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In this paper a global survey of public space development practices is presented, a summary of interviews with city planners, real estate economists, developers, property owners, researchers, and place makers, in New York, Tokyo, London, Paris, San Francisco and Stockholm. A special thanks to Ryan Jacobson, Ethan Kent and Mike Lydon in New York, Shingo Sekiya in Tokyo, and Troy Haynes in London for guidance and support. The survey was made possible by Leif Blomkvist Forskningsstiftelse in collaboration with UN Habitat's Public Space Unit and the Finance Branch. Author of the study is Alexander Ståhle, Phd in urban design at the KTH School of Architecture and CEO of the urban research and design studio Spacescape in Stockholm, Sweden.

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THE PUBLIC SPACE MAKING CYCLE

“The value of public spaces is often overlooked or underestimated by policy makers, leaders and developers. There are a number of reasons for this, such as the lack of resources, understanding or capacity to use the possibilities of public space as a complete, multi-functional urban system.”

Dr Joan Clos foreword in UN Habitat’s Global Public Space Toolkit (2015).

Public space in cities creates basic value. Some urbanists say streets, plazas and parks are the real value backbone and driver of urban development. Value creation encompasses everything from economic (exchange value), social (direct use value), cultural (indirect use value) and environmental (existence value) values. The economic value, or exchange value, of public space, connected to other values, can be estimated from various perspectives. Most common is its quantitative effects on land value, property value, housing prices and alike. Not many studies have been made, and they are not distributed evenly globally. Hedonic studies in Germany¹, Malaysia², Spain³ and USA⁴ show that proximity to public open space or green space have significant positive effects on housing prices. These studies only indicate distance as a factor, not sizes of spaces or surrounding densities. Other studies indicate that size matters. A study of London⁵ and two large housing market analyses of Stockholm and Gothenburg in Sweden show that the area of park space within 1km explain a part of housing prices in these regions.⁶ Effects of new public spaces have been observed as well. Property values in Chelsea are among the highest in New York City and since the High Line park opened in 2009, the average price of a condominium in the district has risen 85 percent.⁷ Bryant Park is estimated to increase property values 20% to 25% higher on average.⁸ Planning regulation could also affect land values. In one study in Maryland, USA legally protected open space increased near-by residential land values over three times as much as an equivalent amount of less protected “developable” open space.⁹

This survey focuses on the integration between planning to finance through economic evaluation. It is a search for great public space making practices, from urban planning schemes, economic development schemes, project schemes and management schemes and how they are all connected. In its core is economic land value, and how it is transferred between public and private entities and land owners. Hence basic definitions are public and private land (property), and public and private space.

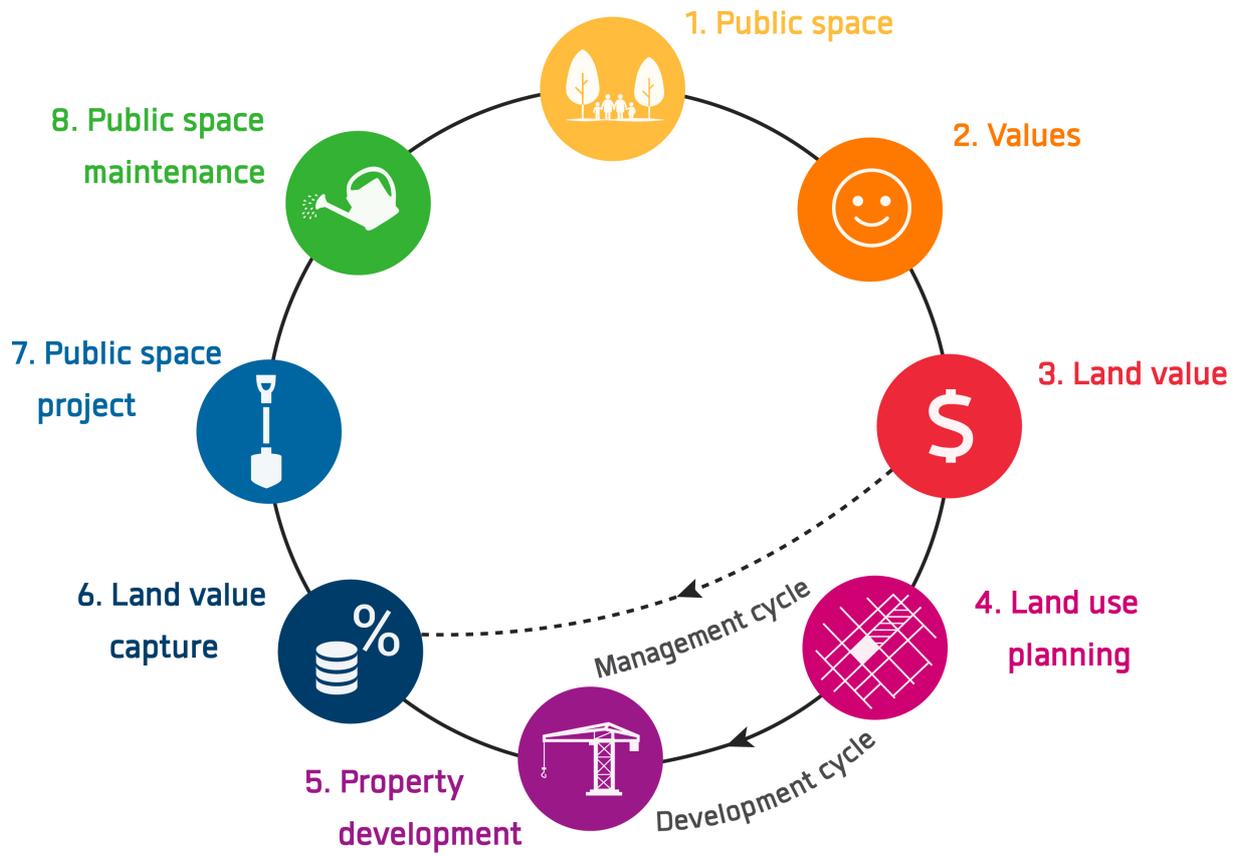
Privately Owned Public Space (POPS) is a combination which has become frequently used in densely built places like central New York and Tokyo that lack of public space but have strong private property owners. The character of public space (or “public space” as defined by UN Habitat¹⁰) of POPS can in some cases be questioned. Private interest can interfere with public use, but still POPS have created new open spaces in the dense walkable city. POPS are in a development process created as part of a “density bonus”. The idea is simple. The property owner gets to build extra floor area if open space on private property is created. Design, construction and maintenance is paid by the property owner. Public authorities regulate the land use plan (density zoning) and the POPS design and programming.

This is a simple illustration and one example of a public space making process. More generally speaking, this is illustrated in the diagram below.

The Public Space Making Cycle can be described as follows.

1. **Public spaces** like parks, plazas, streets are a public good
2. that creates externalities and different kinds of amenities and **values** (use, exchange, existence)
3. that is realized in **land value**, measured in terms of land pricing, prices or rents of floor area, be it residential or commercial or mixed. Land value is dependent on location (accessibilities), place (qualities) and on building rights in the land use plan.
4. **Land use planning** can change the potential location, place and building rights, by regulate a new plan for e.g. a new train station, new public spaces and new building density (Floor Area Ratio, FAR). Land use planning is a political process that often involve neighbors. In this phase public policy for the supply of open space or street space can set the share of land uses.¹¹
5. With the new plan property owners can realize new land value in new **property development**, i.e. floor area.
6. This increased land value creates a private sector return, which is in part can be returned to the public sector by a **land value capture** arrangement that can take the form of monetary contributions such as development impact fees (DIF), or in-kind contributions, such as new or renovated public spaces (e.g. POPS).
7. With public and/or private money new public space is designed and constructed by the public or the private sector. The **public space project** is commonly developed with the near community. The ownership of public space can be private or public.
8. **Public space maintenance** of public land can be executed by the public or the private sector. Privately owned public space (POPS) is, with very few exceptions, maintained by private actors, such as property owners or a privately-owned management organization (e.g. a BID).

The public space management cycle, including public space renovation projects and maintenance, is similar to the above but does not include land use planning (4), property development (5). The land value capture arrangement (6) in public space management can be a tax/fee/lease to the public sector or a contract to rebuild or maintain a public space. Usually a contract is between a commercial actor, such as a restaurant, or a Business Improvement District (BID) or an Area Management Association (AMA) consisting of adjacent property owners. In many European countries the public sector commonly does all public space management. POPS are not common. POPS are more common in US and Japanese cities. In the US conservancies and trusts, funded by private donations and sponsors, can support public space management, more often parks than streets. Some conservancies can also tap into the city, state or fed capital budget (i.e. Central Park gets city \$\$, Brooklyn Bridge Park get state \$\$).



THE PUBLIC SPACE MAKING CYCLE, INTERPRETED FROM THE "LAND VALUE CAPTURE FEEDBACK LOOP" FROM URBAN LAND INSTITUTE.¹²

THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE

The practical cases presented in this paper are categorized in terms of public and private sector. The public sector is most often the City or the municipality, sometimes include regional or national public authorities. Public entities most often include parks, planning or transportation departments within the authority. The private sector is more diverse and can be a single property owner, a group of property owners in a business improvement district (BID) or an Area Management Association (AMA), a conservancy, which is a type of tax-relieved foundation that gather different kinds of donors, or any type of community group that gathers people living or working around a public space. Some conservancies also receive government funding.

Land ownership is a basic precondition for public space development and management. **Public land** is land owned by the public sector. **Private land** is owned by a private property owner. There are other types of landowners, foundations, trusts, which are not covered in this study. Historically public spaces were owned and managed by some sort of public (state/municipal or royal/imperial) entity, especially large parks and main streets because of their importance to the health and well-being of all city dwellers. In large developing cities this is mostly still the case.

The practice of urban development can be largely divided into the process from planning, to projects, to management.

- In **planning**, land is divided into private and public parcels for land use, building and construction. The extent of public spaces is defined in this political and legal process, where public planning authorities play central part.
- Public space **projects** are most often run and regulated by public authorities but can be financed privately. The (re)design of a public space is most often practiced by a contracted designer from the private sector, although regulated by the public parks or transportation department.
- Public space **management** consists of operation and maintenance, including event and programmatic planning. There are many ways for the private sector to fund public space management. Most common are through business improvement districts, area management associations or conservancies.

The cases described below are in the intersection of public and private sectors in planning, projects and management. Selected cases are a result of a selection process where “best practice” is considered public space that are sociable, active, accessible and comfortable, according to the framework developed by the non-profit Project for Public Spaces (pps.org, 2007). Best practices also include places that have gone through positive gentrification. More on public spaces, placemaking and gentrification the last chapter.

	PUBLIC	PUBLIC-PRIVATE	PRIVATE	
PLANNING	Hammarby sjöstad Olympic Park	Kashiwa-no-ha Futako-Tamagawa Poblenou Hornsbergs strand	New York POPS Rockefeller Plaza Kings Cross Mission Bay Domino Park Hibiya Step Plaza	
PROJECTS	Times Square Paris Plages Ikebukuro Park Nihon Dori Street	The Royal Parks Central Park Conservancy Prospect Park Alliance Brooklyn Bridge Park Diversity Plaza	Linden Alley LA People St SF Streets Parks Poblenou	Campus Martius Tenochi Park Red Cross Garden Soliaris Plaza Nakadori Street Marylebone Lane Shibya Stream
MANAGEMENT	Stockholm	Kashiwa-no-ha Futako-Tamagawa Hornsbergs strand Chicago Make Way for People NYC Plaza Program	Bryant Park Cooperation Times Square Alliance Friends of the High Line New West End Company Ikebukuro Park Area Management	

PUBLIC LAND PLANNING

When public authorities own all land, they can control development, land value capture, and the public space making process, by planning regulations. Public land planning can be profitable for both the private and the public sector.

In Singapore (90%), Amsterdam (80%) and Stockholm (75%), government owns most of the land and releases parcels for development only in accordance with specific plans. In the first two cities, both public and private developers are responsible for construction, individuals may obtain title to housing units, and firms can own buildings, but the public sector retains land ownership. The Singapore government releases land regularly through its land sales program for private sector development. Sites are usually sold on 99-year leases for commercial, hotel and private residential development whereas leases for industrial sites are usually for 60 years. The lease tenure for other types of sites vary depending on the uses. The usual sale method is through public tender.

In Stockholm City land parcels, typically city blocks, are sold to developers for development according to the plan. Public spaces, such as parks and streets, are designed and constructed by the public sector, financed by sales of parcels, that now have increased land value created by the plan. The sales process is clean in the sense, that there are no negotiations between the private and public sector on public space finance. The city government plans and developers

bid for land parcels. It is not uncommon in Swedish cities that public authorities buy large private land areas to be able to plan the area as a whole and then sell newly created parcels to finance the design and construction of public facilities such as streets and parks. This was the case in Hammarby sjöstad. Stockholm city officials claim that examples when planning was made with land ownership left private, eg. Liljeholmskajen, the outcome has not been as good, although the city planning department of Stockholm traditionally have had strong regulating power.

HAMMARBY SJÖSTAD, STOCKHOLM

Hammarby sjöstad was until 1990 an industrial brownfield area. The municipality bought all land and started a planning process designing block, streets, parks and public infrastructure, that raised land values. Gradually realized between 2000-2019 the district became a world-famous “eco-city”, mid-rise waterfront with lots green spaces. Parks and streets were financed by the sales of land parcels to private developers that got land ownership. Maintenance of public spaces is financed by the public sector, the Stockholm municipality. The district is still considered as one of the most popular and attractive places in Stockholm.

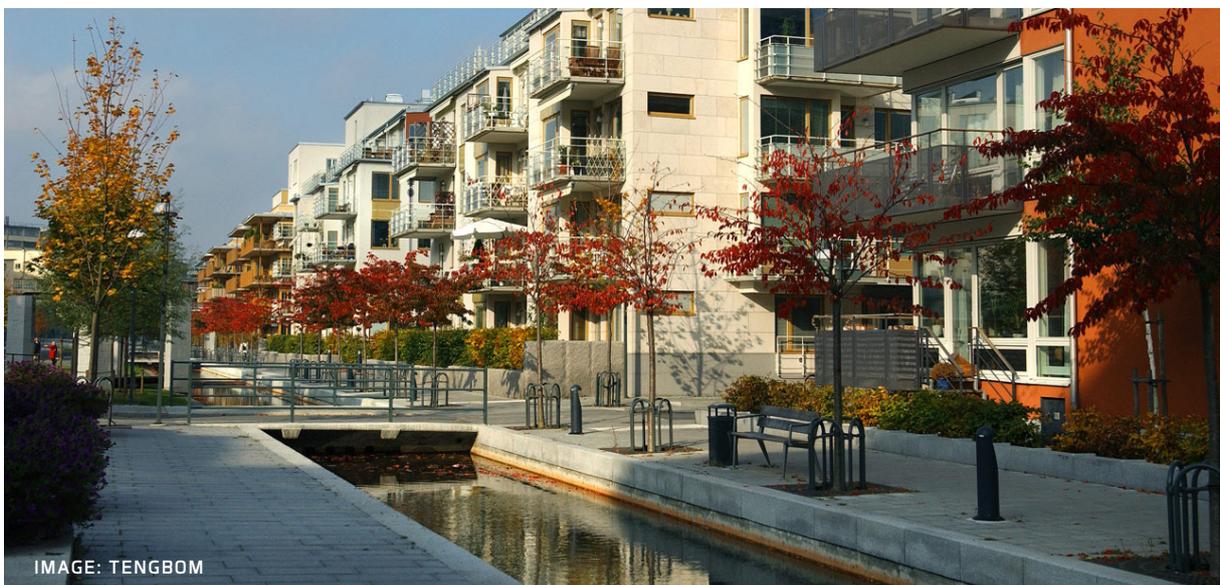


IMAGE: TENGBOM

OLYMPIC PARK, LONDON

Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, in London is a park and sporting complex built for the 2012 Summer Olympics and the Paralympics, situated to the east of the city adjacent to the Stratford City development. Transformed over 18 months, the Park reopened in 2014 as a public park, doubling the green space created for the London 2012 Olympics. It now attracts over five million visitors a year to venues such as the London Stadium, Lee Valley VeloPark and the London Aquatics Centre. As well as iconic buildings, the Park is home to beautiful gardens and waterways, playgrounds, fountains and cafes. It is also a major driver of regeneration in East London.

The Park and its neighborhoods are run by the publicly owned London Legacy Development Corporation. It is responsible for the long-term planning, development, management and maintenance of the Park and its impact on the surrounding area after the London 2012 Games. The Corporation work closely with a number of organizations including the Mayor of London, the Greater London Authority, central government, the East London Host Boroughs, residents in neighboring local communities, local organizations, businesses and regeneration agencies and national and international sporting, cultural and leisure organizations. As part of this remit, they act as the planning authority for this area, carrying out all the planning functions that a local planning authority would normally have responsibility for, such as approving or rejecting new developments, giving guidance to local developers, and making high level plans for development in the area. The Corporation sets out the masterplan for development across the Park, covering building heights, land uses, open space, access plans, street layout, development of infrastruc-

ture and more for all five neighborhoods. The master plan organized five new neighborhoods with two signature parks, 6,000 units of housing, two miles of naturalized waterways, and a system of connections and neighborhood commons that include sporting venues, commercial space, and cultural amenities.

As the major landowner in the Park, the Legacy Corporation will retain ultimate responsibility for management and maintenance of public parkland and venue facilities. Alongside grant funding from the Greater London Authority, estate revenue income will comprise occupational rents, profit rent and other revenues from events, attractions, sponsorship and advertising within the Park Estate, as well as a fixed Estate Charge to be paid by residential and commercial occupiers of the Development Zones as a contribution towards the Estate Services. The Corporation will dispose of Development Zones to developers via long leaseholds with individual properties then being sold with obligations relating to design and management quality standards and the payment of a fixed Estate Charge.

East Village is one of the new neighborhoods adjacent to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. To further encourage long-term occupation, East Village's approach follows traditional long-term estate management – a dedicated company, East Village Management, has been set up to own all buildings, communal areas and public realm, and to ensure they are continually maintained to high standards. Another aspect in common with many other great estates is the 'hands-on' and robust approach to relations between landlord and resident through the provision of an on-site Management Centre, with a dedicated team available to respond to residents' needs.



IMAGE: HRA ADVISORS

PUBLIC-PRIVATE LAND PLANNING

When land ownership in an area is mixed there are a variety of ways to finance public spaces and organize the planning and development process. The rationale is basically that the development of new floor area finance public facilities, such as streets and parks. Though, these systems of value capturing have been most developed within public transit planning. One model to transfer value from private to public space is zoning incentive programs or density bonuses, offering developers and property owners incentives to incorporate certain public amenities, such as streets or parks, into their development plan, in the exchange for extra floor area. The public sector can also sell development rights in exchange for permission to develop or redevelop land at higher density or changed land use.

The Development Impact Fee (DIF) is a similar model. The developer pays a fee that is imposed by a local government on the new or proposed development to pay for all or a portion of the costs of providing public spaces and facilities. This model widely used in Europe and USA. Another model is to transfer of development rights which allows property owners in designated areas to sell the development rights from their land (sending site) for use on another site (the receiving site). The sending site is then protected as an open space under a conservation easement and can be used as a public space.¹³ There are also combination of these models, especially in cases where property lines are negotiated and changed (land ownership adjustments) as described in the cases below.

In Japan two schemes are used to redevelop urban land. Land readjustment, originating from Germany, is mainly used on urban fringes, and urban redevelopment schemes in built-up areas especially, where property rights are fragmented. Both instruments, however, require either strong community ties or sufficient economic incentives. The consent of all landowners is typically sought, though the laws allow project agencies to implement schemes once they secure the consent of more than two-thirds of landowners. Under the Housing-Railway Integration Law, municipal governments and housing agencies can designate special land readjustment areas along future railway lines. In this scheme, several landowners within the designed areas give up and reserve percentages of their land for public uses, including the transit facilities or land sales to generate

funds for public investments. The economic rationale is that although the original landowners receive smaller land parcels, these parcels would have higher land values thanks to a new station and other local infrastructure and service provision. Railway companies can acquire the rights of way for their transit investment and promote transit-supportive housing developments through the land readjustment practices.

KASHIWA-NO-HA, CHIBA

This scheme was used in the urban development and new public spaces in Kashiwa-no-ha Campus Town and around the other stations on the Tsukuba Express Railway in Chiba outside Tokyo. In Kashiwa-no-ha Tokyo University has been an important developer and landowner. Together with the Kashiwa City government (Chiba Prefecture) and Mitsui Fudosan real estate company, the university developed urban design guidelines for the new town. They also founded a unique management organisation called Urban Design Center Kashiwa-no-ha (UDCK) that has three functions: a think tank to carry out "investigation, research and proposals" for a new city development; a coordinator to promote projects through "coordination and support" of actual development as well as coordinating area management and events. The design, construction and maintenance of public space is managed by UDCK and mainly paid for by the real estate sector. In the development process each property owner provided 40% of their land to public space and public facilities. Property values has basically doubled because of the new station and the new development, thereby financing public space and other facilities.

Under the Japan Urban Redevelopment Law, landholders, tenants, and developers can create development opportunities in built-up areas, typically where a transit station exists or has newly opened. To capture the potential accessibility benefits conferred by the transit station, the local government first converts zoning codes from single use to mixed use with higher floor area ratios. Before the urban redevelopment project, the site consisted of several small parcels owned by individual landowners and occupied with different tenants. This urban redevelopment project consists of construction of a taller, higher-quality building on land prepared by assembling small parcels; construction of an underground

metro station; and provision of public infrastructure (such as wider roads, a station plaza, and amenities). The national government finances a third of site survey, land assembly, and open space foundation costs, using the national general budget, and half the public infrastructure costs using the roadway special fund. Through this process, the original landholders and building owners are entitled to keep the property rights of floor spaces in the new building that are valued as equal to their original property (though sometimes one developer will purchase all the property rights from the original owners to accelerate the redevelopment). The “surplus” floor area permitted by the municipal government is sold to new property owners to substantially cover the costs of land assembly, public facilities and open spaces within the district.

FUTAKO-TAMAGAWA, TOKYO

A variation of this scheme was used in the redevelopment around Futako-tamagawa Station by property owner Tokyu Corporation. The project has provided new public facilities, such as a transit plaza, local roads, and parks, through an urban redevelopment scheme that has raised public subsidies (¥36.6 billion/\$355 million) and substantial floor area sales (¥100.1 billion/\$971 million). The redevelopment has taken nearly 15 years, involving more than 200 landowners and tenants in complex floor area reallocation procedures.



POBLENOU, BARCELONA

In 2001, Barcelona City Council issued a new urban planning regulation which changed the land-use designation of 115 privately-owned old blocks in the south east of the city from industrial (22a) to services (22@). This allows for more productive uses on the land. Density rights were also increased. These changes dramatically increased the land's potential value to private owners, giving them the opportunity to make significant profits. The City Council therefore has strong leverage over the private sector to encourage them to contribute to the wider transformation of the area.

Potential value was made tangible through the private sector planning and development of land parcels within the 4 million metre square 22@Barcelona district as described in the development profile. To date, construction is either planned, underway or has been completed for 67% of this total area. The City Council uses its leverage in a number of ways. In exchange for a planning permit it 1) demands rights to 30% of the total land area of the proposed develop-

ment or the equivalent current monetary value of the land be transferred to the city (which is decided on a case by case basis); and 2) charges a development levy of EUR 80 per square metre of land developed (which is updated annually). The transfers and levies are donated directly to the publicly-owned 22@BCN company.

The monetary and in-kind land contributions of the private sector developers are reinvested in full into the 22@Barcelona district by the public body 22@BCN. The 30% land transfer or equivalent monetary value of the land is used to construct social housing (4,000 units), knowledge-based infrastructures (such as incubators, telecommunications, student accommodation and R+D centres) and green spaces. The development levy is used to fund the delivery of the 22@Barcelona 'Special Infrastructure Plan,' which prescribes the holistic development of the area towards a knowledge-based economy primarily through infrastructure development. In the 22@Barcelona model, the private developers only contribute to the recycling and reinvestment process indirectly - via 22@BCN.¹⁴



HORNSBERGS STRAND, STOCKHOLM

In 1998 planning started of the inner-city fringe area Hornsbergs strand, from a brownfield to a dense mixed-use district with new streets, parks and waterfront promenades. Construction was finished in 2013. The plan and amount of park space was set in the planning process supported by qualitative and quantitative policy of Stockholm City before financial negotiations with developers. Hornsbergs strand is considered as one of the most successful and attractive urban developments in Stockholm. The new park has become so popular that some neighbors have started to complain about urban buzz. However, apartment prices are high and rising.

According to Swedish Planning and Building Law (PBL) developers and property owners can be obliged to pay a development impact fee for the design and construction of new public spaces to the municipality. The fee is set through a formalized cost-study. The fee is distributed between developers according to the share of building rights in the detailed legal plan, measured as percentage of floor area of total development. The municipality is responsible for design and construction of public space and holds land ownership. If land is private to start with, it is handed over to public ownership after construction.

The larger the planning area, the more properties engaged, the greater investment in public space. In Hornsbergs strand the municipality negotiated the fee with the developer according to a street and park cost survey. 10% of the cost of the park was defined as of regional interest (regional visitors of the parks) and therefore paid by the municipality.

Hornsbergs strand was mixed land ownership and one of the most successful examples of urban development in Sweden. Property lines were adjusted, and costs shared among the developers. Costs for public space construction were shared among developers. The municipality also made some profit in the process selling two land parcels to developers. In these cases there is no extra development impact fee. Some lots were kept in public ownership and developed as site leasehold (tomträtt).



IMAGE: BOSTADSTRYGG

PRIVATE LAND PLANNING

When land is in private ownership, planning and development for public space seems to be more restricted. Public governments major tool is then planning legislation and building permits, or so called density bonuses. Experience from creating Privately Owned Public Spaces (POPS) are mixed, especially when it comes to management and maintenance. However, in New York, where it all began in the 1960ies, there are some successful examples. As POPS design regulations have become more rigorous, the public space quality has significantly increased, the quantity of POPS have decreased in recent years mostly due to lack of space.

NEW YORK POPS

The New York City Privately Owned Public Space Program began in 1961 to encourage private developers to create spaces for public use in exchange for allowing greater project density—including through additional building area or relief from height and setback restrictions. When first introduced as a zoning tool, the program allowed developers to build more floor area or receive special waivers for a building if they also created plazas or arcades that are open to the public. To date, over 550 POPS have been built at over 350 buildings across New York City. These public spaces are primarily located in Manhattan, but are increasingly being developed in the other boroughs, particularly Brooklyn and Queens, as the commercial office markets expand. Combined, POPS provide nearly 350 000 sqm of additional public space in the City. Today, two specific types of POPS, public plazas and arcades, can be built in exchange for bonus floor area.

POPS are required to be provided and maintained by the property owner in perpetuity according to the regulations they were built pursuant to and any City approvals. The Department of City Planning is committed to ensuring that all POPS serve the public, and continually enhances design standards so that POPS are of the highest quality, useful and inviting for the public, following the NYC Public Plaza Design Principles stated below.

- Open and inviting at the sidewalk
- Easily seen and understood as open to the public
- Conveys openness and maintains clear sightlines through low design elements and generous paths leading into the plaza
- Provides seating and amenities adjacent to the public sidewalk
- Accessible
- Located at the same elevation as the sidewalk
- Enhances pedestrian circulation
- Safe and secure
- Contains easily accessible paths for ingress and egress
- Oriented and visually connected to the street
- Well lit
- Comfortable and engaging
- Promotes use and comfort by providing essential amenities
- Accommodates both small groups and individuals with a variety of well-designed, comfortable seating
- Balances open areas with greenery and trees

The experience from New York is that there needs to be a clear statement of the objectives of the public space and the programming, design and maintenance have to be strongly regulated for it to be successful and create value for the public and the property owners themselves.

ROCKEFELLER CENTRE, NEW YORK

The Rockefeller Centre and its plaza is considered one of the most successful privately-owned public spaces (POPS) in New York. The Center officially opened in 1940. It was the largest private building project to date, and since its opening, five buildings have been added - making a total of 19 buildings covering 22 acres of land in Midtown Manhattan. In providing outdoor spaces for the tenants of Rockefeller Center that also serve as public spaces for the local community and tourists, Rockefeller Center has both fulfilled John D. Rockefeller's vision to create a "city within a city." The site's central gathering place, Rockefeller Plaza, along with the network of smaller parks and plazas throughout the complex create a network of public spaces that serve a diverse community. Today, Rockefeller Center is also known for its unique public programs and events. The skating rink and Christmas tree in Rockefeller Plaza are as much emblematic of New York City as they are of Rockefeller Center, and they draw millions of visitors to the space every holiday season. The success of Rockefeller Center's private and public spaces has made it a model for real estate development projects and helped private developers realize the benefit of creating accessible public spaces in their own projects. Operation and maintenance are privately run by Rockefeller Center Management Corporation.



IMAGE: ROCKEFELLER CENTRE

KING'S CROSS, LONDON

The King's Cross site is one of the largest construction projects in Greater London in the first quarter of the 21st century. The 67 acres site comprehends 50 new buildings, 1,900 new homes, 20 new streets, 10 new public parks and squares, 26 acres of open space. In the 1990s, the government established the King's Cross Partnership to fund regeneration projects, and the commencement of work on High Speed 1 in 2000 provided a major impetus for other projects. In 2001, Argent was selected as the developer. In 2008, Argent, London & Continental Railways and DHL formed a joint partnership: Kings Cross Central Limited Partnership, that is the single land owner. Development, design and construction of public spaces are financed by the partnership.

In September 2011 the University of the Arts London moved to the Granary Complex and parts of the development opened to the public for the first time. Since then, restaurants have opened, the Great Northern Hotel has been refurbished and re-opened and the first residents have moved in. Companies such as Google, Louis Vuitton, Universal Music and Havas are choosing to locate here. A whole series of new public squares and gardens have opened, among them Granary Square with its spectacular fountains, Lewis Cubitt Park and Square and the new Gasholder Park. The area remains a major focus of redevelopment in the second decade of the 21st century.

The public areas and many of the buildings are managed and maintained by a specialist on-site team – King's Cross Estate Services – which, as well as keeping the area well-maintained, well-lit, safe and secure, is also involved in organizing and managing events and activities and working with the local community and local authorities.



IMAGE: STÄHLE, 2019

MISSION BAY, SAN FRANCISCO

San Francisco's new Mission Bay development covers 303 acres of land between the San Francisco Bay and Interstate-280 and was established 1998 and almost developed 2019. Mission Bay is a mixed-use, transit-oriented development served by transit by a light rail system, bus lines and the regional-serving Caltrain. It includes 41 acres of new public open space, including the larger parks Mission Creek, Mission Bay Commons and Bayfront Park. 13,5% of the project area is public open space. It has rapidly evolved into a wealthy neighborhood of luxury condominiums, hospitals, and biotechnology research and development. Parks and streets are already thriving high-quality public spaces.

Development is controlled through the Redevelopment Plans/Designs for Development and Owner Participation Agreements between the City Agency (originally the Redevelopment Agency, now the Office of Community Investment and Infrastructure OCII) and one master developer (FOCIL-MB LLC). The City Agency paid for planning, design and construction of public spaces, streets and open spaces through tax increment financing (TIF). TIF (which is no longer used in California) means banking on the increase in property tax revenue that will result when the project is finished. The Mission Bay public open spaces are built on property owned by the City and the Port. Pursuant to the 1998 Owner Participation Agreements, The Developer builds the public spaces in phases over an estimated 15-20 years, in association with the residential and commercial development.

The City Agency (OCII) is responsible for the management of public open spaces. San Francisco Municipal Transportation Agency is responsible for the operation and management of streets. Funding for the public space management comes from property owners through an annual Mello-Roos Community Facilities District tax (CFD), which is additional to the ordinary property tax. Districts can levy taxes and issue bonds independently of the city. CDF:s are secured by a continuing lien and are levied annually against property within the district.



DOMINO PARK, NEW YORK

The real estate developer Two Trees bought the Domino area in 2012 for \$185 million. To gain the community's trust, the developer hosted regular charrettes and meetings to make sure the design responded to local community needs and wishes in order to gain support for the project as it was subject to the city's Uniform Land Use Review Procedure. One change included turning a potential building site into an open square, which makes the waterfront park directly accessible from the street. The compromise was that the upland residential buildings are taller—something the community decided it could live with in exchange for unimpeded access to a larger waterfront park. Seven hundred of the buildings' 2,300 units will be affordable for very low-income New Yorkers. The park is the other big consolation for the neighborhood. The size of the park was the result of strict zoning and required since there was to be a mixed-use development. Domino Park is a 2.4 ha privately owned public park in the Williamsburg neighborhood of Brooklyn, New York City. It spans a quarter mile along the East River near the Williamsburg Bridge, at the site of the landmarked former Domino Sugar Refinery. The park was designed by James Corner Field Operations, which also designed the High Line.

Opened to the public in 2018, it is owned and operated by Two Trees Management. Ultimately, the real estate company have spent \$50 million on building Domino Park, which opened ahead of most of the development. This is required in waterfront zon-

ing – a certificant of occupancy can only be acquired by the developer after the waterfront park is open to the public. The developers also put in a public street between the still-to-be-built residential towers and the park, so it feels more accessible to the neighborhood—a key critique they heard during feedback sessions.



MORE, LONDON

More London, also named London Bridge City, is a development on the south bank of the River Thames, immediately south-west of Tower Bridge in London. It is owned by the Kuwaiti sovereign wealth fund. It includes the City Hall, a sunken amphitheater called The Scoop, office blocks, shops, restaurants, cafes, and a pedestrianized area containing open-air sculptures and fountains lit by coloured lights. A unique feature is the common serviced subterranean roadway that takes vehicles off the street and away from pedestrians. More London is 13 acres (53,000 m²) in size and has planning consent for 3,000,000 square feet (280,000 m²) of mixed-use space, of which up to two million square feet will be offices, accommodating up to 20,000 people. There are frequently outdoor exhibitions and cultural events in More London. For most of 2005 there was a popular open-air exhibition of large environmental photographs called Earth from the Air. Events are financed by property owner, and organized by management company.

The MORE site including its open spaces is owned by St Martins Property Group, a property development, investment and asset management company based in the United Kingdom representing the real estate interests of the State of Kuwait. The company is wholly owned by the Kuwait sovereign wealth fund, Future Generations Fund. The site is managed and maintained by Broadgate Estates Limited, a company that manages a range of mixed-use developments, landmark properties, and privately-owned public spaces in the United Kingdom. Management is financed privately by rents via the property owner.



HIBIYA STEP PLAZA, TOKYO

Tokyo Midtown Hibiya is a 190,000-square-meter mixed-use development in central Tokyo, Japan. Completed in 2018, the project includes office, commercial, dining, entertainment facilities and new public spaces. The project site overlooks the historic Hibiya Park. The primary developer is Mitsui Fudosan real estate company. Part of the development, made through the national urban renewal policy, a street was moved and reconstructed and a new square, Hibiya Step Plaza, was built. In exchange for higher floor area ratio Mitsui Fudosan designed and constructed the plaza in dialogue with city government, Chyoda Ward. Aiming to be Tokyo's "Neighborhood of Art, Culture and Entertainment" an extensive program of events are held in and around the plaza. Events and maintenance are operated by the Hibiya Area Management Association financed by fees from property owners, dominated by Mitsui Fudosan. The Hibiya park is set to be more activated as part of the neighborhood. The Hibiya park is owned and managed by Chyoda Ward, partly financed by profits in restaurants in the parks.



IMAGE: RESEARCHGATE

SOLARIS PLAZA, VAIL

Solaris Plaza is a 2787 sqm open space in Vail, Colorado, at the center of a 1.06 ha mixed-use project that replaced a surface parking lot and an aging shopping center. The town of Vail allowed Solaris to be built at additional density and height because the project included the new plaza. Since opening in 2010, Solaris Plaza has become the central gathering place for residents and visitors to Vail and has hosted events ranging from a weekly farmers market to the Go-Pro Games. Capital expenditures for the plaza were privately financed through the development of the larger Solaris project; the town of Vail operates the space and manages on-site programming through a business improvement district and easement, while the developer maintains the plaza.

Successful design and construction of existing or new public space on public land is managed and regulated by the public sector, departments of city planning, parks or transportation. These activities are financed by taxes. In some cases, public space projects that are funded by the public sector, management are taken over by private sector arrangements or not-for-profit organizations such as conservancies or business improvement districts.¹⁵



IMAGE: STOCKTON GROUP

PUBLICLY FUNDED PROJECTS

TIMES SQUARE, NEW YORK

The landmark project for successful public space renewal, and what was to be called “tactical urbanism”, is most probably Times Square. In 2006 The Times Square Alliance (the business improvement district) initiated a study of the public space conducted by the non-governmental organization Project for Public Spaces, that previously had been part of the successful transformation of Bryant Park. The study included recommendations to pedestrianize the “square” which then was mostly a congested car space. The vision to pedestrianize was grounded among property owners and business leaders around the square by the Alliance. In fact, the idea to pedestrianize Broadway is older than this. The Regional Plan Association presented the idea already in 1969.

In 2009 the new Mayor, Michael Bloomberg, and the commissioner for transportation Janette Sadik Khan¹⁶ announced that traffic lanes along Broadway from 42nd Street to 47th Street would be demapped and transformed into pedestrian plazas as a trial until at least the end of the year. The original seats put out for pedestrians were inexpensive multicolored plastic lawn chairs. The newly created

plaza significantly decreased injuries to motorists and pedestrians, and the number of pedestrians as well as retail sales increased. In 2010 it was decided that the pedestrian plazas would become permanent and the city started rebuilding the plaza, hiring the design firm Snøhetta to permanently replace Broadway’s roadway with custom-made granite pavers and benches. The entire project was completed just before New Year’s Eve 2016.

The design and re-construction of the plaza was paid by the city, events and maintenance are operated by the business improvement district. Since this transformation Times Square has been reclaimed as one of the landmark plazas in the city and also seen significant increases in real estate value. The project also paved way for the New York City Plaza Program and other plaza transformations in North America. Its significance to the de-carification and pedestrianization of big city centers around the world has been transformative.



IMAGE: WNYC

PARIS PLAGES, PARIS

Paris-Plages started as a temporary closure of some roads along the river Seine and is now considered as one of the most popular public open spaces in Paris. It started as an urban beach concept. The artificial beaches are an effort to reclaim the riverfront from the automobile, attract locals who would typically seek refuge from the summer heat on France's coast, and offer those who can't afford an expensive getaway the chance to relax for free. The 2-mile stretch from the Notre Dame Cathedral was closed to traffic for two months each summer when it transforms into a series of beaches, complete with sand, palm trees, umbrellas, lounge chairs, a pop-up library, and a range of recreational activities such as swimming pools suspended over the Seine, kayak stations, free evening concerts, and dancing.

Run by the office of the Mayor of Paris, this urban beach getaway had over four million visitors during its first year, leading it to become an annual fixture open to the public seven days per week. Since their opening year, the beaches have expanded to several other locations in the city, which has energized local efforts to balance the street space in Paris between motorists, pedestrians, and bicyclists. The continued success of this seasonal pop-up beach has helped reconnect citizens to their city's waterway as well as to one another. The Plages cost approximately \$2.9 million and has been financed and operated by the city of Paris.



IKEBUKURO PARK, TOKYO

The publicly owned Ikebukuro Park in Tokyo was really run down. The city ward of Toshima City decided, in dialogue with the local neighbourhood committee of shop owners, temple representatives and residents, to redesign the park. The local govern-

ment paid for the redesign and reconstruction of the park, which is now thriving because of a great park design but also for its management organisation. The management organisation, which is through a private-public partnership, is described below.



NIHON ODORI STREET, YOKOHAMA

The Nihon Odori Street in Yokohama had security problems with lunch box sellers connected to the mafia. The City of Yokohama decided to redesign the street according to the historic plan of the city, by widening sidewalks and reducing traffic and speeds. When Japan took the new policy that made it possible for businesses to use public space, the City of Yokohama let the local area organization of shop owners and property owners around to activate the street with outdoor cafés and events. City still owns the street and does all maintenance. The city government take a lease for events and outdoor cafés. After the redesign and the activation from the local area organization the public space is now much safer and more vibrant.



PRIVATELY FUNDED PROJECTS

Public space projects can be directly funded the private sector by letting a company, property owner or business improvement district directly pay for the design and construction of the public space. It could also be financed through special assessments or betterment levies. Many times, a privately funded public space project is financially connected to a larger urban developments by development impact fees.

PATRICIAS GREEN, SAN FRANCISCO

Patricia's Green, Hayes Valley's central green space, is named for Patricia Walkup, a local activist who volunteered her time for many years to fight neighborhood crime and co-led a campaign to tear down the part of the Central Freeway that ran through Hayes Valley. The destruction of the freeway made space for new developments, the Octavia boulevard and the Patricia's Green park and playground in 2005. This has revitalized and also gentrified the neighborhood and has made one of the trendier sections of town with an eclectic mix of boutiques, high-end restaurants, and stores. The planning effort was conducted under San Francisco's Better Neighborhoods program, a series of focused plans intended to encourage sensitive development in areas expected to experience significant growth. The Market and Octavia Area Plan covered a swath of land at the nexus of two major city thoroughfares. The Hayes Valley Neighborhood Association, an organization spawned by the freeway fight, held separate community forums and worked closely with the Market-Octavia planning team.

Market analysis have shown that freeways cut property values by half and when the freeway disappeared consequently property values more than doubled in the area. The park is on public land and it was designed and constructed by the city and funded by sale of land parcels along the former Central Freeway, as well as development impact fees. Many typical placemaking activities have been part of the park's success, such as major art exhibitions and pop-up cafes and music events. The Hayes Valley Art Coalition has been responsible for initiating and continuing the public art that has been in Patricia's Green since its creation in 2006. The Hayes Valley Neighborhood Association has been a significant financial donor to the art projects.



CAMPUS MARTIUS, DETROIT

In 2001 civic leaders formed a group known as "Detroit 300 Inc." to prepare for the city's 300th anniversary. This, in turn, sparked interest in creating a new park in the very center of downtown, an area referred to as Campus Martius. The group decided to develop a park as a legacy project and subsequently raised \$20 million from private donors toward its construction. Campus Martius became a key factor in the decision of Compuware, a software company, to move its 3,500 employees downtown from a suburban office park into a new \$400 million-dollar building on the park—a reversal of longstanding patterns of businesses fleeing the city. This set off a chain of other events: In 2010, Quicken Loans moved its headquarters to Campus Martius and began a major effort to renovate several buildings near the park—kicking off more than \$1.5 billion in investment by founder Dan Gilbert.

When Campus Martius Park opened in 2004, people started coming back downtown for concerts, outdoor movies, the ever-changing flower gardens, dates at the park cafe, or simply to sit and relax by the fountain. In another unexpected turn of events, Southwest Airlines, as a pilot for their "Heart of the Community" program, helped to develop an urban beach as a seasonal attraction at one end of the park. More than 500 events, ranging from the Detroit International Jazz Festival to movies and live theatre shows for kids, are held throughout the warmer months. The park's popularity extends throughout the year. The ice rink is open 125 days a year.



RED CROSS GARDEN, LONDON

Red Cross Garden in central London is an award-winning park renovated and restored to its original Victorian 1886 layout in 2005. Red Cross Garden demonstrated the importance of improving housing for the poor and the need for meaningful occupations for poor workers. The historic layout of Red Cross Garden was lost under municipal grass and tarmac by the late 1940s and became much underused.

Bankside Open Spaces Trust secured funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund and Southwark Council and restored many of its original features. The garden was officially opened 2006. A regular group of volunteers help maintain the garden who also develop tours of the key historic details of the scheme, along with regular after-school clubs, poetry readings, celebrations, and events. Bankside Open Spaces Trust is a registered charity that was set up by a group of local people with an aim to improve the SE1 area. The charity run regular gardening groups, support park steering groups, organize and take part in public events and educational projects and offer advice to others. The charity gets financial support from The London Boroughs of Southwark and Lambeth and numerous other charities, housing associations, educational and health organizations, landowners and individual donors.



MARYLEBONE LANE, LONDON

The Howard de Walden Estate is widely recognized for its pioneering and imaginative approach to place-making. This has been particularly evident in its regeneration of Marylebone High Street as the center of what is now known as Marylebone Village. In 1995 a third of the shops were either vacant or temporarily occupied; this sparked a change of approach in the Estate, which owned most of the freehold retail, but because of the grant of headleases, actually controlled only about a third of the shops. The new management at the Estate sought to improve the quality and balance of the retail offering by increasing their ownership of the high street to around 70 per cent and by carefully choosing a number of anchor retailers and smaller, independent traders as tenants, with particular emphasis placed on achieving a strong and distinctive mix of retailers. This regeneration is still continuing. One current focus is on the evolution of Marylebone Lane, a narrow, winding thoroughfare to the north of Oxford Street which follows the route of the River Tyburn. As well as employing its now familiar approach to achieving the right mix of retail and restaurants, the Estate has improved the pedestrian environment through changes to pavement lines, resurfacing pavements and roads, and landscaping, with the overall aim of creating better pedestrian connections between Marylebone, Oxford Street and Bond Street, via St Christopher's Place.



NAKA-DORI STREET, TOKYO

In 1988 Otemachi-Marunouchi-Yurakucho Land Owners Council created a vision and urban design guidelines for the central area around the Tokyo Station. The council consists of the Chiyoda Ward, Tokyo Metro Government, East Japan Railway Company and Mitsubishi Real Estate. The vision and guidelines have been updated continuously since then (2000, 2005, 2008, 2014, 2018). The Naka-Dori Street was recently redesigned to a successful high-end shopping street as part of the development of the Marunouchi area, largely owned by Mitsubishi Real Estate. The street is now closed off for car traffic 11am-5pm during the day. Mitsubishi paid for the redesign and reconstruction of the street, Maintenance is shared between the property owner and the Chiyoda Ward. The Land Owners Council, which is a type of area management association, operates events and temporary furniture. The Naka-Dori street goes through the adjacent area of Hibiya, where it also has gone through some recent upgrading and transformation to a pedestrian-only street, as part of the development of Hibiya. In this section the property owner Mitsui Fudosan paid for the reconstruction. Maintenance of the street is here operated by the Hibiya Area Management Association, financed by rents from the property owners, that is largely dominated by Mitsui Fudosan.



SHIBUYA STREAM, TOKYO

Shibuya and its station are maybe the busiest part of Tokyo. The redevelopment around the station started in 2012. Shibuya Stream, south of the station, is the site for a new tall building and a public space renovation starting from the once covered river. Property owner Tokyu Corporation, that also runs the station, paid for the construction of the uncovering of the river and design of the public plaza and pedestrian walkway along the river. The plaza has been activated and the stream has been animated with

funding from revenue from events held at the plaza. Maintenance is run by the Area Management association, mainly funded by the Tokyu Corporation. The new public spaces have successfully created life and buzz in the area. In 2018 Google Japan moved into the building.



TENSHIBA PARK, OSAKA

In 2014, Abeno Harukas – Japan's tallest high rise building at 300m – opened to the public, bringing a collection of cultural and commercial facilities including a department store, luxury hotel, offices, museum, and observation deck to the Abeno/Tennoji district. The project is run by the property owner Kintetsu Railway Company. In 2015, as part of a redevelopment project for the district, the property owner financed the design and construction of a new park covering approximately 25,000 m², known as Tenshiba, that functions as a multi-purpose entertainment area filled with restaurants, sports and recreation facilities, and guest houses. Park land is owned by the city of Osaka. Park maintenance is paid by the revenue from the restaurants in the park (PFI-Private Finance Initiative scheme), with some additional support from the property company. The park project is considered successful and the City of Osaka is open for more privately funded public space projects.



PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

STOCKHOLM

Public space management operated by the public sector is indirectly financed by society through taxes. In comparison to directly funded place management operated by private organizations such as business improvement districts, property or land taxes are in some cities a large part of the tax revenue. For example, in Toronto City in Canada 45% of tax revenue comes from property taxes. Some cities, like Seattle, Chicago and Minneapolis in the US, have dedicated taxes for public parks.¹⁷ 58% of the Seattle Park District's 2015 budget came from property taxes.¹⁸ Financing parks and streets with property taxes is reasonable since it creates property value. For example, The High Line park is set to generate about \$1 billion in tax revenues to the city over a 20-year period.¹⁹ Bryant Park is estimated to add an additional \$33 million annually in real estate tax revenue for the city of New York.²⁰ In Japan property taxes are set according to street type and location, and distance to public transit, and adjusted by recent land sales. Increased land value by urban development or new public spaces is captured by increased property taxes. London and Stockholm have property fees, but no property taxes based on land value.

The management of public spaces, streets and parks, in Stockholm is run solely by the city government, the municipality. The city has no property taxes. Streets are managed through the Department of Transportation (Trafikkontoret). However, plazas, parks and other open spaces are managed at city district level. Funding for open space management is decided at city level but operated at the local level of city districts. The objective for this decentralized organization, that was introduced in 1997, was to get decisions on open space maintenance closer to local neighborhoods. The experience is mixed, since the standard of maintenance through the city has been varying, depending on the social capital and political power of local neighborhoods. Park maintenance, as well as street maintenance, is in need of competence and skills, easier to keep up in a more centralized management organization. This seems also to be the experience from the public-private partnerships in the US. The caring of trees and plants needs high level of technical and biological competence, which is difficult to reach at district level. Especially in districts with lower levels of income and education.



IMAGE: VASAPARKEN, STÅHLE (2006)

PUBLIC-PRIVATE MANAGEMENT

Public spaces that have diverse funding from public and private entities are often organized through not-for-profit organizations, conservancies or trusts. These organizations can be set up by the city authority (i.e. Brooklyn Bridge Park) or a private initiative (i.e. Central Park). They can run project design and construction projects as well maintenance and management. The most successful public space organizations have a balance between public and private governance. The space being large as Central Park in New York or small as Linden Alley in San Francisco.

Public-private partnership programs have successfully created new and renewed public spaces that are run with diverse funding sources. These programs are described in the next chapter.

THE ROYAL PARKS, LONDON

The Royal Parks is a charity which manages the eight Royal Parks and certain other areas of garden and parkland in London: Hyde park, The Green, Richmond, Greenwich, St James's, Bushy and The Regent's Parks, Kensington Gardens, Brompton Cemetery, Victoria Tower Gardens, Canning Green and Poet's Corner. The parks are owned by the Crown with their responsibility resting with the Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport. The charity's primary focus is to support and manage 5,000 acres of parkland across London. The charity runs programs of activities and events to encourage outdoor recreation and public access to these areas. It also allows third parties to run such activities within the grounds to further these objectives, but commercial activity is tightly controlled.

The Royal Parks charity manages the parks on behalf of the government. The parks were managed by The Royal Parks (an executive agency of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport) until the agency joined with charity The Royal Parks Foundation to form a new charity - The Royal Parks - launched in 2017. The parks are policed by the Royal Parks Operational Command Unit of the Metropolitan Police (the English section of the previous force policing the parks, the Royal Parks Constabulary, has been abolished). Some funding for the Royal Parks comes from a central government grant. This contrasts with most of London's other parks, which are funded by local borough councils. The Royal Parks charity generates the majority of its income from commercial activities such as catering and staging public events such as concerts.



CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK

The Central Park Conservancy was formed in 1980 by a group of concerned citizens determined to improve Central Park. Today, the Conservancy manages Central Park under a contract with the City of New York, and also assists the City in maintaining select parks in all five boroughs. With 42 million visits each year to its 843 acres, Central Park is the most frequently visited urban park in the United States. Thanks to the individuals, corporations, foundations, and the City of New York, to date, the Central Park Conservancy has invested more than \$1 billion into the Park, making it a model for urban parks worldwide. The conservancy provide 75% of Central Park's \$79 million annual operating budget, and are responsible for Park maintenance, as well as capital improvements and restorations. The Central Park Conservancy is a private, not-for-profit organization, and is tax exempt.



PROSPECT PARK, NEW YORK

Prospect Park is a 213 ha public park in the New York City borough of Brooklyn. Prospect Park is run and operated by the Prospect Park Alliance and the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation (NYC Parks). Prospect Park Alliance is a conservancy that sustains "Brooklyn's Backyard," working in partnership with the City of New York. The Alliance was founded in 1987 to help restore the Park after a long period of deterioration and decline. Funding comes from a diversity of donors. Today, the Alliance provides critical staff and resources that keep the Park green and vibrant for the diverse communities that call Brooklyn home. The Alliance cares for the woodlands and natural areas, restores the Park's buildings and landscapes, creates innovative park destinations, and provides free or low-cost volunteer, education and recreation programs.



BROOKLYN BRIDGE PARK, NEW YORK

The Brooklyn Bridge Park is today considered as one of the most successful waterfront park projects in North America. In 1984, shortly after closing cargo ship operations on this stretch of waterfront, the Port Authority decided to sell the vacant piers for commercial development. In response to these plans, the not-for-profit organization Friends of Fulton Ferry Landing was established in 1985, conceiving the idea of Brooklyn Bridge Park. As the Friends of Fulton Ferry Landing grew, its name changed in 1989 to the Brooklyn Bridge Park Coalition, an organization dedicated to advocating for the park's creation, which is now known as the Brooklyn Bridge Park Conservancy. 2002 New York State and the City of New York signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in which they agreed to create, develop, and operate Brooklyn Bridge Park and to form the Brooklyn Bridge Park Development Corporation

(BBPDC) to develop the park, following the guidelines as established by the Illustrative Master Plan. To ensure the park is fiscally sustainable throughout the years, the MOU mandates that all maintenance and operations of the park are required to be economically self-sufficient, financed through revenues from adjacent commercial and residential development within the site.

The park's Master Plan was released in 2005 and the General Project Plan was approved by the State in 2006. In 2011, a new MOU was signed, granting further funding for parkland construction and outlining the requirements for commercial and residential development. Phasing of the developments was timed to ensure that funding was in place for park maintenance and operations as park construction was completed. Construction was completed on the first phases of the park and associated developments in 2011. The second and third phases followed in 2012 and 2013 respectively. The construction budget totals \$355 million for full build-out. As of June 2011, approximately \$146 million had been committed by the City, \$85 million by the Port Authority, \$4.9 million by the Borough President and City Council, and \$3.5 million from private donors. Additional city funding for the remaining phases is contingent upon approval of associated development projects.

The development program included five residential buildings, a mixed hotel/residential building, a mixed commercial/retail building, and associated parking. The footprint of these buildings was only 9% of the total project area. Annual ground lease and PILOT (payment in lieu of taxes) revenues generated by these developments account for 96.1% of the park's annual projected operating revenues. Concessions and events revenues account for the remaining 3.9%. This is in addition to one-time revenues from Payment in Lieu of Sales Taxes and Payment in Lieu of Mortgage Recording Taxes.

The operating budget for Brooklyn Bridge Park is based on a model that considers the park's usage acre-by-acre as well as capital reserve requirements needed to fund replacement of Park improvements once they reach the end of their service life. The model was adjusted to account for inflation, specific features that reduce cost (such as use of photovoltaic cells and stormwater reuse), and New York City Department of Parks & Recreation experience with maintaining nearby waterfront parks. Maintenance and operating expenses have been covered by ground rent, PILOT fees, and other revenue sources throughout the first phase of construction. In con-

clusion, city and state funds paid for the design and construction of the park, but the government agencies moved forward only because private sources had agreed to pay for its maintenance and management through real estate and donations.



IMAGE: WALK OF NEW YORK

DIVERSITY PLAZA, NEW YORK

The Diversity Plaza in Jackson Heights, Queens, started in 2011 as a temporary closure of 37th Road from Broadway to 73rd and 74th Streets from Roosevelt Avenue to Broadway. It was part of the Department of Transportation, NYC Plaza Program. A total of \$4.45 million have been offset toward installing new trees, bike racks, move-able furniture, raised planters, wayfinding signage and designated space for performances. In addition to the new amenities, the Department of Design and Construction reconstructed several surrounding streets and installed new water mains, catch basins, sidewalks, curbs, street lighting and traffic signals. The Horticultural Society of New York will provide daily maintenance and technical services. The

The plaza has acted as a venue for public performances, a meeting space for residents to mourn tragedies and a place for political activism. The community group Friends of Diversity Plaza have been important to gather engagement from residents and actors around the public space. “It is the town square of our neighborhood: here, we have celebrated the cultures of our world; rallied and protested for the civil rights of the most vulnerable in our city; enjoyed music and art from across our community and around the globe; and engaged in civic activism or sipped a cup of chai with our neighbors. Diversity Plaza represents a powerful message of solidarity at a time when we need it most.”, said Shekar Krishnan and Eirik Davey-Gislason, co-chairs of Friends of Diversity Plaza.²¹



IMAGE: CITYLIMITS

LINDEN ALLEY, SAN FRANCISCO

Connecting to Patricias Green, Linden Alley was created in 2005. It is a calm and eclectic street space, basically car free with diverse retail, graffiti and streets landscaping. Hayes Valley Neighborhood Association and the Neighborhood Parks Council, became the project’s fiscal sponsor. Through the NPC, the Linden Living Alley project secured a \$97,800 Community Challenge Grant from the City Administrator’s Office. Architecture and design studios provided pro bono services and manufacturers contributed free or discounted materials. Adjacent property and business owners pledged private funding, complemented by a grant from the Studio for Urban Projects. In addition, Department of Public Works contributed stimulus funding to move catch basins and perform necessary maintenance on underground pipes. Though the Linden Alley redesign was a citizen-driven project, multiple city agencies played a role in review, design, and funding. The San Francisco Planning Department included Linden Alley in its General Plan. The Department of Public Works (DPW) led implementation, and Neighborhood Parks Council helped coordinate funding. A group of community members and adjacent building owners has taken ownership over maintenance duties, watering plants and clearing any trash. Since Linden Alley deviates from the standard street design, DPW granted an encroachment but required the community group to be responsible for liability. Adjacent building owners agreed to pay the annual premium for liability insurance.



IMAGE: NACTO

PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP PROGRAMS

A public-private partnership is a government service or private business venture which is funded and operated through a partnership of a government entity and one or more private sector companies or non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Public-private partnerships are necessarily formal in nature. They require all parties to define roles and responsibilities through contracts, resulting in a high level of accountability. Each partner has a clear interest in success of the partnership and commits to fulfilling their assigned responsibilities. There is a high degree of variability in the shape of these partnerships. In scenarios where a single, large corporate partner is involved, the project may benefit from significant financial resources. If the partnership involves a greater number of small local business partners, the project typically benefits from a strong base of investment from many diverse stakeholders.²²

NEW YORK CITY PLAZA PROGRAM

Since 2007 New York City has created 70 new plazas with the NYC Plaza Program. The Department of Transportation (DOT) works with selected non-profit and BID organizations to create neighborhood plazas throughout the City to transform underused streets into vibrant, social public spaces. The NYC Plaza Program is a key part of the City's effort to ensure that all New Yorkers live within a 10-minute walk of quality open space and increase pedestrian safety on its streets. Eligible organizations can propose new plaza sites for their neighborhoods through a competitive application process. DOT prioritizes sites that are in neighborhoods that lack open space, and partners with community groups that commit to operate, maintain, and manage these spaces so they are vibrant pedestrian plazas. Applications are reviewed and evaluated according to the City's strategic goals and site-specific criteria, including:

- Open space: whether or not the neighborhood has an insufficient amount of open space
- Community initiative: the extent to which the applicant had developed and executed a community outreach plan, built consensus for the site, and solidified local stakeholder support
- Site context: the proposed site's appropriateness to the adjacent land uses, population density, proximity to transit, safety, and other nearby open space.

- Organizational and maintenance capacity: the extent to which the applicant is willing and able to program activities, maintain, operate and manage the plaza once it is built
- Income eligibility: applicants received additional points for proposals located in neighborhoods that qualify as low- or moderate-income as designated by the US Department of Housing & Urban Development as eligible for Community Development Block Grants.

DOT will fund the design and construction of the plaza. With community input through public visioning workshops, DOT assists partners in developing a conceptual design appropriate to the neighborhood. A professional team of designers then uses the conceptual design to create formal plans. Partners are involved throughout the design process. Possible amenities may include tables and seating, trees and plants, lighting, bike racks, public art, and drinking fountains, and temporary food/beverage concessions.

Partner organizations will be responsible for the following:

- Outreach: Partners will reach out to the public to gather relevant data and to provide active participation in the public workshops, which may include promotion, surveying, and coordination of participants during these workshops.
- Design: A team of designers will be responsible for the design process. Partners will be expected to participate in regular design meetings with DOT and the designers so that the design is appropriate to the neighborhood context, that it meets local needs, and that plazas are designed with acceptable materials and amenities.
- Funding Plan: Partners will develop a funding plan that outlines how the organization will fund and manage the plaza for the long term. To demonstrate that steps are being taken toward the funding plan, the nonprofit partner will provide DOT progress reports.
- Insurance: Partners must provide appropriate insurance on the plaza.
- Maintenance: Before construction is complete, the Partner will enter into an agreement with DOT

for the maintenance of the plaza so that the site is kept clean and in a state of good repair. The specific maintenance services to be provided may include daily sweeping, watering of plants, removing stickers and graffiti, and shoveling snow.

- **Programming & Events:** To make the plazas vibrant centers of activity and neighborhood destinations, the Partner will be expected to program activities and events at the site, which may include holiday events, food or craft markets, temporary public art installations or exhibits, and music and dancing.

As needed, DOT will monitor and inspect the plazas to assess and confirm that the Partner organizations are fulfilling their responsibility as set forth in an agreement with DOT. In the early years of the program, NYC DOT staff recognized that established, well-funded community organizations were much better positioned to assume plaza management responsibilities than those in high need neighborhoods. It was clear that if the program was going to equitably increase access to open space throughout all five boroughs, public space stewards in high-need neighborhoods would need extra help. In particular, there was a great need to provide technical assistance around plaza maintenance.

In 2013, the Neighborhood Plaza Partnership (NPP) was launched as a program of The Horticultural Society of New York (The Hort), to establish a response to these needs. NPP engages in direct service and advocacy to assist community-based organizations serving as plaza managers in high-need areas. NPP provides a variety of services, including subsidized maintenance service using a workforce training model, organizational capacity-building, marketing advisory services, and citywide promotion of the benefits of the NYC DOT Plaza Program. The organization was launched with the help of an \$800,000

catalyst grant from the JPMorgan Chase Foundation in 2013.

NPP has recognized that while volunteers and local business owners can be key partners in periodic site clean-ups and light maintenance in the short-term, public plazas do require a maintenance commitment that is too large for this “good Samaritan” model in the long-term. In providing maintenance services, NPP collaborates with a number of workforce development programs. Through the Hort’s GreenHouse program, NPP engages formerly incarcerated individuals from Rikers Island Correctional Facility in transitional employment through plaza landscaping and maintenance jobs. NPP also contracts with workforce teams from Association of Community Employment (ACE), a non-profit organization dedicated to providing job training and work experience to homeless men and women.

NPP’s model is an innovative response to resource disparities that impact a community organization’s ability to thrive in the role of public space manager. While the model is still developing, NPP’s work provides a number of lessons for public space managers and decision makers to consider. In all aspects of public space management, maintenance and stewardship are often the most challenging for community organizations to take on. There is the typically a great need for support and technical assistance in this area. To create a sustainable model, community organizations may need technical assistance that is focused on building their internal capacity to fundraise, secure sponsorships, and develop revenue streams that will allow them to pay for maintenance on an ongoing basis. Visionary leaders are essential. In most scenarios, NPP works closely with the City Council members from the districts where the plazas are located. Council member support for NPP and local stewards, in terms of financial donations and staff resources, have been a critical component of the model.²³



IMAGE: NACTO

LOS ANGELES PEOPLE ST PROGRAM

The Los Angeles People St program is run by the Los Angeles Department of Transportation’s (LADOT). It is designed to support communities in transforming L.A.’s streets into active, vibrant, and accessible public spaces. Through this program, community partners complete an application to obtain approval for small-scale public space projects within three established categories: plazas, bike corrals, and parklets. LADOT evaluates project proposals each spring, and then accepts new applications again in the fall. For plaza and parklet projects, LADOT provides a “kit of parts” document, which outlines required, pre-approved design configurations. The LADOT’s “Kit of Parts” Model presents a variation on San Francisco’s successful Pavement to Parks Program.

LADOT views the plazas, parklets, and bike corrals created through People St as part of a continuum of projects that can help transform streets citywide. People St interventions exist in a space between short-term event-based initiatives such as open streets and permanent complete streets infrastructure upgrades. People St is a Public-private partnership in which the City works with project sponsors that are willing to fund construction and maintenance of their project. In some cases, project leaders have independently secured grants to fund their initiative, but this is rare. Most partners receive funding through neighborhood councils, local officials, or crowdsourcing.

The Community Partner is responsible for all programming and activation efforts in their parklet or plaza. The Community Partner is responsible for maintaining and operating the parklet or plaza.

Responsibilities vary by project type, and LADOT provides a clear chart of costs and responsibilities for stewards. The majority of partnerships are established with organizations that can demonstrate clear capabilities to perform their required maintenance duties, such as BIDs.

NoHo Plaza was a project under the People St. program. Through this initiative, the NoHo Business Improvement District (BID) applied for People St. funding and was chosen to partner with the LADOT in transforming a North Hollywood alleyway into a pedestrian plaza. LADOT paid for the plaza’s colorful surface treatment of bright green polka dots as well as planters and signage, while the NoHo BID supplied furnishings and ongoing and management of the space. The cost of the project totaled at around \$57,000, which remains significantly lower than any traditional redesign project involving capital improvements. Another part of the People St. agreement ensures that the NoHo BID will work with community organizations to activate the space with public programs and events such as movie screenings, festivals, or lectures. In order for the annual plaza permit to become permanent, the BID must continue to uphold this commitment



CHICAGO MAKE WAY FOR PEOPLE PROGRAM

The Chicago Department of Transportation's (Chicago DOT) Make Way for People initiative aims to leverage placemaking to create new public spaces that cultivate community and culture in Chicago's neighborhoods. Make Way for People incorporates four program areas:

- People Spots - People Spots function like San Francisco's Parklets, to expand sidewalks and create additional space for outdoor seating by adding temporary platforms adjacent to sidewalks, typically within existing parking lanes.
- People Streets - People Streets convert "excess" roadway (such as dead end streets or cul-de-sacs) into year-round hardscape public spaces using temporary measures like paint and street furniture.
- People Plazas - People Plazas activate existing Chicago DOT malls, plazas, and triangles by introducing new programming or retail opportunities with public and private partners.
- People Alleys - People Alleys enable the use of alleys for artwalks, seating, and other small scale events that support placemaking and economic and community development.

For each of these space types, the Chicago DOT has entered into use agreements with community partners, a framework which is enabled through the Make Way for People ordinance. The use agreement details vary by site, but partners are responsible for all programming and specialized maintenance costs. Typical partners include local businesses or Special Service Area service providers (which function much like BIDs).



SAN FRANCISCO STREET PARKS PROGRAM

The San Francisco Parks Alliance is a non-profit organization financed by donors as a philanthropy. The Street Parks Program is a partnership between the Alliance and San Francisco City Public Works Department. The aim of the program is to support grassroots community groups in developing and maintaining underutilized publicly owned open spaces. In administering this program, The Alliance leverages its experience in community organizing, open-space management, and volunteer coordination to help neighborhood groups beautify and activate public land on street medians, steps, triangles or traffic circles, unimproved right-of-ways, and more. The Street Parks Program has resulted in the transformation of over 120 open spaces throughout San Francisco.

Participation in the program begins with interest from a motivated group of residents. The Alliance has developed Street Parks Guidelines to provide interested groups with initial information about the program as well as about safety, planting, maintenance, and caring for street trees. Groups who wish to participate must submit a short application and engage in a meeting and site visit to obtain Public Works approval for community engagement with the targeted site. Site approval is based on demonstrated neighborhood support as well as site safety.

Once Public Works has approved the site, The Alliance supports community groups in developing an action plan, including drawings of proposed improvements, planting lists, and a budget. The Alliance provides workshops on a range of topics to support stewardship groups throughout the year, from fundraising to plant selection and care. Groups are



responsible for raising money to fund their own project, and they may choose to take advantage of fiscal sponsorship through The Alliance’s Park Partners program if needed. Once adequate funds are raised, project leaders work together to engage neighborhood stakeholders in volunteer workdays to implement the vision outlined in the plan.



IMAGE: STÄHLE (2019)

PRIVATE MANAGEMENT

If public space management, maintenance and events are operated by a private entity it must be in some sort of organization that gathers many actors, property owners, businesses or residents, since public spaces always is a matter for a larger neighborhood. The most common scheme is the Business Improvement District (BID), which is a property owners organisation that collects additional taxes from businesses within a designated area, generally in denser downtown areas. The fees are used for public improvement projects, based on the notion that a well-maintained public space will increase commerce for local businesses. BID funding is managed by a non-profit corporation. Recurring lease payments from private actors such as BIDs can be received for access to new facilities or manage public space.

In Japan these property organisations are called Area Management Associations (AMA). AMAs are often run by one major property owner (eg. Mitsubishi Estate, Mitsui Fudosan, Mori Building) in dialogue with surrounding landowners and the local city government. The major property owner often is the main funding source for maintenance and events. Since private companies cannot execute maintenance of public spaces in Japan AMA creates a non-profit arrangement which includes more stakeholders to cooperate. A new legislation in Japan also allows commercial activities such as restaurants to finance public space maintenance, the so-called Park-PFI (Private Finance Incitament).

A scheme well developed in the US and in New York in particular is the not-for-profit conservancy. Conservancies are private, nonprofit organizations that raise money independent of the city and spend it under a plan of action mutually agreed upon with the government. That is, conservancies may be involved in fundraising as well as management of the park funds they raise. In some cases, conservancies actually take a leading role in managing, programming, and maintaining the park too. Most conservancies fund capital for a single, signature park in a city through extensive fundraising and partnership with adjacent real estate developments. They rely heavily on corporate sponsorship, grants, and individual donors. City governments, in NYC for example, have increasingly started to support the organization of conservancies, to help fund and maintain new parks.

BRYANT PARK COOPERATION, NEW YORK

Bryant Park is a green oasis located in midtown Manhattan. Built in 1911, the eight-acre park abuts the New York Public Library and serves as a recreation space for office workers from the nearby high-rise buildings. In the 1970's, however, the park was suffering from deferred maintenance and had deteriorated into a haunt of drug dealers and users. Beginning in 1980, the park underwent extensive redesign and restoration, and is now one of the most active and loved spaces in New York City.

The \$18 million park redesign/restoration was completed in 1995, after almost 15 years of planning. It was funded from a combination of grants, BID assessments, state bond funds, city capital funds, and private venture capital. The park land is owned by New York City Parks Department. The City grants permits for events at the park and provides landmark oversight. The park is managed by The Bryant Park Restoration Corp. (BPRC), a business improvement district (BID). During the summer, the park employs about 55 people who manage security, sanitation, gardening and special events. The BID Bryant Park Corporation has a long-term lease with the City of New York and has successfully developed and maintained the park since 1988.²⁴ Bryant Park can be rented for private events (i.e. the skating rink in the Winter Village sponsored by Bank of America), provided they are open to the public and approved by the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation and BPRC.



IMAGE: BRYANT PARK ORGANIZATION

TIMES SQUARE ALLIANCE, NEW YORK

Times Square is a landmark space in Midtown, Manhattan, famous for its vibrant city life and exterior. The BID Times Square Alliance, founded in 1992, works to improve and promote Times Square - cultivating the creativity, energy and edge that have made the area an icon of entertainment, culture and urban life. The Alliance is a not-for-profit organization, which accepts tax-deductible contributions, and is governed by a large, voluntary Board of Directors.

In addition to providing core neighbourhood services with its public safety officers, maintenance and sanitation associates, the Alliance, promotes local businesses, encourages economic development and public improvements, co-coordinates numerous major events in Times Square, including the annual New Year's Eve and Solstice in Times Square celebrations, curates and presents public art projects throughout the district via Times Square Arts, and advocates on behalf of its constituents with respect to a host of public policy, planning and quality-of-life issues. Managing Times Square is grand challenge for a BID that includes some high-end city politics. This became evident in the transformation process of pedestrianizing Times Square 2006-2016.



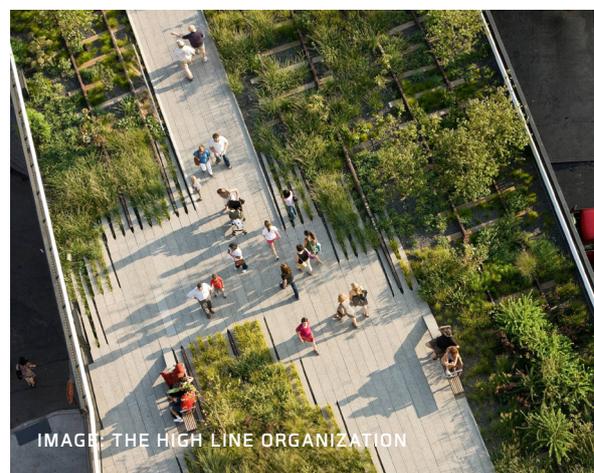
FRIENDS OF THE HIGH LINE, NEW YORK

The High Line is one of the most famous and successful public space projects in New York City. It relies heavily on private donations raised by Friends of the High Line. Friends of the High Line is cred-

ited with saving the structure of the elevated freight rail by rallying public support for the conversion to a park. Friends of the High Line played a role in the line's visual aesthetic, holding a competition in conjunction with the city of New York in 2004 to determine the design team which would lead the project. Since the park's opening in 2009, Friends of the High Line has had an agreement with the New York City Department of Parks & Recreation to serve as its primary steward.

The organization is responsible for the daily operation and maintenance of the park, with an annual operating budget of \$11.5 million, in addition to capital construction and management and fundraising expenses. Friends of the High Line has raised more than \$150 million in public and private funds toward the construction of the first two sections of the park. Unlike the first two phases, to which the city significantly contributed, Friends of the High Line was responsible for raising funds for phase three (an estimated \$35 million). The organization raises over 90 percent of the High Line's annual operating budget from private donations.

The recycling of the rail line into an urban park has revitalized Chelsea, which was not particularly ripe for real estate investment during the late twentieth century. It has also spurred real-estate development in the neighbourhoods along the line. It also helped raise the value of properties directly adjacent to the High Line by an average of 10 percent over properties a few blocks away. Apartments located near Phase 1 of the High Line are, on average, more than twice as costly as those between Seventh and Eighth Avenues (two blocks east). In August 2016, the park continued to increase real-estate values along it in an example of the halo effect.



NEW WEST END COMPANY, LONDON

New West End Company represents both property and occupier businesses in the West End, making it the UK's largest retail-led BID. It covers 74 streets and over 600 businesses including Bond Street, Oxford Street and Regent Street. The BID is funded by a mandatory levy, added to the business rate, on all eligible businesses after a successful ballot. It operates street maintenance, and security as well as air quality strategies, including reductions of commercial vehicle trips.

The BID has initiated and financed some major public space transformations. The Wild West End Garden transformed the quiet Old Quebec Street by removing traffic to create a rich habitat for wildlife, improving air quality and providing a new, calm public space for people living, working and visiting London's West End. Since its opening dwell time on the street has increased by 44%. The renewal of Bond Street Led by New West End Company together with Westminster City Council and Transport for London and supported by major Bond Street retailers and property owners, the project has completely transformed the public space. Supporting the transformation of Hanover Square, Oxford Street, East Mayfair and Bird Street, as the "world's first smart street", a tech-friendly, traffic-free hub with a range of sustainable technologies, including Pavegen technology, which generates electricity from pedestrian movement, and Airlite's revolutionary air purifying paint.

IKEBUKURO PARK AREA MANAGEMENT, TOKYO

The maintenance and management of Ikebukuro park in the Toshima ward in Tokyo is financed by the Park-PFI scheme (Private Finance Initiative) in Japan's Urban Park Act. PFI means that private business, such as restaurants or shops, can operate in the park if they a part of their profit gets back to the park's maintenance. This is the case with Ikebukuro Park where the restaurant in the park donates 0,5% of their profit to the Association to Improve Minami-Ikebukuro Park, which manages maintenance and events. The electric power company TEPCO that has facilities under ground the park also supports maintenance financially.



FROM SPACE MAKING TO PLACE MAKING

The study has identified a variety of types to plan, design, build, manage and finance public spaces. The systems to balance the public and the private sector works differently in different cities and national legislations, although there seems to be some principles of privately financing public spaces that work better than others.

Planning for public spaces on public land is quite straightforward and seem to work very well when the public sector holds a lot of land ownership and has a good tax revenue stream (Stockholm, Singapore). High levels of planning and design skills are crucial to make places work. Planning for public spaces in areas with mixed ownership is more complex. Combinations of land transfer and development impact fees seem to work well in cities with high levels of planning expertise and strong regulation schemes (Barcelona, Tokyo). So called “Development Based Land Value Capture” that is based on sales of land or development rights and not on fees or taxes is maybe preferable since it relates directly to urban design, it can generate a direct revenue from land value increase from public spaces in short and long term, and it establishes a clear link between created and captured value.²⁵ Planning for public spaces on private land (POPS) with density bonuses and zoning incentives is a challenge but experience show that it can work well in high density places if planning authorities strongly regulate the design quality of public spaces and organize management in private-public partnerships (New York, San Francisco).

Public spaces created and managed by the public sector can work well if the city has a stable tax revenue, otherwise private funding is needed to uphold public spaces. The success of privately financed public space management depends on contracts between the public and the private sector. The private sector must be an organization that gathers many actors in an area or around a place. Conservancies and alike associations, gathering all types of actors (businesses, civic, individual) seem to be more resilient than simple business improvement districts (BIDs) that just gather property or business owners. Although property owners are the most important economic actors in the long term. The public-private public space partnership programs run in New York, San Francisco, Chicago and LA have created many new urban public spaces in these cities and promisingly shows that city governments can introduce systems of collaborations with the private sector that benefit and engage all citizens, creating social as well as economic values. For a public-private partnership to work the public sector must define rules, regulations and guidelines stated in contracts that also regulates funding from both sides. Public authorities are always finally responsible for the success of public space.

	PRIVATE	PRIVATE	PRIVATE
PRIVATE	Land sale, Taxes	Development impact fee, Sale of development rights, Land Transfer, TIF	Zoning incentives, Density bonus, TIF
PRIVATE	Taxes	Public-Private partnership programs, Conservancies	Betterment levies, Business improvement districts, TIF
PRIVATE	Taxes	Public-Private partnership programs, Conservancies	Lease payments, Business improvement districts, Landowners

MODELS TO FINANCE PUBLIC SPACES IN PLANNING, PROJECTS AND MANAGEMENT.

THE NEED FOR STRONG PUBLIC GOVERNMENT

All cities have some sort of public planning authority, although it looks like some cities don't. Public spaces and infrastructures must be regulated by some sort of public entity since they are non-excludable long-term spatial systems, affecting different people and actors over a sometimes-infinite time period. The geometry and location of streets and public open space and property lines are also costly to change in the urban fabric, once they have been planned or built. In fact, highly attractive economically thriving places have always been a result of public sector planning and regulations. The most successful places in the urban world are a result of planning. The key is finding the right type of regulation that creates sustainable urban development, from planning to design and management. The public sector obviously has many roles to play in the process.

RESEARCH CENTER – Public government can be an important neutral resource for analysis and data about the use and quality of public spaces. Universities and academia have an important role in studying public spaces in the long term, but public planning authorities can do local and project specific studies of great importance to trustworthy planning processes. The power of facts and data in local planning have been shown in many cases to support decision makers and ease conflicts in planning.

DIALOGUE SPACE – A public government that has high trust from inhabitants can also work as a platform for dialogue, hosting public meetings, focus groups and webinars on the planning, design or management of public spaces. A private company can never be a neutral part in the planning discourse. Only a public or a non-profit civic organization can host a democratic platform for the exchange of ideas between different interests in a planning or design process.

POLICY INSTITUTE – Based on research and ideology a public authority should have city-wide or district-wide policies and guidelines for the planning and design of public spaces. One such straight forward measure is the share of public open space in an area. New York City proposes a general guideline of at least 15% public open space. This has then been adopted by some other cities, as well as UN Habitat. Many cities have objectives for the minimum distance to parks and green spaces. In Japan at least 1/6

of the street width should be committed to pedestrian space, i.e. the sidewalk. These kind of simple guidelines eases and speeds up the decision-making process at local project level.

LEGAL AUTHORITY – The most obvious role for public government is legally regulating urban form and land use. The major tools here are zoning regulations, plans and building permits. Public space and infrastructures are often the very backbone of a plan, structuring plots and development rights. The public planning authority have the power to say “yes” or “no” to a developer's proposal, and it is by this power that private actors can be forced to co-create or finance public spaces. The system of “density bonuses” is exactly this. The planning authority lets you build if new public space is created. If the public space is not created there is no building permit. Public planning authority also has the crucial role of regulating property lines, and thereby enabling land transfer and land readjustments, used in e.g. Japan.

DESIGN LAB – A public authority responsible for a large number of public spaces in the city have the possibility to invest in many different types of places and also to test different designs. From large to small streets, from large to small parks, public spaces that are designed with the public sector as the main client can be both experimental and made flexible, since the financial resources are more resilient in the public sector. To design a vibrant public space needs both a sense of innovation and tradition, which can be cultivated within the public sector.

CARE TAKER – Public authorities are responsible for some or most streets and parks operations and maintenance in a city. Since maintenance of especially greenery and parks is a long-term commitment (trees can be 100 years old) the public sector's engagement in maintenance, either as a direct operator or indirectly as part of a conservancy, is crucial to the sustainability and stability of the quality of public spaces. The number of users of a public space is crucial to wear and tear and the need for material and functional quality. A measure that is useful for estimating the quality of public spaces in an area could be ‘sqm per person’ (residents and working population). In an area where there is very little sqm open space per person, typically in dense downtowns, there is probably a high intensity of use and therefore need for high quality design and maintenance. This measure should be further studied and researched, as a tool to integrate planning and management.

FINANCIAL PLATFORM – City governments, municipalities are but one actor in the financing of urban development, but in many ways they are the pivotal one because of their statutory powers and their ability to act on all sectors within a defined geographic space. Households and private enterprises are the developers and builders of urban communities and the owners and operators of economic activities. But unless the municipality can deliver the supportive sustainable infrastructure and services they need, orderly development will be impaired. Sustainable urban development requires significant capital and operating expenditures, particularly in situations where urban expansion requires the corresponding provision of urban services. Funding for capital investment requires access to long-term borrowing on terms broadly related to the working lives of the assets to be financed. Long-term credit is what municipalities have to fund urban development. Local government also needs sophisticated debt management capability to draw on the available range of financial options and instruments to finance capital investment needs. Many countries have established Municipal Development Funds (MDFs) to provide regional and local governments with much-needed capital. Sources of municipal revenue vary widely across countries, with property and land taxes as the most significant, followed by fees, levies and exactions through which private developers pay for part of the public infrastructure needed for their projects.

In cities that have successful thriving public spaces there is always a strong public government involvement, on all levels, from planning to management.

THE NEED FOR STRONG PRIVATE SECTOR

The cases presented in this paper prove that the private sector can be an active partner in the creation and operations of high-quality public spaces. When property owners, developers, businesses, community organizations, foundations, and residents are involved in the public space making process the results can become more meaningful, more resilient and more thriving. This entails everything from large scale planning projects to small scale interventions, such as open street events and guerilla gardening. Generally, for a private sector to be executive it must organize itself. Single actor involvement in public spaces are not usually beneficiary to social value. Multi-actor organizations with diverse funding resources, like conservancies, seem to be more

agile and dynamic, in comparison to simple business improvement districts, especially when it comes to management. Planning is a slightly other type of arena. There it is more up to the public sector to engage all possible actors in the planning process, organized or not. A planning process that has involved a range of private actors is a sustainable foundation for the coming public space projects and on-going public space management.

There are many potential benefits for private developers and property owners to support public space, according to the Urban Land Institute²⁶:

PLANNING AND DESIGN

- Stronger support for proposed developments through early community engagement on open-space components
- Increased buy-in from influential stakeholders, including public officials and investors
- Faster zoning approvals and entitlements from local jurisdictions, lowering project costs
- Increased development size or density in localities with park/ open-space zoning incentives
- Enhanced likelihood of winning RFPs to develop projects because of civic contributions

PROJECT MARKETING

- Ability to capture strong market demand for parks and open space
- Increased marketability due to project differentiation
- Ability to enhance project branding or burnish a firm's reputation through high-quality design
- Opportunities for public recognition through sponsored public events, awards, or iconic features
- Increased project visibility because of foot traffic

PROJECT COMPLETION

- Accelerated market absorption rates
- Enhanced asset value through higher rent premiums, lower vacancy rates, or faster lease-ups
- Ability to command sales or rental rates above comparable projects that lack open space
- Economic development that supports project value through – Job creation and business relocation

and attraction – Complementary neighborhood development/synergistic uses

- Equitable development opportunities through partnerships on workforce development, small business retention, and affordable housing

OPERATIONS AND MAINTENANCE

- Increased net operating income
- New sources of revenue streams from vendors, concessions, or events to offset O&M costs
- Long-term cost savings through resilience-promoting amenities
- Better mortgage insurance rates from debt providers
- Sustained value/future-proofing
- Increased business for retail tenants, reducing vacancy and tenant turnover
- Increased residential tenant retention
- Long-term real estate value appreciation
- Project resilience during economic downturns

Hence, there is a lot of value to gain for the private sector to engage in public spaces. However, this also poses a potential threat to the public good itself. Privatization of public space by specific private actors can degrade and undermine the values and social character of a public space, which does not benefit the actors themselves. A complex and sensitive area is security. If private actors run security of a public space, it can destroy the social life of place itself, since the core value public spaces are the freedom of activity and speech. Fostering the public character of a space is crucial to uphold its social and economic values. There are many tools to control privatization. Planning regulation and zoning ordinance that regulates building permits and public space uses. Policies and guidelines for public space design. Highly regulated and detailed contracts with private management companies, as well as structured processes and organizations for collaboration and governance, that allows for proactive and constructive dialogue between public and private actors. As a response to the current private development of London, the Greater London Authority is currently working on a city-wide policy Public London Charter.

So, for a strong private sector to be successfully engaged in the public space making process there needs to be a strong public sector that plans and regulates

the involvement. It is not either-or, it is both-and. Successful cities are always a result of the dynamics between public and private.

THE NEED FOR EQUITY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The values of public space are by nature relevant for all citizens. The user of a park or a street can never be precisely defined or pre-determined. Its social values can also be considered as a social right, according to Henri Lefebvre's "right to the city (1991), John Rawls "theory of justice", or Susan Fainstein "the just city" (2010). Meeting places, social interactions, recreational opportunities, transportation, play and comfort is something that all citizens need. Since public spaces can both reflect and shape the communities they serve, they become meaningful places for people working to create more equitable cities. Many underserved communities have been systematically excluded from the prosperity and vibrancy that their city continues to generate for its wealthier residents. When neighbors come together to improve their public spaces, results can be tangible and immediate, and this process itself amplifies the sense of inclusion that great places can generate.

Within cities, encouraging development or redevelopment so that land is brought to its "highest and best use" may force gentrification and displacement. In contrast to the neighborhood process of gentrification that most often comes to mind, the process now occurs on such a large scale that it no longer affects just neighborhoods, or low-income neighborhoods in particular, but entire regions within cities. Often, it affects entire cities themselves, as major global cities like San Francisco, New York, and London are witnessing the increasing displacement of residents from a range of income levels. Within this complex process, it is difficult to deny the relationship between the improvement or development of an area's public spaces and increasing value of the surrounding environment as a result. Because this "value" appeals to capital investment, and to people looking to move into areas with such "value," it seems as though any development of public space somehow contributes to gentrification, regardless of intention, and regardless of who actually implements it.

While Placemaking can be a vital part of economic development, criticisms call into question whether this process is helping communities to develop their local economies, or merely accelerating the process of gentrification in formerly-maligned urban core neighborhoods. Gentrification is not triggered by a single factor, but rather, it develops from a complex set of factors, as a result of the complex and often hidden movement of capital, as well as the uneven production and consumption of urban space. Neighborhoods gentrify in many ways, for many reasons - including factors like housing stock, neighborhood amenities, transport links, public schools, and a relationship to other physical features and public spaces such as parks, waterfronts, squares, markets, and so on. This becomes even more complicated with earlier-stage gentrification, when the issue isn't necessarily whether a place has one or more of these factors, but rather if it has the potential to have one or more of these factors.

Gentrification not only affects people and their communities, but it affects the physical and cultural landscape of a place. This can also be greatly impacted by poor public space design. Gentrification can destroy an area's "sense of place" by turning it into a homogenous or corporate zone, especially when the process develops into its more mature stages. In general, the more mature the gentrification in a given area, the more the area is subjected to privatization and socio-spatial exclusion - and this can change the feel of a neighborhood entirely. Therefore, when public spaces are "developed" in this way, or when places and amenities are "installed" in a community without genuine community input and a recognition of the specific needs and desires of that community, this kind of "placelessness" will inevitably result.

According to the placemaking advocacy and non-governmental organization Project for Public Spaces (2015), "the Right to the City is a right to create, to participate, to be represented--it is the right to see oneself reflected in the place they live. It is a right that people understand intuitively, even (or especially) when they live in places where this right has been restricted. We see this in the graffiti that has been painted on the walls of cities in conflict, we hear it at so many of the protests that have spilled out of public squares in recent years. Acts of civil disobedience are demands for the right to the city; they show that people want to be involved in the decisions that impact their communities. And this right to participate has been shown to be directly related to human happiness and well-being. Placemaking, by solidifying the links between people and their shared places, can

enable us to stitch our cities back together. Instead of top-down, privatized, public space making, placemaking has a focus on empowering communities to create public spaces that support their own needs, interests, and values. Placemaking is a tool that connects community members to physical changes within their neighborhood, as well as to each other; it can help tackle the divisive, top-down, neighborhood change that is often associated with gentrification."

THE NEED FOR A WALKABLE CITY

The impact of vehicular traffic on environmental quality and health is indisputable. Traffic congestion, air pollution, vehicle crashes, and pedestrian injuries are some of the direct effects of increased car usage. Then there are secondary effects. Increased car usage also means less walking and bicycling. Research shows that low physical activity relates to an increased risk for cardiovascular disease, stroke, hypertension, high cholesterol, diabetes, and obesity, where the latter have many known secondary diseases. Hence a city that encourages walking and bicycling, especially to parks and open spaces, would naturally be healthier. This would logically be a living environment where most of the important daily activities are always within pedestrian range, i.e., with high accessible density. Although the relation between density and the amount of walking is not always direct, it is certainly something that may, under right circumstances, increase walkability. Reversibly, it is not possible to create a walkable neighborhood at low densities.

At its heart, the urban quality defines urban design factors crucial to walkability, i.e. being able to live your life in an area where it is safe and convenient to walk, where urban space is friendly and active at eye-level, but also where you are car-independent. The Swedish Association of Architects and the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation have both listed 'sustainable urban development' and urban walkability (including these qualities) as key agenda items. Furthermore, the Stockholm regional development plan and Stockholm City Plan both focus on the development of a dense green walkable city close to public transport nodes. The City Plan for Stockholm is in fact named "The Walkable City". A walkable city—one that works for people walking—and that is attractive at eye level, is a city where people want to live and work. It is not surprising. Cities basically are, as Harvard-economist Edward Glaeser says, places for interaction, and when a city is designed for making that interaction meaningful

and comfortable then the quality of life is enhanced, which in turn, supports prosperity and increased social welfare.

Cities all over the world are growing and transforming through processes of densification and sprawl. Open spaces, private and public, are being turned into buildings, infrastructure and new landscapes of public spaces, parks, plazas, playgrounds and natural areas are emerging. These spatial structures define the cultural, social, economic and political functions of cities. In the processes of urbanization, public space plays a crucial role in the creation of social and economic value for neighbourhoods, cities and regions. Planning and design of public space and walkability is critical to sustainable dense urban development.²⁷

The absence of social and economic opportunities of slums and un-planned sprawling settlements is often due to a lack of well distributed high quality public spaces. Similarly, quality of life in high density mixed-use areas, is often dependent on the existence of inclusive and accessible public places. Urbanization is both a threat and an opportunity for the creation, protection and management of urban public spaces. In times of urbanization the existence of public space depends on our ability to see its value.²⁸

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