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Urban regeneration strategies in waterfront areas. An interpretative framework

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Abstract

In this paper we discuss strategies and practices for regenerating waterfronts, a typology of urban space, exposed more than others to profit-driven urbanization. Following the literature and the academic debate of the last decades, the main elements of two fundamentally different visions of the waterfront and the city in general are identified and investigated. Based on these elements we draw a unified framework to elicit the city vision underlying present regenerative practices and we propose a concise set of criteria to compare case studies. This conceptual and methodological grid can be usefully employed for the framing of the decision-making process at the planning stage by policy makers and practitioners, for the assessment of these policies in the public debate and, more generally, for teaching and empirical research purposes in this field.

Keywords: City Visions, Regeneration Strategies, Urban Waterfront

1. Introduction

Waterfronts have been places of decisive importance for the history of virtually all cities as we know them. They have been vital for the foundation and existence of the city itself (as a source of freshwater, for example) and for the organization of its economic activities (as industry location sites and nodes of the trade and transport network), for its defense strategies in the case of military attacks.

Nowadays, those complex spaces, dense in historic, cultural and economic sedimentations, represent, from the point of view of urban planning, strategic areas with a high positional value in the compact fabric of our high-density cities. The differential urban rent makes the waterfront the place where everyone loves "leaving, working and investing" (Bruttomesso and Moretti, 2010, p. 24). This appeal explains why these fluid spaces, when affected by urban regeneration projects, tend to become more and more the battlefield of diverging interests, values and goals (Bassett et al., 2002).

In most cases the restyling strategies, supported by economic and political urban elites in the form of public-private partnerships, pursuing a profit-driven urbanization, produce the growth

of socio-spatial inequalities, the erosion of public spaces, the reduction in community service provision and the loss of place identity and community values (Zukin, 1991).

Recent dynamics of the global economy and the politico-administrative devolution (particularly, in terms of fiscal responsibility) from the national level to the local level in several countries has further exacerbated the above trends. The result is that many local governments are depleting significant organizational energies and financial resources (running into debts or selling entire pieces of urban land) in the rush to make the city attractive to investors and tourists, starting from the places with the greatest competitive edge. So many waterfronts have been transformed into shopping and *loisir*, areas, "non-places" (Augè, 1992) devised only to promote urban rent and manipulate the (purchasing) paths of the dwellers-consumers" (Governa, 2016, p. 106).

Our view is that urban waterfronts, for their symbolic and iconic value and for their ability to promote social identity should rather be re-thought and redesigned as commons and hence as "the 'place' par excellence of public policies" (Savino, 2010, p. 11). To this aim it is therefore important to investigate the consequences of the different regenerative approaches, in order to identify and undertake alternative routes and new socio-territorial practices, able to take the waterfront away from the logic of speculation and profit-driven urbanization.

Starting from such perspective, in this paper we discuss the strategies and regenerative practices implemented in these urban spaces, focussing on the unveiling of the vision of the city that underlies these practices. By identifying a selection of analytical criteria, we provide an interpretative frame and a methodological grid, for their multidimensional evaluation. Our analysis can be usefully employed, at an empirical level, for comparing different case studies, the framing of the decision-making process at the planning stage by policy makers and practitioners, for the assessment of these policies in the public debate and, more generally, for teaching and research purposes in this field[1] .

[1] For a few case studies, also used as teaching material, the reader is referred to Iovino, 2016a, 2016b and Iovino 2016c. For the teaching material see note 14.

2. Waterfront regeneration practices and competing urban visions

In the large majority of US and European cities experiences of waterfront regeneration, which started at the beginning of the 70s, were prompted by the obsolescence of productive settlements and by the total or partial relocation of harbors to areas outside the city, more appropriate to the new forms of organization of maritime trading (Hoyle and Pinder, 1981; Breen and Rigby, 1996; Vallega, 1992; Hoyle, 1996, 2000).

Due to these processes vast stretches of land usually located very close to the urban historical center but physically and functionally separated from the rest of the city, have become the "new urban frontier", following the definition by Peter Hall (1991). The regeneration of these spaces has followed heterogeneous logics and modes of intervention as has been shown in several empirical analyses undertaken on these topics (Brut-tomesso, 1993, 2006; Mayer, 1999; Marshall, 2001; Savino, 2010; Giovinazzi, 2007; Hein 2011; Fischer et al., 2004; Smith and Garcia Ferrari, 2012).

In several cases the redesign or reterritorialization of the waterfront has pursued goals of pure real estate enhancement, subordinating the interests of the public and the local communities to the private ones, in a profit-maximizing logic. This was the dominant approach in the 1970s and 1980s, with the first two waves of regenerative projects according to the periodization originally proposed by Show (2001)[2]. The Docklands in London and the Temple Quay in Bristol are the emblematic examples of this period. There are also more recent experiences that, though based on an apparently more participatory approach, have been actually using the same logic, mainly driven by the short run maximization of the rent.

In other rare cases the physical revitalization of the waterfront has been integrated with forms of reshaping of the cultural significance of the places, aimed to promote or to strengthen new urban imagery. Prominent examples of this cultural-led approach are the projects undertaken in Barcelona and Bilbao (Gonzales, 2006) in the 1990s and those more recently undertaken in

[2] See also Schubert (2011) and Brownill (2013).

Liverpool, Hamburg (Schubert, 2011) and in some cities in the North Sea (Carley and Garcia Ferrari, 2007). Nevertheless, even in these latter cases gentrification could not be avoided.

At the beginning of the new millennium, when the phenomenon became "viral" (Brownill, 2013) the restyling of the waterfront was started in many other cities in all continents. A common element in this phase is that they were mainly based on the blind imitation of projects that had succeeded in other contexts, totally disconnected from the history and culture of the place and the community dwelling in it. Openly incoherent, in a territorial perspective, are in particular those initiatives that, in order to make the cities attractive and "marketable", aim at the spectacularization of the waterfront, promoting elitist functions or unusually splurging forms of consumption. The most prominent example of this aesthetic and competitive approach is the regeneration of the Dubai waterfront. The new futuristic arborescences (the Palm Islands, two artificial palm-shaped islands) represent a quite prototypical sign of the attempt by emerging cities to escalate the ladder of "the world urban hierarchy and establish itself as the image of the 21st century" (Acuto, 2010, p. 274).

In short, a large variety of approaches have been used in the last decades. By adopting a culinary metaphor, we could say that the recipes used were different, as well as the ingredients, and their proportions. For this reason, in the attempt to classify regeneration practices, many criteria have been proposed and they vary according to the analytical dimensions considered, which, as stated by Tallon (2010, p. 5) "can be broadly described as economic, social and cultural, physical and environmental, and governance-related in nature"[3].

Depending on the weight attributed to each dimension in relation to others and on the scale of values used to measure each component, different categories of urban regeneration emerge from the current literature. By focusing on the governance structure and the role of the private interests, a few categories of waterfront regeneration can be distinguished such as *market-led regeneration, property-led regeneration*, *state-led regeneration* and *community regeneration*. By focusing on the functional requalification, other categories emerge, such as *business district retail/housing/leisure-led regenerations*. Finally, by focusing on the event that triggers the regeneration process, expressions as *event-driven regeneration* or *cultural-led regeneration* have been used to refer to those transformations that are associated with the organization of important sports, cultural or media driven events like the Olympic Games, Expo, America's Cup, or other less ephemeral cultural activities which act as catalyst of the regeneration process.

Each of these categories is the outcome of specific choices made on the basis of the vision that drives the transformation, with reference to the urban functions activated, the nature of the areas involved, the kind of social actors that planning choices aim at attracting or at excluding.

In our view, such a variety of urban regeneration practices can be conveniently considered under two fundamental approaches, that ultimately rest on two visions of the cities and two antithetical models of urban development: a market oriented or neoliberal model and a territorialist or place-based model. However, these alternative approaches, rather than binary conflicting models, should be interpreted as the extreme forms or ideal typos on a spectrum made of a *continuum* where to place the diverse regeneration practices, hardly attributable to the pure model.

The *market-oriented approach* originates from the urban neoliberalism of the 1980s. It refers to the paradigm proposed by Molotoch (1976) of the "city as a growth machine" and its evolution in the "entrepreneurial city" described by Harvey (1989) and other authors committed

[3] Each of these dimensions can be further refined using a vast spectrum of indicators and variables. Evans and Shaw (2004), for example, set out to assess the social impact of waterfront regeneration, focusing on the level of social capital to be obtained through a series of parameters, such as the change in the perception of the inhabitants, the level of trust and individual aspirations, the ability to express ideas and needs, the involvement in donation or community voluntary work, organizational ability of the local community and so forth. The variables to measure the economic and the environmental impact that have been singled out by these authors are also abundant.

to providing a critical diagnosis of the urban phenomenon in the present phase of globalization[4]. The building blocks of the market-oriented approach are the view of the city as a means to foster economic growth, the centrality of market in the assessment of alternative projects, the prominence of private developers and the necessity for an entrepreneurship view in the governance of urban dynamics.

The primacy assumed by economic imperatives within the neoliberal approach to public policies, the dismantling of the welfare State and the gradual decentralization of responsibilities from central government to lower levels of the political and territorial administrative hierarchy have prompted many local governments to engage in a variety of "valorization" strategies, aimed at attracting external investment, especially in the tourism sector. The main instruments to achieve these targets have been the creation of cultural attractors, the organization of hallmark events, the development of ambitious urban renovation plans, often arranged in the expectation of thaumaturgical effects.

The adoption of an entrepreneurial approach by local governments on the one hand reinforces the ability of the private sector (local and global elites) to heavily influence urban policy platforms and, on the other hand, it increases the share of land and investments (public and private) directed at the real estate and consumer sectors. The primary objective of the "new urban politics" in the advanced phase of neoliberalism[5] in fact becomes that of fostering the marketability of urban spaces, in order to transform them into what have been considered (or hoped) to be the best productive uses of these resources[6].

The projects are presented to the public opinion as the ineludible road to revitalize the urban economic base in an age of global competition, the only way to attract resources from outside, in the absence of which exclusion of the city from the global network and decline would be the alternative.

The success in this rush to global markets largely depends on how the image of the places of the city is constructed and sold through marketing and branding policies (Lucarelli and Berg, 2011; Kokx and Van Kempen, 2010). Usually seductive and attractive images, along with selective narratives of the history of the city (Holcomb, 2001), have been used to address a specific target of city users and consumers, in order to promote a new urban imaginary.

In most cases these operations of urban restyling present a high degree of ambiguity. On the one hand, they aim at enhancing the "distinctiveness" (Airas et al., 2015), namely the personality and uniqueness of places as part of an implicit marketing strategy. On the other hand, they use a limited and homologating repertoire of regenerative strategies, strongly oriented to consumption (of goods, images and land). A contribution to the standardization of regeneration practices comes from the increasing mobility of companies specializing in urban projects. Ward (2011), for example, provides a detailed reconstruction of the ways and mechanisms through which the EDC (Enterprise Development Company) progressively managed to extend its scope from Baltimore to Boston, Sidney, Rotterdam and Barcelona, re-exporting the same model with a different brand. In this process of imitation by more or less aware local decision-makers a prominent role is played by the so-called archistars (Ponzini, 2014; Gonzales, 2011; Muñoz, 2008). Under the effect of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, cities which aim at becoming global (and hence automatically creative and smart) compete for the services of the big shots in the field of architecture for the realiza-

[4] The critical literature on the urban effects of neoliberalism is now overwhelmingly wide. On the subject we refer to the effective synthesis proposed by Rossi and Vanolo, 2012.

[5] According to Peck and Tickell (2002) neoliberalism has gone through two main phases: the first, in the 1980s, defined as *roll-back,* marked by a harsh and conservative approach focused on deregulation and the dismantling of the welfare state; the second in the early 1990s, defined as *roll-out*, led by many progressive parties in the social democratic tradition and characterized by the adoption of more flexible forms of regulation and the apparent inclusion of environmental and social sustainability objectives in urban policies.

[6] As stated by Brenner and Theodore (2002, p. 19) "the overarching goal of such neoliberal urban policy experiments is to mobilize city space as an arena for both market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices".

tion of iconic landmark buildings, symbols of success and catalysts of political consensus, often quite repetitive artifacts, with no links with the context and its historical, political and socio-economic background[7].

A direct consequence of the spectacularization of the urban space (Minca, 2005) and its reorganization for consumption is the progressive loss of the historical identity of the places and the value of the community, so effectively described by Zukin (1991) in her book *Landscapes of Power*. Other consequences emphasized in the critical approaches to urban studies, are the weakening of social cohesion and the fragmentation of its urban structure (Vicar Haddok and Moulaert, 2009).

No larger equitable growth has been generated by the *cultural approach* to urban regeneration policies spurred on in the 1990s in Anglo-Saxon countries and exported to the rest of Europe (Miles, 2005). This new approach has found support in the so-called theory of the creative city (Florida 2002, 2005; Landry 2000). In the majority of culture-led regeneration programs, culture is only ancillary to market driven planning strategies and it has been used to justify the realization of big buildings and structures for cultural consumption, where the only thing that has been regenerated, and only where the initiative has succeeded, is the market value of the land, with significant effects of gentrification and associated phenomena of social exclusion (Ley, 2003; Zukin, 1995). A typical example is the waterfront renovation of Marseille, transformed in the early 2000s into a great space of entertainment and cultural consumption (Governa, 2016). According to Ley (2003, p. 2542) this trend has led us "to an intensified economic colonization of the cultural realm, to the representation of the creative city not as a means of redemption, but as a means of economic accumulation".

In contrast to the market-oriented model, *the territorialist or place-based approach* focuses on the territorial heritage of the city, interpreted as a set of tangible and intangible resources locally embedded (environmental, social, cultural, assets, but also skills, know-how, relational goods), which can be used as the engine of an integrated and sustainable urban regeneration strategy. From this viewpoint the economic or exchange-value of the urban space (and more in general of the whole territory) is considered less important than its social value.

The recognition of local territorial resources as commons[8] (with a use-value, not negotiable or marketable) and the preeminence of the commons and the Common Good[9] over private interests are, in fact, the cornerstones of this orientation, matured in Italy thanks to reflections on local development, proposed by the so-called territorialist school[10].

[7] According to some authors (Governa, 2016; Devisme et al., 2007), the transfer of previously "tested" urban models to other contexts has been favored by those programs (and city networks) promoted by the European Union (such as Urban, Urbanact, Eurocities) or by other international organization (such as the UN-Habitat Sustainable Urban Development Network), which stimulate the exchange and dissemination of "good practices", contributing to the flattening of the urban imagery.

[8] Starting from the work of Ostrom (1990), *Governing the Commons*, an intensive political and cultural debate has developed around this concept. The expression has come to refer to a diverse and disparate range of new commons, global and local, natural and artificial, tangible and intangible (Lessing, 2001; Hess, 2008; Bollier, 2015). With regard to the more restricted sphere of the *urban* commons, they vary, according to the analytical (and ideological) perspectives adopted, from public spaces (parks, squares, streets, etc.), to urban services (transport, health services, education, etc.), from the environment to safety, up to including the city as a whole (Hardt and Negri, 2009; Salzano, 2009; Harvey, 2012).

[9] Common Good is meant here as an ethical principle, connected to the more pragmatic concept of "general interest" or "public utility". On the deep link and the differences between commons (plural) and Common Good (singular) see Settis (2012).

[10] This approach experienced great vigour between the 1990s and the 2000s thanks to the elaboration on the so-called "local project" developed by Magnaghi and his school (1998, 2000; Poli, 2011), to the studies on the processes of territorialization of Raffestin (1981, 1984) and Turco (1988, 2014), to the interpretations of local territorial systems elaborated by Dematteis (1994, 2001; Dematteis and Governa, 2005), just to name a few. For further details, see also the website of the Italian *Società dei territorialisti* (http://www.societadeiterritorialisti.it/), created in 2004 to support "an integrated vision of the territory as a common good".

As a result of the central role assigned to places and their social construction, the place-based approach[11] shares some common grounds with the *cultural planning*, the inclusive strategic planning approach of Anglo-Saxon origin and with other interpretative categories and regenerative practices such as the *HUL method* proposed by UNESCO or the *placemaking* proposed by the Project for Public Spaces. A common trait of these more recent approaches is the determined attempt to conciliate objectives of economic competitiveness with social equity and sustainability.

In the *cultural planning* approach (Bianchini, 1993, 1999; Bianchini and Parkinson, 2003; Evans, 2001) a strong emphasis is given to a broad notion of culture which includes all those forms of expression, values, traditions and customs that characterize the social life of a local community and strengthen its territorial identity and roots. A strong link is thus set between the culture produced by the local community and its places or daily living spaces. By so doing, this approach rejects the more elitist vision that interprets culture only as high-profile artistic production (only San Carlo, no tarantella) and, at the same time, it also contrasts the excessively pragmatic view taken by the culture-led practices[12], where culture is just another commodity for the masses or even worse "a carnival mask" (Harvey, 1989) behind which increasing social inequalities and conflicts in the contemporary cities are hidden. One of the aims of the cultural planning approach is to integrate planning methods that were previously disconnected, such as social planning, urban planning, arts planning and economic planning (Evans, 2001), to obtain a global view of regeneration processes, with positive repercussions in many areas of urban life. Fundamental issues of this approach are the adoption of "a territorial rather than a sectorial focus" (Garcia, 2004, p. 314) and the use of widely participated planning.

The *HUL method* (Historic Urban Landscape), supported by UNESCO is also sensitive to culture. It rests on a broad definition of the urban historic landscape interpreted "as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of 'historic centre' or 'ensemble' to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting" (UNESCO, 2011, p. 3). In this perspective both material and intangible urban assets have to be taken as key elements of urban planning and policies (Bandarin and van Oers, 2012). By adopting a dynamic view to conservation, this method acknowledges the suitability of flexibly designed frameworks that can be reviewed when needed, in order to adapt to unforeseen needs of the local community (Fusco Girard, 2013).

It is a people-oriented perspective already adopted in the practice of *placemaking* by Project for Public Spaces, an American non-profit organization, supported by UN-Habitat (PPS, 2012; UN-Habitat, 2015; Silberberg, 2013; Palermo and Ponzini, 2015). According to its promoters, *placemaking* is both a planning process and a philosophy. The key idea is to foster collaborative community-based plans to re-imagine and to re-design sites, neighborhoods and cities starting from small scale projects for public spaces such as parks, roads, waterfronts, piazzas, in order to transform them into "livable and sustainable places". Resting on a robust and rather old intellectual tradition epitomized in the works by Jane Jacobs (1961) and William Whyte (1980), this approach attributes a key role to public urban space as a source of identity, capable of generating "a distinctive sense of place", promoting civic connections and building social capital (Silberberg, 2013, p. 7).

[11] The place-based approach is now widely used also within regional development studies (see the OECD report on the new regional policy paradigm and the EU Territorial Agenda 2020). A significant contribution to the recognition of the territorial dimension of the policies came from Barca (2009; Barca et al., 2012), who also contributed to the notoriety of the term.

[12] Evans (2005) identifies three major families of regeneration practices: *culture-led regeneration*, *culture and regeneration* and *cultural regeneration*. The first places cultural activity (infrastructures and/or events) as a catalyst for change. The second concerns small-scale interventions and events promoted from the bottom, often very effective, but not able to characterize the wider regenerative process. Finally, *cultural regeneration* uses cultural activity as the engine of a wider development strategy: social, economic, and environmental and therefore it tends to satisfy the requirements of cultural planning.

All these approaches, even in the presence of more or less marked nuances, suggest the need to look for alternative models to the profit-driven approaches that focus on satisfying individual needs and collective well-being.

If environmental and social implications have to be considered in these alternative approaches, a logic and a series of criteria and indicators to assess several dimensions have to be taken into account in the definition of the planning objectives and in their implementation. To this end, a general interpretative frame is proposed in the following section, as well as a discussion of the few analytic dimensions deemed important and a set of corresponding indicators.

3. An interpretive frame to assess waterfront regeneration practices

In the light of the above discussion it is evident that different families of regeneration practices emerge from these two antithetical and fundamentally incompatible models. By simplifying a little, we could say that the basis and the stakes in the regeneration process of those areas end up in the confrontation of two opposite alternatives: the commodification of the waterfront and the generation of new active territoriality or urban common[13].

However, as happens in other matters where a political spectrum of platforms and social preferences crop up, there is actually a *continuum* of possibilities between these two extreme forms. In the large majority of cases the trade-off between profit-led approaches, based on short run rent maximization, and alternative views gets settled only after complex compromises among a plurality of stakeholders, in all the phases of the decision-making process from planning to implementation.

By taking this view, the two models can, and we think should, be simply considered as archetypes, as ideal benchmarks to provide a measure, a criterion to assess specific, less transparent episodes and contingencies. Understanding these as archetypes or ideal types, we can't expect a perfect match, but could proceed to discuss the degree of resemblance, searching for differences and similarities across cases.

The interpretative frame shown in Figure 1 identifies seven analytical dimensions or criteria useful for the multidimensional evaluation of regenerative processes. In our view, these criteria constitute the key elements that make it possible to clarify the essential features of the choices made in the project and to understand its inspiring principles.

The first dimension focuses on the governance structure, with particular reference to the relationship between public and private actors and the involvement of the local community. Formally, in both approaches the undertaking of the project features a public-private partnership. There are significant differences however.

In the place-based approach, the public actor plays the role of a director of the whole process, he decides the strategy and its objectives, in order to ensure the public interest hopefully in the long run. Private agents are limited to co-financing and managing the phase of implementation. The involvement of the local community tends to be ensured by forms of direct democracy. With respect to the measurement of the scale of participation of Arnstein (1969), as reformulated by Turco (2011), the territorial approach in fact uses a conciliatory evaluation paradigm (Figure 2), the only one, among the three basic paradigms proposed, that draws a real path of participation.

[13] As suggested by Dematteis and Governa (2005), the active or positive territoriality "resulting from collective action - territorialized and territorializing - undertaken by local actors, who use inclusive and co-operative strategies" (*ibidem*, p. 26). On the affinity and the relationship between the concept of active territoriality and the concept of commons see Moss (2014); Turco (2014); Gattullo (2015).

market driven approach	Analytical Dimensions	place based approach
Primacy of private actors Limited forms of governance	1. Governance structure	Primacy of public actors Wide social participation
Intensive use of soil High floor area ratio	2. Physical transformation (land use)	Soil saving Reuse of abandoned areas
Erosion and privatization	3. Quality and conformation of public space	Focus on the public space and its quality
Introduction of elite functions Gentrification and social zoning	4. Social sustainability	Diversification of functions and residential typologies Promoting social and cultural mixing
Focus on short run profit -maximizing	5. Economic viability	Weak attention to the long run economic sustainability
Weak territorial coherence	6. Territorial coherence	Focus on territorial coherence
Weak attention and opportunistic use of the environmental /landscape resources (read as attractors of investment)	7. Environmental and landscape quality and sustainability	Focus on sustainable use of the environmental/ landscape resources (read as commons)

Figure 1. Alternative approaches to waterfront regeneration: an interpretative frame.
Source: Author's elaboration.

The public authority is a *primus inter pares* in the bargaining process among different stakeholders. In this perspective the emergence of issues at the bottom are promptly taken to the negotiation table and satisfied, if coherent with a long run notion of efficiency, sustainability and equity.

Less clear is the role of public actor in the market-led approach to regeneration. In most cases the local government, in order to attract investments, gives up its role as a public decision-maker and becomes a self-interested arbitrator among lobbying activities by conflicting groups (banks, urban developers, trade unions). The self-interest of the public official is quite often aligned with the market forces aimed at maximizing land value, in the expectation that regeneration programs will lead to extra revenues (such as urbanization fees and property taxes). In short, the local government becomes a political entrepreneur that acts to maximize their own profit in terms of revenues, votes, prestige and political endorsement.

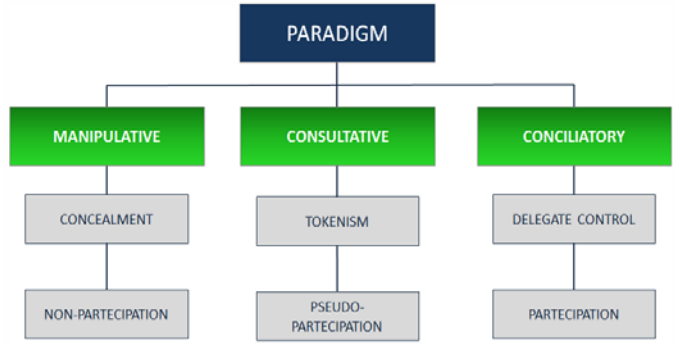

Figure 2. Paradigms for the assessment of participatory processes.
Source: Arnstein (1969) as modified by Turco (2011).

The involvement of the local community is negligible, in particular when stakeholders are weak, either in terms of votes, financial resources or capabilities. In most cases, the use of participatory practices is purely instrumental, it serves to create consensus and to formally respect the administrative constraints and regulations, but it does not affect the ability of ordi-

nary citizens to influence policy choices. By referring to Figure 2 the neoliberal approach thus uses practices that can be traced back to the manipulative or consultative paradigm. At first, the public actor (usually secretly captured by a lobby) decides according to their own self-interest, pretending to adopt seemingly participatory practices (DAD, decide, announce, defend). In the consultative paradigm, the public actor is an arbitrator of a lobbying process where the requests of the (financially) weaker actors are settled by the so-called tokenism: small concessions (direct financial transfers or the fulfillment of specific requests) by the public actor aimed at compensating the stakeholders.

The other criteria taken into consideration are related to these different modes of negotiation in the design and implementation of urban policies. Market-oriented regeneration will tend to enforce the projects that are the most remunerative in the short run (dimension 5), usually marked by an intensive use of the soil and a high "floor area ratio" (dimension 2) and by the erosion and privatization of previously public urban space (dimension 3). On the contrary, it will tend to neglect the territorial coherence of the project, i.e. the capacity to contextualize interventions, taking into account

the historical, cultural and socio-economic city background (dimension 6). It will also tend to neglect the social impact of the regeneration process (dimension 4), as proved by the introduction of elitist functions or club assets, such as luxury condos and hotel, shopping malls and other exclusive attractions, all functions that inevitably generate an increase in land rent and gentrification processes. Equally weak is the attention paid to the environmental sustainability. Interest in landscape and environmental resources is, in fact, subordinated to their ability to influence the urban imaginary, to increase the waterfront attractiveness and as a consequence to generate economic returns (dimension 7).

The place-based approach on the other hand, by focusing less on the real estate and more on the environmental and social sustainability of the project, will tend to limit soil sealing and to promote the reuse of abandoned areas (criterion 2). It also will tend to defend the size and the quality of public space, interpreted as central place of urban sociality (criterion 3) and to ensure the affordability of housing and its diversification, in order to favor the social and cultural *mixitè* (criterion 4). The place-based approach can be weaker in terms of financial and economic sustainability (criterion 5), especially in the short run, since it tends to be mainly financed by public funds. Conversely, by attributing a central role to the local community and its history, this approach will tend to closely scrutinize the territorial coherence of interventions (criterion 6), as well as their impact on the environment and the landscape (criterion 7). In this perspective, natural, cultural and social resources of the waterfront (and the waterfront itself) are seen as "commons", i.e. as relationship resources whose "real" value cannot be measured by their exchange value, but rather with their usage and existence values, with them being fundamental components of the ecosystem, well-being and quality of life.

The translation of this interpretative scheme in operational terms requires that the analytic dimensions investigated are further articulated in a set of variables and indicators we deem useful for empirical analysis in this field (Table 1).

Table 1 shows a list that, far from being exhaustive, only takes into account the few variables applicable to most regenerative projects, omitting valuation elements that, even if of primary importance, are more directly related to the specific context of reference (for example, the presence of ports, brownfield or contaminated sites, particularly vulnerable environments, etc.). Many variables are inevitably linked to the stage of advancement of the project. For example, output indicators such as change in property prices, inflows of tourists or the rise of gentrification processes can more properly be evaluated ex post. Conversely other elements, such as the criteria for the selection of the urban planner and the architects involved in the regeneration project, can be evaluated right from the initial stage of the project.

Dimension	*Variable*	*Indicator/descriptor*
1. Governance structure	*Relationship between public and private stakeholders*	Role of the promoter and other stakeholders directly involved in the project implementation Sources of funds (public vs private) Contractual modes
	Selection criteria, skills and role of urban planner	Direct assignment vs competition Skills of the planning group coordinator and degree of knowledge of the local context Role of urban planner (and architects)
	Participation levels and local conflict	Degree of transparency (dedicated website, info point, etc.) Degree of involvement by the local community (participative, non-participatory, pseudo-participative) Oppositional grassroots movements (extension and features, motivations, goals, external projection, etc.)
2. Physical transformation of the territory	*Land use and settlement models*	Built up areas, floor area ratio Degree of soil sealing and land take Index of compactness and dispersion of the urban fabric
	Urban functions and services	Mix of functions introduced for typologies and occupied surface Public and private polarities
3. Quality and conformation of public space	*Relevance, use and typology*	Presence of a specific project for the public space Public space by type and in relation to the surface area (before and after the regeneration project) Privatization of public space (variations of land use in urban planning tools) Flexibility of use, with the possibility of appropriation and self-organization
	Accessibility and security	Accessibility during the day/week Degree of security in the area (no visible barriers, unlit areas, etc.) Measures to contrast improper use and vandalism
4. Social Sustainability	*Provision of functions and services*	Diversification of residential typologies and affordability of housing Structures devoted to specific categories of citizens (weak categories or elite)
	Effects of gentrification and social exclusion	Turnover in housing Citizens who are excluded or disadvantaged by the implementation of the project Local mobilization against the project
5. Economic Sustainability	*Economic and financial sustainability of the project*	Presence of an economic-financial plan of the project that estimates costs, revenues and value of the area before and after intervention Availability of a market survey that allows the expense of the project costs and revenues, the absorption conditions and the expected real estate products Public expenditure for project development and annual management costs
	Economic impact on local scale	Job offers Change in the value of land and real estate Change in number of residents Change in tourist flows
6. Territorial coherence	*Consistency between the design solutions adopted and the milieu*	Attention to existing landmarks in the area (natural, cultural, etc.) Continuity (or discontinuity) of design choices in relation to the historical evolution of the city and its identity
7. Environmental and landscape quality and sustainability	*Quality of the environment*	Respect for existing environmental and landscape constraints Soil sealing and land take Use of permeable materials and reuse of brownfield and other abandoned areas
	Accessibility and enjoyment of the landscape	Introduction of elements designed to enhance the landscape Introduction of elements perceived as negative (disturbing elements) Attention to the landscape's factors favored or inhibited by the project
	Attention to soft mobility	Creation of pedestrian areas and cycle paths

Table 1. Dimensions, variables and indicators for the analysis of regenerative projects.
Source: Author's elaboration.

The list includes both *quantitative indicators*, from statistical archives, public databases or inferred from the analysis of the projects, and *descriptive information*, collected through qualitative surveys, such as direct observation, local press reviews, interviews with key local stakeholders, analysis of materials (documents or reports) produced by committees and local associations, questionnaires, etc. It is, indeed, crucial to adopt an integrated methodological approach, i.e. an approach based on the combination of "objective" indicators and qualitative information, in order to grasp the way in which the territory affected by the regeneration project is experienced by the local community and how socio-territorial actions and practices are under way in this context. In our view, the use of a descriptive ethnographic-style approach is particularly relevant to the analysis of some dimensions and variables, such as the perception of different stakeholders of the project or the landmarks (ancient or new) as experienced by the local community, in terms of identity factors or disturbing elements. A qualitative approach is equally important to explore features, motivations and organizational modes of opposition grassroots movements.

4. Conclusions

The proposed frame suggests a unifying view to systematize the variety of approaches to waterfront regeneration, not only conceptually, but also in operational terms, as a reference grid for case studies and empirical applications.

There is always an intrinsic limitation in the aim of building up a taxonomy and it lies in the arbitrariness of the selected criteria. Our strategy was to identify the main paradigms or city models underlying the policies and regenerative practices in the last decades, following the literature and the academic debate in this field. Some key evaluation criteria were derived from a selection of the conceptual issues as debated in the literature. The main aim was to target the minimum set of indicators, in the application of Ockam's razor, in order to facilitate the practical implementation.

It seems to us that this simple conceptual and methodological grid can be usefully employed for the framing of the decision-making process at the planning stage, the assessment of these policies in the public debate and, more generally, for empirical research and teaching purposes in this area.

Space constraints prevented us from discussing a few case studies in detail (see Iovino, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c) and other empirical aspects that illustrate the usefulness of this grid for the analysis. Here we highlight that some of these case studies have been used as teaching material[14] with undergraduate students in the "Urban Geography" course at the University of Salerno as part of their syllabus in Political Science. In this course the synthetic scheme provided in this paper proved quite useful in the class experience to frame the discussion about a waterfront regeneration plan. A simulation of the main issues arising in the decision-making process in the town of Salerno was proposed and implemented. Students were divided into three groups, a group of (two) developers, a group of politicians (two students, one as a mayor, another as the head of the opposition minority) and the rest of the class (seven students) in the group of dwellers/voters.

By using the framework synthesized in section 3, a simulation of a public debate on different proposals was performed, requiring all the parties to provide a plan for waterfront regeneration, where all the seven dimensions in Table 1 had to be discussed, negotiated and voted. Despite the small group bias, the main aspects of real life issues emerged clearly in these sessions with the students. The scheme proved useful as a synthetic tool to focus their attention and participation on the crucial stakes and the steps leading to a collective decision-making in this area. A preliminary project aimed at taking these forms of interactions by the students in the lab is currently under consideration for further developments. Overall, this experience suggests that the conceptual framework proposed can be easily utilized as a teaching device.

[14] The background material can be found at http://docenti.unisa.it/uploads/rescue/385/1637/GU-Caso-studio-waterfront-Salerno.pdf.

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