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Editor of this Issue:

Chloé Gaspari

Exploring urban transformations is at the core of IGLUS' raison d'etre. Our program travels from cities to cities to understand how they are planned, governed, regenerated; to understand a phenomenon called by Henri Lefebvre as the *production of space*. He argues that space is socially produced, through interactions and power relations between different groups within a society to create a space that answers the priorities and needs of local social, economic and institutional structures; and incorporates the values, the functions and the creative potential to transform it over time¹.

During our modules, with our network of academics and practitioners, it is precisely the various aspects of the urban landscape transformation that we are addressing: How are cities reshaped to make them more resilient, productive, sustainable and ultimately, liveable? It questions cities as both products and processes, to understand not only the evolution of the governance of urban systems but also the positioning of the numerous stakeholders involved in its production and their relations.

For the first issue of the IGLUS Quarterly series looking at the "Transformation of Urban Landscape", we chose to consider this wide topic through the perspective of urban regeneration. We start the discussion with an article investigating different informal and formal regeneration experiments in Mexico, experiencing a bottom-up methodology. It aims at sharing a set of reflections about the use of public space and the opportunity to transform it in a way that addresses possible connections and interactions not only between different parts of the city but also within the narrative of the specific public realm in which they are developed.

It is followed by an interview of Frédéric Ségur, who leads the Tree and Landscape Department at the Greater Lyon Metropolitan Authority, in France. Mr. Ségur initiated the regeneration of the city's green infrastructure almost 30 years ago and share with us his best practices towards a more sustainable urban area.

Thirdly, we will look at the perspective of power relations and the decision-making process between stakeholders involved in regeneration projects in Istanbul. This article examines lessons learned from informed practitioners to propose a set of policies and principles aiming at fostering social justice outcomes in regeneration practices worldwide.

Last but not least, the final contribution analyses the financial aspect of urban development. By looking at the development of social housing in Kenya, it explores the possibility of using public-private partnerships as an enabler to finance urban transformation.

We hope you will enjoy our first 2020 issue. We take this opportunity, with the IGLUS Team, to wish you a happy and prosperous new year! We have a lot to learn, discuss and share about urban practices, join the discussion at iglus.org or on our social media!

If there are innovative practices underway in your city/region and you would like to contribute to an upcoming edition of IGLUS Quarterly, we encourage you to contact us at chloe.gaspari@iglus.org.

Lefebvre's Politics of Space: Planning the Urban as Oeuvre, Andrzej Zieleniec, Urban Planning, 2018, Volume 3, Issue 3, Pages 5-15

Strategies for Reclaiming Public Space

Diego Rodríguez Lozano^{*}

Abstract: In any regeneration process the analysis of the existing could be developed at very different scales and scopes. In this article we will be addressing a small-scale vision which implies a ground-based / bottom-up methodology and the provided examples range from informal explorations within the academic realm to a more formal interventions guided by a university board. But more than the specific examples and methodology the proposal in this short essay is to follow a set of reflections about the use of public space and the opportunity to re-shape and transform it in a way it addresses possible connections and interactions not only between different parts of the city but also within the narrative of the specific public realm in which they are developed.

Transformation and change seem to be the natural state of any city. Either as a process of decay or abandonment (which is the usual starting point in any regeneration process); or as an intentional idea of developing new land (dynamics of growth). In both cases, change is often seen as a catalyst that erases the existing conditions of a specific urban area. In this type of process, the idea of a **narrative sense of the city is lost** and we end up with a discontinuous and broken city.

The simple idea of urban regeneration already implies an urban situation that needs to be fixed. But it also implies an idea of working from the existing; of transforming from what is found and not from abstract ideas or external references. In this sense, the process of Re-Generation separates itself from a new development plan which is based on the generation of new urban spaces and activities in places where no urban conditions were already set.

In any regeneration process the analysis of the existing could be developed at very different scales and scopes. In this article we will be addressing a small-scale vision which implies a ground-based / bottom-up methodology and the provided examples range from informal explorations within the academic realm to a more formal interventions guided by a university board. But more than the specific examples and methodology the proposal in this short essay is to follow a set of reflections about the use of public space and the opportunity to re-shape

and transform it in a way it addresses **possible connections and interactions** not only between different parts of the city but also within the narrative of the specific public realm in which they are developed.

This idea of taking the existing space with a small-scale vision as the starting point of a transformation process allows us to depart from something with very specific and visible conditions. This of course narrows and conduces our gaze towards the physical and tangible aspects we see in the city. Deteriorated and unqualified spaces in the cities are piled up by thousands, but finding specific ones with a potential of transformation and a high impact towards the immediate urban environment is the key. Identifying this kind of under or unused space with a hidden potential to be exploited is a first and important step. The naming and description of such kind of spaces has been fully approached by Roger Trancick in his excellent book *Finding Lost Space*:

"Lost space is the leftover unstructured landscape at the base of high-rise towers or the unused sunken plaza away from the flow of pedestrian activity in the city. (...) They are the no-man's-land along the edges of freeways that nobody cares about maintaining, much less using. (...) They are the residual areas between districts and loosely composed commercial strips that emerge without anyone realizing it. (...) Lost spaces are deteriorated parks and marginal public-housing that have to be rebuilt

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because they do not serve their intended purpose. Generally speaking, lost spaces are the **undesirable urban areas that are in need of redesign**: antispaces, making **no positive contribution** to the surroundings or users". (Trancick, 1986)

Within the frame of our Citizen-Urban Studio at Tecnológico de Monterrey, and following Trancick's accurate description, we developed a mapping strategy to identify such lost spaces near or around our university campus in Monterrey. What we found were 3 types of space: (1) internal unused spaces (inside campus), (2) empty or underutilized sidewalks (specifically related to informal crosswalks), and (3) abandoned or unused land outside campus. During 2013 – and way before we had a new Master Plan developed by Sasaki Associates –, we identified more than 25 spaces with potential conditions of transformation and high impact. Most of them had the specific situation of being in between two – or more – very different and unrelated urban environments.

At this point is inevitable to address the issue of urban borders in the city. Urban planning has of course dealt with this issue since it's very existence as a discipline. Here we propose to follow the reference to Richard Sennett's work to start the first of our reflections:

Faced with the obvious social hostility present in the city, the natural impulse of the urban planner in the real world is to shut down the dissonant parts in conflict, which generally means, to build internal walls instead of permeable boundaries. Highways and road traffic, for example, are used to subdivide socially different territories within the city (...) In a similar way, the functional disintegration has become an excellent technique to seal and close the borders; the shopping center far away from the residential area, the school surrounded by its own campus, the factory quietly hidden away in an industrial area. These techniques, are used today more and more even in the central areas of cities, in order to diminish the threat that social classes or races have contact. (Sennett, The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities, 1992)

What we learn about this summary explained by Sen-

nett is that the concept of permeability is absent from the mindset of the traditional urban planner. The usual practice of zoning and the over-determination of uses results not only in creating monological districts but also a border-oriented occupancy of urban space. In contrast to that idea, Sennett's proposal is that "to allow public space get encoded by time, the Urbanist has to design weak borders and not impenetrable walls" (Sennett, The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities, 1992). This innovative vision establishes that working in the realm of public space and its very nature has to do with time; and in that sense borders play an important role. But, ¿what does Sennett specifically mean by incorporating *time* in a public space?

Time starts to achieve the task of giving places its own character when those places are used in a different way than that for which they were originally conceived. For example, as children make the loading docks their own soccer field, or the adults of 14th Street appropriate parking slots to convert them into a social use. For any person who truly commits with the unplanned use of a public space, there is something that "begins" in the narrative sense of the term (Sennett, The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities, 1992).

In brief, human action and activities fill public space and gives a temporal dimension to it. But also and most importantly, the appropriation of space by requalifying it through another unplanned and unexpected use puts in motion a dynamic that not only empowers people in the definition of space but also triggers a creative act that departs from a particular reading of what is there (physical elements that are rediscovered by a new vision). This is what Sennett refers to as a beginning. In that sense, the challenge is to reshape space towards a new set of conditions that enables users to imagine those new activities and uses. The real challenge is setting the conditions for this to happen.

So, to return to our original question about the differences between invention and discovery, how does an urban planner actually project ambiguity and the possibility of surprise? (...) In order to create

the sense of a beginning, a radical change has to occur within the discipline of urban design. This change should adopt two forms: a change in the way that a urban designer approaches open urban space and a change in the way in which buildings are being built (Sennett, The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities, 1992).

Stretching Sennett's statement we are faced with a big paradox between thinking and building something that is specific and over-determined (a design), and at the same time generate ambiguity setting up the needed conditions for people to be creative in the use of public space. Of course here we are addressing only the first part of the equation explained by Sennett: a radical change in the urban designer mindset towards open urban space. The issue with buildings - and architecture - has another dimension of complexity since all about architecture is to determine limits. But it seems that addressing only open urban space the incorporation of time is somehow reachable. An important key of course would be to open up the creative process. Developing a bottom-up strategy shifts the leadership towards a more loose and fresh set of actors: interested citizens with no training in the discipline of urban design, and no other set of skills than keen observation and the will to transform the urban conditions where they live. This group of untrained actors well guided through participatory processes can achieve real change in a short lapse of time.

The mentioned cases we developed during 2013 around the university campus of Tecnológico de Monterrey are good examples of this bottom-up strategy. After identifying those more than 25 potential lost spaces around our campus, a determined group of undergrad architecture students approached the different communities and users involved in the use of those deteriorated public spaces in order to make them actors in the definition of what to do in those spaces. The idea was not to give solutions (through design) but to propose questions using very cheap and small interventions (we even called them documented analytical events). The result of those experiments were documented and with time they became an

important input in the definition of the institutional and university-led regeneration project called Distrito Tec (a very ambitious regeneration project that involves more than 24 neighborhoods around the university campus) (Distrito Tec, s.f.).

An important issue here was the organic relationship between the original conditions of the space to be transformed and the new elements introduced. When we started we were convinced that this should not be read as a detonator of a displacement process which is often the case in gentrification projects (people and socioeconomic activities being displaced by land value). Being a group of self-organized and non-professional actors from the academic realm gave us the freedom but also the lightness of not be considered serious people (nobody felt threatened by us). So the idea of working with what was found felt very natural and with good intentions. The few new elements that were introduced did not want to erase anything, on the contrary they wanted to work with the existing public life (rich or poor) and with the unvalued things that were found; the emergence of the new felt somehow connected to what was already there.

Again, Sennett gives us some light regarding this relationship. In a very influential conference given in 2006, he explains his proposal of what he calls an **Open City** and its characteristics which fits completely with these ideas. In contrast to the Open City he describes the Brittle City as follows:

It might seem that the Brittle City would in fact stimulate urban growth, the new now more rapidly sweeping away the old, but again the facts argue against this view. In the United States, people flee decaying suburbs rather than re-invest in them. 'Growth' in an urban environment is a more complicated phenomenon than simple replacement of what existed before; growth requires a dialogue between past and present, it is a matter of evolution rather than erasure. This principle is as true socially as it is architecturally (Sennett, The Open City, 2006).

This idea of dealing with the past not as something that needs to be replaced – or even erased – just highlights the complexity of the situation. If we embrace urban regeneration as a more organic evolution process we would produce a more connected city in a narrative sense. A dialogical city instead of a fragmented and monological urban environments.

Sennett depicts a big contrast, between the closed and open city. Closed means over-determined, balanced, integrated, linear. Open means "incomplete, errant, conflictual, non-linear. The closed city is full of boundaries and walls; the open city possesses more borders and membranes. The closed city can be designed and operated top-down; it is a city which belongs to the masters. The open city is a bottom-up place; it belongs to the people" (Sennett, The Open City, 2006). These contrasts of course are not absolutes of black-and-white; real life is painted in greys. And of course we are not proposing that every urban transformation should be bottom-up. But even in the top-down regeneration processes such as our university-led project Distrito Tec, the learning share has been huge. Even though the process has been uneven (much of what has been done since 2014 has been thought only for our students), we recognize that this way to reclaim public space can and should be taken serious in a more ambitious and institutional approach of an urban regeneration project such as Distrito Tec. In brief, we are convinced that the top-down project has learned a lot from the bottom-up experiments.

Within this practice, the obliged reference to what has been called **Tactical Urbanism** is needed: A city and/ or **citizen**-led approach to neighborhood building using short-term, low-cost, and scalable interventions intended to catalyze long-term change (Lydon, 2015). But we feel that connecting this kind of practice to the ideas and reflections proposed by Sennett gives a deeper and more profound dimension to it. The introduction of time, the narrative sense of what is done and explored, and the participatory open process we have developed, are just a few assets that enriches and qualifies this approach as a truly innovative way to regenerate public space.









Source: Author's own resource

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Interview with Frédéric Segur

Abstract: The Metropole of Lyon started to regenerate its space with nature-based solutions 30 years ago. Frederic Segur, who leads the actions towards the return of nature within the city, shares with IGLUS Quarterly his feedback on this innovative approach to transform the city into a more resilient, sustainable and liveable space.

Interviewee's Profile

Frederic SEGUR holds university degrees in biology and ecology, and is also forest engineer. He has worked on urban forestry policy in France for more than 25 years, first as private consultant, then for the Greater Lyon Metropolitan Authority, where he has created the Trees and Landscape Department. This department is in charge of the city's nature strategy, in particular with the "Tree Charter" that brings together more than 120 actors from the public, private and voluntary sectors. It also works on the landscape part of urban projects, and the street trees management.

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GLUS Quarterly: This IGLUS Quarterly issue addresses the topic of "transforming urban landscape". What does this theme mean for you?

Frederic Segur: When cities started their development at the end of the 19th century, especially in Paris, which was the leader in urban development under the Second Empire, the concept of nature – and services it could deliver to populations – played an important role. Besides its decorative function, nature also had a social and democratic function, for example with the development of parks, which, before that time, were reserved for the aristocracy. There was also the idea that urban development cut the link between Man and Nature, a link that had always existed. It was therefore necessary to recreate nature within the city to maintain it.

At that time, 3 major services could be provided by nature in the city: first, it was improving health, jointly with the development of hygiene policies; it was also improving air quality in cities, which at that time, were developing around industries. Finally, nature provided shade and cooling within the urban area.

This notion of services was forgotten in the 20th century, when urban space developed according to a car-centric, utilitarian and functionalist approach. During this

period, priority has been given to technical and technological know-how and we forgot what solutions nature could provide. For example, we preferred treating water chemically rather than by nature.

This period contributed to the destruction of many natural areas. It led to a revolt of cities' inhabitants in the 80's, who criticized this vision of a car-centric city, which was considered dirty, noisy, and ultimately repulsive. Urban population started to ask for an improvement of their living conditions jointly with the protection of nature. We saw people chaining themselves to trees to make sure they wouldn't be cut down. Elected officials, whose knowledge was also centered on a functional approach, where challenged and didn't understand immediately that citizens were asking for a return to nature. Ultimately, their idea of a modern city was not considered liveable anymore.

I.Q.: What role has nature played in urban regeneration so far?

F.S.: In the early 1990s, from social demand rose the awareness of a topic to be fully rediscovered. We have rediscovered forgotten technical and scientific knowledge. It was indeed necessary to set new research programs for instance. We also rediscovered the services delivered by

nature. We started to notice the positive impact in terms of image and economic attractiveness of landscape development in urban projects. It was thus more than a social function.

We also considered all the functions nature could fulfil, on soil mechanics for example. Planting has been mitigating soil erosion since the end of the 19th century (especially in the Alps). One can build concrete walls to hold the ground, but one can also plant them to prevent landslides. We gradually realized that it was not just decoration.

The tipping point was reached when we started to feel the effects of climate change, especially with summer heat waves. During 2003, the first major heat wave led to 20,000 casualties in France, with Lyon being one of the most affected cities, with an 80% increase of its mortality rate that year. When we analysed the metropolitan area's vulnerabilities related to climate change, we realized that the major risks associated with heat waves where health- and well-being related, especially due to the urban "heat island" effect, which is accentuated by the density and hardscape features of the city.

In Lyon, we started to replant and restore green infrastructure from the 1990s. But it was only with the 2003 heat wave that we realized that our approach initiated 15 years earlier was also a response to this issue.

I.Q.: Could you explain your approach?

F.S.: There are 3 main leverages to fight against urban heat islands. First, change the colorimetry of materials to avoid dark colours, second increase planted areas and third, develop green infrastructure. This last point includes working on the water cycle and plants to develop shade and evapotranspiration. Trees generate shade and draughts, but also evaporate 90% of the water pumped into the ground, generating a cooling effect.

It was very important to imagine solutions to improve the balance between green and mineral, permeable and waterproof, planted & shaded surfaces and those not shaded. We calculated ratios for these three categories. We have also made sure that water is considered a resource that feeds vegetation, to boost the evapotranspiration of plants and improve the thermal comfort of the city.

It's the story of a rediscovery. Gradually green infrastructure was assigned with new functions, that added up to the old ones.

I.Q.: It sounds like a real cultural change within the Metropole of Lyon. How did you manage it with the other city departments?

I.Q.: The most difficult was to break through the partitioning of competences and know-how, which emerged from the organization of knowledge in the 20th century. In the 19th century, we had a global vision of cities. For example, workers who built roads & bridges also planted trees there. During the 20th century, knowledge was partitioned between many different specialty trades. These groups have different knowledge, vocabulary, business culture, interests and objectives. They sometimes even contradict. Urban planning is not naturally done in the form of a global approach, but rather in the form of power relationships, with winners and losers.

The difficulty was to create the base of a common culture, to foster dialogue between the different stakeholders of urban planning. It was important to make them understand that improving landscape was also a way to reach their professional goals and thus, that they had to find an interest in these topics. There is a very important educational and cultural dimension embedded in this evolution.

The Tree Charter has been a way to create this new urban culture. The idea was to use the symbol of the tree to take a fresh look at the city and establish a link between different aspects and integrate new environmental, health, social concerns which were not necessarily taken into account in the technical dimension of urban planning.

I.Q.: Can you tell us more about the Tree Charter and its approach?

F.S.: In the 1990s, an initial work summarized the understanding of this new social demand for nature within the city. The Tree Charter was signed in 2000 by the Metropole of Grand Lyon, but it was rather an internal document to help elected officials manage the city. And then, there was a moment when we realized that the current environmental issues, such as air quality, erosion of biodiversity, landscape, are in fact related to a territory and not to an institution only. The Metropole, as an institution, will not change it by itself. It was thus crucial to adopt a territorial approach rather than an institution-centric one. This change requires synergies allowing us to work together with other actors, such as non-profits, the private sector, because they too are involved in this matter. The Metropole holds only 20% of the total arboreal heritage on its territory. 80% is private. Therefore, if we don't start raising awareness among developers, landlords or social housing providers, the Metropole may have an exemplary policy, it will not be enough to have a significant impact.

This approach called for a change in the Metropole's positioning, which is no longer there to be the expert who acts but also to manage a dynamic community on the territory. It provides support, advisory and incentives to all stakeholders involved. Regulation is not enough if it is not supported by a pedagogical effort to help the actors understand the meaning of the whole process. Let's use an example: We set a target of 1 tree per 4 parking spaces on all supermarkets' parking lots. Developers generally consider it as a constraint and would do the minimum to meet this requirement, without realizing the added value for their project. Therefore, when we look at those parking lots a few years later, we mostly see only concrete spaces. They contribute to a wider heat island effect on the city, creating a negative impact on the inhabitants. It is important that all actors understand how each project participate in making the city more liveable and more welcoming. It also contributes to an economic objective, in terms of attractiveness of the supermarket

and customer service. Ensuring the participation of all stakeholders in the collective effort of improving health and well-being requires to work on the meaning of actions.

I.Q.: How did you create this community of stakeholders involved in the regeneration of nature? How were citizens involved?

F.S.: We have worked on a progressive approach. A participatory process has been set to design the 2nd Charter Tree in 2011. The document was co-constructed with local public, private and associative stakeholders. Over 400 people have been involved for two years. They were actors whose nature and nature-based solutions is the core business. We invited other actors with different expertise to encourage this necessary dialogue necessary between stakeholders to develop the common culture I was previously mentioning, but we remained at a professional scale to create a first circle of experts. They would be the ambassadors of this common culture. From there, we are working on a second circle, which includes local actors whose nature and environment is not the core business but whose action is essential for its protection. These are for example social housing providers or property developers, who develop and operate urban spaces.

Citizens are of course the final target. It is a very long-term action, which requires pedagogy and knowledge as well as understanding the role of the inhabitant in local governance. In France, we do not have a culture of participation, unlike other Anglo-Saxon countries where people are used to being actors of urban development. In France, people have become accustomed to a public service which takes responsibility for planning and management of the community. Transforming this culture is crucial for the success of a nature-based regeneration approach, but it will take years to reach maturity.

Having started this process 30 years ago, we still have a long way to go. It questions the ability to sustain an effort and an ambition over the long term, much longer than political mandates.

I.Q.: How did you manage to adapt this long-term approach with the mandate of elected officials?

F.S.: The tree is considered as the symbol of the return of nature to the city, which conveys interesting values, particularly its relation to time, which is necessarily long. Planting a tree is an altruistic gesture for future generations. This symbol is therefore important in regards with short-term policies or our increasingly individualistic society. It introduces a long-term vision and the value of altruism.

The major issue was to establish action plans that went beyond political divides and mandates. The Tree Charters submitted to the approval of the elected representatives have always been unanimously approved. It allowed us to maintain our actions despite political changes during the past 30 years. I also think that the heat waves we experienced during summer 2019 contributed to understand the meaning of our actions.

I.Q.: Regenerating urban space often leads to an increasing gentrification process. Since natural spaces contribute to improve the attractiveness of the territory, do you consider this phenomenon as a negative externality of the renaturalization of Lyon?

F.S.: There is indeed a link between the return of nature to the city and the phenomenon of gentrification. There are studies that have been carried out on this matter and we know that generally land prices increase around parks or that a green suburb is posher than a mineral one.

Our idea was precisely to work on correcting these inequalities in terms of planting distribution, which intertwine with many other inequalities related to exposure to pollutants, noise, healthcare access... The Metropole works on 59 municipalities and the greatest efforts have been made on the renaturation of the most disadvantaged ones. In Vaux-en-Velin, for example, which is a fairly difficult territory which has experienced urban riots, the number of trees planted in public spaces has increased fourfold in 25 years. On the whole Metropole's territory, we have doubled the number of trees, but on this type of municipalities, it was multiplied by 4.

It would be interesting to research on whether the general improvement of environmental quality of spaces cancels out the gentrification effects or if, on the contrary, it generalizes them.

I.Q.: What are your next steps?

F.S.: We have launched the Canopy Plan for Lyon Metrople in 2018. Its objective is to increase the Metropole's canopy tree cover from 27% to 30%. To reach this goal, we must plant 300,000 trees. it is the minimum to ensure the impact of our effort to mitigate the effects of climate change. If we get to 500,000 or 1 million of trees planted it is even better, but we want to set achievable goals. We chose 2030 in a similar way: this date is beyond political deadlines but not in an unreachable future. This is a milestone for 2050 or 2100. These are long-term issues, linked to Lyon's strong demographic increase. The Metropole welcomes 15,000 new inhabitants per year. Over a century, such an increase will double the population of the city and therefore one must anticipate preserving natural resources.

I.Q.: How are these nature-based solutions financed?

F.S.: The Canopy Plan is funded by the Metropole, but social housing providers, developers, infrastructure operators also participate in funding actions on the space they manage. We need to find public, private and associative partners to achieve the goal of 300,000 trees. On a daily basis, we are therefore trying to change the mentality and differentiate the Metropole as an institution and as a territory. In this regard, there are the actions we can undertake as an institution, but we are also encouraging other actors to take part in shaping the city.

I.Q.: Which cities may have inspired your approach? How do you share your best practices?

F.S.: We were inspired by several cities, such as Montreal, Seattle, Portland or even Melbourne and Brisbane. We have benchmarked Canopy Plans from 30 cities around the world. The dynamics are interesting, with cities inspiring one another. Concepts travel and are adapted to local political, cultural and geographic

models. Lyon of course shares its best practices with other European cities but also participates in cooperation projects with cities in developing countries on these issues, in Vietnam or Ethiopia for instance. These are very important exchanges. Like those with researchers. These are topics that require significant scientific and technical knowledge or experimental projects with a scientific method. Integrating them in urban projects necessitates to establish links with universities or research institutes. We are now making sure that each urban development project involves a small R&D budget. We started it 25 years ago, with the project of the International City in Lyon, which was the first initiative to integrate landscape development in urban planning.

Read more on the Charter Tree and Canopy Plan in Lyon here (in French):

https://blogs.grandlyon.com/developpementdurable/en-actions/dispositifs-partenariaux/charte-de-larbre/

Learning from urban regeneration experiences in Istanbul: Some remedies regarding empowerment, governance, and democracy

İmge A. Waite*

Abstract: While planning literature includes substantial attempts to decipher actor and governance structures in regeneration practices, there is a need to address idiosyncratic conditions by bridging theoretical responses and the ramifications of real-life experiences. This article addresses this gap by examining two urban regeneration projects in Istanbul. By analysing insights from informed practitioners (i.e. central government and metropolitan-level housing providers, local municipalities, and NGOs) and residents, it presents the motives behind the regeneration decisions of the Ayazma-Tepeüstü and Sümer cases. The article then suggests a set of regeneration policies and principles incorporating empowerment, governance, and democracy literature to foster more just outcomes from regeneration practices around the world.

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Introduction

Thether it is practiced at local or national levels, motives for urban regeneration are often associated with capital accumulation due to governments' and private developers' drive to maximise profits through urban uplifting (Geva & Rosen, 2018; Adair et al., 2000). Although such transformations enable the redistribution of the profit derived from land, one adverse consequence they bring is class segregation in the urban space (Atkinson, 2008). Researchers have observed that class segregation has become a common phenomenon that greatly impacts the reshaping of the urban space since the 1980s, particularly in large metropolitan cities (Bourdieu, 1984). Today, from west to east, and north to south, it is possible to see regeneration practices that neglect the will and well-being of local communities around the world, at times even under the disguise of inclusive and democratic transformation of urban areas.

The two case projects examined in this article provide an insight for the motives of regeneration practices in Istanbul, and deliver lessons suggested by their informed practitioners, supported by the evidence from planning and urban regeneration literature. Details of these two pivotal cases, the renewal of Ayazma-Tepeüstü neighbourhoods focusing on the clearance of the *gecekondus* (long-standing informal housing areas in major Turkish cities), and the earthquake-based regeneration of the Sümer neighbourhood, can be found in the two recent articles I have written that are in the final publishing stage as of the date of this article (Waite, 2019; 2020). On the other hand, the before-and-after photographs of the case areas reveal the drastic change in the outlook of both sites, with a complete gentrification and resident

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displacement in Ayazma (Figure 1), and a change in the resident profile due to density increase in Sümer (Figure 2).





Figure 1. Ayazma before regeneration (left; reprinted from the TOKİ Regeneration Office, 2014) and after regeneration (right; photograph by the author)





Figure 2. Sümer project site before (left) and after (right) regeneration (photographs by the author)

Motives for regeneration

In Turkey, the economic growth and employment policies of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) government, continuing those in place since the 1980s, have focused on support for the construction sector, which is by its nature rich in short-term spill over effects and job-creation. The regeneration of unsafe and run-down settlements has thus been a priority for the Turkish government since the early 2000s. In collaboration with metropolitan and local municipalities, the two main actors of urban regeneration in Istanbul have been serving this vision and the government's ideals of making the city a competitive European metropolis: The Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ) of the central government that led the Ayazma-Tepeüstü case, and the Istanbul Housing Development Organisation Co. (KİPTAŞ) of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

that led the Sümer case. These institutions have greatly profited through partnerships in gentrification activities, gained political and financial credibility as facilitators, and increased the potential for other gentrification projects in their jurisdictions.

Apart from financial and political motives, the formal institutions of both projects aimed at resolving the negative characteristics of the regeneration areas, a goal which was agreed upon by all interviewees from TOKİ, KİPTAŞ and the local municipalities. In Ayazma-Tepeüstü, the gecekondu problem presented itself as a long-enduring illegal occupation of state land, a threat to the quality of the residents' lives, and, according to the government, a source of discontent because of the ethnic profile of the local population (Uzunçarşılı Baysal, 2013). The Sümer project also aimed to remedy the gecekondu problem, but there was a more urgent need to mitigate the potentially severe effects of an expected Istanbul earthquake by replacing poor building stock with earthquake-resilient homes. In reality, a senior KİPTAŞ official conceded that Sümer's regeneration was already on the government's agenda and that the project executors were thus able to use the rationale of disaster mitigation to obscure less community-friendly project decisions, such as plan changes and increased building density. A similar rationale was suggested for the profit-yielding regeneration scheme of Ayazma-Tepeüstü by its residents and the community activists interviewed. Finally, to achieve its problem-solving objectives, the government sought the displacement of the Ayazma and Tepeüstü communities from the beginning, while the Sümer partnership listened to its community and realised a project that kept existing residents and businesses in the neighbourhood.

A balanced approach: practice-oriented and theory-supported remedies

In the absence of a properly designed collaborative process and the systematic inclusion of all actors, including the local community, the case projects lacked a democratic planning approach. The experiences of the interviewed actors from TOKİ, KİPTAŞ, local muni-

cipalities, local NGOs and local communities in these case areas largely hinted that solutions to regeneration problems lie in the general employment of several different forms of democratic and collaborative principles and the embedding of these principles in everyday regeneration decisions, while these principles should be centred around the use of community-centred policies which in turn promote community satisfaction and thus the success of regeneration. In order to achieve a successful collaborative effort, the case-based problem areas should be met with remedies from relevant planning and regeneration literature and informed opinions of the practitioners (Table 1). Accordingly, the sub-headings that follow elaborate on the case-based policies supported by

the corresponding literature.

Housing right for all citizens

Despite the relative practicality of the centralist and top-down governing approaches in developing countries like Turkey, which entrust significant political, economic and legal powers to the central government, the assertion of these powers over communities whose needs and demands are overlooked can cause friction between the state and its citizens, as evident in both case projects. Such a state of affairs is contrary to the very essence of libertarian democracy, which protects the rights of each individual citizen on an equal basis (Purcell, 2008). In order to secure citizens' housing rights, regeneration

Problem areas	Literature responses	Case-based policies	Operating principles		
 Top-down governing culture Legal framework Electoral politics Collective decision-making Diversity and differences in opinions 	- Housing right for all citizens - Seeking community interests over financial interests - Communicative rationality and deliberation		Citizen wellbeing, public interest, pluralism, representation of the powerless, egalitarianism, direct engagement of actors, face-to-face dialogue, mutual respect, consensus building		
 Ownership status Displacement Government's financial motives Residents' financial incapacity Unequal access to and distribution of resources Understanding of grievances and passionate commitments 	Collaborative governance	 Good governance principles Bottom-up and strategic distribution of tasks and responsibilities Formal community participation 	Rule of law, effectiveness, transparency, accountability, participation, equity, responsiveness, strategic vision, coherence in planning decisions across different scales, long-term and longitudinal planning, idiosyncratic approaches, inclusiveness in decision-making, shared understanding		
 Community informing (transparency) Organized community support Oppression of community in high conflict Lifestyle changes Trust 	Empowerment	 Institutional capacity building Community capacity building Local community organizing 	Resource building, non-profit and advocacy collaboration, inter-community collaboration, community information, further participation methods and techniques, community trust		

Figure 2. Sümer project site before (left) and after (right) regeneration (photographs by the author)

projects should benefit tenants as well as homeowners, and, if necessary, the government should consider tenant-specific public housing policies and promote tenant self-organizing (Darcy & Rogers, 2014). Public housing policies for both homeowners and tenants could build on good practice policies elsewhere: design and construction quality, resident organization capacity, site maintenance and management performance, and resident satisfaction (Vale, 1996).

Seeking community interests over political and financial interests

Collaborative forums that involve all stakeholders and a multidisciplinary expertise base, backed by independent project competitions, can allow for more community-friendly and modest projects while stemming the influence of capital over the government. In general, in parallel to a more community-friendly approach, the central and local governments should adopt a more active role in guiding and monitoring the collaboration of different parties, in particular regarding projects' compliance with laws, rather than acting as a financial provider. Corruption indications such as nepotism and bribery should be sought out and addressed once and for all (Benito, Guillamón & Bastida, 2015). All citizens should be informed about the motivations and decisions of the project on a regular basis through formal participation methods and processes. Good practices, systems, and technologies for enhancing participation in the planning process can be helpful in this respect (Geertman & Stillwell, 2012).

Good governance principles

Evident in the subjects' calls for a more pluralist, open, and engaging dialogue on the government side, the problems that arose in their regeneration experiences were largely met with remedies corresponding to a thorough understanding of governance where "one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make

or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets" (Ansell & Gash, 2007, p. 544). First offered by the World Bank in late 1980s and reportedly adopted by the Turkish public sector at various levels (e.g. the Turkish State Planning Organisation's specialisation commission report in 2007, and the 2003 report of the Turkish Ministry of Finance's European Union and Foreign Affairs Department), the following eight good governance principles need to be embedded in both the making and implementation of decisions: rule of law, effectiveness, transparency, accountability, participation, equity, responsiveness, and strategic vision. In line with libertarian, communicative, and deliberative democratic attitudes, the state and its agencies must adopt such principles while reshaping policy ideas and institutional structures through a bottom-up approach (Hillier, 2017).

Communicative rationality and deliberation

Addressing the contradicting claims about residents' financial power, the government's incentives, and the beneficiaries of favourable project conditions revealed in the case projects calls for an understanding of community interests and power by all actors through interactive processes. Advocates of deliberative democracy suggest that planning recommendations and alternatives emerge from a dialectic between actors (Sager, 2002). Such a dialogue allows for the incorporation of arguments in accordance with democratic governance criteria and ensures the communicative rationality of the process and the legitimacy of the recommendations. Indeed, scholarship on deliberative democracy describes a pluralistic form of participatory planning that calls for an interactive engagement absent in conventional planning (Sager, 2005) and for the recognition of power relations inherent in such engagements. The ideal of collective problem-solving-actual participation and dissolution of power imbalances through deliberative discussion is the essence of the collaborative planning tradition. Finally, in line with this understanding of deliberative governance, policy makers and practitioners should recognize diverse social settings and rationalities and the complexity of the power relations within and between them, because even in a diverse public the capacity for governance that can emerge through these struggles and interactions may challenge and sustain the powers that drive decision-making (Healey, 2003).

Bottom-up and strategic distribution of tasks and responsibilities

In cases such as Ayazma-Tepeüstü and Sümer, where the local government is the main communicator of project terms and agreements to residents, local authorities should be given higher administrative power in order to foster community understanding and representation, engage in a more effective collaboration in the planning phase, and have more weight in ensuring the sustainability of the project outcomes desired by the community. The project protocols in both cases were criticized for not organizing a healthy enough distribution of tasks and responsibilities for the formal project actors. Instead of shortly mentioning the to-dos of each party, responsibilities and initiatives should be laid out in a broader and more flexible manner because it can be difficult to anticipate community demands and conflicts that might arise along the way, as in the case of Ayazma in particular. In line with such strategic thinking, an optimum balance between top-down and bottom-up planning approaches should be sought in regeneration process design (Pissourios, 2014).

Institutional and community capacity building

Perhaps the most feasible suggestions by the interviewees to tackle power imbalances involved community empowerment and capacity building, which are widely worked on in the relevant planning literature (Friedmann, 1992; Albrechts, 2003). Linking the concept of empowerment to its root, power, as Rowlands (1995) did, provides the realization that regeneration decision-making and community empowerment require one another to achieve desired planning decisions and outcomes, especially in communities where affordable housing and gentrification issues are endemic (Howell, 2016).

Empowerment requires a technical knowledge base of the legal, physical, financial, collaborative, and pluralist dimensions of local regeneration design by both planning agencies and the affected communities. Under such conditions, institutional and community capacity building programs can be designed and conducted together for a more sustainable regeneration process (Healey, 1998; Chaskin, 2001). The central government should adopt public education policies that will equip local governments with the knowledge and resources to enable these capacity building programs. As suggested by a community activist, as an alternative to local government-initiated community organizing, individual communities can form coalitions by selecting representatives and receiving informed assistance from relevant NGOs, which can act as a "bridge" between the government and community in deliberation and disseminating project information (Baxamusa, 2008). Advocacy circles should engage not only communities but also community supporters, informal groups, activist individuals and groups, and chambers of planners and architects to unify and attract more public and media attention in seeking housing rights. Informal activities and processes to combat diversity challenges, create effective community organization, and enable planners to steer community differences should be considered (Hou & Kinoshita, 2007).

Establishing trust among formal actors and with the community

Trust is essential for societal, community, social, political, familial, and even linguistic relations (Wittgenstein, 1969). In public planning, it is considered useful for legitimate conflict resolution and consensus building (Stein & Harper, 2003). If participants in planning processes see everything in terms of power, this perception could breed a sense of suspicion and mistrust, making it ever more difficult to develop the relationships of mutual respect and trust so essential to collaborative planning (Parekh, 2000). A key objective of local collaborative practices should be to increase public trust in government institutions, especially in settings in which distrust can constitute a major problem. Measures aimed at pub-

lic participation and approval should not be elitist. Unequal power relations can undermine and impede community needs and in turn feed distrust. Trust should be considered essential for community, social, political, and familial relations as well as for understanding and reforming human relationships and institutions. It should also be understood as a necessary condition for any kind of communication, understanding, knowledge, or learning (Stein & Harper, 2003).

Conclusion

Based on the two regeneration experiences outlined, this study urges planners and policy-makers to continue examining and addressing central and local power structures that influence the politics of planning and decision-making in urban regeneration. Employing awareness of explicit and hidden regeneration agendas and engaging all stakeholders in the planning process leads to a series of achievements, such as democratisation of choices and decision-making, maximal reduction of bureaucracy and clientelism, decentralisation of urban services, and some influence in design and investment decisions. Such concerns will make it possible to attain a more just outcome from urban regeneration practices.

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The development of low income urban housing in Kenya through application of Public Private Partnerships

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Abstract: RDevelopment of low income urban housing in Kenya faces many challenges, including: application of outdated technologies, inadequate innovation, inadequate financing and inefficiencies. Demand for adequate housing is estimated to be 250,000 units per year while the supply is 50,000 units. Stakeholders have therefore scouted for alternative methods of addressing this challenge, and PPPs have been cited as one of the possible solutions. This study utilized the Delphi method to gauge the prospects of providing down market urban housing through strategic application of PPPs. It was found out that PPPs are applicable in the development of down market urban housing, only that the public sector should come up with PPP models suited for local challenges, alongside more incentives and enabling environment for private sector. Recommendations made for Kenya to adopt application of PPPs.

Introduction

Stakeholders have recognized the importance of housing in the overall development of human being. The demand for housing has been on the rise due to the rapid pace of urbanization and high population growth in developing countries. The problem of housing provision is more acute for the low income urban households in many areas of the developing countries in the world and more specifically in Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) region. The problem of housing accessibility has become unbearable and has the potential for causing societal upheavals if not addressed (Taiwo et al, 2016; Olotuah and Bobadoye, 2009; UN Habitat, 2001; Tipple, 1994; Achinine, 1993).

Players involved in the provision of urban services including low income urban housing have been sourcing for alternative strategies of funding such services (Mohamed, 2017; Muhammad and Ado, 2014; Brockerhoff, 2000; Pessoa, et al., 1998). This is coupled with the need

for urban areas authorities to improve the quality of existing housing stock, which in most cases have been run down (Mohamed, 2017; Pomeroy, et al., 1998). The affordable housing discourse if gradually taking the central place in the national and international levels. In Kenya, housing has been identified as one of the government's big four agenda in the next five years (Gopalan and Venkatarama, 2015; Witboi, 2015 and Dube, 2013). Public entities have faced numerous challenges to deliver down market urban housing due to inadequate finances, land and other constraints associated with the government operations (Kutana, 2017; Khakhi, 2009; Brown et al., 2006). Governments have failed to leverage its many assets like land to provide urban housing, it has mixed results and products out of reach of the poor (Sheko et al., 2015; Brown et al., 2006).

The realization of the prevailing incapacities of the public sector evidenced by its inability to mobilize resources, inadequate technological, innovation and efficiency constraints needed a rethink. Application of Public Pri-

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vate Partnerships (PPPs) have been proposed as one of the policy and development alternatives to reduce the current housing backlogs. (Ibem, 2010; Patel, 2007; Birner and Wittmer, 2006; Hammami et al., 2006; Warner and Sullivan, 2004 and Carrol and Steane, 2000). The major drive towards private sector participation in urban housing through PPPs is based on the fact that: Private sector is more flexible in terms of time, costs and ideological shift than the public sector, therefore its participation reduces the government financial burdens. It possesses more skills, knowledge and technology with which it can use to provide quality and superior facilities (Botlhale, E., n.d; Ghobadian et al., 2004; Walker et al., 1995). Despite these benefits of applying PPPs, it must be pointed that the model is complicated one and may require special capacities to structure and make it lead to lowering of prices (International Institute for Sustainable Development, IISD, 2012).

The housing challenge in Kenya

Housing shortage in Kenya has been estimated to be 2 million units, which requires approximately 250,000 units per year to address, but only 50,000 units are produced annually (Republic of Kenya, 2015). Urbanization rates in the country has further increased the demand for affordable and decent housing with 61% of the Kenyan urban households living in slums and informal settlements, despite the urban population being expected to be half the country's population by 2050 (World Bank, 2017; Republic of Kenya, 2007). Emerging consensus points to a wider acceptance of PPPs in infrastructure and service delivery (Kung'u, 2009; Whitehead, 2007; Brown, Orr and Luo, 2006; Susilawati and Armitage, 2004).

Through PPPs, partners pool their expertise, technologies, skills, managerial and capital resources together in a cooperative rather than competitive manner for service delivery (UN Habitat, 2011; Moskalyk, 2008). Nigeria, Australia, Malaysia, China, UK, Singapore, US, Mexico, Egypt, India, Pakistan and Canada have used PPPs to provide low income urban housing (Kutana, 2017; Khaled Mohammed Al Shareem, 2014; Abdul-Azis,

2011). PPPs have many benefits including addressing budgetary deficits, introduction of greater efficiency, creativity, which bridges the infrastructure and service delivery gaps (Kutana, 2017; Mathonsi, 2012; UN Habitat, 2011). PPPs, though may have many challenges including inadequate capacity and lengthy processes inherent in the approach (IISD, 2012).

Successful PPPs application

Countries planning to utilize PPPs in developing low cost urban housing should have inbuilt sound financial considerations; adequate PPP financing model to address political, financial, construction, operation and maintenance, market, legal and revenue generation risks (Affordable Housing Institute, 2018; Mohammed et al., 2018; Kwak et al., 2009). The public sector should create enabling environments for private players' investment in public functions and services (Mathonsi, 2012). Ismail (2013), Cheng (2007) and Li (2003) have cited eighteen critical success factors for PPPs which includes stable macro-economic conditions; favourable legal and regulatory frameworks; sound economic policies; availability of financial markets; existence of muiti-benefits objectives; appropriate risk apportionment and sharing; commitments by the partners; existence of capable, strong and efficient private sector; application of good governance principles (Kutana, 2017; Ismail, 2013; Mathonsi, 2012; UN Habitat, 2011). Successful PPPs are based on true partnership ideals between the public and private parties, which should have inbuilt partners' trust, transparency and the private party with the capacity to develop and implement the agreed project goals and objectives (Affordable Housing Institute, 2018). There should be adequate coordination and be active involvement of the public sector throughout the project cycle to ensure adequate safeguards, compliance with standards and adherence with agreed project specifications and outputs (Mohammed et al., 2018; Kwak et al., 2009).

Methodology

The study adopted the Delphi method of research to gauge and forecast the prospects of the applicability of PPPs for low income urban housing in Kenya by administering questionnaires from the housing developers, housing policy makers and housing financiers (Donohoe and Needham, 2009; Linstone and Turoff, 1975; Ritchie and Goeldner, 1994; Veal, 1992; Moeller and Shafer, 1994; Weber and Ladkin, 2003; Duboff, 2007). According to Erdener (1994), Delphi technique has been used to make constructive and systematic application of informed intuitive judgment and decision making, and relies on a group of experts to make forecasts (Paliwoda, 1983). Questionnaires were administered anonymously through emails or direct contact (Linstine and Turoff, 1975; Erdener, 1994).

The choice of the sampling frame depends on the nature, scope and importance attached to the study (Somerville, 2008; Erdener (1994)). Three panels of 25-30 persons per panel as proposed by Murray (1970) and Gordon (1994) were used for this study (Rowe and Wright, 1999). Housing Financiers were 30 in number comprising bank employees involved in the advancement of loans and mortgages for housing development in Kenya, Housing developers were 28 from the leading firms and construction companies dealing with housing development within Nairobi city, while housing policy makers were drawn from Nairobi city county department of housing and urban development and the state department for housing and urban development.

Data collection procedures under Delphi

This research utilized 3 rounds Delphi process rounds which have been considered to be adequate to answer the underlying issues in the applicability of PPPs projections. Data was collected through questionnaires in the

1st, 2nd and 3rd rounds (Linstone & Turoff 2002; Seuring & Muller 2008; Okoli and Pawlowski, 2004). Minimum editing of the issues as they came out from the respondents was applied such that what was provided in round one found its way in round two Delphi and round three (Hasson et al., 2000; Pateman, 1998). This study used mean and standard deviation to analyze the consensus of the panelist on the applicability of PPPs in low income urban housing, where the more the value approached 0.00, the more there was consensus on the item (Somerville, 2008; Hasson et al., 2000; Mitchel, 1991). Ranking of statements was done using the standard deviation values; and qualitative interpretation attached such that 0.00 -0.5 was assigned Highly important; 0.51-0.70 was assigned Mild Important; 0.71-1.00 was assigned important; while 1.01 -2.00 was unimportant.

Findings and discussion

Build local expertise to undertake the PPP transactions and customize it local context, through use the cooperative method to mobilize savings and uptake of completed units and land, with public sector should providing infrastructure. 2. PPP is a workable and bankable development model for the development of low income urban housing in Kenya. 3. Standard PPP procurement, structuring and development manuals including housing typologies and designs for PPPs should be developed to increase affordability; 4. Stakeholders should structure and negotiate workable PPP transactions and programmes; 5. PPP champions, pace setters should be identified; 6. Application of PPPs should follow and utilize various models and approaches like the joint ventures, turnkey, land swaps and a mixture of PPP as presented in table 1.

S/No	Lessons learnt in the application of PPPs	Mean	Standard Devi-	Rank	Remarks
1.	Build local expertise for PPP transactions	1.57	ation 0.30	1	Highly Important
2.	Reduce bureaucracy reduced, binding contracts	1.34	0.32	2	Highly Important
3.	Develop standard manuals, procedures	2.28	0.36	3	Highly Important
4.	Structuring of win –win PPPs	1.16	0.37	4	Highly Important
5.	Identify PPP champions, pace setters	1.11	0.41	5	Highly Important
6.	Utilize various forms of PPPs	2.24	0.65	6	Mild Important

Table 1: Combined lessons learnt in the application of PPPs for down market urban housing *Source: (Author 2019).*

Six suggestions were made on the applicability of PPPs in developing low income urban housing units: 1. PPPs was established to be one of the ways of meeting the huge housing demand in Kenya; 2. PPP procedures and processes should be simplified through developing standard housing typologies and designs, adequate PPP financing models, standards, guidelines and manuals for the application of the concept; 3. PPPs require heavy government investment through laws, regulations, setting up institutions, construction of social and physical trunk infrastructure, provision of various guarantees, setting up a housing fund which will finance low income urban urban housing, acting as an off taker and aggregator of the demand and supply sides; 4. Enactment of laws, regulations and setting up institutions, for innovative project delivery; 5. Develop PPP models suited to local contexts like the utilization of the cooperatives movement in Kenya; 6. Government should incentivize private entities to attract them to the low income urban housing projects, as presented in table 2.

Conclusion

It was concluded that PPPs models are applicable in development of low income urban housing, because it is a collaborative tool between the in combining the public and private entities. Its applicability is possible where government undertakes legal, regulatory, institutional and economic reforms to create an enabling environment. The country has a PPP Act, 2013 and attendant regulations, what is required is application of incentives

structures for the private entities to be innovative in housing development. PPPs enables partners to leverage their capabilities while minimizing their weaknesses, which is central in delivering superior and quality low income urban housing units. Many countries have been attracted to the application of PPPs in development sectors, hence abandoning the traditional procurement methods in favour of enhanced roles of private players through the concept (Affordable Housing Institute, 2018).

Recommendation

The paper recommends the application of PPPs to meet the growing demand for shelter especially for the low income urban households, through the government playing the enabling role for the private players to bridge the supply gap. The existing PPP Act 2013 should be revised to address the unique housing development characteristics, in addition to permitting the use of the land held by public institutions in Kenya for housing development through such models as joint ventures and land swap models. The public sector should incentive the private sector to perform the role of housing delivery to the citizens, alongside availing serviced land, a model which was used by the government in Ivory Coast and Cameroon which led to affordable housing development (Affordable Housing Institute, 2018). The government should undertake adequate structuring, assessment and detailed contractual engagements with those private entities in the development of down market urban housing through PPPs.

S/ No	Suggestion in the PPPs application	Mean	Standard Deviation	Rank	Remarks
1.	PPPs one of the ways of meeting housing demand	0.41	0.18	1	Highly Important
2.	Simplify the PPP procedures and processes, models	1.38	0.31	2	Highly Important
3.	Heavy government investment is key	1.26	0.35	3	Highly Important
4.	Enacting adequate laws and institutions	1.23	0.35	3	Highly Important
5.	Formulate workable local PPP models	1.13	0.38	5	Highly Important
6.	Incentivize private sector , enabling environment	2.00	0.68	6	Mild Important

Table 2: Suggestions on the application of PPPs by the combined panels *Source: (Author 2019).*

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