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Central Micro-Peripheries:

Temporary uses of Central Residual Spaces as Urban Development Catalysts

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Abstract

New “urban wastelands” are continually developing in European cities as side effects of economic, technological and political changes. These abandoned industrial zones or former traffic nodes (railways, harbours) have typically been built in the late 19th or in the early 20th century to the fringe of the old city centres. The combination of low estate values with high potential land rents have turned these areas to important scenes of urban transformation since 1980's. Especially locations close to waterfront have attracted investments and resulted rapid changes and new housing and commercial exploitations. There are though exceptions: some areas remain residual or vacant for years. These areas turn to potential places for temporary “lower secondary uses” since no “primary higher uses” are attracted of them. The contextual factors creating “gaps” for temporary uses are weak demand in the local estate market, delays in the political decision making and planning processes, unclear ownership or exceptionally high construction costs caused by soil contamination and massive old infrastructures.

This paper examines the nature of temporary uses and users in the central micro-peripheries, the role of temporary uses in the urban development processes as well as their impact on urban cultures and urban economies in five European metropolitan areas. The research has been done as part of the research project “Urban Catalysts. Strategies for Temporary Uses – Potential for Development of Urban Residual Areas in European Metropolises” (duration 2001-2003), funded by the Fifth R&D Framework Programme of European Community and its key action programme "City of Tomorrow and Cultural Heritage". In this project local case studies have taken place in Amsterdam, Berlin, Helsinki, Naples and Vienna. The research methods have included interviews with local key actors (temporary users, estate owners, planners and other authorities, politicians) and examination of planning and other development documents as well as site documentation with spatial analyses of the patterns of temporary usage of urban space.

The research results show that the areas containing temporary uses have succeeded to foster extremely dynamic and mixed uses (art, culture, education, leisure, sports, residences, production, commerce) and to attract heterogeneous user groups (established and start up companies, migrants, system refugees, drop-outs, part time activists, associations). Many of the sites have also attracted user groups working in the same branch, sharing a common production network or co-operating in flexible ways. The spatial analysis proved temporary uses to mean adaptive reuse of urban spaces, being in most cases part of industrial heritage. The residual spaces seemed also to offer a possibility also for weak social groups to take risks and do various experiments with relatively modest economic investments. They created synergy and arenas for collective learning.

The results include further strategies, instruments and methods that have been used in some cities to integrate temporary uses into city management and urban design. The most successful best practice examples show that the temporary uses have had clear catalytic effects on local urban culture and economy. It could be stated that temporary uses are an underused resource in activating residual areas and in improving both social stabilization and competition capacity of urban regions.

Introduction

This paper examines the nature of temporary uses and users in the central micro-peripheries, the role of temporary uses in the urban development processes as well as their impact on urban cultures and urban economies in five European metropolitan areas. The research has been done as part of the research project “Urban Catalysts. Strategies for Temporary Uses – Potential for Development of Urban Residual Areas in European Metropolises” (duration 2001-2003), funded by the Fifth R&D Framework Programme of European Community and its key action programme "City of Tomorrow and Cultural Heritage". Within this project five local case studies have taken place in Amsterdam, Berlin, Helsinki, Naples and Vienna.

The underlying hypothesis in the research was that various temporary uses located in residual areas are an underused resource in urban planning and development. The topic is of high actuality since new urban wastelands are continually developing in European cities due to technological, economical or political change. Revitalizing these urban residual areas is often economically and politically difficult. Yet numerous unplanned temporary uses emerge in these areas that often evolve into intensively used public and semi-public spaces and become starting points for new services and media enterprises. Since the unplanned uses are founded on informal economies outside of traditional city planning and project development they are often displaced after a short time even though it could be argued that they offer a great potential for urban and economic development as well as social integration and stabilization.

The local studies in Amsterdam, Berlin, Helsinki, Naples and Vienna have been taken place in several abandoned industrial zones or former traffic nodes (railways, harbours) that have been built in the late 19th or in the early 20th century to the fringe of the old city centres. In all of the cities at least couple of centrally located residual areas with existing temporary uses could be identified. In Helsinki the sites that were studied in more detail were Makasiinit (with clusters of cultural production and ecological commerce) and Pasila Engineering Works area (with a cluster of film production & media related businesses). The research methods have included interviews with local key actors (temporary users, estate owners, planners and other authorities, politicians) and examination of planning and other development documents as well as site documentation with spatial analyses of the patterns of temporary usage of urban space.

The definition of “temporary uses”

Temporary uses in the residual/vacant areas were given the following working definition in the beginning of the analysis stage of the project.

“Temporary uses are uses:

- a) where people other than the real estate owner perform activities on the site
- b) where the owner receives no or no relevant financial income for this use of ground and building
- c) and the use is limited in time:
 - by the illegal status of the activity which can end at anytime, or
 - by a legalized use which can end at anytime due to specific contracts different from normal leases in expectation of a different and more profitable use in future, or
 - by a lease (contract with owner) or permission (by the state), which is timely limited in expectation of a different and more profitable (and formal) use in the future.

Informal uses are defined as uses that might be intended to be permanent but which

- a) do not have formalized relationship with the owner of the site and are either unknown to him or only tolerated by him, or
- b) are illegal but unknown to the state or tolerated despite their illegality.

Did the temporary uses match this working definition as identified in the case studies?
If yes, how were they situated in comparison with the various aspects of the definition?
If not, how were the limits of these definitions expanded?

Regarding the first definition of temporary uses - people other than the real estate owner performing activities on the site – the case studies of Amsterdam, Berlin, Helsinki and Vienna fit into this description. The Naples study of the Campi Flegrei area reveals a somewhat different scene: the site owners themselves perform illegal as well as legal and/or temporary activities at their sites, which means that the character of a temporary user as defined above does not fully describe the Naples situation. The relationship between temporary actors and the site owner - so crucial in the other cases - is in fact

replaced for the relationship of the site owner and the controlling authorities (municipality, state) in the Naples case. Consequently, further steps taken in the later stages of the project should be somewhat different than in the other cases.

The second definition – the owner receives no or little financial income for the temporary use of ground and building – raises the question of how a relevant income should be defined. Is the income not enough in comparison with “normal” rents one would gain if the premises would be of a higher standard or is it not relevant in comparison with rents that one could get for similar low standard spaces? The available documents describe situations where, due to the low technical standard of the premises, the revenue is much lower than it would be if the same amount of high standard spaces would be rented, i.e. the rent does not correspond to the potential rent of the site after development. On the basis of the documentation one could state that the rent income that the property owner gets is relevant in comparison with the market prices of similar kind of low standard premises – otherwise in most cases they would not have rented the premises at all (extra costs instead of rent income). An interesting exception is to be seen in the cases of NDSM site in Amsterdam and Kabelwerk in Vienna: there a rent lower than a market rent is acceptable from the owner’s point of view since there is a prospect for higher revenues in the future providing development projects of the sites are bound together with allowance for temporary uses. Here the role of the authorities is crucial.

Regarding the third definition of temporary uses – the use is timely limited – one could state that all other cases except Naples are somewhat similar. In the four other cities the described temporary uses at test sites are limited for a certain “longitudinal” period of time. In Naples, many of the contemporary uses presented in the analysis are seasonal: on the other hand the activities are limited in time (season of the year) but on the other hand they tend to be frequent and repeated. According to the definition, the limitation in time depends on the framework that forms the basis of relationship between the user and the land / property owner (legal or illegal; type of contract). One could therefore argue that, except for the more dynamic and presumably short lasting cases in Amsterdam (NDSM site), Berlin (HdL) and Vienna (Kabelwerk), even the stabile and long lasting activities in the Helsinki sites (Makasiinit, Pasila Engineering Works) are

temporary uses since both the tenants and the owner consider the usage of the premises as being temporary.

According to the definition, the timely limitation of a use includes various modes of control. In the cases of Amsterdam, Berlin, Helsinki and Vienna majority of the temporary users had legal contracts with the site owner. In the Helsinki cases even the sub-contracts were controlled by the site owner. The temporary users' acceptance of common modes of control could be argued to reflect the general stakeholders' commitment to controlled urban development and building laws. Two ultimate polarities in this aspect are described in the case studies of Helsinki and Naples. In Helsinki the citizens do not always share the vision of authorities of the future of certain sites but the citizens very seldom squat or make other acts that could break the law and intervene the controlled urban development. In the area of Campi Flegrei the spontaneous urban development results *informal uses* since nobody cares about the traditional modes of control (laws, plans).

The conscious pre-limitation of the use of a site gives reason to associate temporary uses with "secondary uses", i.e. uses that are accepted since more permanent "primary uses" are not possible. Temporary uses are seen in this perspective in the Urban Catalysts project hypothesis as well: the temporary (secondary) uses of a site are linked with residual environments (reuse of a site) as well as "unplanned" uses. One could therefore expect that the opposite of unplanned uses would be planned, permanent (primary) uses of a site. This means that the Urban Catalysts project hypothesis includes an understatement of future urban development of the presented test sites as a contextual frame for temporary uses. In the Naples case, both the informal uses and the seasonal uses of the sites (like beach visitors car parking in summer and boat storage in the winter) could both be considered to be the primary uses (or secondary if sites are considered to need change in their usage). The temporary use of public pedestrian space for various urban events –as presented in the Helsinki case - could be considered a primary use since the scene is often a specially designed pedestrian environment that is meant to contain "spontaneous" uses (temporary use of a non residual space). Then in this study, this kind of limited use in time would not be included into the definition of temporary use.

The NDSM site in Amsterdam represents an interesting case that could be identified as being located in between the two categories of primary and secondary uses. There the art and culture related “secondary” temporary uses have been given an important role in the new development project of the site as playing the role of pioneers and imago makers of the area. It is worth to notice that the existence of the temporary uses in the area is still limited in time by a contract, and the premises now reserved for temporary uses can therefore later on be taken into other - eventually more profitable - uses. It could be stated that the temporary uses are given a primary status for a limited period of time in order to attract new primary uses to the area and to persuade the temporary users to accept the new developments. This kind of flexible strategic management of urban change involves that the inevitable socio-economic changes in metropolises are viewed as possibilities and not as threats to the urban development.

We could conclude that in the Urban Catalyst project temporary uses are “secondary uses” located at a residual site for a certain limited period of time and that both the user and the site owner are aware of the timely limitation of the use. The temporal aspect of the usage of a site is known before starting the activity although in many cases the wish of the temporary tenants might be to become permanent ones (and sometimes they also succeed!).

Contextual frame of temporary uses: Implementing Rent gap theory on the selected residual sites of European Metropolises

The concept of *rent gap* as a force of change in the urban environment (Smith 1979) provides an instrument in placing the temporary uses phenomena in a wider urban development context. According to Clark and Gullberg (1997) rent gap denotes a disparity between actual (e.g. capitalised) and potential land rent. The potential land rent of a site is determined by the site’s “highest and best use” that is appropriate for the procurement of potential land rent at that point of time. The actual land rent will equal potential land rent when the “full resources of the site” are developed through for example urban construction projects. When time passes and surrounding conditions change, and the existing buildings of the site no longer correspond to the existing circumstances” (as the existing structures are shifted to “lower uses”) and to economic expectations, a new rent gap has aroused. For property owners, the rent gap acts as an

incentive to invest. Redevelopment may take the form of demolition and new construction or renovation or improvement of the existing structures.

The rent gap constitutes initially an economic pressure to disinvest in the fixed assets of a site, which consequently becomes increasingly inappropriate compared to the site's "highest and best use", and eventually the rent gap turns out to be an economic pressure, which dooms the site to more profitable use through redevelopment. The economic significance of rent gaps is greatest during a period of time before redevelopment takes place and it is diminished by speculation in prospective land rent incomes by the time redevelopment occurs. According to Clark and Gullberg, the rent gaps do not occur spontaneously: they reflect the power play between various stakeholders that participate in the urban processes and possess future visions and plans. The rent gaps evolve partly through documentation showing a certain site to be inappropriate in comparison to its potential, as envisaged in public or private plans.

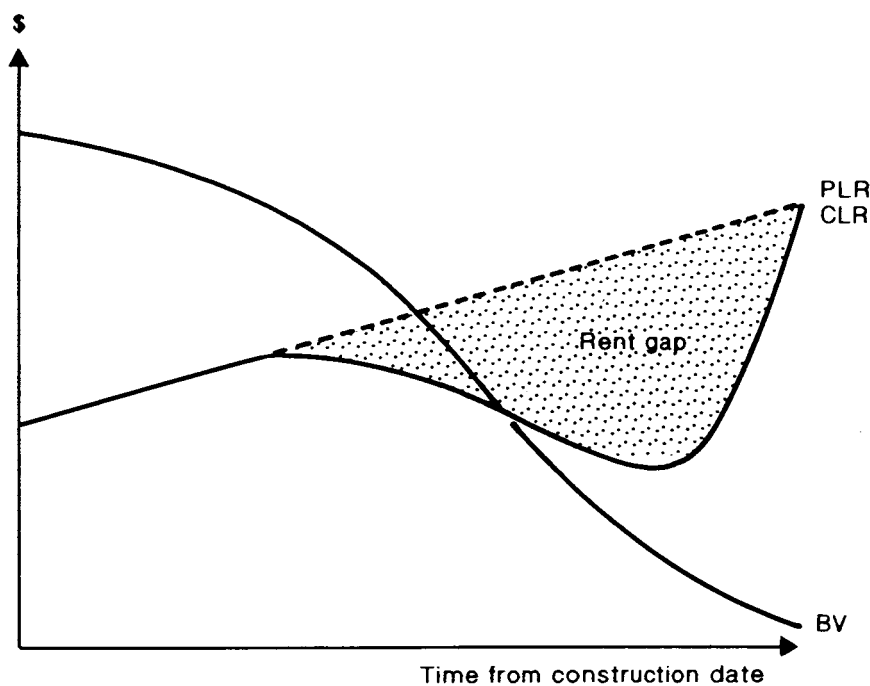


Fig.1. Development of a rent gap. PLR = potential land rent, CLR = actual (capitalized land rent), BV = building value. Source: Clark & Gullberg (1997)

The following discussion of the relationship between rent gaps and temporary uses at the test sites is based mostly on assumptions. To be able to properly test and discuss this

assumption in the theoretical context would need more detailed data of historical land rents, periods of vacancies and temporary uses of the sites.

The working definition used in the analysis stage involves the assumption of temporary uses occurring in residual environments. Residual and/or vacant areas are according to the common working definition spaces, which have the following characteristics:

- a) Sites within an urban settlement that possesses at least some infrastructure needed for buildings (access, energy and water supply, sewerage)
- b) Areas are out of use for more than one year or sites where former types of uses ended (e.g. de-industrialisation) with no prospect for a new type of use in near future.

Both definitions match the contextual frame of rent gaps: an area that has turned into a potential place for “lower secondary uses” since no “higher primary uses” have been attracted of it. The typical temporary uses scene described in the site related studies is a former industrial area with total or partial vacancy of the existing structures and more or less vivid temporary activities going on. The selected sites are characterised by their history as traffic nodes in the industrial era (harbours, railways: NDSM in Amsterdam, Makasiinit in Helsinki, Ostbahnhof in Berlin) or places for production (Kabelwerk and St.Marx in Vienna).

The reasons for the existence of vacant areas and vacant or underused building complexes identified in the case studies were the following:

- War time destruction or destruction caused by natural catastrophes (earthquake, fire)
- Change of political system
- Change of technologies and modes of production (de-industrialisation, modernisation of infrastructure, intensification of the original use of premises due to competition)
- Loss of population
- Political decisions related to new land use patterns that create rent gaps and outdated current uses, which become suddenly “secondary” and timely limited

- Miss-planning either by reserving space for future construction which never takes place (rent gap vanishes) or by constructing buildings that there is no demand for.

Spaces remain vacant due to:

- Long term planning options (land reserve)
- Complex or unclear ownership (as well as the potential profits of new developments)
- The planning process (new zoning) takes time
- Long development phases for the new projects
- Missing infrastructures
- Legal conservation (protected buildings, nature preservation)
- Soil contamination

These factors listed above cause extra costs (like improving the soil) in the new development phase of a site. Introducing rent gap theory into the discussion of vacancies denotes that these extra costs have to be covered by higher land rents. The potential land rents resulting from a development that includes extra costs have to be higher than those of a less complex development project. This means also that the development of a site freezes when the rent gap is not deep enough and the vacancy allowing temporary uses remains.

The theory of rent gaps includes an idea of site related development cycles. The development cycles of the sites of Berlin, Helsinki and Vienna represent almost the same stage of the development: the former industrial test sites are “vacant for higher and more valuable uses” and meanwhile used temporarily at the same time as planning processes are either under way or plans have been presented but new development has not started yet. In Berlin the delay seems to depend on that the rent gap is not yet deep enough e.g. the potential land rents are too low to cover the development costs. Both Helsinki sites and the Vienna site (Kabelwerk) as well represent a case where the potential land rent is not yet fixed since the final zoning is still under processing, i.e. it is not profitable for the property owner to sell the property or to develop it before

statutory plans exist. The NDSM site in Amsterdam has already proceeded to the next stage in the development cycle where decisions to construct have been made.

Profile of temporary uses

What kind of temporary uses were identified in the five local studies? The types of temporary uses varied a lot. One could distinguish between residential uses, offices, industrial production, services, public uses, sports, event area, leisure, commercial uses and storages.

The various types could be found on the same site, at short physical distance. This means that the sites containing temporary uses have succeeded to foster extremely mixed uses. This is a goal often set but seldom reached in many urban development projects. In the future stages of the Urban Catalyst project, it is therefore important to study how such a wide scope in the programme profiles could be maintained even when the temporary uses were utilised as a strategic tool in urban development.

One could group the various users into the following categories representing both legal persons (like companies and associations) and private persons representing various groups of the population:

- Established companies & start-ups within event production, art, leisure activities, services, media, education, film industry, tourist services etc.
- Migrants
- System refugees
- Drop-outs
- Part-time activists, associations

The persons behind start-up companies in Berlin and Vienna and the established small and medium sized companies in Helsinki were relatively young and in the most cases university educated persons. The general reflection is that many of them consciously choose an alternative lifestyle. Therefore working and/or living in the residual areas suit their images and strengthen their identity. Many of the companies could be categorised

as being art or culture related. In Berlin, many of the temporary users identified gain a marginal status in society.

The reasons for the users to choose the site identified in the interviews with the temporary users were:

- Availability of inexpensive and/or flexible premises
- Central location
- Good access (transport logistics, public)
- Proximity of services (like banking, restaurants, administrative services)
- Proximity of sub-contractors (production network, mutual co-operation)
- The social-cultural profile of the area
- Social network (people of our kind in the site/close to the site)
- Demand (closeness to clientele, interaction with the local community)

These reasons follow quite well the SME site selection criteria presented by Schoonbrot (1996). The role of social networks both as an attraction and as a result of temporary locations is more important here, however, than in the case of SMEs. It could even be argued that for some of the temporary users becoming part of a social network is a primary resource in starting an activity. Many of the sites had also attracted user groups working in the same branch. One could even talk about “clusters” of temporary activities, like in the case of the young professionals working with media in HdL (Berlin), the film industries of Pasila Engineering Works (Helsinki) or the cultural activities of IG Kabelwerk (Vienna). They shared a common production network or could co-operate in flexible ways. These social networks seem to be sustainable and tend to last even after the common activities at the site ends.

How do the temporary users use a site? A great variation could be observed as to how much temporary users altered the existing physical setting. Mostly the spaces were used as they were by adding only furniture and infrastructure needed. Generally it could be said that the shorter or more insecure the period of use was the more limited changes the users made. There were exceptions though: for example the costly structural alterations for cultural project Faust in the Viennese Kabelwerk and the customised interiors of the film companies in the Pasila Engineering Works. The first one was made possible

through public and private subsidies of a highly evaluated cultural event and the second one was realized with the help of carpenters belonging to the staff and/or production network of film companies.

The activity level of users varied according to the season, day of week or time of the day. Due to the low technical standard of the site, the use of certain spaces is concentrated to the warm season (Makasiinit, Kabelwerk). The Janus faces of the residual areas can also be experienced in the rhythm of lively nights and weekends (Makasiinit, Maria) and the silent daytime.

Impacts of temporary uses

On the basis of the case studies could be identified eight basic typologies illustrating the impact of temporary uses on the development of a certain site.

- a) Stand in: Temporary uses do not have any lasting effect on the location, but only use the vacant space for the time available.



- b) Impulse: Temporary use gives an impulse to the future development of the site by establishing pioneer programs/ programs cluster at a certain location. Example: Berlin Club WMF followed by London Media Company, squatting of Kokos Factory in Helsinki followed by the Theatre Academy



- c) Consolidation: Temporary use establishes itself at a location and is transformed to a permanent use. Example: Berlin Club Tresor, Arena as a concert hall/ event location. The consolidation can also take place at a different location (e.g. Berlin-Tempodrom, Kunstwerke, Cable Factory in Helsinki)



- d) Coexistence: Temporary use continues to exist (in a smaller size) even after establishment of a formal permanent site at the location. Example: Flee market and Yaam Club at Arena Berlin. Also the aim of the planning authorities in Helsinki in the Pasila Engineering Works area.



- e) Parasite: Temporary use is developed in dependence of existing permanent uses and takes advantage of existing potentials and availability of space. Example: Market at Berlin Ostbahnhof



- f) Subversion: Temporary use is interrupting an existing permanent use (institution) by squatting as a political action. Even though this occupation is normally of a very limited time period, it effects the squatted institution and results in change of the institution. In the situation of the squatting different uses than normal are established at the location, e.g. housing in a university or factory. Example: Squatting of Factory Alcatel in Berlin-Neuköln, Squatting of Universities



- g) Pioneer: The temporary use is the first 'urban' use of the site, establishing a way of settlement, which might become permanent. Examples: Building of World Expos which have intended to be temporary but became permanent



- h) Displacement: A permanent institution is displaced for a limited period of time and during this time established in an improvised way as a temporary use. Example: Displacement of railway-station at Berlin Ostbahnhof in year 2000



Economic impacts of temporary uses

Temporary uses have important short-term economic roles, too. Cheap, vacant spaces give opportunities for firms, start-ups and associations, which are not able to pay so-called market rents. In this way, temporary uses increase the diversity of economic life, give room to take risks, experiment and create hybrids between culture and economy. Some of them may die, but some will succeed and become the necessary revitalisers of the economy. For many cities temporary uses are an essential part of image and profile, and area reason for many younger generation tourists to visit the place.

Apart from fostering a vivid cultural scene and image benefits, temporary uses also have direct positive effects for economies of cities and real-estate owners. They attract commercial use and can change the image of place. If legal, they pay rent and local taxes, and create new kind of part or full time jobs. A study of business indicators for temporary companies in the Pasila Engineering Works in comparison to traditional technology village (Olartek in Espoo) shows that the local economic impact of temporary uses should not be underestimated. A comparison based on auditive countings and balance sheets of the various companies in these two areas clearly marks that the economic output and secondary employments via external services seem to be higher in the Pasila area. Although the case study evidence is too limited to make any final conclusions, the results challenge the typical way of approaching new business developments and innovations. In Finland the national innovation strategy has focused on establishing technology villages and has needed rather heavy investments. Could a new “light” innovation strategy be focused on opening up temporary gaps and supporting of start-ups in these areas?

Initiation and control

The question whether the temporary phenomena included to the case studies are part of controlled and regulated processes (like urban planning or development frameworks) or whether they flourish in opposition to those is quite important in discussing the potential of temporary uses in relation to urban development projects and practices. The case study analysis revealed that the scope is quite varied. The temporary uses at Helsinki sites are all legal and all the temporary users have rent contracts with the site owners but

they are not taken “seriously” in the new development projects and planning processes of the sites. The temporary users in Kabelwerk in Vienna have all contracts as well and the municipality has actively acted as a link between them and the site owners. The pioneering temporary users of NDSM site in Amsterdam used to be partly illegal but now the situation is controlled as the temporary users participate in the development project of the site and are even included as partners to the development company. The Berlin case study includes sites that vary between illegal squatting and legal contracts. Naples is the most extreme case where the development of the area seems to consist of illegal acts out of the formal control of authorities.

Who initiates temporary uses at a certain site? According to the case studies the role of key agents is important in the initiation phase of temporary activities. The pioneers take up roles like setting up basic legal and organisational frameworks, providing basic infrastructures and assisting other temporary activities to start. According to case studies, the key agents initiating temporary uses can be temporary users, municipality and/or state authorities, site owners and citizens.

The relationship between urban planning and temporary uses

Urban land use planning has a power to open up a “rent gap” by creating visions of the future “primary uses” of the site. It is worth of noticing that the city of Amsterdam bought the NDSM area before the planning of the site was started thus being both an initiator and a controller of the change. In Helsinki the temporary users, planners and the site owner have expressed a wish that the city would purchase the Pasila Engineering Works site. Since the planning process – initiated by the current landowner - is already underway, the value of the area has already increased considerably and it has probably become too expensive for the city to buy it. This seems also be valid for the Berlin site where the planning process has been initiated by the landowner.

According to the case study material, the municipal spatial planners’ understanding of temporary uses was rather limited. Mapping of existing temporary uses is not included in the traditional spatial planning inventories. Especially in the Helsinki case, the planning ideology as regards the residual areas seems to include preservation of former industrial buildings as frames that can be reused for any kind of new purposes without

taking into consideration the rather established temporary uses of the site. In this respect, the NDSM site in Amsterdam represents the opposite case: there the planning authorities are actively involving temporary uses in new urban development of the site. According to a recent study of planning ideologies (Mäenpää *et.al* 2000) the Helsinki planners still believe in “total planning”. The Amsterdam ideology could be described as evolutionary planning where p&p project coalitions are formed in order to proceed more efficiently.

The role of other municipal authorities has been quite crucial in the establishment of temporary uses especially in Amsterdam, Berlin and Vienna. In most cases this has not taken place as part of the political agenda but with the help of individuals working inside the municipality as “submarines” with their own personal commitment for setting up and helping temporary activities. The identified activities of municipal enablers include:

- Involving temporary uses as part of conflict solving in urban development strategies
- Setting up clusters of temporary activities
- Setting up contacts and mediating between temporary users and site owners
- Following and giving advice in the process of establishing temporary activities
- “Vouching” for temporary users, e.g. acting as official tenants of the site
- Causing temporary uses as an unintended side effect of administrative actions (e.g. long lasting planning process in Helsinki)

It could be stated that in some of the cases the role of the municipal authorities has been contradictory, like in the Makasiinit case in Helsinki. Its planning and real estate authorities are committed to the replacement of the Makasiinit building (i.e. the event forum of underground) for a new Music Hall (i.e. the event forum of establishment) and at the same time the city’s cultural sector has aided in strengthening the new kind of urban cultural programmes on the site.

The estate owners' and investors' perspective on temporary uses

From the estate owners' point of view temporary uses and activities are not deliberately nurtured. The foreseen economical advantages were relatively small in comparison with the profit expectation, which a "proper" urban development would mean to the owner. If the temporary uses do not cause direct disadvantages and especially if the municipality takes an active role in the initiation of the temporary uses, the advantages on the estate owners side might be considered so high that the temporarily renting becomes actual. It is worth of noticing that the role of the site owner can be quite confronting: they can both initiate and promote temporary uses of a site as well as to prohibit the temporary uses when other kind of developments seem to be possible.

From the perspective of the site owners the disadvantages were:

- Additional administration and estate management costs
- Risk of rising the temporary users or public's expectations to a degree where temporary use is considered equal to permanent use
- Financial profit remains low, if there is any
- Basic repairs and alterations needed for temporary renting causes extra costs

The identified advantages were:

- Preventing existing buildings from decay and vandalism
- Lowering security costs by renting the spaces
- Forming a new image of the site and re-anchoring the site by the public and in media with the help of temporary uses
- Attracting potential tenants for the phase after the urban transformation
- Legitimizing new ways to use the site (noise, traffic, events) in front of the local residents
- Gaining "bonus points" from the municipality as socially conscious stakeholders open for new ideas

The decision to get involved in temporary renting could depend on:

- The persuasion and/or pressure from the local municipality
- The potential temporary tenants' contact with the site owner

- The site owner's initiative by either contacting a specific potential user or by offering the vacant spaces on the property rent market.

Conclusions

The analysis of the temporary uses in the five European metropolises shows that residual areas have the potential of becoming “breeding grounds” and sort of “urban laboratories” for new kinds of activities. Current development in art, urban culture and new media emerges in these areas. Even if the activities are in most of the cases run with low budget they have become major sites for the cultural production of the cities. One could even argue that they have become the locomotives of renewed urban culture. These residual spaces offer a possibility for various actors to take risks and do various experiments with relatively modest economic investments.

Next important step would be examination of strategies for temporary uses and to develop instruments and methods that could integrate their potential into modern city management and urban design. Integrating the potential of temporary uses into urban processes would mean to activate the mechanisms and players of those processes and to find motivations for convincing them about the positive effects of temporary uses. According to the analysis there are, however, many obstacles to overcome in order to integrate the temporary uses into the urban development processes. In the following, these obstacles that are linked with the social, economic, cultural and spatial aspects of temporary uses, are briefly discussed as well as the key question in motivating the actors of urban drama: *what additional value could integration of temporary uses bring to the urban development processes?*

The first obstacle to overcome is the social acceptance of temporary uses. The historical burden of temporary uses being connected with major urban changes has caused and still causes certain mistrust towards temporary phenomena. The alleged relationship between the appearance of a building and the people using the place (Nasar 1989) is also playing a role in forming the attitudes towards the temporary uses. The location of temporary uses in former industrial buildings with residual appearance gives many a reason to believe that also the temporary users are residual or strange people. This preconception causes mistrust of temporary uses. On the basis of the analysis one

cannot, however, though generalise this. The additional value temporary users have is that they represent in many cases a young generation working with new types of enterprises and programmes having the potential to bring innovative elements to the urban culture.

The second group of obstacles to overcome is linked with the economic aspects of temporary uses of a site. Why to rent temporarily when the temporary users only cause trouble and might prevent the more profitable development on a site? The analysis proved that from the estate owners and general security point of view it is more profitable – even in economic terms - to allow temporary (controlled) uses than no use – this situation leading often to illegal uses. Low rents meant acceptable profit from the estate owners' point of view since the investments needed were also low and the input-output ratio remained high. In a situation where the estate market was weak temporary uses provided a “naturally born” resource for the initial development of a site. The additional value connected with temporary uses is the potential of forming *innovative milieus* (Castells & Hall 1994), creating synergy and an arena for collective learning and therefore improving the competition capacity of a city. Since the rent gap plays a crucial role in the development of sites as well as in the establishment of temporary uses at a site, the further stages of the Urban Catalysts project could also involve studying control mechanisms of local rent gaps, e.g. land use and estate maintenance policies of cities.

The third group of obstacles to overcome is linked with the professional urban planning and urban management cultures. The traditional urban development of residual areas is based on erasure and replacement and has no perspective as to involving the temporary uses in the processes of change. It is often thought that involving temporary uses in urban change would mean consolidation of these, as they would become the new “primary” uses of the site. Like the Amsterdam case shows, temporary uses can be involved successfully in the management strategy of site development by using them in conflict solving and imago making of a site. The value added is that acceptance of temporary uses gives more time for urban planning and decision-making. The use of urban structures can also be more effective and sustainable with the help of seasonal temporary uses. Promotion of temporary uses could be part of sustainable city strategies.

The fourth obstacle to overcome is the spatial context of temporary uses. According to the analysis, temporary uses are mostly situated in areas with rough environment, low technical standard and many physical obstacles for movement. The analysis proved temporary uses to mean *adaptive reuse* (Sachs 1990) of the space, being in most cases part of the industrial heritage otherwise vanishing. The additional value of spatial aspects of temporary uses is that they have a capacity to create maximum effect with minimum resources. This is also the main point of view to be studied further: how to cope with the requirements of low investment (in order to maintain the economic profitability & high risk taking capacity situation) and low technical standard? What kind of structural and spatial innovations are needed?

The local case studies reports reveal that it is possible to proceed from this common analysis platform at least in two different ways:

- To research the possibility to involve the temporary uses in local urban management strategies and processes. Here the case study of NDSM site in Amsterdam provides an interesting example of an organic development approach with an involvement of all relevant stakeholders in the development process.
- To create innovative spatial and structural solutions having the capacity to enable and strengthen the existence of temporary uses in certain sites. Here the winning competition entry of the Kabelwerk area in Vienna provides an inspiring example of an urban spatial strategy focusing on the idea of an “informal infrastructure” to enable the development of cultural and social activities on the site.

These two approaches with the aim to integrate temporary uses in urban development tackle the obstacles from different point of view. Local adaptation is also needed in the implementation of both kinds of approaches. It is important to remember that in order to be able to demonstrate the added value of temporary uses as urban catalysts – according to Attoe and Logan (1989) urban elements showing positive impact - one has to understand the complicated context of their existence.

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