engagement' and 'responsibility to deliver the goals of the process' (O'Hare, 2010, p. 36). Research commissioned by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in the UK found that participation in local governance practices tends to be by few members of the community who are often already well-connected and thus become better connected through this process (Skidmore et al., 2006). This itself can cause exclusion of potential participants, in part because they assume that others will take part, while participants may themselves feel compelled to participate because if they don't, who will? (ibid.). Furthermore, some institutions may turn to the same 'usual suspects' with whom they work well and can be trusted to operate effectively within the structures highlighted earlier (ibid.). Thinking about non-participants, Natural England highlight that too few volunteers was a significant problem encountered in different UK green space initiatives (including the Millennium Greens) which can call into question the long-term sustainability of such spaces (Natural England, 2006).

The MP4 case studies employ a range of ways of engaging the community in the place-making and place-keeping processes. They include workshops to generate ideas to improve an area (Hailes Quarry Park, Edinburgh), Community Planning Weekends (Grassmarket, Edinburgh) which involves a range of outreach events to involve different parts of the community into the process, online communication tools (Online Wegewart, Hamburg), field visits (Barger Compascuum) where another site is visited to examine good practice and get ideas. Other inter-related methods of community engagement include: ideas competitions where the public judges (on-site) and decides on ideas which are submitted as per a specific brief; interactive displays which may pose a particular question (how could XXXX be improved?) and the community can post comments and suggestions; open house events providing an opportunity to present proposals to the public in a less formal setting than the public exhibition, allowing the public to comment; and, more formally: user groups which are established by people in the community usually in relation to a specific place, or issue, such as the 'Action Group', an informal issue-based campaigning group; 'Community Association', which aims to represent the views of the whole community; 'Development Trust', a formally constituted organisation (usually with charitable status); 'Forum', a liaison body for representatives of other organisations; and, 'Residents' Association', an organisation representing residents in an area (www.communityplanning.net/methods/user_group.php - this UK/USA based-website also lists other related methods of community engagement not discussed here). The National Consumer Council's work on deliberative public engagement suggests that for one-off events designed to attract large numbers of participants might include citizens' juries and panels as well as public workshops all examples of engagement tools used in, for example, Planning for Real (Involve and National Consumer Council, 2008, Brodie et al., 2009). For place-keeping as an on-going process, it might be more suitable to employ small-scale liaison groups, or where large numbers are targeted, other examples include (online) citizen panels and conferences (Brodie et al., 2009).

Financing place-keeping

Funding is a fundamental element of place-making and place-keeping and is anecdotally found to be the dimension which often causes consternation and unease throughout the place-making and place-keeping processes. For example, in the UK between 1979 and 2000, there were significant core funding cuts for open space management, estimated at £1.3 billion (CABE Space, 2006b), which dramatically cut the numbers of skilled, experienced (and perceived to be expensive) workers

(Barber, 2005). This move was attributed to the fact that parks and open spaces do not constitute a service that local authorities are legally obliged to provide and so are not as important politically as other areas such as health, education or safety (ibid.). An unpublished research by Woolley and colleagues at the University of Sheffield found that when asked about capital and revenue funding for open space management, local authority parks and green space managers believed that improvements would be impossible and quality may decrease within current levels of revenue (Woolley et al., 2004).

Such precariousness of funding allocation is not restricted to the UK, but is felt around Europe and elsewhere (Carmona et al., 2004a). While the importance of long-term funding is widely acknowledged in the literature, how to secure it in practice is often not addressed, which points to a critical gap in knowledge.

Generally speaking, funding for the creation and maintenance of open spaces mainly comes from the traditional public sector model through funding allocations via the relevant local authority departments. Funding is also provided through specific projects and initiatives. These include the Local Democracy and Self-Government programme in Sweden led by the social housing provider Poseidon (Castell, 2010) and the Big Cities regeneration programme in the Netherlands (Dekker and van Kempen, 2004). At the more localised scale, other examples of public sector monies might include rental income as well as revenues from parking, road charging and events (Carmona et al., 2004b).

Focus on England

In the UK, open spaces require: 1) capital funding, which is used for one-off improvements, installing equipment and repairs/ renovations, and 2) revenue funding, which pays for ongoing maintenance and management (including staffing). The decline in revenue funding is a direct cause of the widespread deterioration of the quality of parks which occurred in the UK from the 1980s until the early 2000s (CABE Space, 2006c). Capital funding also comes from specific projects, initiatives and grant funding, such as the Heritage Lottery Fund. Generally speaking, approximately 75% of revenue expenditure comes to local authorities from central Government and 25% is raised directly by local authorities via council tax (Woolley et al., 2004).

In 2006, CABE Space commissioned research to find out more about how funding influences the quality of parks and green spaces in England (CABE Space, 2006c). Through interviews with a number of local authorities (8), it became clear that green space management is a low priority, and because of this, some do not keep records of expenditure or robust management data. The longer, unpublished report, conducted by researchers at the University of Sheffield, showed that 'none of the case study authorities had any mechanism for tracking quality back to expenditure within their financial systems, thus meaning that any relationship which does exist between expenditure and quality could not be identified' (Woolley et al., 2004, p. 75).

In the UK, to ensure that adequate open space is provided for residents, open space creation is in part funded by Section 106 obligations, very recently amended in policy as the Community Infrastructure Levy¹³ (CLG, 2010). Planning permission for a (housing, commercial, retail) development is contingent on such an agreement, which is increasingly used to support the provision of infrastructure and services such as open space (Living Places, 2010). It is stated in practice guidance that contributions for the long-term management and maintenance of open space, where it is an asset intended for wider public use, 'should normally be borne by the body or

¹³ CLG (2010) defines the Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL) as 'a new charge which local authorities in England and Wales will be empowered, but not required, to levy on most types of new development in their areas. The proceeds of the levy will provide new local and sub-regional infrastructure to support the development of an area in line with local authorities' development plans.'

authority in which the asset is to be vested' i.e. in most cases, the local authority, alongside initial maintenance provision which may be required from the developer (CLG, 2006, p. 11).

The private sector is also called on to contribute to the long-term maintenance and management of open spaces when they engage in contracts for the public sector (Lindholst, 2009a), or public-private partnerships such as town centre management and business improvement districts (Coca-Stefaniak et al., 2009, Schaller and Modan, 2008). A warning is highlighted by the Greenkeys research team (GreenKeys Project Team, 2008b, p. 70), who raise the issue of the ethics of sourcing funds from private sector which might result in 'unofficial obligations towards the source of the funds'.

The contracting-out of services to the private sector has already been discussed earlier (in the section on PPPs), but it is worth mentioning here as this has had an impact on how funding for place-keeping is earmarked. Lindholst (2009a, p. 6) among other commentators discusses the negative impact that contracting-out to the lowest bidder (which may not always happen) has had on the quality of place-keeping, because 'payments [are] relatively independent of performance'. Furthermore, he finds that in practice there are examples of underpriced contracts which are essentially under-resourced where maintenance and management are not implemented. Lindholst recommends a shift from this static approach, which might be based on hours worked, to a more dynamic model of performance-related pay or incentivised schemes. Carmona et al warn that contracting-out should not be considered as an exercise in cost-cutting, but rather an 'outcomes-focused, mutually-supportive partnership between parties' (Carmona et al., 2004a). CABE Space also conclude that an outcome-based approach is most suitable, particular for increasing biodiversity in open spaces, as there would not be an annual cycle of work and funding which may potentially hinder progress over the longer term(CABE Space, 2006a).

In relation to urban regeneration directly involving private sector investment, Adair et al (2000) point out that such investment is often permitted on the basis of debt finance, indicating the need for a longer time-scale over which the private sector can ensure a return on investment. This is the case for private finance initiatives, an example of a public-private partnership. Such partnership models reduce the pressure on the public sector to finance large-scale projects, while passing the responsibility to the private sector for an agreed upon set of specifications. Payments are typically made by the public sector based on performance or throughput after the competitive tendering process designed to ensure transparency and value-for-money (Zitron, 2006).

The BID model of mandatory private sector participation is argued by some to provide a sustainable funding mechanism for long-term open space management as it operates on a five-year term (Hogg et al., 2007). This is arguably a view shared by policy-makers who have brought into legislation (in the UK and Germany) to support this model of open space management (Kreutz, 2007). However, as outlined earlier on, these advantages can be countered by the perceived disadvantages of losing democratic, public space to privately managed and controlled space (Minton, 2009).

CABE Space discusses other possible funding models which include endowments which can provide monies through the interest gained on investments (CABE Space, 2006b). While risks may be spread over investments, a large initial endowment is required which might not be possible for most organisations. Endowments form the basis of the operations of the Land Restoration Trust (UK), a partnership established in 2004 by government (Environment Agency and Forestry Commission) and non-governmental organisations (Groundwork and Homes and Communities Agency) to provide long-term sustainable management of public spaces across England as part of community-led, environmentally-informed regeneration (The Land Restoration Trust, 2004). An aim of the Trust is to acquire, own and manage 10,000 hectares of previously derelict and under-used land by 2020. These spaces will be supported by endowments to support the place-keeping of these spaces in perpetuity. The endowment values can range from £25-30,000 per hectare for remediated ex-coliery sites to

£100,000 per hectare for a high-maintenance public realm¹⁴. The Trust currently has 1,000 ha under management with a further 1,000 ha from next year (personal correspondence with the Trust's Chief Executive). It is currently unclear to what extent the Trust has been successful in its aims.

An increasing proportion of funding is provided by the charity sector, such as the Heritage and Big Lottery Funds in the UK, which allocate monies via independent distribution bodies (Grimsey and Lewis, 2005). For example, these two charities awarded over £9 million for restoration and conservation in three London parks and to improve the skills of staff and volunteers, and the Heritage Lottery Fund provides funding of up to £20 million every year to fund public park projects (Big Lottery Fund, 2010). From the community sector, monies can come from fundraising which might be organised by residents' groups and Friends groups (Carmona et al., 2004b). While conservation and restoration logically form part of long-term place-keeping activities, it should be noted that such funding is primarily for capital projects and not place-keeping as MP4 is defining it here.

Barber (2005) discusses corporate philanthropy which led to the formation of the Central Park Conservancy in New York, an independent organisation dedicated to the restoration and management of Central Park. 85% of its funding comes from private sources and the organisation employs 200 people. And like the Bürgerpark in Bremen, Germany, it is completely independent from the public sector. In his analysis, Barber argues that this may not be a transferable model to the UK context because of the vulnerability of parks and open spaces when dependent on a single stream of public funding, public as well as private (Barber, 2005). **[Could we discuss Potters Field Park, London here? Would it fit?] Harry to check this?**

Carmona et al (2004b) discuss other sources of direct funding for open space management aside from those discussed above. Such sources include sponsorship which can be seen on traffic roundabouts, in flower displays and street furniture. There may also be stewardship arrangements in place: for example a take-away restaurant may be contractually obliged to regularly sweep the pavements and area immediately outside their premises, while other voluntary agreements might relate to the removal of graffiti within a given period of time (ibid., p. 79). Exceptional funding may also come from the EU, in the form of large-scale regeneration projects such as the URBAN project (Carpenter, 2006). GreenSpace¹⁵ in the UK provides guidance on developing long-term relationships with corporate partners as a way of tapping into the recent advent of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Some relevant actions/ services which may attract private funding include employment volunteering opportunities on site and at events, staff development through secondments, and providing an advisory role for a private partner (Wells, 2010). It is argued that while donations (cash and in-kind) are very important, there is real scope for a strong and long-term relationship to develop through these CSR-related activities (ibid.).

A significant issue associated with funding is highlighted by Carmona et al (2004b) whose empirical evidence shows that costs of maintenance of new or refurbished public spaces is made apparent to the local authority only once the scheme had been implemented. This is a phenomenon encountered elsewhere (Temalekplats case study, Gallacher, 2005) and anecdotally is a well-cited experience in practice (Paget, 2010), which points to a need for considering a long-term management strategy early on in the place-making process (Carmona et al., 2004b). There is therefore a need to engage in innovative management processes before mainstreaming practice. The authors recommend that area-based management approaches are a good method of engaging in such innovation, where competition can drive innovative approaches and existing knowledge is called upon (and contacts used) to by-pass the usual channels to get the job done.

¹⁴ More information on the types of sites is available at <http://www.landrestorationtrust.org.uk/sites.asp?l1=4>

¹⁵ GreenSpace is a UK charity working to improve parks and green spaces by raising awareness, involving communities and creating skilled professionals.

A further challenge relates to the conditions attached to the funding of place-making or place-keeping activities. There is a key disparity found in practice, but invariably not discussed in the literature, between the need to spend the money allocated for place-making (and associated place-keeping) within a limited period and the long-term approach that must be taken to successful place-keeping. In practice, this is manifested as an over-emphasis on the capital funds that often accompany place-making which, for accounting reasons, cannot be allocated against long-term care and maintenance. A working example of this can be seen in the HafenCity case study, Hamburg. The creation of public and semi-public spaces includes features such as a 'treasure Island' playground, promenades, terraces and floating pontoons. Currently, these spaces are under the control and management of the development agency, HafenCity Hamburg GmbH, until management will be transferred to the District Authority. There are already concerns that the high standards of maintenance and management currently practised will not be replicated by the District Authority because of the disparity in capacity. A long-term place-keeping model is not yet in place, although debates have begun (HafenCity case study). Another example is Sheaf Valley Park, Sheffield which is one of the investment sites being regenerated as part of MP4. The considerable changes to the park include the introduction of an arboretum and a turfed amphitheatre cut into a steep incline. Due to the conditions attached to the EU funding (and public sector monies), the monies must be spent by the end of the MP4 project (2012) by which time it is unlikely that place-keeping activities will be in place due to the short time-lapse beyond the place-making. When an open space is created, it is likely to be transferred under the remit of the local authority's maintenance and management, which will not receive supplementary funding to maintain and manage this extra open space, or fund any extra skills or equipment which might be required to maintain features (such as an amphitheatre) in such spaces. To manage this space, money in the overall Parks budget that may have been allocated to another park may have to be used – a case of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul' (personal correspondence with SCC Parks representative).

Linked to this is considering the processes of reinvestment in place-keeping, as some activities run over long timescales such as the renewal of play and recreational facilities (Carmona et al., 2004a). Implicit in this is the need to track the depreciation of assets alongside day-to-day maintenance of the space. There are different approaches taken to this: in Malmö, the approach is thematic and illustrated in the city-wide focus on renewing playgrounds (Temalekplats case study), while in the UK, the standard approach is based on bidding for capital expenditure within the municipal budget (Carmona et al., 2004a). In Wellington, New Zealand, regular maintenance budgets are separated from one-off capital projects and managed by the Asset Management section of the Parks and Gardens Unit, which operates on a long-term (10-year) financial planning system which allows open space managers to forward plan and invest consistently (Carmona et al., 2004a). In the UK, the situation is very unclear. While national priorities (and funding) may increasingly focus on the importance of maintaining the quality of parks and green spaces, it is local priorities which dictate how resources which are not ring-fenced are spent (CABE Space, 2006c). Local political aims of trying to keep council tax low has been shown to directly (and negatively) impact the financial situation of parks and green spaces (Woolley et al., 2004).

Focus on Malmö, Sweden

Temalekplats are themed playgrounds planned, designed and managed by the city of Malmö's Streets and Parks Department (SPD). The Department is one of the most successful in Sweden and has received numerous awards (Carmona et al., 2004a). The Department manages, develops and renews Malmö's urban environment, ensuring that public spaces such as streets, parks, playgrounds and beaches are attractive and safe.

The impetus behind the Temalekplats project was to stress the importance of the environment for children in urban areas and the need for renewal of playgrounds in Malmö. Many playgrounds were built in the 1960s and 1970s in Swedish cities, including in some of the most deprived districts in Malmö. By the 1990s, the playgrounds were run down and in urgent need of renewal. Instead of

simply replacing the play equipment with more of the same, the SPD recognized this as an opportunity chance to rethink the concept of the playground. Each playground is designed around a theme of interest to children, such as outer space, fairy tales and music. There are 19 playgrounds located around the city.

The playground projects vary in terms of their size, which is reflected in the budgets for capital investment which range from €70,000 to €500,000. Funding for the long-term maintenance comes out of the SPD's annual budget. This is however an important issue for the SPD as there are unanticipated increased maintenance costs associated with the playgrounds because they are very popular and very well used. This means that considerable maintenance and management are required, including more frequent cleaning and renewal for general wear and tear, than was initially thought. These extra associated costs are currently not covered by extra funding but depend on careful redistribution of SPD's existing budget (which is based on renewing playgrounds less frequently than is actually required (because of this extra use)). It is unclear what the future funding will be for these playgrounds, but there is great public support for these spaces and families come from other parts of Malmö to visit the different playgrounds.

Sustaining funds for maintenance and management of the space over the short-, medium- and long-term is therefore critical and a major challenge for practitioners and policy-makers. With hindsight it is easy to see how landscapes age and change but it is sometimes not possible to anticipate future changes when the space is first created or developed (after Carmona et al., 2004a). With this in mind, it seems clear that an effective long-term management plan would include the renewal of facilities etc. and not focus solely on the day-to-day maintenance, which is the case with current grounds maintenance contracts. Grants are only available where capital investment is required, not long-term management: it therefore may be the case that funding for renewal can be successfully sought when large-scale capital funding is necessary. Design (as part of renewal) of open spaces and facilities can therefore play an important part in prolonging the life of facilities and landscaping, if long-term place-keeping is considered from the outset.

A possible solution, but one which is seemingly at odds with the short-termism of political tenure (after Lawless et al., 2010), is the ring-fencing of funds (Carmona et al., 2004b), which protects the funding which must be spent on place-keeping and can then not be allocated elsewhere. In the UK, this happens to specific types of health and education funding. Key themes in the literature indicate that there should be a shift towards the investment in place-keeping which can be through green space apprenticeships and training to address skills shortages (CABE Space, 2009a). Another approach, which emerges as a finding from empirical research conducted in cities around the world, relates to personalities and accounting. Carmona et al. found that it is most likely that adequate funding for open space management will continue to depend on the commitment, skill and political clout of the relevant stakeholders to bargain over core funding allocation (2004a). In addition, they also suggest that transparency and innovation in accounting methods, which (for example) make clear links with environmental benefits can provide a powerful tool and message which promotes the funding of green and open spaces (ibid.). Exploring possible routes of supplementary funding is also advocated, even though it is likely that it would constitute a limited proportion of management budgets (ibid.).

Place-keeping: a product

The aspirations of place-keeping and open space management are clear: the overriding goal is to create a high-quality, sustainable space which is valued by users who want to visit it again and again. The issue with determining the extent to which a space fulfils this aim is the subjectivity involved in defining 'high-quality', 'sustainable' and 'value'. Furthermore, the specific context within which place-keeping occurs is highly variable, indicating a wide variety of interpretations and definitions of the underlying aim.

This point is tackled by Carmona et al (2004a), who examine open space management in 11 cities around the world. Place-keeping can form a part of a national policy which protects open spaces (such as the legislation protecting allotment gardens in Denmark, or creating a minimum standard of space per capita in Japan). Place-keeping is increasingly part of 'green plans' to preserve and sometimes create green space that are often developed at the city-scale and can be found in the UK, Denmark, Australia and Sweden among other countries.

There is a clear link between use, maintenance and quality (Dempsey, 2008). Potential users of open spaces are very clear about what they expect of good quality places, which include variety, opportunities for play, sensory stimulation and provision for young people (Dunnett et al., 2002). People are hesitant to use spaces which are not maintained and are more likely to use spaces free from litter and dog mess and which are equipped with facilities such as bins, toilets, play areas and sports areas (ibid., Shoreditch Trust and OISD, 2009).

The context in which the place-keeping activities take place is important to consider (Carmona et al., 2004a). Figure 1 illustrates this by highlighting not only the social, economic and environmental context of the space, but also the characteristics of the space itself and those of the users. In terms of maintenance for example, this indicates that a standardised regime may not be effective as it is a question of 'whether the right work is done at the right time' rather than of how much work is carried out (Carmona et al., 2004a). This relates not only to different open space types such as canals, civic spaces, parks and lawns, but also to the maintenance activity: e.g. lawn-mowing and turf maintenance will depend on the use and nature of each space (Carmona et al., 2004a, after Green Estate case study, 2010).

How is place-keeping measured?

It is widely acknowledged that there are many benefits to the provision and use of open space in urban and rural areas (Baycan-Levent et al., 2009, Mielke, 2008), as outlined at the beginning of this literature review. It therefore follows that this value afforded to open space has to some extent been measured. For example, there is empirical research which measures access to green space and indicators of health and recovery from illness (Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989, Mitchell and Popham, 2008). There is indeed an extensive and broad literature on the evaluation of open space and the underlying need for such measurement. However, many of these indicators measure aspects and factors which are *associated* with place-making and place-keeping, or partly measure them but do not directly measure these concepts per se. This critical gap in knowledge will be returned to later on, after a review of existing measures and approaches to evaluating aspects of place-keeping.

There are many existing awards, competitions and measures of quality in open, green and public spaces. They include the international 'Nations in Bloom' award, the international Blue Flag Award given to good-quality beaches and marinas and the UK's Green Flag Award for good-quality parks and open spaces (Carmona et al., 2004b). For Barber (2005), award schemes represent good practice in maintaining and managing green space. Other indicators are wide-ranging and include the measurement of attitudes and satisfaction, a robust evaluation of the procurement and contracting-out processes (ibid.), the actual provision of services and facilities, community involvement (Carmona et al., 2004b), surveys of public space use, staff retention and skills development (CABE Space, 2010).

An important consideration in the evaluation of place-keeping relates to the unit of measurement. Measures representing the financial costs and benefits are commonplace and may be wholly appropriate in particular circumstances. For example, it is clear that businesses who must pay levies towards the improvement of the public realm if they are part of a BID will expect a return on this investment, which will be captured by measuring footfall and revenue among other indicators (Hogg et al., 2007). Value-for-money is an important consideration for all sectors, and is assured only if it is taken into account early on in the place-keeping process and fair competition is ensured (Grimsey

and Lewis, 2005). Broadbent et al. (2003) argue that there is not enough attention given to the long-term evaluation of value-for-money, due to the over-emphasis given to the pre-decision stage of the tendering process. While exactly how long-term place-keeping is considered to be is as yet unclear, some public-private partnerships and contracts can extend to as long as sixty years, indicating the importance of evaluation throughout the process and once the project is operational (Grimsey and Lewis, 2005).

There are clearly many aspects of place-keeping that can be measured, but others that are less simple or tangible to evaluate. The quality of landscape for example is complex concept which is difficult to measure, in part due to its dynamic nature and relationship with the seasons (Burton and Rymsa-Fitschen, 2008). These can include benefits such as aesthetic beauty and air quality that cannot be captured using traditional financial valuation methods (insert Choumert and Salanié (2008)). To some extent this is arguably because such aspects are subjectively assessed on the part of the person experiencing the space (Dempsey, 2008) although perceptions are measured through quantitative surveys and questionnaires (Bryman, 2004). It is therefore often the case that one may not be able to measure a number of place-keeping aspects: in part because of the very difficulty in measuring some particular aspects, perhaps due to lack of skills, but also because of time and cost constraints. It should also be noted that benefits experienced in a space as well as user needs may change over time, which adds complexity to evaluating place-keeping and how effective the open space management is to change (Mielke, 2008).

Evaluation at the broad scale

At a broad scale, the tenets of sustainable development have informed a considerable number of evaluation methods, including landscape character assessment (Caspersen, 2009). This method of evaluation comes directly from the European Landscape Convention. To follow this focus on landscape into planning in Denmark, for example, the Landscape Character Assessment (Swanwick and Land Use Consultants, 2002) has been adapted and developed for the Danish context. This involves mapping and measuring what is there, alongside evaluation techniques including the assessment of visual experience and landscape character condition to develop strategic landscape objectives and has been tested in a number of municipalities (Caspersen, 2009).

According to Carmona et al (2004b), some UK local authorities have adopted the management tool, the European Foundation Quality Model (EFQM), which is used to evaluate in-house existing practice with a view to develop long-term management structures. This has been adapted and put into practice at the street scale via the Street Excellence Framework (SEF). The aim of SEF is to self-assess the public space 'to create a baseline statement' and also to 'provide a basis against which progress can be monitored in the future'(Street Excellence, no date). The underlying aim of the EFQ model is to apply 'total quality management' (TQM) to open space, which looks to reduce 'error', increase customer satisfaction, raise training and modernise equipment (Carmona et al., 2004b). TQM is an approach which can encourage employee feedback which the service provider can use to make improvements (Cohen and Eimicke, 1994). Where it was implemented in New York City's Department of Parks and Recreation, the costs of TQM were considerably outweighed by the benefits which included efficiencies in preventative maintenance inspections and time-keeping which led to significant cost savings (ibid.).

Sandström (2002) discusses an evaluation of green plans undertaken in Sweden of the role that green space plays in towns and cities. The Swedish Board of Housing, Building and Planning established six evaluation criteria including the availability and quality of parks and green spaces and the extent of maintenance of biodiversity in different landscape types (ibid.). Indicators include accessibility to, and city-wide distribution of, green space, extent of use of green space and aesthetic functions (ibid.).

Micro-scale evaluation

There are ongoing plans to develop a Green Space Award in the Nordic countries, initially Denmark, Sweden and Norway¹⁶. Not yet underway, this will be done using a partnership approach which involves national associations of green space managers and users, municipal and other green space management organisations, and research and education institutions. The main objective of the Award scheme is to contribute to the development of (a network of) welcoming and popular public green spaces in the Nordic countries, through enhancing and benchmarking the quality of green spaces. The scheme will encompass the evaluation of individual green spaces based on a comprehensive set of quality criteria. The project will focus on professional development, user groups and user preferences, awareness and branding, and requirements for good management in order to provide higher quality green spaces that can improve the population's health and recreational opportunities and attract new visitors. A number of existing award and evaluation schemes are being reviewed for the Green Space Award including the UK's Green Flag and Spaceshaper schemes.

The aim of the voluntary, site-specific Green Flag Award scheme (UK) is 'to encourage the provision of good quality public parks and green spaces that are managed in environmentally sustainable ways' (Greenhalgh and Parsons, 2004). It is, arguably, the only systematic assessment by experts of the management of individual parks and green spaces, including reference to policy and strategy where appropriate (CABE Space, 2010). It has specific aspects of place-keeping as part of its award criteria, including cleanliness and maintenance, community involvement and a management plan in place (Greenhalgh and Parsons, 2004). The criteria are broadly open to interpretation: for example, the maintenance criterion states that 'the specification of the maintenance should emphasise the quality of the end product, and, where appropriate the community could be involved in maintenance' (Civic Trust, 2008). There is little opportunity for the views of users of green spaces to be taken into account in the Green Flag Award scheme, arguably rendering it a top-down evaluation approach.

The Green Pennant Awards is another UK-based award scheme. A green space can be eligible for entry as long as the space is no more than 3 hectares in size and is freely accessible. This includes spaces such as parks, community gardens, village greens and city farms (if there is some green space for recreational purposes). While it is claimed that each site is 'judged on its own merits and suitability to the community it serves' (Keep Britain Tidy, 2010), the criteria are quite stringent, and reflect the Green Flag Awards to some extent. Criteria include the requirement of a management plan, financial details and a track record of achievements (Civic Trust, 2003).

Another tool, Spaceshaper, has been developed in the UK by CABE (the government's advisor on architecture and the built environment) as a method of measuring quality of space with a view to improving it, which combines quantitative and qualitative assessment (CABE Space, 2007b). This is achieved through a physical site visit conducted by a group of stakeholder participants often made up of residents and led by a trained Spaceshaper facilitator. The workshops can be adopted into consultation exercises, which can 'help widen the discussion beyond just litter and anti-social behaviour' (ibid., p. 14). The methodology allows the park or green space under scrutiny to be examined as a whole, rather than as a group of individual components (ibid., p. 15). Lindholm (2009b) acknowledges this distinction and points out that evaluation can be made atomistically or holistically. The atomistic approach focuses on individual elements which might have been identified in the service specification while the 'overall impression of a group of elements' is assessed in holistic evaluation. Generally speaking, the atomistic approach is the most common method of evaluation where aspects of place-keeping might be measured whereas others are omitted, often because of cost and time constraints, or they are not considered to be of importance or use.

¹⁶ The information on the Green Space Award is available at <http://www.greenspaceaward.com/>

A recent method of evaluating the experience one has in an urban green space has been developed by Grahn and Stigsdotter (2010) and piloted as part of the MP4 project in the two Sheffield pilot projects and in Angelslo Park, Emmen. This method is based on the premise that these perceptions are based on a number of dimensions, which is supported by large-scale empirical research which was carried out in Sweden, near to Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. This research showed that in urban green spaces, respondents generally preferred the dimension 'serene', followed by 'space', 'nature', 'rich in species', 'refuge', 'culture', 'prospect' and 'social'. Initial evidence suggests that the method can be successfully adapted to other contexts (such as urban parks in the UK), but first-hand experience of e-mapping showed that a degree of caution is required when translating terminology to a new setting (Lindholst et al, forthcoming).

Thinking holistically about place-keeping, Brinkerhoff advocates the adoption of a process-oriented utilisation-focused approach which 'examines the processes by which partners interact and provide goods and services' and is in the form of continuous assessment by the assessor in the role of 'critical friend' (Brinkerhoff, 2002, p. 219). As this is a process-oriented approach, the measures are 'self-stated criteria' which relate to partners' own goals and priorities. Areas of assessment suggested by Brinkerhoff including the degree of partnership practice, and the subsequent outcomes, the performance of partners, and general efficiency. According to Brinkerhoff's literature review, success factors for effective partnerships include trust, confidence, senior management support, ability to meet performance expectations, clear goals, partner compatibility and conflict management. However, all these factors may not necessarily result in good place-making and place-keeping: the other associated place-keeping dimensions of community engagement, funding are also required.

The UK government's Planning Policy Guidance on open space and recreation (PPG17) is supplemented by guidance which each local authority should follow to accurately assess the quality and quantity of its green space provision. PPG17 clarifies five key attributes of open space: accessibility, quality, multi-functionality, primary purpose and quantity (CLG, 2002b). An auditing process is advocated based on an assessment of the characteristics of the green space, which contributes towards the local setting of quality and quantity standards, acknowledging the critical part that the local context plays in this sort of assessment (CLG, 2002a). These standards are then applied to ascertain what deficiencies remain in the aforementioned attributes which can inform the creation of local open and green space strategies. Greenspace Scotland commissioned research in 2007 and again in 2009 to track changes in use of space and attitudes towards the availability and quality of Scotland's green spaces (Greenspace Scotland, 2009). This is a wholly user-focused survey which explores the importance of green space to Scottish residents and the extent to which users feel that their needs are met when in a particular space. There are no other national surveys which exclusively examine *in detail* people's attitudes towards public open spaces, although examples of individual, relevant indicators can be found in other surveys such as the Survey of English Housing, although they tend to relate to neighbourhood-scale perceptions. This points to a real gap in knowledge about understanding people's perceptions of the green and open spaces which they use alongside assessments of the quality of those spaces. There are various examples of surveys which measure the physical state of open space, such as the English Local Environmental Quality Survey (LEQSE) which is carried out by Keep Britain Tidy and conducted via a sample of site surveys carried out the street-scale. At a broader scale, GIS is employed in Aarhus and Malmö to monitor the condition of open spaces and easily highlight where immediate maintenance is required, as well as informing longer-term maintenance plans and budgets (Carmona et al., 2004a). In Edinburgh, there are designated council officers to whom community groups and residents report open space maintenance issues¹⁷. This links with enforcement, which is not often discussed in the literature; it is described as a thorny and costly issue which often does not replace the financial resources that it

¹⁷ Personal correspondence with Dr Harry Smith, Heriot-Watt University.

calls upon such as park rangers and warden, with the exception (perhaps) of fines (Carmona et al., 2004b).

An interesting method of evaluation is GreenSTAT, which is an online survey for UK residents to complete about both one's opinions on a park or green space and one's use of it (GreenSTAT, 2006). It allows local residents to comment on the quality of open spaces and how satisfied they are with their maintenance and management. Local authorities and park managers can access the database to find information on users' perceptions of the spaces, but due to data-sharing agreements, information can not be reported for individual local authorities (CABE Space, 2010). GreenSTAT is used alongside the Green Flag, LEQSE by UK local authorities with performance indicators and visitor counts to inform their green space strategies (GreenSpace, 2010). In the UK, other surveys such as the Place Survey, conducted every two years, collects data at the local authority scale on related place-keeping aspects such as residents' satisfaction with their local area as a place to live and how effectively residents feel their council provides services which are value-for-money (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008b). A more localised and interactive, two-way, example of evaluation can be found in the online Wegewart, or 'pathway attendant' in Hamburg (Wegewart case study). The district authority recognised that they cannot proactively check areas for maintenance problems. An online tool was therefore developed for residents to report any problems with maintenance that need to be dealt with immediately, and for the district authority to react accordingly.

One example of good practice in evaluation is the site-specific ongoing assessment within an area designated under TCM or a BID. This evaluation forms part of the results that businesses which pay the levy/ voluntary payment receive. Such evaluation will be based on economic indicators but will only relate to that specific area. Such an approach arguably provides BID stakeholders with information on exactly how effective is their investment (Hogg et al., 2007).

Cost-benefit analysis is a widely-used economic valuation tool where the total economic value of the project is determined by an analysis of the costs and benefits. 'To qualify on cost-benefit principles, a project's benefits must exceed its costs' (Ghyselinck et al., 2010, p. 9). Measuring the benefits of place-keeping, which are not wholly financial, presents difficulties in employing the cost-benefit analysis tool (Kumar, 2002), which has resulted in the development of the 'social cost-benefit analysis' tool. However, the effectiveness of measuring the social (and environmental) costs and benefits varies widely depending on the extent to which costs and benefits can be financially calculated and over what time period (Moore et al., 2004). In practice, it is difficult to put a value on the indirect and less tangible costs and much more difficult to calculate the benefits (CABE Space, 2009c) that, for example, land management can bring (Ghyselinck et al., 2010). For the cost-benefit model, such calculations would need to be based on non-market values, for which there is no consensus (Merlo and Croitoru, 2005). Furthermore, while the theory posits that there should be no costs to stakeholders and all stakeholders should obtain benefits, these costs and benefits are rarely so equally distributed in reality (Ghyselinck et al., 2010). For example, it would be unclear how a cost-benefit analysis could be adequately applied to the Grassmarket case study where performance of the space and its private sector partners might be quantified economically, but the social impact, such as increased evening-time footfall and noise on nearby residents, might not be so easily measured. An alternative to cost-benefit analysis is the hedonic price method (HPM) which can measure the economic valuation of green space, particularly inasmuch as it influences real estate prices (Guilliams and Halleux, 2010). The HPM is a powerful analytical method which provides an estimate of the individual demand for environmental attributes such as a particular place (ibid.). In practice, there are some disadvantages: it is a data-intensive valuation method which depends on gathering data from numerous sources as well as very good local knowledge which may not always be available. Furthermore, it only measures one aspect of the value of open space and so cannot adequately evaluate the associated social and environmental impacts (Guilliams and Halleux, 2010). Some commentators are opposed to the application of any model employing financial return on

investment as a predictor of liveability, wellbeing or experience of everyday life (New Economics Foundation, 2010).

Gaps in evaluation

While several examples of evaluation methods and surveys have been cited above, these are examples of best prescriptive practice and are often a) not carried out in practice, or b) not carried out by the relevant local government department responsible for place-keeping. This points to a number of gaps in both knowledge and practice.

While there is a call for such empirical evidence in practice, there is a small but growing body of research which looks to apply a monetary value to open space and its associated social, economic and environmental benefits (Mielke, 2008, Allin and Henneberry, 2010). A significant challenge to achieving this is how to quantify in financial terms of non-physical and indirect aspects of open space and the place-making/ place-keeping processes that underpin it (Bell et al., 2007). For example, health benefits might be quantified as savings made to a hospital's budget (ibid.) while anti-social behaviour reduction might be measured as savings to fly-tipping budgets; but it is less clear how biodiversity might be measured financially (Chevassus-au-Louis et al., 2009). This kind of valuation is in its infancy and is fraught with complexities and problems (as highlighted in the discussion in the previous section on social cost-benefit analysis). There is as yet no consensus on how one might adequately apply a monetary value to such intangible and non-financial aspects of open space management.

Traditionally, the views of the user of a space have often not been explored or measured. While pre-project consultation goes some way to addressing this, it is unclear to what extent users' perceptions of a space are once it has been created or regenerated. The importance of doing this is outlined by Carmona et al (2004b), who discuss the need for communication between the community and service providers. As part of a green space strategy, one of the outputs from the EU-funded GREENKEYS project was a survey tool which asks users about their preferences and values in relation to public spaces (Kasperidus et al., 2008). Such a survey is designed to target people's perceptions and attitudes towards both existing green space and future spaces in the planning stage as a form of consultation. Questions relate to the accessibility and level of maintenance of existing space, the need for new open spaces, the feasibility of a tax to cover the costs of maintenance of new spaces and how much one is prepared to pay towards maintenance of open space. This questionnaire forms part of a toolbox of methods for practitioners to collect data on finding the most suitable way of designing green spaces which people will use and continue to use in the future (GreenKeys Project Team, 2008b).

There is a critical gap between the physical surveys, measuring the presence, quantity and quality of spaces, and the social surveys which measure people's behaviour and attitudes towards these spaces. In effect, these sets of data are not collected together, analysed together and therefore not considered as closely associated aspects of place-keeping. One reason for this is the considerable undertaking of measuring the physical open space and the non-physical attitudinal data, which span different disciplines and departments of a local government (CABE Space, 2010). It is also often only reasonable to collect such rich data at the local level (Dempsey et al., 2008), which is often outside the scope of many under-funded parks and open space departments. At the national scale, only one example of such multidisciplinary research was found, which was very recently published in the UK (CABE Space, 2010). Using a limited number of indicators from a range of datasets, the commissioned researchers at Heriot-Watt University were able to analyse aspects such as residents' satisfaction with the local authority parks and open space service alongside measures of (for example) use, actual cleanliness and perceived value of the parks that the residents are likely to consider when answering the questions. The researchers found that people who were satisfied with the parks service, and people who lived close to parks, were more likely to report being satisfied

with open spaces. They also found that people living in places where local authorities spend more on open spaces reported higher levels of satisfaction with their open spaces than other residents (ibid.).

A key consideration is not simply the guidance in theory and policy documents about what should be measured, but what is feasibly possible to assess in light of real-life constraints. A major aim of the MP4 project is to provide useful information for practitioners who are engaging in place-keeping activities. In this way, it is important to look at all levels and scales of place-keeping evaluation. Evaluation is not a statutory obligation across the EU countries, although in the UK local governments are obliged to provide annual data as part of the various surveys outlined above, as part of a portfolio of public sector key performance indicators (KPIs) against which they are assessed (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008a). In practice, it is clearly a considerable expense to regularly measure the quality of place-keeping and the perceptions of users through surveys and other evaluation methods (Hogg et al., 2007). Furthermore, where KPI data are collected, in practice they are not linked to objectives, despite this being considered to be essential in the literature (ibid.). Carpenter also discusses this issue in relation to regeneration projects which have laudable aims including addressing inequality and improving economic sustainability. She questions whether relatively small regeneration programmes can achieve fundamental changes in (e.g.) equality and social exclusion given the polarisation that continues to occur across a city and beyond (Carpenter, 2006, Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010). Lawless et al consider similar concerns about the time period within which success of area-based initiatives can be measured, arguing that it is often must correspond with short-term political timeframes (2010). Hull (2006, p. 2317) puts it starkly:

‘The achievement of self-sustaining neighbourhood regeneration is still a mirage judging by the frequency with which the same territorial communities line up to compete for government funds to enhance mainstream welfare service delivery in the UK...Despite periodic injections of public-sector funds, these neighbourhoods still house substantial numbers of working-age residents who have not been equipped with the skills to hold down a well-paid job and acquire tradeable assets. State intervention has wavered in its approach to addressing the spatial concentration of multiple disadvantage.’

Hogg et al. also find that BIDs are also boundary-specific and performance is not measured as a contribution to the city as a whole (Hogg et al., 2007). It is clear that there is therefore something of a gap between what is held as good practice in guidance documentation, and what is possible in practice where time and funding are limited and there are other priorities.

At what Lindholst (2009b) describes as the lowest organisational level possible, simply solving problems as and when they arise can often be a well-used yet informal method of evaluation, in terms of assessing and solving any place-keeping issues. Elsewhere, Lindholst (2009a) discusses in-house methods of low-intensity evaluation techniques for the urban space manager who is contracting-out services. These include spot checks, quality checks, monitoring of customer feedback including complaints (used in the Telford case study) and annual performance reporting. Such checks will go some way to providing a good stream of information to the service provider about what needs to be done and when. Having said this, local governments contracting-out such services to private contractors may not have such a two-way information exchange in place. For example, in Sheffield, multiple contractors may look after parts of the same stretch of green space and do it in different ways, according to their specific contract. This can lead to variation in the quality of maintenance (e.g. different types of lawn cutting and tree/ shrub pruning) which is stark when it occurs in the same place (Green Estate case study).

An oft-repeated evaluation tool relates to the simple count of users in a space. Encouraging positive use of space is fundamental to place-keeping as the place needs to be ‘kept’ for people’s use (be it active or passive). For example, as there is little empirical evidence assessing the quality of

partnerships, similar method of measuring stakeholders in a partnership would be a simple count (Brinkerhoff, 2002). GreenSpace have produced a document about different methods of counting users in parks, including body heat detectors, automated people counters and CCTV cameras (GreenSpace, no date). However, such a user count provides limited information and does not provide any insight into the quality of that space and any potential reasons behind the use or non-use of the space. It is also not clear what would be done with this information: would a high reported user-count in a space considered to be successful and very well- (even over-) used lead to the questioning of how such sustained use can be maintained in the long term? Furthermore, there is no indication – in practice or in guidance – as to how often such low-level or more involved monitoring should be conducted. One reason for this is arguably because post-occupancy evaluation of outdoor spaces is, in the main, not conducted (see Gallacher, 2005 for a notable exception). This points to a critical gap between place-making and place-keeping, which runs parallel to the issue of funding: there is no requirement for open space designers to conduct an evaluation of a space once it has been created or regenerated (unlike architects, who are increasingly subject to such post-occupancy evaluations (Stevenson, 2009)), and there is certainly no mechanism in place to assess the extent to which a space is successful over the long term.

Finally, when data have been collected as part of an evaluation process, what happens with the data? It can be used as part of reports and improving services as part of ongoing evaluation. But on the other hand, there are concerns that data are collected and nothing happens with them, or worse, they are not, and in some cases, cannot be used at all (Allen, 2005).

Conclusions: achieving place-keeping in situ

This extensive review of literature has shown that place-keeping is a multi-dimensional concept which is dependent on its social, economic, environmental and, crucially, political context if it is to be successfully interpreted into a sustainable open space that people want to use and continue using in the future. These dimensions include partnership, governance, engagement, funding and evaluation. While much of the literature posits the benefits of these dimensions of place-keeping, the fundamental underlying assumptions should be questioned. For example, community engagement is consistently considered to be a positive aspect of place-keeping, but exactly who is engaged, and crucially who is not and does not want to be, may point to exclusion in practice.

Alongside these different dimensions, the contextual variables at play in place-keeping point to the need for taking an holistic approach to place-keeping through close coordination and good leadership, especially where ownership and management of spaces become divorced (Carmona et al., 2004a, Westling et al., 2009). This coordination should be between the stakeholders involved in place-keeping to ensure that quality is delivered by skilled service providers competitively to a high standard which is evaluated regularly. The literature points to the need to involve all three sectors – public, private and voluntary – in place-keeping to make the most of a wide range of necessary skills, knowledge and resources which would be lacking in a unilateral or bilateral partnership.

The literature review has highlighted a number of barriers to achieving place-keeping which relate to funding issues (lack thereof, fragmented streams), poor coordination between stakeholders (Carmona et al., 2004b, GreenKeys Project Team, 2008b) and a lack of political power to make good place-keeping the default or standard. The length of time different stakeholders can commit to such activities can also be a barrier, depending on the short- or long-term economic interests in the project (Adair et al., 2000). Stepping back, a further barrier to good place-keeping is, broadly speaking, the management approach taken: ‘over-management’ can create commodified and homogenised spaces, while ‘under-management’ can result in poorly designed, unsafe and unused spaces (Carmona, 2010).

To address these barriers and the overriding gap in knowledge about place-keeping, the next stage of this Work Package closely examines examples of place-keeping in practice in a rigorous way to

analyse the effectiveness of different approaches taken in practice. The case studies show that good place-keeping in practice has: a strategic and a local focus; adequate and reliable resources including well-trained staff; a strategy of long-term quality and efficiency; devolution of responsibility, involving others from all sectors; a dedicated management coordination model with a monitoring process in place. Through knowledge transfer and exchange of good practice examples of place-keeping in different contexts, the MP4 project will raise the profile of place-keeping. Such place-keeping, or combinations of these aspects of place-keeping, can bring about political commitment and can bring about real policy change.

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