SEEDS

Conceptual Framework for Assessing Policy relating to Vacant and Derelict Urban Sites

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Contents

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1 Introduction

Evaluations of temporary and vacant land uses provide indications of the value, utility and potential of urban spaces to provide functional and economically viable resources for the urban economy and urban populations. However, to understand fully the nature of such spaces, alternative perspectives and policies need to be assessed. These should consider the characteristics of temporary and vacant land uses and how planners, developers and governments deal with these uses in practice. To achieve this understanding the following four steps need to be taken:

1. Define what temporary and vacant land uses are – situate these discussions within the brownfield, temporary / vacant land use and regeneration literatures and develop a typology of the characteristics of vacant and temporary land uses;
2. Explain how vacant and derelict sites may be discussed in terms of their long term and short term uses.
3. Examine the drivers of urban change that affect vacant land and stimulate temporary land uses
4. Understand the institutional structures, policies, and site characteristics that impinge on the decision making required to deal with vacant land and temporary land uses

These four steps will inform the structure of this document and will lead to a conceptual framework presented at the end that will inform the evaluation of sites in the SEEDS programme. The conceptual framework provides an understanding of urban governance structures and land use characteristics allowing an assessment of the nature and value of temporary and vacant land uses at a site, neighbourhood and city scale to highlight both opportunities for and constraints on current and future development. This reflects two key perspectives present in the literature. One debate examines how drivers at the city-scale may be articulated in long term development processes and related planning policies. The second focuses on short term land uses that are often a response to vacancy.

Evaluating these issues promotes a more spatially and temporally defined understanding of temporary and vacant land uses. This aids the development of definitions of both forms of land use, provides cues for planners to use the terms and indicates how they can be situated within wider urban development and regeneration narratives. However, it is also important to understand how discussions of temporary and vacant land uses differ from traditional narratives of urban development, because the relationship between urban landscapes and uses are 'replete with contradictions and oppositions' (Groth and Corjin, 2005: 504). Ideas of vacancy and temporary land use need to be examined in relation to broader economic and social dynamics. The latter influence how such uses may be understood and condition the scope for re-casting their value through alternative uses. Assessing the factors that shape vacancy and temporary use at a number of scales supports the development of a better understanding of the social, ecological and economic influences on land uses. Awareness of institutional pressures on this process also indicates how planners and politicians may address variations and uncertainty in urban development and form in order to achieve more efficient land use (Abbott, 2005; Marris, 1987).

2 Factors influencing vacant and temporary land uses

Judgements of the value and utility of temporary or vacant land uses are influenced by a number of factors. How urban spaces develop, the form that land use takes, the trajectory and structure of urban development and whether individual land uses complement one another - all affect assessments of value. However, the relationship between the allocation of land for development and its availability for use is not straightforward. Economic, social and ecological stresses in urban landscapes may be linked to the occurrence of vacancy and temporary uses (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006). Furthermore, because of the fluid nature of urban development and the lack of evidence relating directly to the causes of temporary and vacant land uses, these forms of land use are neither well defined nor understood. To address this issue three aspects of it need to be considered, reflecting the characteristics of temporary and vacant land uses and long term and short term perspectives on them.

1. City scale – examinations of the long term shifts in urban form as it responds to changing economic, social and ecological structures and uses.
2. City scale – evaluations of the drivers of urban change focusing on the governance of temporary and vacant land uses.
3. City / Site scale – discussions of short term forms of urban land use based on derelict or vacant sites.

Assessing the nature of temporary or vacant land uses in this way helps to establish a conceptual framework that brings together issues of uncertainty / certainty, temporal changes in the development cycle, institutional responses to change, and the reactions of economic markets, social engagement and environmental resilience, highlighting the complexity associated with the treatment of vacancy and temporary use (Myers and Wyatt, 2004). Each of these issues has been identified in the grey and academic literature as directly influencing the value of these land uses.

Vacant land and temporary land uses provide a challenge to 'conventional' modes of planning. Abbott (2005) suggests that planning is long term in perspective, strategic in nature and spatial in application. It

> ... is a form of decision making by individuals and organizations that generally involves more complex situations, a longer time frame for actions and outcomes, and more prior thought about alternative choices and their consequences. Therefore, the effects of uncertainty are likely to be more significant and important to take into account. (Abbott, 2005: 238)

Changing social or economic variables promote vacancy or temporariness leading to uncertainty over land uses. Planning needs to be sufficiently flexible to accommodate such uncertainty. Lot size, economic situation or local needs affect the development of vacant and temporary land uses (Myers and Wyatt, 2004; US Regional Planning Association (1998), cited in Greenstein and Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2004). Therefore establishing what can be classified as temporary or vacant land uses is an important element in the development of a conceptual framework, particularly if value is to be attributed to these as potential land uses (Bishop and Williams, 2012). In support of this process the research literature outlines a range of interpretations of both vacancy and temporary land uses. However, there is no consensus over what these terms mean or how they should be applied (Abbott, 2005; Cameron et al., 1988; Overmeyer, 2007).

Academic discussion of brownfield redevelopment, urban regeneration and landscape capacity to support change has examined the role of vacancy and temporary uses but has not articulated these debates in a single structured discourse. WP3 of SEEDS extends these debates to develop a better understanding of the factors that lead to vacancy and temporary land use. A conceptual framework for assessing the nature and value of derelict and vacant sites and of temporary land uses is constructed from these and presented in Section 7. It considers the relationship between long term and short term perspectives on the subject.

3 Definitions and characteristics of vacant land and temporary uses

A key starting point in considering vacant and temporary land is our definition of them. The literature examining vacancy and temporary land use identifies those characteristics that define the form, function and governance of such uses. These are shown in Table 3.1. Table 3.1 suggests that vacancy is a fluid concept that can be applied to a range of urban development situations depending on the relationship between the physical form of a place, its social make-up and the economic structure of the area. These influences manifest themselves in different land uses and also indicate the role played by timescales in defining vacancy. Temporal understandings of vacancy are also linked to wider development programmes that are dependent on economic viability and the capacity of an area to regenerate.

Table 3.1 (overleaf) highlights the varied nature of vacant land and of temporary uses. The latter is directly influenced by the former. Temporary land uses and the structure of vacant land also reflect the nature of local needs because they provide essential and non-essential community resources (Felson and Pickett, 2005). There are policy and governance implications of temporary and vacant land use that relate to the production and consumption goods that can be developed for local communities through temporary and vacant land use (Schmelzkopf, 1995). One further issue discussed in the literature is the interpretation of formal and informal temporary land uses. Informal land uses are seen as indicating a higher likelihood of continuing land vacancy, whereas formal temporary uses are linked with programmed economic development opportunities. Formal temporary uses may be increasingly visible in strong urban centres, whilst informal uses are more likely to occur in areas of greater transience and lower socio-economic standing.

Greenstein and Sungu-Eryilmaz (2004) identified a number of characteristics of vacant and temporary land use noting that capital flight, increased suburbanisation and deindustrialisation all influence the structure of urban landscapes. As a result there have been large-scale shifts in the function of urban spaces, with a reduction in land used for production and consumption and a rise in dereliction and informal land use. They argue that vacancy should be considered as part of the development cycle that can, and is, repeated as environments respond to change. This raises the question of when vacancy should be considered a problem requiring action and when it should be considered a feature of wider processes.

Cameron et al. (1988) discuss the knowledge of vacancy within the planning literature by outlining a number of characteristics of vacant and temporary land uses. These include social, ecological and economic factors associated with current and future uses, as well as issues of valuation. Cameron et al. identified: health and safety issues, insurance, access, level of clearance needed on a site, reliability of temporary tenants, uncertainty of current and future uses and associated low economic returns, environmental constraints, pressures from local governments and other stakeholders to develop a site, and the potential opportunities for future planning consents associated with temporary uses. Each of these characteristics has a direct impact on perceptions of vacant and temporary land uses and may be viewed as creating the conditions that produce such uses. They could also aid the development of a number of vacant land typologies.

One typology for vacancy has been developed by NLUD (ODPM, 2006) in the UK. Myers and Wyatt (2004) suggest that it should be based on four types of land use:

1. Previously development land (PDL) that is now vacant;
2. Vacant buildings;
3. Derelict land and buildings; and
4. Land and buildings currently in use and allocated in local plans as having planning permission.

The NLUD classification[1] uses specific criteria to determine what can be considered vacant land, focusing on the nature of a piece of land, its previous and current uses and whether it has been allocated for development within local spatial plans. Cullingworth and Nadin (2006) argue that within this typology, vacancy, dereliction, and PDL should not necessarily be viewed in the same way. Each should be considered to have its own specific characteristics: 'vacant land is conceptually different from derelict land...the two categories can overlap' (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006: 213). Whilst the NLUD (ODPM, 2006) and Cullingworth and Nadin (2006) focus on the application of vacancy in the UK, Blummer's (2006) investigation into vacancy in Germany and the USA indicates that it is possible to develop a transnational typology of what constitutes vacant or derelict spaces. Alternatively, the US Regional Planning Association (1998, cited in Greenstein and Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2004) proposed a typology that related the tendency to vacancy (and the length of such a state) to three financial categories of site, those that were:

1. Most attractive for private sector investment;
2. Just below the threshold of viability without public sector incentives, and;
3. Had decreased viability of development due to location, decreased use and post-industrial landscape characteristics.

The RPA therefore promotes a view of vacancy that attempts to balance the costs of acquisition and redevelopment against assessments

[1] In the UK the NLUD typology was considered to reflect New Labour's approach to vacant and temporary land uses. They envisaged that vacant or PDL would be form the basis for future development (60%+) as it was deemed underused, available for use and economically

	Vacancy	Land Use
Timescale	Dependent on economic, social and environmental policies of a local and wider government, developer or owner. Issues of local development policy and wider programmes of regeneration are also important in this process.	Short but depending on the nature of use (i.e. consumptive uses – food carts) this can extended.
Ownership	Varied. Subject to personal, communal and government policies and strategies. This has a direct impact on the nature and length of vacancy. This also includes an examination of the rules / regulations of land use / ownership.	Varied. Informal uses of vacant land in areas of less-economic value. In central urban areas formal use has been promoted i.e. pop-up temporary uses. Legal issues related to ownership and land-use may influence potential for temporary use.
Valuation	Small short term value as vacancy is linked to social and economic issues. If redevelopment is programmed then long term benefits can be accrued. May be valued differently by different stakeholders.	Small and individual for specific uses but increasing if communal value is developed for a space. May be valued differently by different stakeholders.
Local policy framework	Varied. Vacancy can be a programme land use if a wider development agenda is in place. Where no policy is in place the variation in vacancy form increases.	Less well defined. Some urban centres have policies within their economic development strategies to allow small-scale temporary use (i.e. pop-up or seasonal uses) but this is not universal. This affects what can and cannot be undertaken on site and the tenure of temporary land uses.
Scale	Varied - includes single land units as well as whole neighbourhoods. Depends on the issues present in a location (social and economic) and the nature of redevelopment programmed for neighbourhoods / area / city	Normally small in size but in large urban areas with large tracts of vacant land (e.g. Detroit) use can be at a neighbourhood scale.
Community engagement	Vacancy can be an issue that motivates and involves citizens in urban development / governance.	Depending on land use there can be a high level of community involvement in temporary land uses. This has been identified in community gardening, allotment and orchard projects.
Land use	Varied – but deemed less socially acceptable than 'normal' use. 'Vacant' sites are often deemed to house anti-social or negative land uses (anti-social behaviour, rubbish dumps, temporary accommodation).	Varied – pop-up retail, restaurants, social clubs; environmental – agriculture, allotments, orchards; car parks; sports grounds
Form of landscape	Varied - former housing, transport and industrial sites. Buildings in disrepair. Area of low-income families especially around former centres of employment.	Varied – but potentially smaller use of land units.
Formal / Informal	Formal and informal. Both are applied depending on what form of land use is being undertaken.	Predominately informal and temporary in areas of transience and lower socio-economic standing. The nature of formality though depends on what people are using the areas for. Formal uses, including pop-up food carts or shops, tend to be linked with economic development in urban centres.

Table 3.1 *Characteristics of vacancy and temporary land use*

Based on: Colwell and Munneke, 2003; Dye and McMillen, 2007; Accordino and Johnston, 2000; Myers and Wyatt, 2004; Dixon, 2009; Pauleit et al., 2005; Loures and Panagopoulos, 2007; Alker et al., 2000; QviströM, 2008; Felson and Pickett, 2005; Blanco et al., 2009; Groth and Corjin, 2005)

of location, site size and structure and potential future values. Movement from c) to b) to a) is promoted by the RPA to ensure that development provides added value for a location. Evans (2004) proposed comparable criteria to describe vacancy. Vacant sites may be:

1. Owned but not used; or
2. Owned but under utilised leading to increased temporariness of use; or
3. Built upon but not in use; and / or
4. Polluted brownfields.

What is apparent within each of these typologies is that the current / past / future interpretations of use are central to definitions of vacancy. There are also issues of ownership and potential valuation depending on how a vacant site is perceived. Ownership and profitability are central influences on temporary uses of land and the timescale for use (Overmeyer, 2006; 2007). Interim uses function effectively in terms of the development or redevelopment cycle as they adapt to changing scales, timeframes and different regulations (suitability, institutional context and costs). Thus, where land is deemed less valuable temporary uses raise little conflict. However, when development is deemed viable the removal of temporary uses can become problematic. Blummer (2006) also proposed a typology for what she considered to be 'interim use', which she classified as temporary uses of vacant land or buildings with no foreseeable development demand. Blummer noted that temporary uses might include:

1. Parks, gardens, allotments;
2. Arts and cultural spaces;
3. Sites for sports and recreation;
4. Entrepreneurial spaces / pop-up businesses;
5. Parking lots and temporary storage sites, and
6. Alternative living sites (caravan / trailer parks, tents or homeless

Blummer's interpretation of interim land uses has similarities with several other typologies (for example NLUD, 2006) but places greater emphasis on establishing which land uses should actually be considered temporary. This highlights the difficulty in defining what vacancy and temporary uses are due to variances in focus, interpretation and actual use. Issues of temporality are also prominent in these debates. Accordino and Johnston (2000) consider that vacancy occurs when a property or piece of land has been unused or derelict for a minimum of two years. Dixon, however, questions the validity of the two-year timeframe noting that vacancy is linked more directly to the timing of land sales and to economic viability. While a two-year timeframe may indicate that the economic value of land has decreased, Dixon (2009) suggests that this is a natural part of the development cycle. Indeed, Cullingworth and Nadin (2006) cite a UK survey that found that over 66% of vacant land had been classified as such for over twelve years. Defining a minimum period for vacancy focuses on the short term understanding of immediate issues at the expense of considering its broader timeframe.

The use of a timeframe to define vacancy and temporary uses therefore reinforces Benveniste's (1989) view that short term planning leads to an ill-defined urban landscape. Planning for long term land use change that includes periods of temporary or vacant use provides a measured interpretation of development, as long as the outcomes of the process are fully considered and the level of uncertainty is taken into account. Therefore while we can use time as a characteristic of vacancy, it needs to be related to the prevailing development context of an area.

Given the difficulty in establishing a clear definition of vacancy it may be useful to consider a range of 'varieties of vacancy' that depend on the dynamics affecting a given site. Thus spaces may be thought of as:

1. 'forgotten': where there is little prospect of either market based or state sponsored redevelopment, producing sites that are subject to long term neglect.
2. 'stalled': where market based, or state sponsored dynamics are or have been expected to bring the space into active reuse but have been stalled in the short term.
3. 'abandoned ': where spaces have lost their functional use and need to be re-adapted to changing socio-economic and developmental dynamics .
4. 'vacant by-design': where sites may have been vacated as part of a longer term strategy for land use change that has created short term vacancy but may present opportunities or potentially problems that require a response before the long term strategy is realised.

This is not an exhaustive list and the categories should not be considered mutually exclusive as the same space may fit into more than one of them.

Links to the conceptual framework

Defining vacant land is a complex process, as illustrated above. The four-category typology presented above provides one means by which the SEEDS project will define vacant land use. However, the key issue is that the land use in question presents a problem for local communities, policy makers, landowners, or developers. The conceptual framework picks up these issues, particularly in relation to the financial aspects of site development surrounding values and viability. It also reflects divisions between informal and formal aspects of land ownership and use when considering the legal structures surrounding the site in question. Finally, the timescale of the temporary use is reflected in the framework's categorisation of short term / long term and temporary / permanent, an issue that is discussed in more detail below.

4 Timescales and uncertainty in developing vacant land

The timing of development and land use change has a significant bearing on how we understand vacant land and temporary land uses. It raises particular issues for planners and policy makers due to the need to manage uncertainties about development at either a city scale or a site scale. We might identify two key perspectives on land use change. Firstly, a long term perspective maintains that urban spaces are in a constant state of change. However vacancy, unless planned, may challenge established[2] models of urban development, where these cannot be successfully applied to the development, management and recycling of these spaces. Urban space is influenced by economic, social and environmental needs that work to shape its long term form and function (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006).

Secondly, a short term perspective maintains that periods of stagnation or underuse slow the cycle of (re) development. At these times, some urban spaces do not contribute to economic growth or the social well being of an area. As a result of planning's long term approach (see Abbott, 2005, above), such vacant or derelict sites are not treated effectively within urban policy (Pagano and Bowman, 2000). Within long term interpretations of land use, urban spaces are considered grounded in policy that is implemented through consistent or homogenous physical and temporal states. Consequently, any changes in urban landform (leading to temporary uses) impact upon the perceived permanence / rationality of urban spaces (Blummer, 2006). The stable configuration of space and society is thus tested when sites are classified as vacant and uses become increasingly temporary (Gandy, 2004), and this often leads to the perception of vacancy and temporary use as problematic states. This is exacerbated where temporary uses of vacant spaces may be considered a waste of capacity.

4.1 Long term and short term perspectives on vacancy and temporary land use

There is an inherent difficulty in defining vacancy and temporary land use because no single agreed terminology exists. Table 4.1 highlights some of the characteristics used to define vacancy and temporary land use and provides a starting point. It distinguishes between long term and short term perspectives on the subject. The former applies to urban development that is planned, formal and programmed to deliver a range of infrastructure (economic, social and environmental) benefits over a long period. A long term interpretation of land use also implies that development manifests itself as a continual cycle. The short term perspective focuses on land uses that arise when the cycle of development has stalled or become protracted. The boundary between these perspectives is ambiguous, making it difficult to define what temporary means (for example, temporary uses may become permanent and permanent uses may become temporary but there is no clear way to understand which is which). Whilst discussions of brownfield land, regeneration and informal land uses have all contextualised development against a set of principles (cf. Alker et al., 2000) this is not apparent in the vacant land and temporary use literature.

Several characteristics of vacancy and temporary use may be identified within these perspectives. These include: the duration of vacancy and temporary land use; alternative functions of subject sites; the ambiguous nature of vacant spaces and temporary uses; heterogeneity vs. homogeneity; current use vs. former / future use; the notion of 'wasted capacity'; local engagement with planning; short vs. long term development focus; and production vs. consumption uses. Each can be used to explore the differences between a long term and short term interpretation of urban land uses. The treatment of time shapes understanding of the evolution of previous, current and future land uses. Assessments of use, value and capacity and links between land use and informal / formal planning policies and practices vary with temporal perspective (see Table 4.1).

[2] The use of established here focuses on policy that does not permit variance away from specific programmes of policy or delivery. It therefore may fail to take into account the fluidity of urban planning and the complexity of meeting changing social and economic needs.

	Timescale (short, medium or long term)	Use / Valuation	Link s to policy	Links to investment strategies	Community engagement	Heterogeneity / Homogeneity	Formal or informal land use
Long term	Long term development objectives linked to policy (>5-10 years)	Linked to wider development objective: housing, commerce, infrastructure needs. Value at a city-scale.	Defined programme of investments linked with a city development strategy. Integrated approach to land management.	Defined programme of strategic investments at a number of scales.	Poor. Only in urban scale consultation programmes	Homogenous development providing key services and infrastructure at a number of scales.	Formal land development within defined programmes
Short term	Short term approach to land management to enable an immediate increase in land value (1-5 years)	Urban agriculture or forestry, community use, local play spaces, biodiversity, play or recreation. Value is localised.	Rarely linked with policy. Use is dependent on local involvement and needs.	Informal and not linked with strategic investments in urban infrastructure.	High. The value of land is linked directly to community needs and uses of the space.	Heterogeneous as there is a lack of a defined development programme. Alternative land uses are to be expected.	Informal and long term.

Table 4.1 *Characteristics of long term and short term perspectives on vacancy and temporary land use*

(Based on: Colwell and Munneke, 2003; Dye and McMillen, 2007; Accordino and Johnston, 2000; Myers and Wyatt, 2004; Dixon, 2009; Pauleit et al., 2005; Loures and Panagopoulos, 2007; Alker et al., 2000; QviströM, 2008; Felson and Pickett, 2005; Blanco et al., 2009; Groth and Corjin, 2005)

4.2 Current vs. past / future uses

Discussions of vacancy and temporary land uses should consider the development cycle. Urban development is subject to cycles that incorporate periods of progress, stagnation and decline. Interpretations of vacancy and temporary use need to address both short- and long term perspectives on the uses of a space. The time frame that is adopted will affect the valuation of current use against previous and potential future uses. Blanco et al. (2009: 228) state that 'the basis for public sector promotion of temporary use strategies is that vacant land saps vitality from cities and converts productive resource (real estate) into a community liability'. In other words, vacancy promotes the notion of 'wasted capacity', which presumes that temporary land use will always be of a lower value than a planned or formal use. Pagano and Bowman (2004) adopt a similar perspective suggesting that vacant (or derelict) space can be considered 'dead space' as the accumulative value of a space decreases because the end use is limited.

The majority of the literature on vacancy and temporary land use examines the previous use of a landscape or proposes new uses. Discussion of the current use and its value is less well defined. Within the regeneration and urban studies literature this has led to a fragmentation in evaluations of the development cycle and to under-valuation of those current uses that are considered temporary. This undermines the potential benefits accrued through the temporary use of vacant land. The result of this process is that temporary uses are deemed to be of little or no commercial, social or environmental value because they are a temporal anomaly in the development cycle narrative of a location (Abbott, 2005). Whilst this view can, and has, been challenged in the literature on urban landscaping, urban agriculture and temporary (pop-up) uses, there appears to be an established view that temporary uses do not provide positive contributions to the process of urban development (Bishop and Williams, 2012). The discussion of current vs. previous / future use can also be analysed against the broader short vs. long term development agenda of a given location (see Figure 4.1). The key link is that between current and potential future situations; and there is potential for temporary uses to be employed as a means of reshaping development dynamics to promote more desirable futures.

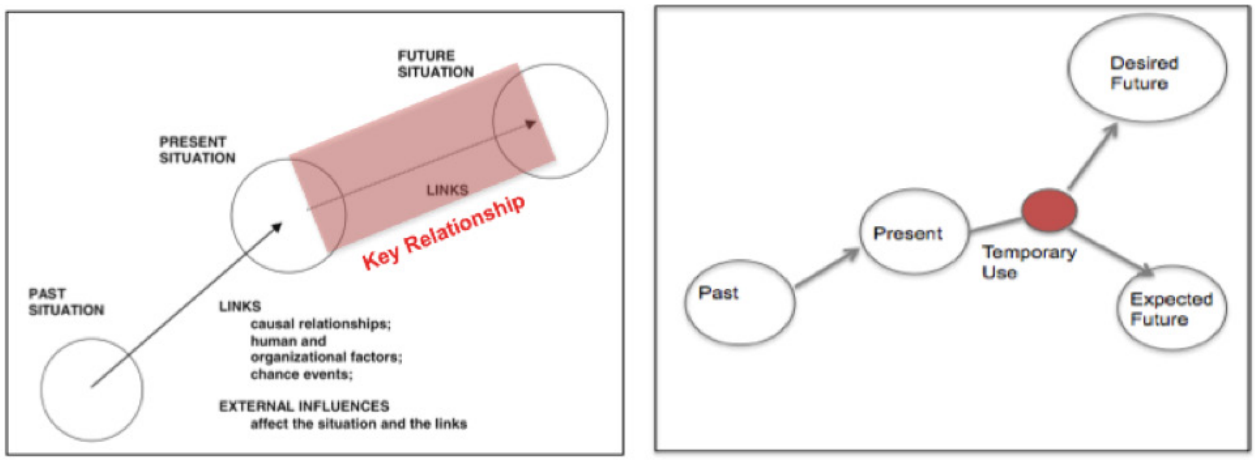

Figure 4.1 *Changed Trajectories of Urban Development (Adapted from Abbott 2005)*

4.3 Uncertainty and temporary land use

An important aspect of long term planning is managing uncertainty about the changing context in which policies and programmes are implemented. This relates to issues of the time horizons of planning processes, but also the institutional context in which these planning processes are embedded (and which will be discussed in more detail in Section 6). Abbott (2005) discusses the issues of temporality and uncertainty in terms of whether institutions and institutional actors (government, planners or developers) have the capacity to build knowledge of the complexity and flexibility of urban landscapes (Figure 4.1). He proposes three states of development that dominate urban planning: past, present and future situations. However, these influences are less visible in discussions of the current state than in the other two (Abbott, 2000). Furthermore, the flexibility and indeterminacy of current land uses that are derelict, vacant or temporary may result in greater uncertainty in planning for them. Abbott's discussion also highlights a significant element of Healey's interpretation of the planning process, that planning for change is a process of managing the relationships between people, places and institutions (Healey, 2006). This includes the ability to build knowledge of the environment, its values and its potential uses.

Whilst, Abbott (2000) questions the ability of institutions to deal with vacant or temporary uses because they lack understanding of them, Emery and Trist (1973) argue otherwise. They state that the greatest influence on uncertainty arises from the wide variety of potential changes in urban landscapes that may be prompted by complex social, economic and environmental interactions in these locations. A turbulent environment makes planning, particularly long term or strategic planning, more difficult. Thus flexibility and uncertainty reinforce the tendency to increased vacancy and temporary use. Collaboration enables planners to manage uncertainty by offering a range of alternative future development scenarios (Abbott, 2005). Abbott therefore argues that uncertainty is linked directly to our understanding, as planners, of the history and potential future of a site.

4.4 Links to the conceptual framework

Both long term and short term interpretations of vacant and temporary land uses offer insights into the urban land development process. Whilst the research literature tends to discuss long term and short term shifts in land use separately, the conceptual framework developed for SEEDS evaluates them in parallel to highlight their symbiotic relationship. Distinguishing between long term and short term perspectives on temporary and vacant land uses allows the conceptual framework to draw on a number of other influences, including institutionalist approaches and research on shrinking cities, that will be discussed below. Figure 4.2 shows that the combined approach allows both short term uses to be conceived as part of long term visions for sites, and long term visions to be influenced by the possibilities afforded by short term uses.

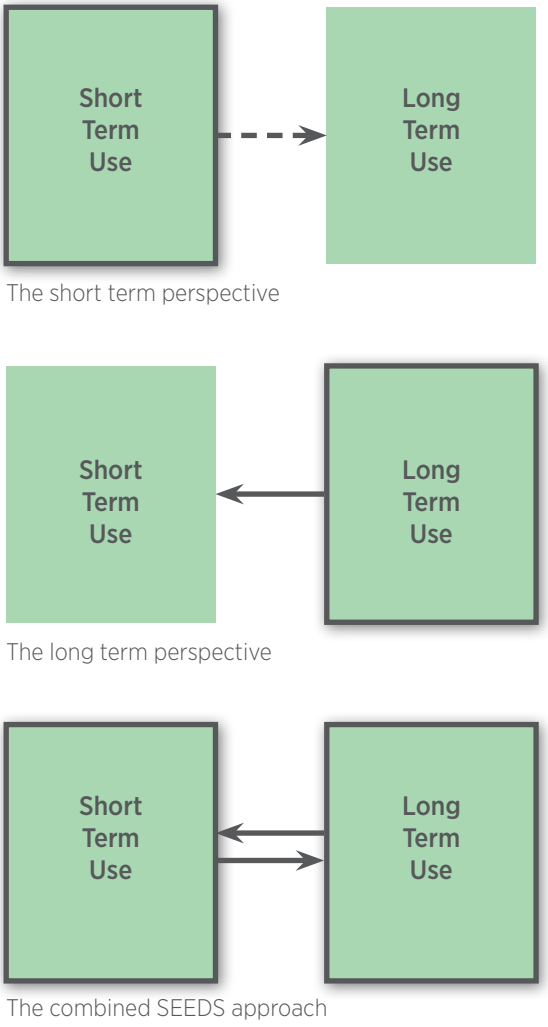

Figure 4.2 *A SEEDS approach to vacancy and temporary use*

Additionally, the conceptual framework understands temporary land uses as part of a trajectory from past, through present, to future short term and future long term land uses. Additionally, the framework captures the difference between the expected long term land use under the status quo, and the desired long term land use that results from successful policy intervention. Finally, to extend our knowledge of temporary and vacant land there is a need to understand the evolution of urban areas, both in terms of expansion and shrinkage, if we are to situate interpretations of temporariness within the wider trajectory of urban development. This will be discussed below in Section 5 which presents an analysis of the drivers of urban change.

5 Drivers of Change

A key aspect to understanding land use change and the role of vacancy and temporary land uses within this process are the drivers of urban change. These exist largely at the city / neighbourhood scale, but have distinct impacts on individual sites. The conceptual framework explicitly accounts for these drivers of change through analysis of the economic, social, and environmental changes that affect cities and the vacant sites that lay within them.

Table 5.1 presents a number of drivers of change associated with vacancy and temporary land use that highlight a number of structural, viability and uncertainty issues (Greenstein and Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2004).

Economic	Social	Environmental
Property markets; economic markets; employment markets; funding for development; planning policy and strategies	Demographic change (in-out migration); employment; IMD-social change; ownership vs. tenancy; community engagement; quality of the landscape	Landscape pollution and remediation; responses to climate change; flooding

Table 5.1 *Drivers of change in vacancy and temporary land use*

5.1 Economic Drivers of Change

Economic drivers of urban change can be evaluated as operating on two broad levels. Firstly, at an urban scale, city economies respond to broader economic shifts that have an effect on the structure of the urban economy and the related urban form. Cullingworth and Nadin (2006) and Abbott (2005) argue that urban forms are in a constant state of evolution in terms of land use, links with economic and social well-being, and environmental capacity and resilience. Secondly, the urban economy shapes the viability of development in cities with particular implications for individual sites. This requires an understanding of the relationship between the development process and vacant land. The valuation process for urban areas is a dynamic one. Development models highlight the interactions between growth, decline and obsolescence.

Adams et al. (1988) examined the urban development process and considered, inter alia, urban growth and decline and obsolescence, and the point (in time and space) when (re) development becomes viable – when the value of the cleared site exceeds the value of the existing use (see Figure 5.1; cf. Rosenthal & Helsley, 1994; Wong, 2002; Weber, 2002; Bryson, 1997). The redevelopment of vacant urban land may then be considered as a particular type / case of this wider process (Deakin, 1997).

Vacancy has a negative impact on land prices depending on two factors: distance from the urban centre and duration of vacancy (Colwell and Munneke, 2003). The normal development model proposes that the further away a site is from the core of an urban area the lower is its economic potential. Prolonged vacancy lowers the value of land further. Vacancy can therefore be seen, in some cases, as a key influence on property development (Dye and McMillen, 2007). Development potential is related to the utility of vacant land and its relationship to the broader context of an area. If a vacant site has a specific social and by extension economic function then the impact on property values may be positive – or, at least, less negative (Accordino and Johnston, 2000). Furthermore, if vacancy is integral to the promotion of large-scale redevelopment then its negative impacts may be redefined. The value of a space for redevelopment is linked to temporal changes in values and reflects the process outlined in Figure 5.1 (Dye and McMillen, 2007).

Furthermore, issues of scale relating to vacant land are also visible. In urban centres where land values are greatest the size of a vacant plot is directly related to its potential redevelopment value. Therefore vacant sites tend to be smaller in size and have a greater redevelopment potential, if the social and economic parameters of development are balanced. However, vacant sites on the urban fringe do not have the same economic viability and therefore tend to be larger in size. This scenario is also apparent in low-income neighbourhoods of large industrial cities where vacancy results from migration out of urban areas and space is devalued. The nature, location and scale of vacancy therefore all interact at local and city scales highlighting the difficulties in defining and working with vacant spaces and temporary land uses.

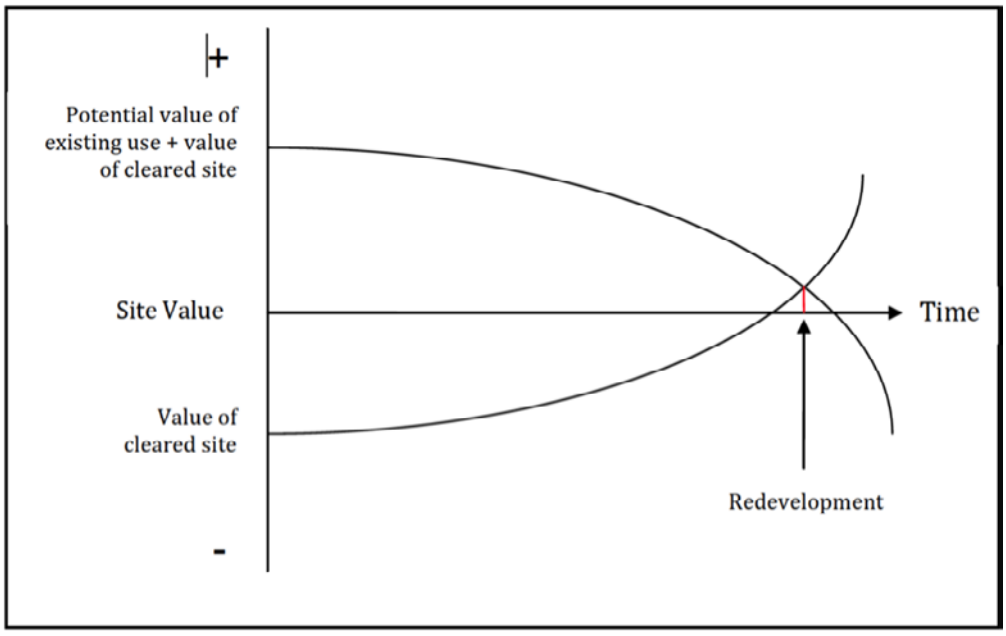

Figure 5.1. *The timing of redevelopment*
Adapted from Deakin (1997)

Additionally, the development process is framed by legal structures that balance the rights and opportunities afforded to landowners, developers, tenants, the state and local communities. There have been persistent concerns that bureaucratic and legal frameworks are insufficiently flexible to cope with the requirements of flexible accumulation that characterise contemporary capitalism (Amin, 1994; du Gay, 2000). Vacancy, a symptom of such dynamics, is often considered an 'exceptional' state, requiring forms of intervention that do not fit easily within established legal frameworks. The perception that such frameworks act as a constraint restricting intervention is therefore well established (see, for example, CLG, 2011). How legal institutions can be better equipped to cope with such circumstances may therefore be a key question for improving responses to vacancy, and is a key feature of the conceptual framework.

5.2 Social Drivers of Change

Residents, workers and visitors all use vacant or temporarily used sites and the spaces surrounding them. Social change is therefore central to understanding how vacant land might be better used for social benefit. There are two aspects to this. Firstly, planners, policy makers and others need to understand the changing social makeup of cities and neighbourhoods, the pressures on land and the potential for using vacant land. For example, literature on 'Shrinking Cities' highlights the challenges and opportunities presented by changing demographic situations in urban areas, and the significance of temporary land uses as a means of dealing with vacancy and underuse (Dye and McMillan, 2007). A second aspect to social change is the changing expectations of community involvement that will shape how policies are developed for vacant / temporary land uses.

One of the most prominent features of the vacant land and temporary use literature is the role that local communities (groups and individuals) have in ensuring that vacant spaces are used and valued. Healey (2006) suggests that effective community engagement is one of the most complex, long term, and conflict-ridden processes in urban planning.

A wide range of factors influences the nature of public engagement with vacant spaces. These focus predominately on those involved, what activities are undertaken, how engagement is approached and why community engagement is undertaken. Table 5.2 presents a number of these issues. One clear point that is made within the vacant land and temporary use literature is that such activities / uses are directly related to the needs of local populations. A lack of ownership, prohibitive costs and limited access can all restrict how people interact with the landscape. Community engagement with vacant spaces enacted through temporary land uses provides a mechanism where such limitations on use can be addressed.

There are distinct differences between formal and informal approaches to community engagement. This reflects the nature of the land under consideration and the wider needs of a given location. The temporary nature of vacant land use also appears to support more informal forms of engagement, perhaps reflecting the nature of temporary use initiatives

Factor	Variables
Who is involved?	Individuals, community groups, social activists, entrepreneurs, landowners, local government
What activities are undertaken?	Community gardens, orchards and farms (B&C and production), recreational spaces, parking, temporary storage / housing
How are these undertaken?	Informal use, communal undertaking / led, formal discussion and negotiation (i.e. Germany), consultation led
Why are such activities undertaken?	Reuse, personal / communal needs, economic opportunities, master planning, informal relationships with the landscape, lower anti-social activities, improve social mobility,

Table 5.2 *Factors influencing community engagement*

that seek to generate value (or utility) on land that is currently under-used. Use of such spaces by communities can therefore help to develop value and is often based on informal networks of use and engagement. However, our understanding of informality in reference to vacant land differs depending on location. For instance, in Germany temporary uses of vacant space are undertaken with consultation from local government and conform to specific elements of local planning policy (Blummer, 2006). This differs from parts of the USA. In Detroit, for example, temporary uses are being developed in a bottom-up way by local people to meet specific social needs. In this process there is little or no relationship between the vacant land use and local government (Bull and Edwards, 2011). Formal and informal approaches to community engagement are affected by the factors outlined in Table 5.2.

Community engagement is one method of reconciling competing development agendas. Reviewing the power relations between planners, developers and the local population may help resolve issues arising from vacancy or temporary use (Healey, 2003). Healey (2006) discusses engagement from an institutionalist perspective (see below), highlighting how different values are developed through policy and planning agendas. She also suggests that this provides a structured process where opportunities, constraints and similarities can be examined and developed. A critical dialogue between stakeholders can lead to a more open and democratic process. However, it should also be noted that there is considerable scope for conflict and disagreement between stakeholders and either imagined or actual changes in the public's valuation of a given site through temporary re-use may have significant implications for future redevelopment.

Furthermore, Healey (2003) argues that community engagement is subject to changes in governance that also need to be addressed. Planning draws on two different approaches to engagement: specific episodes and governance processes, the difference being the timeframe and focus of policy and delivery (Healey, 2004: 93). This relates to the potential difference between long term and short term initiatives in relation to vacancy and temporary use, where specific episodes that bring stakeholders together often coalesce around short term temporary initiatives and not longer-term strategic responses.

The prevailing economic structure of an urban area also leads to differences in how people engage in urban development. Historically, those who have been politically and economically productive have been most likely to become consultees. However, if planning is viewed as a process focussed on establishing the qualities of place then this historical view fails to take into account a large proportion of the population (Healey, 2006). In areas where vacancy and temporary land use is evident the lack of influence of some sections of society leads to practices that may not meet local needs. Engagement therefore becomes more difficult as the dislocation between what is developed and what is discussed becomes more marked.

5.3 Environmental and Physical Drivers of Change

Despite environmental issues such as climate change becoming increasingly important for urban areas, the literature on vacant and temporary land use touches very lightly on the environment. In particular, there is little literature on the environmental impacts of vacant and temporary uses. A number of authors including Jamison (2008) and Gandy (2004) reflect on a systems approach to understanding landscape. Although environmental resources work within a supportive network of ecological systems, they are also influenced by land use. Vacancy and temporary land uses therefore may provide opportunities for small-scale (but ecologically important) environmental land uses to be undertaken.

The promotion of urban agriculture in the form of orchards and gardens provides environmental and social benefits at a community level (Schmelzkopf, 1995; Bull and Edwards, 2011). Vacant sites may also provide temporary respites or reservoirs supporting ecological habitat

development (Felson and Pickett, 2005). Such approaches are given less attention in the regeneration literature than discussions of the economic value of vacancy and temporary use. Furthermore, Jamison (2008) proposes that the restructuring of knowledge, urban spaces and social movements has impacted on the ways in which we interact with vacant landscapes. Jamison (2008) argues that whilst change is an inevitable part of the development cycle, transitional spaces can hold ecological value despite the fact that they may not fit within wider development strategies. As a result, temporary uses have received limited consideration because of the emphasis on economic viability in debates on urban regeneration and property markets. Research on urban environmental projects also suggests that although there is a changing dialogue between people, planners and developers, professionals still fail to acknowledge the value of temporary uses, especially when these uses promote environmental sustainability rather than economic and social needs. However, 'what is inclusive, just and sustainable is an emergent quality, not a set of characteristics which can be determined outside specific situations' (Healey, 2006: 322).

Pauleit et al (2005) propose a second interpretation of vacancy and temporary land use value. They note that the long term nature of urban development (and regeneration), especially where the focus falls on housing, commercial development and transport infrastructure negatively impacts on the percentage of green and open space cover. Short term habitat / ecological benefits are under-valued and this may prevent the development of ecologically important resources in the long term. Informal ecological uses grow and evolve over time but are often not seen as permanent or long term uses. As a result, the capacity of urban areas to respond to climatic changes is reduced .'[I]nfill densification in already built-up land was a main driver of this change' (Pauleit et al, 2005: 307). It is therefore questionable whether green space is given sufficient consideration in re-use and redevelopment debates.

Smith et al (2002) present an alternative view. '[A]s the stock of undeveloped land declined, the effect of private open spaces on prices changes from being insignificant to statistically significant which is consistent with this use serving as a source of open space amenities' (ibid:127). Thus, depending on the level of development, open spaces (private and temporary) may promote higher property values than other competing development. The duration of vacancy (and temporary use) also has a direct impact on this process with greater values attributed to longer-term uses. Temporary land uses and vacancy have therefore been described as either: a) time sensitive opportunities to increase the environmental resource base of the urban landscape; or b) as wasted capacity that fails to contribute to the economy of a given location.

5.4 Links to the conceptual framework

The need to integrate short and long term perspectives on vacant land requires an understanding of the drivers of change at an urban, neighbourhood, and site level. Furthermore, understanding the drivers of urban change allows policies to be developed more accurately to respond to, shape, exploit positive, and mitigate negative, effects of change. These are captured in the conceptual framework at an urban scale through a focus on the development trajectory of the city, at a neighbourhood and site scale in terms of development viability and the need to respond to economic drivers of change, through a focus on social and cultural changes and the need to engage communities, and in terms of the physical characteristics of the neighbourhood / site and the environmental changes that are shaping both cities and the vacant sites that lay within them.

6 Institutional perspectives and responses to vacancy and temporary land use

In order to reflect upon the role of property vacancy as a forerunner of redevelopment or re-use within a circular land (re)development process, it is essential to have a better understanding of how land / property market or urban development processes are shaped by a wide range of societal institutions: economic, political, legal , cultural and social. This approach views institutions not as specific organisations but as social formations producing procedures, routines and norms that regulate the behaviour of actors. An institutional approach therefore focuses on how collective action is accomplished through both the formal and informal interactions of various actors (Healey, 1997). The conceptual framework draws on an institutional approach to understand the means by which stakeholders engage in governance processes through institutional norms and arrangements.

Institutionalism describes a way of conceptualising the structure and operation of society (Goodin, 1996). Individuals and groups pursue their objectives within social constraints. These take the form of institutions or rules (Hodgson, 2006; Searle, 2005) or regularities (Neale, 1994: 403): "organized patterns of socially constructed norms and roles, and socially prescribed behaviours expected of occupants of these roles, which are created and recreated over time." (Goodin, 1996: 19). Institutions are the 'engines' that drive social life (Goodin, 1996:, 20). They range from the formal (such as laws) to the informal (such as manners) (Hodgson, 2006; Lowndes, 2002; North, 1990; Rothstein, 1996). Codified rules, with the explicit endorsement of the state (such as laws) or organisations (such as company operating procedures) provide additional power and leverage to those following them (Hodgson, 2006; Searle, 2005).

Institutional approaches have been successfully applied to analysis of property markets and urban development processes to assess how these are produced through power-filled negotiations between buyers, sellers and market professionals (Smith et al., 2006), and citizens, politicians and public sector actors (Healey, 1997). Jepperson (1991) defines three types of carriers of institutionalization: formal organizations, regimes, and culture. Similarly, Scott (1995: 33) asserts that "institutions consist of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behaviour. Institutions are transported by various carriers - cultures, structures, and routines - and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction". In similar terms Scott (1995) and Adams et al (2005) point out that there are three main institutional features of land and property markets: 'the formal rules' which are determined by governance directly or indirectly; 'rules of the game' which are informal and unwritten conventions; and 'networks of relationships' between market operators or agents. They highlight the extent to which policy processes induce the development of trust and / or the creation of other forms of social capital within the market place. Urban development processes are therefore strongly influenced by institutional factors including the combination of formal legal, political, market and administrative processes and the informal social rules dependent on cultural factors, belief systems and values that influence how these are approached.

Evaluations of temporary land use using an institutional approach contain the potential for analysing property / land markets and urban development processes by explaining their operations in terms of the goals, plans and actions of individuals and by taking social and cultural phenomena such as networks into account. In addition, this approach allows one to understand how differences in values and context produce different redevelopment potentials and dynamics. In adopting an institutionalist approach to urban redevelopment processes it is necessary to consider three key sets of factors: a) actors, social capital and networks of relationships; b) the rules of game and informal customs and, finally, c) formal rules and regulations.

6.1 Social capital - Actor network relationships

Actor relationships may enlarge the pool of available resources and / or create synergies that enable more effective action. However, it is arguable whether stronger actor network relationships actually make the development process smoother or simply create more complex bureaucracy (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2005). Depending on the level of perceived and actual trust and mutual respect among development actors, social capital can be created (Adams et al., 2003). Hutton for example states that 'where market economies actually work very well, you have committed owners, you have long term relationships, you have heavy penalties for people who cheat on bargains' (1996: 93). He goes on to describes the city as a place where 'one sees through physical proximity the construction of relationships of commitments' (Hutton, 1996: 93).

Land / property markets are "dynamic, deeply contextual and contingent both on the particular aims and objectives of development actors, and on a shifting market framework which may enable or constrain development strategies" (Guy & Henneberry, 2000: 2413). The framework for the development process consists of resources like knowledge, information, capital, land and labour to which actors have access. A range of development process models indicates that actors have their own objectives, driving forces and funding restrictions. However, they are also related in different ways (Healey, 1991). According to Tiesdell and Allmendinger (2005), in order to

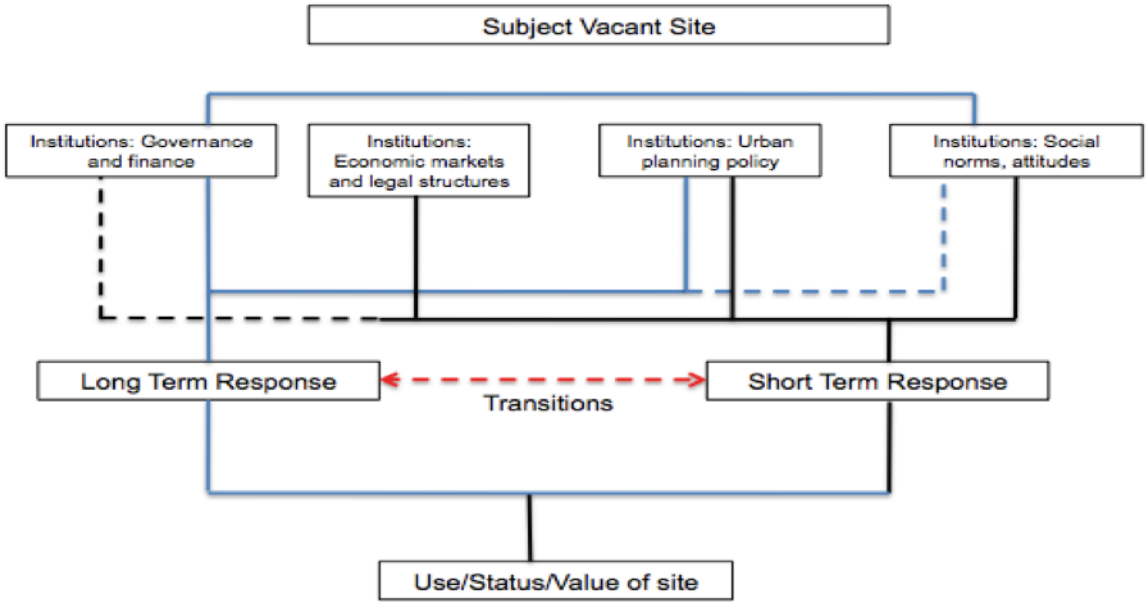

Figure 6.1 *Institutional relationships and vacant land / temporary land use*

achieve their objectives, actors use their own power, autonomy, resources and expertise, and value systems that may lead to conflict with other development actors. Actors variously 'interact, plot, scheme, form alliances, bargain, negotiate and co-operate with and against each other to achieve their objectives - a process that cannot credibly be regarded as unproblematic' (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2005: 62).

6.2 Rules of the game

In addition to social interaction, the institutional approach highlights norms, rules, and behavioural determinants in the development process. Indeed, in institutional economics, institutions are often regarded as 'the rules of the game' in contrast to the 'players' or 'organisations'. Informal rule systems are defined as those activities governed by private methods of regulation among individuals and groups, outside the state's legal framework (Pamuk, 2000). Institutional rules therefore manage the behaviour of actors and shape the ideas that they draw upon in developing strategies to capture resources, develop ideas and achieve their objectives (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2005). This in turn affects perceptions of temporary land use and the subsequent policy formulated to address issues of temporariness and vacancy. For example, the normal 'rules of the game' may hinder actors' ability to conceive possibilities for vacant land, as they go against established ways of organising development.

6.3 Formal rules

In addition to social capital, networks of relationships and the rules of the game, the third key aspect of the institutional approach relates to formal rules and formal organizations. These are binding laws and rules that explicitly direct the behaviour of actors. In institutional economics, for example, formal rules regulate access to the market, what rights can and cannot be traded, different land-use and environmental rules (including planning policies), various fiscal rules, subsidies and also inheritance rules (Needham and Segeren, 2005). Policies play an important role in setting out rules, interpreting them, and providing a framework in which rules and laws may be applied.

Figure 6.1 sets out how institutional features, such as modes of finance, legal rules, planning policies and social norms might converge in relation to the use of vacant sites. These are also reflected in the conceptual framework.

6.4 Policy for Vacant and Temporary Land Uses

Any discussion of temporary land use and vacancy must be placed in the context of the local and city scale governance of urban landscapes / spaces. Although policy can be identified that addresses neighbourhood level development issues; strategies addressing vacancy or temporary land uses are predominately linked to policy at the city or larger scale. The focus of policy addressing temporary uses therefore reflects wider development objectives, but as a consequence may fail to address temporal and spatial needs at a more local scale. Policy directly examining the value and use of vacant sites or temporary uses is therefore

less well defined than other areas of urban planning policy.

There are also marked differences in how institutions in different locations plan and / or respond to temporary or vacant land use. The prevailing discourses of urban development in the UK, North-West Europe and globally differ depending on the economic structure of development, the process of social engagement and needs assessment, and reactions to environmental change and the capacity of a given location to meet the needs of its population (Blummer, 2006). As a result, the development and application of policy dealing with temporary land use, and more specifically vacancy, differ substantially between locations. One example of this is research addressing 'shrinking cities' that notes how city governments and developers place a variety of timescales on their interpretations of development, vacancy and temporary uses. While different stakeholders may establish short and long term development objectives, they may fail fully to address the needs of current temporary use. This implies that vacancy is an inconvenient form of urban land use, embodying issues of decline and underuse. However, the shrinking cities literature also notes that deliberate strategies of vacancy can be developed in order to restrict unwanted or inappropriate growth (Dye and McMillen, 2007).

Crucial to an understanding of the responses to vacancy are the institutionally embedded varieties of planning culture found in different places. Different planning traditions shape the institutional repertoire available to actors as they respond to planning challenges (see , for example, Sanyal, 2005; Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009; Duhr et al, 2011). The extent to which responses focus on physical or design based aspects of planning problems, or are more socially, environmentally or economically orientated, or are expert-led or more collaborative is therefore shaped in important ways by the historical institutionalisation of planning / urban governance within particular territories.

6.5 Urban planning policy and regeneration

Vacancy and temporary land uses have received less attention in urban planning policy than other forms of land use. In many cases this reflects the view that vacancy is not considered an economically positive / viable process and therefore is not addressed by planning. Planning policy and practice in the UK and in the USA have focussed predominately on the problems associated with moving from an historic to a future land use (Blummer, 2006; Dixon, 2006). The research into current temporary uses of vacant spaces is also poorly defined. One field where vacancy and temporary land uses have been debated is that of urban regeneration.

Raco (2003) defines regeneration as a process of recasting a place's image to generate new investment and value. He argues that this is predominately property or market led, as the development of vacant land produces new investment opportunities and, in some cases, meets social needs. Regeneration therefore provides solutions to specific urban problems. Raco also sees regeneration as a fluid process that draws together a number of development goals to create hybrid urban forms that are economically, socially and environmentally valuable. This process relies on planners and developers having knowledge of the capacity of the environment to cope with change, the nature and level of interaction between people and the environment and our ability to evaluate both in order to develop best practice (Abbott, 2005; Friend and Jessop, 1969). However, regeneration is context specific and has 'become a panacea for urban problems' (Raco, 2003: 1869). Therefore vacancy and temporary use is often taken as an indication that an urban area is failing to capitalise on its perceived utility to maximise its value. Consequently, vacancy and temporary land uses have historically been under-valued / under-used, despite being central characteristics of the regeneration discourse (Blummer, 2006).

The development of regeneration policy in the UK in the late 1990s illustrates the point. The New Labour government proposed to make government more democratic as well as more effective and efficient (Marshall, 2009). They sought to pursue policies of social inclusion alongside a strategy for economic growth that relied heavily on the exploitation of the financial and social capital of the landscape. By promoting sustainable urban development they argued for a brownfield first form of development that revitalised areas of limited or diminished value. New Labour highlighted that there were often few constraints on vacant land, which could be re-valued to support economic growth and revitalise existing urban areas (Urban Task Force, 1999). Furthermore, regeneration policy evolved formally to promote a more holistic approach to urban redevelopment based on environmental, social and economic growth, as an alternative to focussing solely on physical transformation (Davies, 2004).

Pagano and Bowman (2000) highlight one further issue in developing urban regeneration policy to tackle vacancy and temporary use. In a large-scale survey of US cities they found that a lack of reliable data on the extent of vacant land units and buildings led to complications in forming policy to meet the needs of these areas. They also argued that population size was not necessarily as influential a factor in vacancy hitherto considered. The density of an urban area and the relative state of the local economy were more accurate indicators of vacancy. Hence, stronger economies were associated with lower levels of vacancy, although higher levels of abandonment in buildings were also evident. Where the state of the economy was deemed variable, greater variance was identified in the level of urban vacancy. The

development of policy that addresses the issues associated with vacancy is, therefore, difficult if there is a lack of empirical data on the subject (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006).

Furthermore, whilst Kaufman and Bailkey (2004) discuss the difficulties of developing a renewed value for vacant spaces, Abbott (2005) argues that uncertainty is the central reason behind this. Abbott notes that environmental and social change lead to uncertainty because there is no defined timeframe or investment programme in place to manage. Uncertainty is therefore intrinsically linked with regeneration programmes and could extend the problems of redevelopment. Furthermore, this process is reliant on the level of local knowledge and the capacity of government, developers and local people to manage change. Friend and Jessop (1969) also suggest the ability of a place to resist change, control the level and nature of interaction between people and the environment, and the capacity of people to evaluate best practice can decrease the level of uncertainty associated with temporary environmental land uses.

Policies towards vacancy can take a range of forms, and respond to the direction of regeneration / development in a particular location. For example, cities in the USA have applied a range of options to a) provide temporary uses for local communities, i.e. gardens or allotments, b) remove perceived economically negative elements of a district or neighbourhood by enabling vacancy to occur or c) promoting longer-term vacancy to enable developers to regenerate larger tracts of land at a neighbourhood scale. Furthermore, Loures and Panagopoulos highlighted that 'derelict and contaminated industrial sites are unrealized resources for initiating urban regeneration and ecological restoration' (2007:182). However, key conflicts may emerge as a result of decisions to retain land as vacant pending future development, particularly with regard to the liveability of urban areas. If areas are identified within development strategies as locations for wholesale redevelopment then a conflict arises between current residents, the length of vacancy and future development proposals (Abbott, 2000).

Whilst vacancy is allowed to occur, land values and quality of life potentially decrease for local residents. In the longer-term, land values and the number of amenities delivered through regeneration could lead to an increase the value of the same neighbourhood. However, the quality of life (and economic value of property) in the intermediate period between these two states is considered to be unfavourable for residents. City planners therefore need to think carefully if they are to promote vacancy in areas that currently have a resident population (Greenstein and Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2004). Whether vacancy is an accepted development strategy is therefore open to question. While it may deliver longer-term economic and social benefits, the interim period may actually decrease the quality of life (and increase other anti-social aspects of vacancy). Policy responses to vacancy and its role in development show the indifference of some city-planners to transitional spaces (Dye and McMillen, 2007). Because of a lack of policy addressing the values of temporary land uses and vacancy these areas are somewhat overlooked: previous and future values are promoted, whereas current uses are downplayed in terms of value (Qviström, 2008).

However, in urban centres where vacancy is linked with industrial decline and migration to suburban areas, vacancy has become an accepted policy. Vacancy is seen as a cost-effective way of ensuring that large-scale regeneration can occur without having to leverage excessive compulsory purchases or compensation for resident packages (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006). The returns of redevelopment and regeneration are thus seen to outweigh the social and economic costs of short to medium-term vacancy. Baltimore and Detroit have used this process in attempts to regenerate parts of their urban areas. Similar examples from the UK from the Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder project in Newcastle identified a comparable process of renewal (Dye and McMillen, 2007; Blummer, 2006; Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006).

6.6 Links to the conceptual framework

Institutional norms and decision making systems are a key feature of the conceptual framework, enabling analysis of the underlying thinking behind policy, the interaction of stakeholders, the legal structures that affect development and the making of policies to manage vacant / temporary land uses. There are two aspects to this. Firstly, an examination of the informal interaction between stakeholders will allow an analysis of the effectiveness of policy engagement and the ability of actors to align their goals. Secondly, analysing the formal rules by which actors engage with each other through legal and policy processes will enable a deeper understanding of the possibilities and barriers to achieving desired long term uses for land.

7 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework outlined below draws together the perspectives derived from academic and practice literature to allow a coherent and holistic analysis of vacant sites and temporary uses and the possibilities for their better use. The framework draws on the four key requirements outlined in Section 1:

1. The need to define vacant and temporary land uses
2. The need to conceive development as a process involving relationships between past, present, and future land uses and shaped by long term and short term perspectives
3. The need to understand the economic, social, and environmental drivers of urban change that create and affect vacant land and temporary land uses
4. The need to understand the institutional contexts in which land is developed and managed, the actions of stakeholders is framed, and policy is developed

The conceptual framework, which is presented below, flows from a conceptual approach, outlined in Figure 7.1. This starts from an understanding of development of urban land as a process subject to intervention by key actors. From this, analysis of individual sites is possible, taking into account past, present, and future (status quo and desired) uses, physical and legal characteristics of the land, and the drivers that may shape development of the site and the wider neighbourhood and city. These drivers include the economic, social and environmental changes that are relevant to the site. From this, the analysis can focus on the role of institutions, and the ability of stakeholders to shape future long term development of the site in a desired direction through the promotion of temporary land uses. The framework will enable the effectiveness of policies to be evaluated, in terms of their abilities to capture and shape drivers of change, to engage with communities, to deal with complexity and uncertainty, and to manage conflicts surrounding development.

The first part of the framework is the conceptual approach which is outlined in Figure 7.1 and draws on the following assumptions

- The past provides sites with a set of endowments that may be positive or negative.
- These underpin the current characteristics and potentialities of vacant, derelict or under-used sites.
- There is a 'policy gap' between the expected long term use of the site if nothing is done (the status quo), on the one hand, and the desired use achieved through policy intervention, on the other.
- The temporary use of the site may contribute to the effectiveness of such intervention, helping to bridge the policy gap.
- This is in addition to any short term benefits derived from the temporary use.

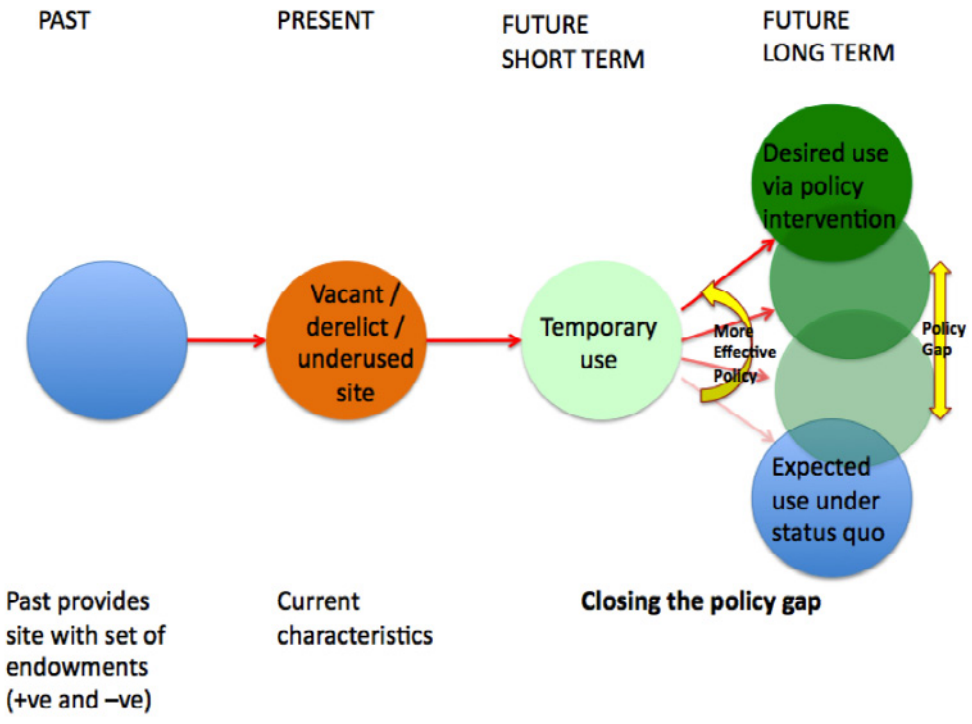

Figure 7.1 *Conceptual Approach to Temporary and Long Term Uses of Vacant, Derelict or Under-used Urban Sites*

Decisions about the most appropriate temporary use(s) for a vacant, derelict or under-used site need to be informed by analysis. We propose that such an analysis be undertaken within the following conceptual framework (see Table 7.1).

1. Identify and review the current characteristics of the site under seven broad descriptors (via WP5 Matrix 1 and 2, updates of Pilot Activity reports, analysis of site documents and materials, and UoS survey to fill any gaps).
2. Assess the potential of the site for short- and long term use against cross-cutting drivers of policy performance (via partners' analysis with UoS support).
3. Identify the expected short- and long term uses of the site if nothing is done - the status quo (via discussions between UoS and partners, followed by a workshop at the September 2013 partners' meeting, see below).
4. Define the desired long term use and the policy interventions proposed to achieve it – establishing the 'policy gap' and what policy must do to close it (via discussions between UoS and partners, followed by a workshop at the September 2013 partners' meeting, see below).
5. Determine the proposed temporary land use that, through its affect on each of the drivers of policy performance, best supports the transition to the desired long term use.

The above framework will need to be adapted to the character and context of each site. For example, for some sites that are elements of established planning and investment strategies the bulk of the information and analysis will already be available. For other sites in economically very depressed areas, it may not be possible to identify a viable long term use and temporary uses may become drivers in themselves (reversing steps 4 and 5).

Site Descriptors	Current Characteristics of Site	Future: Short Term / Temporary Use		Future: Long Term / Permanent Use		Drivers of Policy Performance (cross-cutting)
		Expected Under Status Quo	Proposed Use	Expected Under Status Quo	Desired Use	
Urban context and development trajectory	Structure of urban economy; related urban form					Linkage with relevant scales
Economic and financial circumstances	Demand/supply of land use; development costs, values & viability					Alignment with economic / financial position
Governance, policy and planning	Planning / management policies; grants / subsidies; investment strategies					Effective policy engagement
Social and cultural setting	Urban / neighbourhood socio-political make-up; public attitudes / engagement					Temporal relations (short – long term)
Physical characteristics	Location, area, use(s), access, services, environment, contamination					Development barriers / opportunities
Legal structure	Owners, occupiers; single / multiple; pattern of interests (freehold / leasehold)					Level of complexity / uncertainty
Stakeholders	Existing and future interests by sector, organisational form					Coherence / conflict between goals
Application	Matrix 1 & 2; updates of Pilot Activity Reports; site documents; UoS survey	Role of proposed temporary use ...		in closing policy < > gap via impact on performance drivers		How does the (policy relating to) temporary use affect each of the drivers?
		Discussions between UoS and partners Workshop at September 2013 partners' meeting				

Table 7.1 *Conceptual Framework for Analysing Temporary and Long Term Uses of Vacant, Derelict or Under-used Urban Sites*

APPENDIX A:
Outcome of the Workshop (organised by UoC and UoS)

Type of vacancy	Pilot Name	Reason
Stalled	Skansberget-Linnestaden	Planning negotiations
Stalled	Showcase-Sheffield	Lack of investor confidence
Stalled	Porter Brook	Lack of credit for housing market and business space
Stalled	Leek	Planned railway Route
Stalled	Haren	Waiting for housing development
Stalled	Rotherham Renaissance	Lack of investor confidence-credit availability
Abandoned	Gamlestaden	The creation of a new community center close by 60's
Abandoned	Leek	Regulations relating to construction in proximity to railway has meant that other "easier" site get developed first. Poor access
Abandoned	Living with Nature (SWT, UK)	Abandoned by the community because they are so awful?
Abandoned	University of Neighborhood Hamburg	The former health center is not in use anymore
By Design	? VLM	Harbour (official plan)
By Design	VLM	Agricultural Use (official plan)
By Design	Suikerunie	No immediate development
By Design	Rotherham Renaissance	It is designed to be empty to take temporary use
By Design	Hamburg Cultural Warehouse	The cultural use of some floors is pleased
Forgotten	Gamlestaden	The need for green recreational spaced has changed. Was fulfilled with allotments, meadow, the river in the 30s and 40s. Then SKF took use of the mountain. Today considered as unsafe, unknown to many people
Forgotten	Hamburg	Nobody care about
Forgotten	Assen	Not same attention as rest of Assen (TT-circuit / water)
Forgotten	Porter Brook	The river has been forgotten by its owners. (?)
Forgotten	Hansknudsend Plads (Cophegan)	Sub-partner project, central location but unnoticed
Forgotten	Living with nature (SWT, UK)	They are forgotten spaces between houses-outdated play spaces / underused

What do I want as input from partners?

- How to kick start?
- Sparking action- where capacity is lacking?
- How can formal or informal public plans support temporary or spontaneous uses / structures?
- How can the process of getting permit for temporary uses be easened?
- Methods for community participation
- How can you facilitate and maintain local involvement and ownership?
- Examples of community garden activities that will increase attraction of project
- How did partners select pilots, what came first-pilot or site?
- Procurement issues and EU Regulations compliance
- Innovative community engagement techniques
- How can land owners be persuaded to think about re-use?
- Policy and planning instruments?
- Is there a possible trade-off between the short time temporal use and the long term use / destination of the site?
- Is there a polarization between desired and expected use of the site?
- How do you define "success"/ result?
- How to create a positive business models?
- Added value of the experiences in pilots?
- Win-win solutions: create multi-functional solutions.
- Alternative land use- can we do something else with some areas?
- What is the marketing factor the pilot? "P for promotion", price
- How does temporary use models the ways of classical planning?
- Expectations-Planning permission
- Sector, re-use, new programmes
- How to distinguish between desirable-undesirable temporary use?

COMMON ISSUES SUBJECT TO WORK TOGETHER

1. Law and Policy

- Rules, functions and legal possibilities of the public administrations
- Local, regional and national governance aspects- important to upscale temporary uses
- Financial autonomy and power of cities, regions and public companies
- Ways of co-operation with private actors, developer, financial institutes, housing companies, energy –suppliers and producers, public transport.
- How to secure temporary solutions long term regarding to personal links, politicians leaving their post, new leadership in local atmospheres.
- How to comply with EU rules on state support?
- Does temporary use need to be regulated by law?
- If regulations relating to ed. Health & Safety can be relaxed (or should it not) when planning, designing for temporary uses?

2. People and Partnerships (Capacity & Buy in issues)

- Create a culture of encouraging / accepting good ideas from the comminity
- How do you convience land owners
- Who is involved? Depend on the short / long term use, who do you invite then?
- How to create sustainable platforms / networks to take the development further when we are not there anymore?
- Maintenance issues
- How to cater for conflicting interests among stakeholders?
- How to convenience stakeholders to invest without clear outcome on the long term?
- How to develop and maintain public-private partnership?
- How to target different groups? eg children, elderly, migrants, local businesses, hard to reach groups
- How to motivate people to come imaginative ideas?
- How to fill the gap between bottom-up and top-down?

3. Time (Short and Long Term Sustainability)

- How to weigh short term income against long term?
- How to transform temporary into permanent?
- How to maintain heritage (industrial / social)?
- How to secure sustainability (Financial-social-political?)
- How to maintain buy-in?
- Achieve a "clean end" to project.
- Defining "success moments' over time
- What are the criterias of success for temporary use?
- How long is temporary for this project? (relates to purpose)
- Is there a possible trade-off (negative effects on long term destination) between short and long tern destination?

4. Place Issues (Scale-Context-History)

- Scale? Part of a larger plan or a single unit?
- Rural-Urban-Harbour-Site-Industrial-Public site?
- Context? Social, political, historical
- Strategic goal: eg: Long term-large strategical reservations for flood risk management
- Management? Public / private / accessible for all
- Are there any places temporary solutions can't be used? Or is there always an idea?
- Does a temporary solution always have to fit / have purpose
- Ownership? Legal, psychological, financial
- Problem / potential? Topography, flood risk, pollution, noise

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