The role of spatial planning in steering market-driven urban change of deteriorated urban areas

Introduction

Although change of urban land uses is not a new phenomenon, market dynamics and urban development forces were usually sufficient to keep pace with the amount and the increase rate of these sites to avoid the disintegration among new and old structures. It usually took the form of a replacement of an old structure with new ones. Different factors in the last two decades had increased the pace of this change to a new dimension. While earlier changes took the form of addition to the urban structure, the current changes can be described as a substitution of existing structures. Technical innovations, new organizational concepts and political shifts, combined with the changing market dynamics in the fields of production, services and infrastructure lead to radical changes in the distribution patterns of these functions and hence in the spatial structure of cities generating many abandoned and under-used brownfields in many cities.

These areas are often very complex to be redeveloped and to be reintegrated in the urban structure because of the often complex ownership situation, the lack of investors' interest, the high financial risks and the complexity of coordination among the usually large number of concerned actors. These circumstances lead to economic disintegration of large areas or even whole districts and social segregation in the cities.

Market dynamics and formal planning alone have proved to be insufficient for reintegrating these areas again in the urban structure of the cities. New planning informal approaches that go beyond formal planning and direct market forces are suggested as a solution for this blockade situation.

Based on the results of three cases from Stuttgart, Milan and Budapest¹, this paper is an attempt to examine the following hypotheses:

- Different types of changes directly influence the urban structure of cities.
- Formal planning solely is inadequate under these circumstances.
- Innovative and informal planning processes and instruments are needed.
- Spatial planning can provide the needed framework for coordination among the involved actors.

I. Growth, decline and urban change – from addition to subtraction:

Many European cities have witnessed a rapid urban growth for several decades in the twenties century especially the second half of it. This urban growth was initiated by an intensive increase in industrial investments after World War II, mainly in the 1950s and the 1960s. The resulting growth in job opportunities led to a similar increase in population to fulfill the demand on labor force and consequently on housing areas, services areas as well as infrastructure and roads. This growth, in the form of urban sprawl, took place, to a large extent, on greenfields on the outskirts of the cities leading to more demand on private passenger vehicles and hence to more pressure on the road network. To keep pace with these developments, immense investments were devoted to the sectors of infrastructure and public services (Elgendy 2003).

In the last few decades, different factors have lead to a thorough change in this trend. Deindustrialization, globalization and political changes are some of the major factors that play an important role in this trend. These changes were accompanied by technical and operational innovations in all industrial, infrastructure and services sectors. All these factors have influenced directly the urban development of these cities in the form of large abandoned or underused sites.

Hereafter we shed briefly some light on each of these factors and its impact of the urban structure. This discussion is not only important to know what happened in the past, but it is more important to as a basis for estimating the impacts of future changes.

Deindustrialization: Industrial growth, as indicated by the share of total employment and total investments, has fallen dramatically in the last few decades. A phenomenon widely referred to as "deindustrialization". This phenomenon is not limited to western and central European cities but more or less, it hit all of the world's most advanced economies and most recently has been observed in the Tiger economies of East Asia. In the 23 most advanced economies, employment in manufacturing declined from about 28 percent of the workforce in 1970 to about 18 percent in 1994. In the "old" 15 countries of the European Union, the share of manufacturing employment stood at a comparatively high level of more than 30 percent in 1970 but then fell steeply to only 20 percent by 1994 (Rowthorn & Ramaswamy, 1997). The decline in employment in manufacturing has been accompanied by rise in employment in services in all advanced economies. This shift has directly resulted in the formation of huge abandoned industrial sites – brownfields.

Globalization: Although Globalization is not a new phenomenon, global connections today differ from those in the past in different important ways: the speed, the scale, the multiple dimensions and the complexity (UN-Habitat 2004, p. 2). Economic changes that influence the urban structure of cities is not limited anymore to national or regional borders. Globalization has lead to a completely different flow of capital and investments. Production facilities are intensively reallocated to other regions or other countries that offer suitable economical incentives in the form of cheaper labor or lower taxes. Companies from different sectors and sizes are changing their traditional production sites to other east European or Asian countries where the production costs are much lower. Such decisions lead also to the formation of brownfields.

Political changes: Political changes after the end of the cold war lead to the reduction of the military forces in different areas that were used for different military purposes, for example barrack and military airports in different German cities. While these areas include beside traditional brownfields other types of development potentials, they represent an important chance for inward development.

Technical changes: Technical innovations and new organizational and economical concepts in the field of infrastructures in the last few decades, lead to concentration of functions, efficient use of land, and higher productivity, leading to radical changes in the spatial structures of infrastructure facilitates. For example, the change in the technical and operative concepts as well as the innovations in the installations of freight transportation resulted in abandoning large areas or leaving them underused in railway and ports in favor of new transshipment facilities. Changes in the operation concept of the railways companies regarding organization of goods transshipment resulted in abandoning different conventional railway stations that do not meet the needs of modern transshipment.

Living standards: As a result of the rapid urban growth of the cities, different land uses, which were normally on the outskirts of the city, have been included inside the city, e.g. fair areas, harbors and airports. For example, parking areas for goods conveyance that consume huge areas, which used to be on the outskirts of the city are now contained inside the urban agglomeration. The new operational concepts and the requirements of the users on one hand and the requirements of the city inhabitants on the other one, have led to successive immigration of such land uses to new areas outside the city, again leaving large sites inside the urban structures. In addition, other areas which were used for a long time for specific land uses are considered neither efficient nor sustainable. Although some of the above mentioned factors have a regional or a national character, most of them are global and general. They show that this change process in the form of subtraction of exiting structure is neither temporal nor spatially limited. They get stronger with the time and they move in the form of wave to other countries and regions of the world.

Form the above mentioned examples, it can be stated that brownfields and other underused or abandoned sites in urban areas result from different types of changes and affect directly the patterns of land use in cities. These changes are unpredictable and their effects on the land use occur on the middle- term and on the long-term.

Observing how the market reacts to redeveloping such sites, calls the simple rule that implies "minimizing costs of all type while maximizing profit and limiting risks". For inward

development that comprises a large percentage of brownfield development, the risk factor is usually higher than for Greenfield development as a result of remediation costs that sometimes are hard to predict and the often complex ownership situation. Further development of such areas usually requires more time and effort in planning, and coordination among the usually large number of concerned actors.

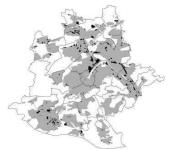
At least these direct factors are interpreted for investors as sign for long-term interim financing, uncertainty and risk. However, these factors exist neither simultaneously nor in the same intensity in all cases? As an attempt to classify these sites, the Canadian national round table on the environment and the economy (NRTEE, 2003) has suggested three classes regarding the relation between the market value and the expected remediation cost:

- Top tier (tier 1): sites where the market values greatly exceed the costs of remediation and where redevelopment might succeed without assistance (15-20% of all sites).
- Middle tier (tier 2): redevelopment is feasible and likely to attract private interest but market barriers currently discourage activity (60-70% of all sites).
- Bottom tier (tier 3): properties where the cost of cleanup far exceeds the value of the land. High cleanup costs and uncertainty far outrun any market interest (15-20% of all sites).

II. Urban growth vs. inward development:

Three European cities will be introduced briefly as examples for the above mentioned aspects in this chapter. This introduction is limited to some basic facts about the identified potentials for inward development in each city. Then, the main focus is given to a case from each of the three cities to illustrate the development circumstances, the market conditions and the planning role in the development.

Inward development in Stuttgart, Milan & Budapest



Stuttgart: More than 300 Milan: More than 200 areas, Buda areas, 500 Hectare 600 Hectare ar Inward development potentials in the three cities



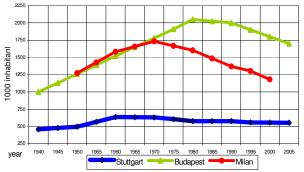




Budapest: 11% of the city area. 5800 Hectare

From this overview, it is clear that the number, the size and the distribution of these sites are a major challenge for the integration of these cities. Usually, these sites are good accessed by public transportation in the city, a fact that opens an enormous development chance for these cities in the form of urban renewal as an alternative for urban growth. Among the different expected problems connected with the development of this area are soil

contamination and building rests. One of the important circumstances for the future development of these cities is the demographic change. Many cities in west and central Europe are witnessing negative demographic development. Regarding the three case cities, they have all witnessed a similar patter in the decades. The considerable increase of population ended with a more of less strong decline as in the case of Milan and



Budapest and relatively slower negative rate in Stuttgart. These changes set an important dimension for the future spatial development.

Veielbrunnen - Stuttgart



Veielbrunnen – Stuttgart

Veielbrunnen area in Stuttgart has an outstanding location at the Neckar River and the major green areas inside the city. Although the area is very near to the historic center of Cannstatt district, the train tracks represent a strong physical and visual barrier. This area represents a typical mixed area from the beginning of the 20th century where housing and production are mixed. The area includes different abandoned or under used factories. The following aspects are important in the development of this area:

- Complex ownership situation.
- The area consists of several development potentials within the existing structure.
- The site can't be developed as one large project.
- The area is surrounded with other large abandoned sites some of them are 100 hectares.
- The critical mass for development is missing or must be reached by extending the focus to other development potentials in the neighborhood such as Cannstatter Güterbahnhof.

Bovisa Gasometri - Milan



Bovisa Gasometri - Milan

Bovisa is an historical neighborhood in the northwest suburbs of Milan. The project area "Bovisa Gasometri² is located on the intersection of major transportation infrastructure lines. However, the surrounding railroads from all side have given the area a completely isolated character. This led to allocation of different technical facilities like the gas company since 1905. In the last few decades, Bovisa district as a whole has witnessed an almost a total removal of the industries that in almost a century have constituted its wealth. In "Bovisa Gasometri" most of the technical functions that existed there for almost a century are completely abandoned. The following aspects are important about this area:

- The area is partial heavy contaminated.
- The ownership situation is complex. Several land owners have different intentions for their land parcels.
- Ongoing planning has fixed some projects at critical points in the area that might hinder the future development.
- The importance of the site will increase with the completion of the new fair, as the railway line and station are directly at the site.
- Any development has to go in competition with other redevelopment projects that started earlier. So that the site is more or less a future potential rather than an actual one, especially taking in consideration the time needed for planning and remediation.

Mester Park - Budapest:



Mester Park - Budapest

The area of "Mester Park" is located in the transitional zone between the city and the suburban extension of Budapest at the intersection point of important existing and planned infrastructures. The area is adjacent to a shunting yard that occupies 100 Hectare- currently radically underused. The area around Mester Park is characterized by the lack of city character and a negative image. The development of the site faces the following aspects:

- The land owners are not under pressure to develop. They can wait until an investor accepts their conditions and intensions.
- There are different necessary infrastructure measures that are prerequisites for a feasible development of the site, but still not clarified.
- There are many uncertainties about planning activities on the surroundings.

Generally, in all three cases, economic disintegration of the site or the whole district was apparent. This situation led to a lack of investments in existing buildings or infrastructures from both the public and the private sectors, the thing that leads to the deterioration of the urban quality and consequently to social segregation of the surrounding area or even the whole district. The quarter became a "bad address" and a negative image, leading to a vicious circle, as the effort to install an anchor use ³ is getting harder and harder to accomplish.

The following section illustrates some of the aspects related to the planning situation in each of the three cases and how the market reacted to the planning efforts.

Planning status in the three cases:

All three case studies deal with sites that can be classified according to the NRTEE - classification as "tier 2" sites. In all these case studies, before PROSDIE project, land owners and city administrations in the three cities used mainly formal planning tools to deal with the development of these sites. But the market has not reacted to these efforts. This can be explained as all of the sites don't belong to the type of sites, were markets interest is high enough to solve the existing and the expected problems of redevelopment.

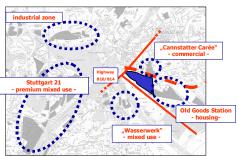
Veielbrunnen - Stuttgart:

- In this area, many property owners are in different stages of problem perception. Single projects are in preparation, but a general concept is missing. This led to the development of a building that prejudices a certain typology for the centre of the neighborhood right at the exit of the regional train station. Here market pressure and different assessment of future perspectives of the office market and the development of this quarter lead to a disintegrated situation. For a development of Veielbrunnen area in Stuttgart a strong coordination between the various actors, especially the property owner is needed.
- Availability and competition with other developments. In Stuttgart the question of availability of several development potentials plays a crucial role in evaluation of the site. Stuttgart has more than 500 hectares of inward development potentials.
- Furthermore, the planning situation of the project "Stuttgart 21", where an underground main train station is planned, is unclear since ten years. Speculations whether this project will be realized or not, influence the value of all other sites in Stuttgart. This uncertainty

means insecurity for the investors. So they prefer not to mobilize large investments that could be shortly under competition with a huge project.

- In Stuttgart, there is an increasing demand for building land and a shortage in development sites. Stuttgart is one of the most expensive cities in Germany concerning prices for building land. Nevertheless the market is moving very slowly in developing "tier 2" sites and waits for easy greenfields or the realization of the main project "Stuttgart 21".
- Further uncertainties in the surrounding are related to the number of projects that are planned but the realization is still uncertain and increases the risk for the development. These uncertainties are building projects for housing (old goods station), commerce ("Cannstatter Carrée") and mixed use ("Wasserwerk") but also infrastructure projects (Alteration of highway B10/B14 and of "Schönestraße")

Bovisa Gasometri, Milan



Concurrence for Veielbrunnen (2004)

- In Milan there is a formal plan for a development of the site. This plan proposed an extension of the campus of Milan's technical university, cultural use for the old gasometers and its surroundings. The vision behind this plan was to create in Bovisa something similar for what Bilbao reached with the Guggenheim Museum. However, these plans turned out to be not feasible, as the remediation costs were very high. The formal planning process has led to the situation, that a land use distribution was defined which would have exorbitant the remediation costs. This formal plan was defined later as "not feasible zoning plan" that need to be replaced by a concept that combines the remediation and the development concepts.
- The site of Bovisa is one of eight big development projects in the city of Milan. As shown in the graphic, even in the best case it is the last one that can be developed. This is a further hint, that the concept for this site must be flexible to future demands.



 Several infrastructure measures are planned in or around the site. As the intension of concerned property owners and investors are not known

these needed infrastructural measures can't be brought into line. If this infrastructure measures are built facts are made. This can have negative impacts on future uses of the site. An informal instrument like test planning can clarify possibilities and risks of a site and explore e.g. what the framework for such infrastructural measures would be.

- Bovisa Gasometri has a long history of planning. In 1997, the main actors -Milan Municipality, Milan Polytechnic and the local Gas Company have signed a Public-Private-Partnership agreement for the development of the site. Later, the environmental risk assessment and the urban development projects were carried out separately without information exchange. The environmental studies have estimated a total remediation cost of about 68 Million Euro, much higher than originally estimated. Consequently, the development process has been stopped after nine years (Piana & Tosoni, 2006). In this case urban planning has not considered the actual situation of the site, and the missing communication intensified the problem.
- A different aspect that was essential in this case, was the time lag between planning and realization. At the moment of signing the PPP-Agreement and when the formal framework was set by the new land use plan for the site, the idea of a cultural function (a "contemporary arts museums" was planned) was very fashionable. Furthermore, a company that owns part of the land has planned an office building in the site. During process nine years the demands have changed and the complete project was not feasible anymore.

Mester Park Budapest:

- For Mester Park and its surroundings there are different formal plans that have a planned total floor area of more than 2 million m². Different involved actors, land owners, investors are in different stages of planning and implementation. In the absence of coordination among these plans and among these actors, the full development, as proposed in the plans, will cause tremendous capacity problems on the roads around the site on one hand, and oversupply of floor area on the other hand. It was clear that the sole market driven development is not aware of such causal and comprehensive connection.
- Many of the questions that are vital for the development of this area are not solved yet. This is one of the reasons why no investor can meet the property owners' economical intensions.



Montage of different plans around Mester Park

Investments in public streets, which are needed to facilitate the development with the planned uses and density, have to be developed and financed by the city of Budapest. Meanwhile, certain streets for only a specific site have to be paid by the investor. This situation leads to a blockade in the development. The property owner is waiting for the reaction of the city administration, while the city doesn't have the financial opportunities to pay for the needed infrastructure.

• The formal proposed plan for the site is focused on office buildings. while there is a great oversupply on offices in this city. In future the site could take over more valuable functions than the investor with a short term profit orientated view has in mind and a chance for the development of the district would be lost.

General observation regarding the market dynamics in all cases:

Despite the fact that these three cases are from different countries, have different sizes and history, they illustrate common aspects regarding the conflict between market-driven planning that is based exclusively on formal processes and the sustainable development of the site, the district and the cities. These aspects are mainly related to the circumstance of the development inside the city in an existing structure following the market orientation Hereafter follows a brief listing of some of these aspects:

- Planning responding only to direct market forces, without considering the special requirements of brownfields comes up with solutions that can not be economically feasible.
- Planning for sites inside the city often come up with plans that cause external indirect costs e.g. for infrastructures, street networks, etc. Legally, investors are usually not obligated to pay these costs. Meanwhile, public administration is not willing or can't pay these costs. This situation in a formal planning process leads to a blockade situation or the failure of the whole project. In this case, this market orientation blocks the development. Investors are often not aware of the interconnections between the needed measures in the surroundings and the success for the project. In this case, the individual profit of the investors is tightly connected to the common welfare.
- Planning reacting to short-term market demands may lead to the failure of the development. Flexibility in market driven planning is often missing. It usually sets a special profile reacting to the current demands or estimated demand without considering possible changes during the long planning and implementation process.
- In all the three cases it was evident that dealing with one site as an island in the city, is neither feasible nor possible. Dealing with development of inner city sites often requires

dealing with other sites that are interconnected in their development. In this case it is not the role of investors to look for the overview about this aspect but it is the role of the city administration to achieve this overview and to keep it actual.

- Additionally, this type of development requires dealing with different actors: owners, investors, inhabitants and also different departments in the city administration (spatial planning, real estate, environmental protection, historical preservation, economic promotion, etc.). The needed information and coordination to deal with this type of sites is widely spread and often not accessible to all actors. Also here it is the role of the city to support the coordination and information exchange among these actors.
- For the city administration which has to deal simultaneously with hundreds of such sites it is important to estimate the availability of each site or a group of sites on the time axis. This information is important to find out where and when an active development is needed. However, this information is usually not available in the form of overview about the whole city. This is also a task for the city administration.

III. What is needed to deal with these circumstances?

For several decades, one of the major tasks for spatial planning and city development was planning for urban growth to meet the increasing demand for urban land. This tendency is reflected not only in planning practice but also in planning legalization and planning education. It can be argued here that formal planning instruments were devoted either to specific formal planning levels (national, regional, communal) or to specific planning aspects (housing, agricultural, industrial). In a latter phase, the attempt to enhance the sectoral and level specific planning to a comprehensive one was mainly to bring all subjects and all levels into one plan or one framework. However in the case of inward development of cities, the subject lies among different levels and different sectors. It can not be dealt with only for the sectoral or the formal level-oriented planning view point. It needs the coordination among different levels and different sectors.

In addition formal planning instruments and tools are mostly formed to deal with structured problems or subjects. Although formal planning provides the legal framework for the realization of plans, planning tasks and especially tasks that deal with brownfield development are often very complex and the problems are not easily predicted at the beginning of the process (Scholl, 2005). They have do be addressed as ill-structured problems. The determinable the problems and their solutions are, the probable is that they can be solved with the usual organization structure and procedures. In the contrary, the indeterminable the problems are, the higher is the need for a tailored organizational structure and procedure."

Formal planning provides a constant framework for the planning process; "tailored" organizational structures are therefore almost not possible. The needed coordination or cooperation to deal with these cases requires different combinations and constellations of actors, levels, and sectors. It is evident that formal planning is not sufficient to deal with the requirements of developing brownfield. Informal planning methods and processes are considered here as a complementary for the formal ones.

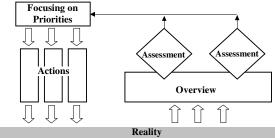
In the three cases it was evident that available instruments and processes of formal planning were not sufficient to deal with the above mentioned circumstances. Earlier, the market pressure on single abandoned sites was strong enough, that without much effort and with the means of formal planning development took place. Nevertheless informal planning was existent in these times too, but the emphasis in planner's practice was set to the formal planning tools (Selle, 1995). Currently, as hundred of such sites exist in each city, as growth has reached stagnation or converted to decline, as the role of the public sector has declined and the role of private investors has increased; there is a need for more informal assistance to overcome the problems and conflicts that are connected with inward development. In this chapter three major aspects that are related to the planning and the development process are introduced; namely the strategy, the process and the test planning method.

Strategy not disconnected actions

From the three cases it was obvious that this type of planning requires cooperation among the many different actors of the public and private sector. This means providing confidence between the players, exploring opportunities for cooperation, barter deals and solutions that can be accepted by all participants. These solutions should be stipulated with the instruments of formal planning as far as possible. It is typical for projects of inward development that not everything can be stipulated exactly and not all aspects of a solution can be elaborated in the same detail level.

Hence, a clear strategy for action is needed and has to be developed by the participants. Such a strategy acts as a guideline that steers different decisions and actions. However, each actor has to act on own responsibility in the further process. Following a strategy means to choose between the different options for action. This concentration can only be made if it is based on a clear understanding of the options of action and if it can be assumed which are important and robust in the meaning that they make sense even if the circumstances change.

But these options for actions can change due to different circumstances that affect the general conditions for a development project, e.g. the change of interests or the organizational structures of relevant actors; the change of the market conditions; other infrastructural or building projects that affect the project or change of relevant laws and administrative rules. Consequently it should be periodically checked if the followed general development direction is leading to the supreme goal, or if a reorientation is needed. This can be done in a periodical assessment of the situation that includes previous activities, the actual situation, conflicts and concepts for the solutions as well as recommendations for further activities including estimated costs, a timeframe and proposed responsibilities.



The relation between the overview and the strategy www.isl.uni-karlsruhe.de

This assessment of situation has to be based on a clear overview on the situation. Creating and maintaining the overview is a central aspect for strategic actions and decisions. The lack of an overview leads very fast to blind actionism, as no focal points can be identified. This overview includes timeframes (also speculated ones), spatial representations (maps and aerial photos), quantitative estimations about specific aspects, as well as the resulting costs that are connected with each solution (Scholl, 2005). Beside its importance for the preparation of a strategy the overview can additionally be used to improve the information and coordination between the members of the process as well as external actors and to be prepared to use opportunities purposeful. Hence, strategy and assessment of the situation that is based on a robust overview represents a methodical unit that can be used to deal with the tasks of inward development (Elgendy, Seidemann & Wilske 2004).

Process orientation not plan making:

Consequently, all actors have to accept a new perspective on the given situation that is not only based on their own requirements but do also reasonable notice the requirements of the other actors. For this a process is needed that induces innovation. This can be reached with some methodic elements (lbert 2003):

- Open process: The process should be open and there should be as few preconditions as
 possible as well as the possibility to challenge given preconditions in the process.
- Extraordinary environment: The given interaction patterns between the actors should be replaced temporarily. There should be as few hierarchies as possible and an environment should be established that equalizes power asymmetries as far as possible. This can be reached with complement temporary organizations. In tasks that have high level of uncertainty organizational structure and procedures should be arranged as simple as possible, so that flexibility can be preserved facing unexpected problems (Scholl 2005).
- Learning processes: The actors have to extend their points of view and to learn about the many linkages between different aspects of the given situation. E.g. the zoning depends on the remediation concept, the infrastructure system on the zoning and the infrastructure system determines which parts of a concept can be established first and independent of the other parts of the concept. These learning processes can be supported if external experts take part in the process not only developing concepts but also supporting the formulation of strategies for the further actions.
- Concurrence and redundancy: Only if the participants are confronted with different and contradicting solution concepts, innovation can take place. It is not important to have perfect concepts but always to have the chance to combine different aspects of different concept to new solutions.

Exploring the spectrum of solutions: Test Planning

Test planning is an instrument that can be used in this methodical unit in two ways. It can be used to prepare an assessment of situation. This is most important in the starting phase of a process when the overview is fragmentary as well as uncertain and the members of the process have to start the cooperation and to overcome mistrust. The first step in the beginning is to establish a consistent view on the situation, on the interests of the different actors and on the resulting conflicts. The best way to prove which information is missing or is incorrect and to explore interests and conflicts is to work out and criticize different concepts. This means trying to solve the problem in a very early phase of the process, based on a first overview. The goal of test planning in this case is to explore which more detailed information is needed, the main conflicts and possible solutions as well as a first assessment of the situation. This means that the broad connection between overview and assessment of situation should not be a description of the situation but problem oriented creativity. Test planning bridges the gap between overview and assessment in a creative way. The second way test planning can be used in the methodical unit of strategy, assessment of situation and overview is to work out different actions when the general strategy is set. For this a superordinated process is needed in which a test planning can be integrated. This may not be necessary for all elements of a strategy but in many cases the work on the realization of a proposed action delivers insights that need to be integrated in the assessment of situation and the strategy. That means, that test planning is not only an instrument to open a process but also to clarify details in a longer process and to support periodical assessments of situation. Test planning

- helps to get and maintain an actual and solution oriented overview,
- can be the base for a well-founded assessment of situation,
- can be used to define the strategies for the further steps of the process and actions that should be taken immediately,
- can be used to work out in detail different elements of a chosen strategy.
 Hence, the "test planning" method is based on some basic rules. These rules are

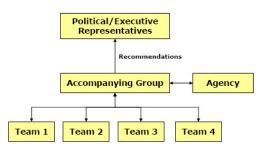
concurrence of not less than three and not more than five interdisciplinary planning teams, iterative planning, simple organizational structure but clear roles for the participants, simple timeline and a defined duration.

 Concurrence: Concurrence means that in a test planning different planning teams work on the same task. This has mainly two reasons. The concurrence between the teams leads them to argue for their different solutions and not only to show the advantages of their concepts but also to eliminate critical elements. The concurrence also shows the spectrum of possible solutions to get scope for problem solving and barter deals.

- Iterative planning: Test planning means working in cycles. Because of the imperfectness of the overview, unknown dependencies between different aspects and unknown conflicts, surprises are not uncommon but granted. Hence the process has to be open and flexible. Less regulated processes need an iterative proceeding in order that the requirements can be adapted to the solutions and vice versa. Iterative planning also means to work on different levels simultaneously. In each phase of the test planning the teams should work even on the overview level, on a conceptual level and a detailed level. The overview level is needed to recognize dependencies mainly in the infrastructure system and the market conditions. The detailed level is needed to prove some critical elements of the concept in detail to ensure that the concept can be the realized.
- Procedure: One of the most important principles to achieve success is the adoption of a rhythm. Usually in complex planning task such a rhythm is not available. The rhythm helps to coordinate the different actions and decisions and helps to make the participation of decision makers possible (Scholl 2005).



- Clear roles: Projects of inward development have high risks. They can be blocked and interrupted, solutions can be unpopular or disadvantageous for some actors, and conflicts
- are revealed. This means that the teams have to be free in thinking, the experts (accompanying group) have to be free in the formulation of their recommendations and the private and public decision instances have to be free to decide whether the recommendations are politically feasible or not. Therefore they only receive the recommendations and are not part of the actual process. This clear roles differentiation is essential and has to be guaranteed.



Organizational Structure (Scholl, Beck 2006)

Implementation of the test planning method in the project:

In the project PROSIDE one goal was to verify if test planning meets the discussed requirements of informal planning processes to find solutions for situations where market driven development fails. The three applications of the instrument in the three different cities show, that this question can be answered positively.

The variety of concepts for each area was shown by the Stuttgart project. The area in Stuttgart is located directly at the so called "Wasen", a great open site where especially the second biggest beer festival of Germany (the biggest one is the "Oktoberfest" in Munich) and one of the last traditional cattle-markets of Germany are held. The quality of this open space is very low and it is completely underused in the rest of the year. Because of the timeframe of the two festivals the site is used completely only every third year. The four teams proposed four different solutions: One team proposed restrained shift of the festival area, another team proposed to relocate one of the festivals timely or spatially, a third team proposed to keep the actual site but improve its quality with modern and robust landscape architecture, and the last team proposed to keep the area unchanged and to try intensify the use for temporal events on the area.

- In the test planning for Milan all groups assigned great importance for the further development to a location a combined heat and power plant is planned. One team showed other possible locations and recommended to rethink the project immediately. This was undertaken by the administration parallel to the test planning. This show that test planning can discover important actions that should be implemented.
- In the test planning in "Mester Park" in Budapest, the main emphasis was given before and at the beginning of the process was mainly given to developing the site itself. However during and after the process, it was clear that the amount and the intensity of infrastructure planning and development as well as the amount of development projects in the surrounding area are so intensive while disintegrated, that the further planning or promotion of single projects is not reasonable. This awareness has resulted on a shift in two dimensions. Firstly, the city has established a group of different concerned actors to deal with the question of infrastructure in an integrated was. Secondly, the city, the district⁴ and the land owner have realized that separate or uncoordinated efforts will only lead to losing more resources and a blockade for the development. So an informal planning process was initiated to rethink the general development direction in the whole area. This process is still at the beginning.

These examples show that test planning is an instrument that meets the requirements of informal planning processes that have to break up situations that can not be solved only with the market mechanisms or with formal planning. They help to improve the overview on the situation, to explore a broad spectrum of different solutions and the associated arguments, to formulate a well founded assessment of situation and to rethink the strategies for the development. They clarify complex situations so that the tasks and organizational structures for further processes can be better prepared and explore critical actions that should be undertaken immediately.

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¹ These three cases have been explored in the framework of the EU Intereg-III project PROSIDE | PROmoting "Sustainable Inner Development". The authors have participated in the test planning processes in these three cases in different teams.

 $^{^{2}}$ The area is often called "the drop because of its shape.

³ Anchor use in this context means some sort of use that attracts further investors to invest into a site. The anchor use creates a "better address" for the quarter

⁴ In Budapest, the districts are self governing and have planning autonomy