



Building Bigger, Better and Bolder?

Learning from city development in the United States

Final Thesis Paper
Ria van Dijk

Master City Development 6

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Foreword

This final thesis paper is the capstone of my study Master City Developer (MCD) at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam and the Technical University of Delft.

The MCD for me was much more than just doing another master. It was a period of inspiration, personal development and reflection on my work. I was part of MCD6 and I was happy to learn as much from my peers, as from the MCD staff. Our Crailo-group had great discussions and strategies and we all learned a lot from doing our papers. Thanks for the cooperation Marty, Mark, Martijn, Merel, Roel, David en Esther!

I'd like to thank everyone else who contributed in any way to my MCD study, as well inspirationally, socially, enthusiastically, with moral support as with professional knowledge. Especially I want to thank my spouse Rosa, because she always believed in me and in a good result for this final paper. She also had the patience to live with me while I couldn't be there as much as I wanted because I had to work another evening, another night or another weekend on an exam, finishing a paper or work on this final thesis paper.

Family and friends I'd like to thank, because they had to miss my company quite a bit the last two years and patiently waited until I have some spare time again.

Kim, Astrid, Cynthia, Bob and Julia thanks for all your help and advice. Mary deLaittre and Sean Walther thanks for helping me to connect to all the right people for the interviews. With your support everyone I wanted to interview agreed to that.

Furthermore I'd like to thank the MCD management and especially Jeroen for guiding us for two years. I thank my mentor Fred, who really believed in the subject of my research, which was very important to me. And Erwin, thanks for sharing your PHD-research with me. Stepping on your English-research shoulders helped me quite a bit and I hope my research is of help for your USA-part. Sometimes during this capstone I felt like being stranded into unexplored territory and the enthusiasm of Fred and Erwin inspired me to go on and find my way.

The city of Almere, my employer, gave me the opportunity to do this Master City Developer, and I like to thank them for this chance and trust in me.

My very special thanks go to the late Richard Stolzenburg, who inspired me to always keep an open mind and remain critical of what you see. I also am very grateful to his widow, Professor Julia Robinson, who introduced me to Minneapolis and the University of Minnesota. She had the generosity to have me stay at her house every time I came to visit the Twin Cities. I have found it extremely valuable to have made new friends in the Twin Cities, some of whom have become lifelong friends. Julia, Cynthia and Steve, thanks for the exiting conversations, the interest you showed in my work, the hospitality and especially for the feeling you gave me that I was very welcome in your city. Minneapolis has thus become my city as well.

Finally, I look back on the MCD-years with a lot of pleasure, but I am also very glad that with this report the final task is finished. That gives me time to start something new: building our dream house. The past year the house has gotten a beautiful shape but it still exists only on paper. Now it is time to roll up our sleeves and actually start building. It is time to put theory into practice. One is never too old to learn though, so I will keep my mind open and look with curiosity and confidence to the future.

July 2010

Ria van Dijk

Urban Planner at the City of Almere

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Figure 1: Map United States

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Predictions for urban area development in the Netherlands hold a reduced influence of both central government, allowing the free market more control over land development, and local government, due to reductions in funds for urban area development. Therefore more influence of the private sector in urban area development is to be expected. The United States, a country with one of the most extreme privatized development approaches, presents a great opportunity to learn from this kind of private dominated urban area development.

The reduction of government control in the Netherlands of the past decades is an ongoing process. De Jonge (2007) and De Zeeuw (2007) indicate that both Dutch society and urban area developments are shifting from a collective value to a more individual value and a more private sector-led approach. This sets a trend towards more private and less public arrangements. Heurkens (2010) argues that this will lead to a public-private power shift in Dutch urban area development. Because management strategies have not changed at the same pace, there is a need for a clear division of public-private domain in urban area development.

My personal fascination with the changing roles of public and private actors involved in urban area development in the Netherlands and my fascination with these roles in the US make that I agree with Heurkens that the new roles in the Netherlands are not yet adequately understood.

Therefore I chose for my final thesis, for the Master City Developer at Erasmus University Rotterdam and Technical University Delft, the comparison of urban area development in the United States and the Netherlands. I wondered what we in the Netherlands can learn from the US.

Spaans and Louw (2009) note that in development processes in cross-country comparisons, there are different levels of comparison to be classified:

- Inspiration
- Learning
- Transplantation

Due to the huge differences in legislation in the United States and the Netherlands I will concentrate on the first two. This paper will compare Dutch and US urban area development and I will draw lessons for the Netherlands.

1.2. Research

1.2.1. Research Question

The objective of this thesis is to provide insight into American urban area development and to recommend lessons for the Netherlands.

The central research question of this thesis is:

“What are the roles of the public and private parties in urban area development in the US, and what are the implications for both the product and the process of urban area development?”

This central question is split into multiple sub questions:

- How do public and private parties manage urban area development in the US?
- Which instruments do they steer with and are those instruments also applicable in private sector led developments in the Netherlands?
- What can we in the Netherlands learn from a privatized development approach?

The focal point of the research is on the roles of the public and private parties in development in the US. The following variables are the main focus of this analysis of the roles:

- Tasks,
- Responsibilities,
- Risk sharing,
- Management options,
- Effects on process,
- Effects on product.

1.2.2. Research Method

The research method consists of:

- Literature study,
- Two US Case studies,
- Interviews with professionals about general US planning,
- Interviews with American students (Landscape architecture and Architecture) and professionals (Urban planning, Architecture and Landscape architecture) who have visited the Netherlands professionally for more than three weeks.

Through literature study and interviews the different (and differences in) systems and culture of urban area development in the US and the Netherlands were researched. Because the US system differs greatly from state to state, I researched one state. The findings of the literature study, interviews and both case studies were then compared with the Dutch planning system. The distinct differences are pointed out in the Conclusions and Recommendations.

The differences in practice were researched, based on two case studies. The two projects were selected by having exploratory interviews to see which sites would meet the criteria set. The focus was set on urban area development with a mixed program (in Dutch terms: gebiedsontwikkeling). The two cases were then analyzed by identifying the key players, analyzed further by having interviews with these key players, observations and document analysis.

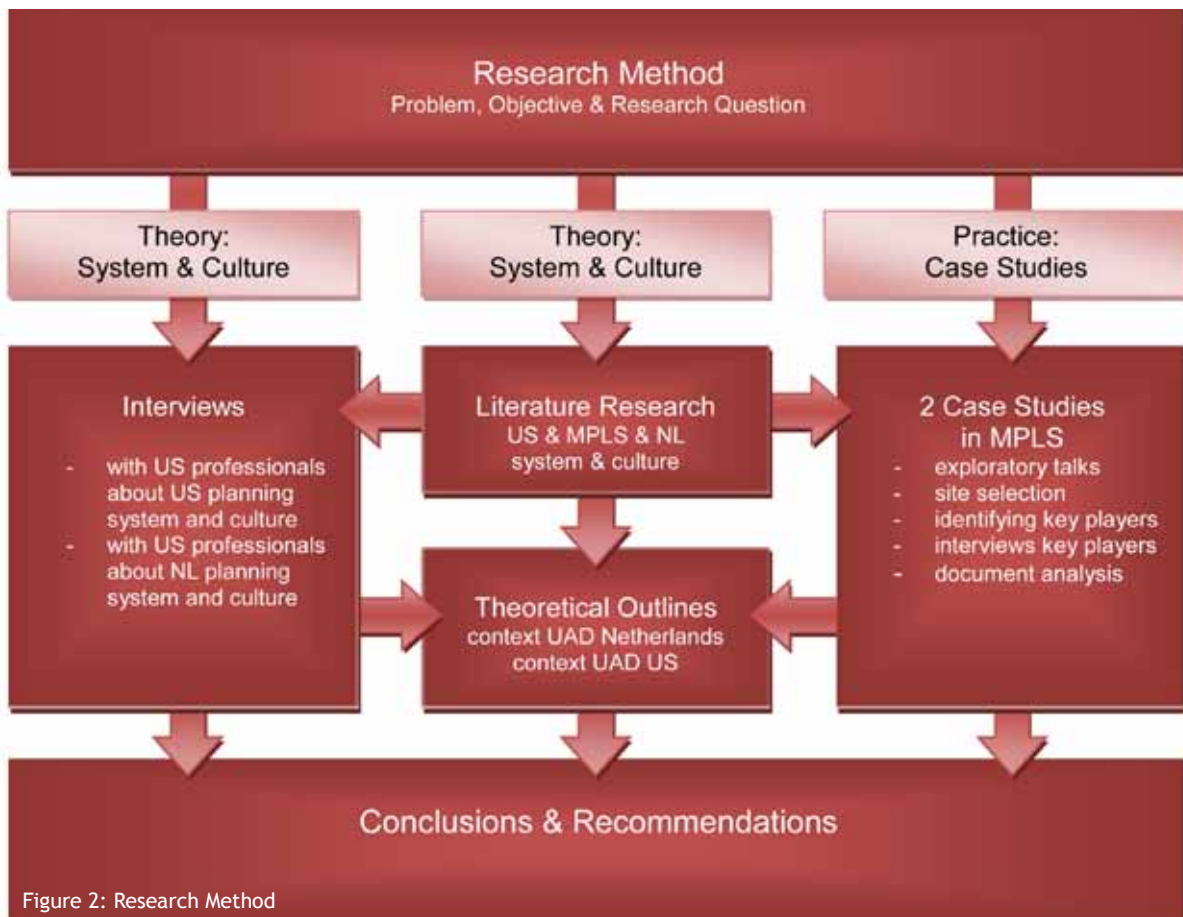


Figure 2: Research Method

MPLS = Minneapolis NL = the Netherlands UAD = urban area development US = United States

Geographically, a practical definition was needed for finding the two case studies. Because the system differs so much from state to state in the US, there was no clear objective choice possible.

To be able to make a good comparison, I needed a representative state. Not too liberal like the west coast (Oregon, Washington) or the east coast (Massachusetts, New Jersey), but also not too conservative, like Texas where for instance Houston does not have a comprehensive zoning ordinance. But what we in the Netherlands often do not understand is the enormous differences between the states in the US. The differences in states compare best with the differences between countries in Europe. There are no two states the same; they all have a very different government structure, history, legislation, geography, population size and culture. Finding a truly representative state is therefore not an easy thing to do, if not impossible.

With that in mind I choose of the regions that met my criteria for not too liberal and not too conservative, the one in which I have the best connections. That way I was able to put my effort into researching and processing the information, instead of searching for it. The state in which I have the best connections is Minnesota. Besides my good connections, Minnesota has also multiple scientific resources available where I could search for information and test my findings: the University of Minnesota, with the departments of “Planning”, “Architecture” and “Landscape architecture”, and the research institute “Metropolitan Design Center”. The choice for Minnesota therefore is a combination of theoretical and practical motives.



Within the State of Minnesota there is only one metropolitan area, which holds over 60% of the state’s population. Minneapolis is the largest city within that metropolitan area, and that is where I started my search for two cases that would meet my criteria.

1.3. Theory

Since there is little research about the comparison between urban area development in the Netherlands and the United States I had to go back to the basics of urban area development to be able to make comparisons.

One of the most basic theories about the urban area development process are the different phases of the development process:

- Initiative,
- Plan development and feasibility,
- Realization,
- Maintenance,
- Redevelopment.

This theory helps explain some of the basic difference in the Dutch and US planning system.

The triangle of Van ‘t Verlaat (2003) with the theory of organizing capacity also gives good insight into development processes in the United States.

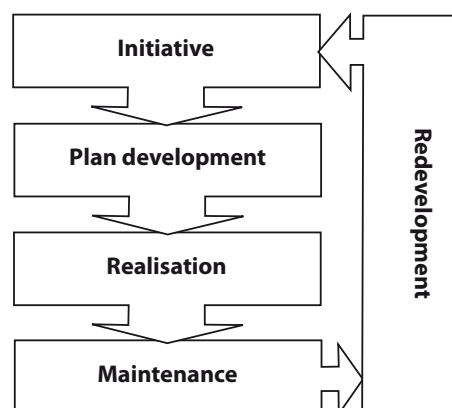


Figure 4: Phases Urban Area Development

Spatial Quality in this theory is a combination of the value of quality you experience, value of quality of use and value of future-proof quality. Spatial Quality is primarily design driven.

Market Quality is quality based on wishes of the users and related to the future use of the development.

Resources in urban area development are mainly money and (ownership of) land. Other resources can be labor, knowledge and other natural resources.

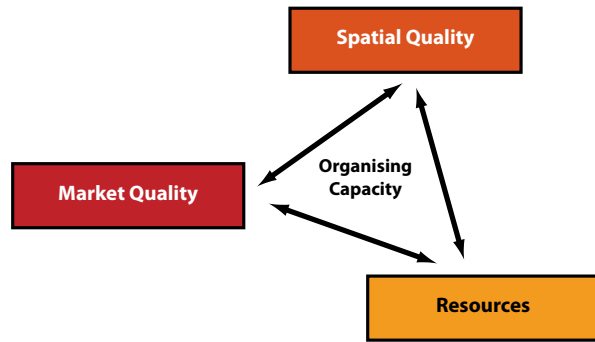


Figure 5: Triangle of Optimisation of the three Corners

Also important in the theory of Dutch urban area development is the difference between single and mixed use. Urban area developments are by definition developments of a defined area with mixed use and have an integral approach. In interviews I sensed that the phrase “integral approach” caused some confusion. Integral approach in urban area development is the opposite of a single discipline and issue approach; it is a cross-discipline multiple issue approach. When in this paper the phrase “integral approach” is used, it refers to this cross-discipline multiple issue approach.

Some other definitions that need to be provided here so this paper can be understood correctly are the following:

- **Public Private Partnership** = a joint public and private cooperation, in which every actor retains its own identity and responsibility, to realize a project with a clear role and risk division for each actor. (source: Wolting, 2008)
- **Effectiveness** = the degree to which intended objectives are met.
- **Efficiency** = the extent to which time is well used for the intended task.
- **Spatial quality** = the degree to which a spatial plan contributes value to the actor’s interests. (All three source: Heurkens, 1020)
- **Ad hoc** generally signifies a solution designed for a specific problem or task, non-generalizable, and which cannot be adapted to other purposes. (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ad_hoc)
- **Consensus** = a widely accepted agreement on a specific subject, which means one agrees that this solution is the best of all, given the circumstances. (Almost) everyone finds this solution acceptable, which does not mean everyone totally agrees with it. (Source: <http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Consensus>)

Also Auclair and Jackohango (2009) define good urban governance as the sum of the many ways civil society, public and private actors plan and manage the common affairs of the city. Their scheme presents the essence of this theory.

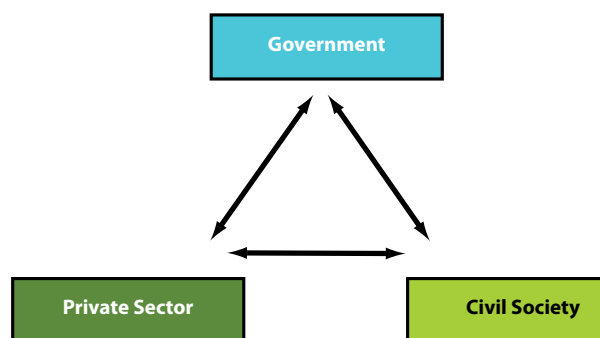


Figure 6: Triangle of Good Urban Governance

In US literature there is an interesting document on the civil society part of the Auclair and Jackohango (2009) theory; citizen’s participation. Arnstein (1969) explains in this article the “Ladder of Participation” and gives some interesting US examples. The ladder is easy to perceive: there are eight levels of participation according to Arnstein and they compare to the rungs of a ladder. The bottom two rungs (1.Manipulation and 2.Therapy) are a form of non-communication. The next three levels (3. Informing, 4.Consulting and 5.Placation) are a more symbolic way of involving citizens, called tokenism. And the top three levels (6.Partnership, 7.Delegating Power and 8.Citizen Control) are actual participation tools

and they give Citizen Power. I will compare Minneapolis Citizens participation and the standard Dutch approach.

Furthermore I use multiple theories of Heurkens (2010). The first one is the scheme of the “Type of Collaboration-model” (Peek, 2010 in Heurkens 2010). Second is the diagram of the “Relationship between Types of Development Process & Types of Management” (Heurkens, 2010).

In the Netherlands we have five different models on public private partnerships:

- “Traditional Model” (Public Sector Controlled)
- “Building Claim Model” (Public Sector Led)
- “Joint Venture Model” (Public-Private Sector Led)
- “Concession Model” (Private Sector Led)
- “Self-Realization Model” (Private Sector Controlled)

The middle three are the most common partnerships in the Netherlands. The difference in partnerships is based on the differences in Resources (land ownership and financing), Activities (management control) and Instruments (zoning and land use plans, etc.). The third diagram of Heurkens (2010); “Typology of Public & Private Relationship & Management in the development Process” explains this clearly.

In this paper I use the term Urban Area Development for the Dutch term “gebiedsontwikkeling” since City Development in the Unites States is an offspring of the City Beautiful Movement and is more narrowly defined than the intended Dutch “gebiedsontwikkeling”. Urban Area Development is more neutral and has the same meaning as “gebiedsontwikkeling”.

Literature on cultural and planning aspects will be discussed later in this paper at the various subjects.

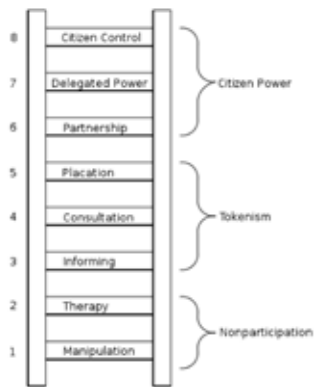


Figure 7: Ladder of Participation

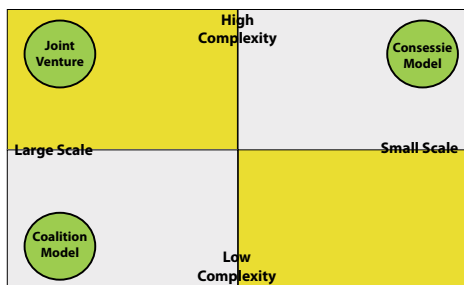


Figure 8: Type of Collaboration- Model

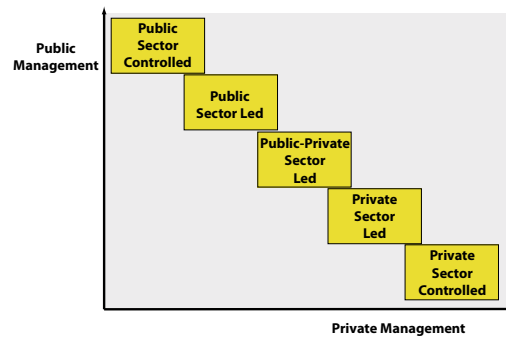


Figure 9: Relationship between Types of Development Process & Types of Management

		Type of Management Possibilities		
		Resources	Activities	Instruments
Type of Development Process	Public Sector Controlled	Public	Public	Public
	Public Sector Led	Public & Private	Public & Private	Public
	Public-Private Sector Led	Public & Private	Public & Private	Public & Private
	Private Sector Led	Private	Public & Private	Public & Private
	Private Sector Controlled	Private	Private	Private

Figure 10: Typology of Public & Private Relationship & Management in the development Process

2. Urban Development in the Netherlands

2.1. Urban Area Development in the Netherlands

“In recent years American views on several areas of society have become more and more dominant in Dutch society and they are more than in the past part of the mainstream way of thinking”. (Brouwer and Moerman, 2009)

“Meanwhile the (too) unilateral Anglo-Saxon approach has led to much instability: boundaries are surpassed and excesses have occurred that demand major adjustment. It seems that we are on the verge of a turning point and we are searching for a new balance.” (Goodijk, 2007)

These two quotes about Dutch society also characterize urban area planning. While Dutch planning has been the domain of the public side since the Second World War the change is very apparent. Since the 1980s there is an Anglo Saxon western wind in the Netherlands (Heurkens, 2008), that has led to the privatization of government parts, such as Dutch Railways and energy suppliers, and governmental retrenchments.

Through this ongoing reduction of government control in the past decades in the Netherlands the private sector has also gained ground in urban area development. And an even more increased influence of private actors in urban area development is expected since the future perspective is an even further retreating central government and local governments with less money available for urban area development. This “forward integration of the market” (De Zeeuw, 2007) has not changed the approach of the public side in urban area developments in the same pace.

Heurkens (2010) argues that this has resulted in an unclear perception of the public and private sector roles in spatial planning and development practice. Hence public actors still focus on an active participation in development processes (bringing sometimes financial risks within the public domain) and the extensive use of management instruments (e.g. legislation), although private actors have become increasingly involved in the early stages of projects, through taking initiatives

Both the private and public sector in the Netherlands are searching for their new role in Public Private Partnerships (PPP). The Dutch “Concession Model” (Private Sector Led partnership model) has limited applicability in the Netherlands because it demands a stricter role division between public and private actors and therefore a change in attitude from the public side. The Dutch “Joint Venture Model” (Public-Private Sector Led partnership model) meets many problems regarding the EU legislation. In this sense it is also time for a new balance in the roles of public and private actors in Public-Private Partnerships.

Regarding culture in the Netherlands there is potential for a relatively balanced situation between public and private actors in urban area development. The central and local governments have a firm control over all legal instruments in spatial planning and therefore have full control over all programs and locations; they control “what can be build where”. This is not likely to change radically. With the increased influence of private actors there will be a counterweight to this public domination. In the future, when local governments have less money to spend on urban developments, ownership of land will become a private dominated business. Thus the ownership of the land is located predominantly with the private actors, while the legal tools that are needed to develop land are controlled by the (local) government. One will not be able to develop without the other.

2.2. Context - Culture

The Rhineland culture has been studied and compared with the Anglo-Saxon culture quite a bit. Literature shows that the main characteristics and differences from an economical and

urban area development perspective are:

	Anglo-Saxon culture	Rhineland culture
Economy	Free market	Market regulated
Relation priorities	Legal - Organizational - Relational	Organizational - relational - Legal
Legislation	Case or Common Law	Civil Law
Leadership and individual skills	Trust on hierarchical relations	Trust on self-reliance employees
Management core values	Planning & Control	Strategy & Flexibility
Decision making	Negotiation (gaming)	Consensus (debating)
Role and influence public sector	Less apparent/accepted	Very apparent/accepted
Role and influence private sector	Very apparent	Apparent

Figure 11 (Source: Heurkens, 2008)

The most significant difference between Anglo Saxon and Rhineland culture is the role of the state and the market. *“In the Anglo Saxon variant the role of the government is less prominent than the one in the Rhineland variant. Anglo Saxon countries are driven by free market mechanisms with as little as possible government interference, while the European countries regulate market mechanisms with possible state interventions, which seem to have less devastating effects on the economy as the uncontrolled American current mortgage and credit crisis unmistakably shows us.”* (Heurkens, 2008).

In discussions with several American professionals and students, who were visiting the Netherlands for a few weeks, some additional interesting differences were observed. The degree of design in the Netherlands is really standing out. Design is in every inch of Dutch life, we designed our whole landscape. The level of control over the landscape is very high in the Netherlands and so is the level of engineering that goes with it. Professionals play a large role and get respect.

Design is also a central cultural value in development processes. Designers guide the process in the different governments, with developer’s organizations and in design offices. Resulting from this is the integral approach. Cross-discipline interaction is very common in the Netherlands as is planning for the future. This is probably because we do not only want to have dry feet today, but also tomorrow.

As a result of this high level of spatial and social engineering, the Netherlands is a very efficient and orderly country. This is not only from a spatial view, but in all senses. There is a well organized and fairly efficient central government, trains run in time, if you have difficulty participating in society there are many ways you will be looked after, etc.

In spite of the ongoing changes the Netherlands is still a society where the group is still more important than the individual. This social attitude, this sense of collectiveness is an accepted way of life. Although culture is getting more towards individuality, it is still seen as an asset that decisions are made for the good of the people.

One of the most prominent Dutch features is consensus. Emerged from dealing with water this contrasts sharply with the American hierarchical approach. On other areas consensus has the side effect of leveling everything. Dutch culture has a lot of “middle of the road”, and not so much extremes. Standing out is usually not considered a good thing. This effect has nestled itself in every pore of Dutch society.

With the American hierarchical culture comes respect for authorities. That is one other very apparent feature in Dutch culture; there is not much respect for authority. In the Netherlands you can argue with a police officer about a fine he is giving you. In American culture you do not want to do that. The term “gedoogbeleid” is one of the results of this lack of respect for hierarchy. Last, we do not handle the concept nature very well in the Netherlands, although we have turned managing water into an art.

2.3. Role of Public Sector

The Dutch government is a centralized government and orderly structured into three main levels: Federal government, Provincial government and Cities and townships.

All the federal, provincial and city boundaries match with each other and there is the principle of breaking down tasks to lower governments. The only government bodies that do not match this orderly arrangement are the watersheds. Water seeks its own path, and the watershed boundaries match those paths. Through this organization principle and the breaking down of tasks, there is a limited number of public bodies involved in a new development or in a redevelopment.

In the Netherlands the law requires urban planners, architects and landscape architects to have an official degree in design and planning. Urban planners work in spatial planning for federal and city governments and oversee the planning process. Also developers will hire them, to be able to communicate effectively with government officials.

Although the Netherlands had a long history of entrepreneurship before the twentieth century, planning in the Netherlands has been dominated by the public sector since the Second World War. But where it used to be quantity dominated (supply driven) because of a physical shortage in housing, it has shifted in recent years to quality dominated (demand driven).

In urban area developments city governments are almost always involved. This is due to the fact that cities have the public task to regulate the zoning and land use ordinances. Although cities are clearly a public body they can be (and often are!) privately involved in urban area development as a land owner, or with an active land policy, thereby bringing financial risks within the public domain. In many cases the management role of the development process lies with the city. If a site is situated in more than one city, more cities will be involved in the urban area development.

Also the provinces and the federal government can be involved in the development process. If the federal government participates, it usually participates as land owner, by means of the departments Domains, State Forest, Water and the department of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality, or as a supplier of grants.

Since recent years provinces also have the power to make zoning and land use plans, like cities have. In exceptional cases they make use of this tool. Usually when there is a dispute between cities or a large nature reserve is involved.

In the urban area development process communication with citizens is a joint affair, but is usually coordinated by the local government. In the Netherlands informing and consulting are the most used instruments in citizen participation. Part of the legislation is that structure plans, zoning plans and requests for building permits have to be published in a local paper. There will be a procedure of several weeks in which someone can object to these plans.

2.4. Role of Private Sector

Private actors play an increasing role in urban area development. They develop projects at a risk bases and usually focus on real estate development. Private actors often have ownership of land in the urban area developments they participate in. Many developers have a specialty, there are retail developers, housing developers and office developers.

In the private sector developers have very different backgrounds. Some developers emerged from a contractor, while others are part of an investor or a bank. Housing corporations are non-profit developers, which have the task to build affordable housing, but they are not restricted to solely affordable housing. Most of them used to be part of a local government and were privatized in the mid 1990s.



Figure 13: Plattegrond Philadelphia 1777 (Source: Hayes, 2007)



Figure 14: Jeffersonian grid (source: <http://maps.google.nl/maps?hl=nl&tab=wl>)

3. Urban Development in the United States

3.1. Context - Culture

3.1.1. General Culture

The Anglo-Saxon culture has been studied intensively. Literature shows that the main characteristics from an economical and urban area development perspective are:

	Anglo-Saxon culture	Rhinelander culture
Economy	Free market	Market regulated
Relation priorities	Legal - Organizational - Relational	Organizational - relational - Legal
Legislation	Case or Common Law	Civil Law
Leadership and individual skills	Trust on hierarchical relations	Trust on self-reliance employees
Management core values	Planning & Control	Strategy & Flexibility
Decision making	Negotiation (gaming)	Consensus (debating)
Role and influence public sector	Less apparent/accepted	Very apparent/accepted
Role and influence private sector	Very apparent	Apparent

Figure 12 (Source: Heurkens, 2008)

In a broader cultural and planning perspective there are more differences. One theory that explains the fundamentally different attitude of Americans from Europeans towards freedom and government very well is based on religion. Knippenberg (2009) argues that the colonists, who first settled in North America, created a new haven of protestant refugees. Their influence on the creation of the new society was overwhelming and caused the deep distrust of the government. The government structure was organized in a way that it did not safeguard the nation of religion, but safeguarded religion from the nation... and that was exactly the intention. This added also to the American creed of the individual human being. The American dream still is to be an individual who can achieve a better, richer, and happier life. The promise of prosperity and success is still an essence of American life.

In discussions with American professionals and students in the Netherlands about the differences between the two cultures a few interesting topic were raised. For instance, the above described difference in political structure also has an effect on which decisions are made. The American culture is very money driven by the motto of free enterprise. Profit does not come in any other means than money, while in the Netherlands profit can also be social gain, cultural gain or extra quality. Especially political-based-power seems to be money driven in the US.

The high degree of individuality in the US results in more freedom of expression. We are so used to live close together in the Netherlands that we tend to express ourselves less. This is in housing, in clothing, in everything basically. Putting your head above ground level is not done: we level everything. Just act normal: that is crazy enough. The Americans value the opposite; the right to express themselves. The freedom of speech is just one example of it.

Individuality also contributes to the American network society. Networks are based mostly on friends and colleagues and less on family. Friends you choose family you have. Freedom and the scale of the continent make a locally based network more important than family on the other side of the country.

Cross-discipline interaction is not common in the US, there is a much more single-issue approach. And there is not much respect for professionals in the land of the self-made-man.

In contrast of the Netherlands there is land in abundance and still a lot of natural landscapes left. The American life is much more integrated with nature and landscape than the Dutch one except for water, which is the only part of the landscape we are more familiar with.

3.1.2. Planning Culture

Grid Patterns

United States planning goes back almost 450 years to the moment the first European settlers set foot on the American continent. All colonial settlements were strongly influenced by European planning traditions of ideal cities, new towns, baroque avenues and squares, garden and park design and architectural principles (Reps, 1965).

Most of the colonizing countries had laws on how to found a new settlement, which were based on the rectangular patterns of the new towns and ideal cities in Europe. And even if they did not have a strict law how to build new villages and cities, like the Spanish, it was most practical when there was no parceling there yet to divide land into regular and equal parcels.

The first wave of settlers hit the Atlantic shores of America and founded cities like New Amsterdam, Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans and Pensacola. These cities were small and primarily based on agriculture. After more than a hundred years the need for more land and towns grew as more settlers from Europe came and speculation in urban land became popular. A few land companies were created which bought more than 1 million acres (405.000 ha) of land. To prevent further land speculations king George III of England banned land purchases beyond the Appalachian Mountains, proclaiming this was land for the Native Indians to live.

During the American War of Independence (the American Revolution) the Continental Congress (the governing body of the original thirteen colonies of the United States) passed the Land Ordinance of 1785 to control the survey, sale, and settling of the land beyond the Appalachian Mountains. This Public Land Survey System is also known as the Jeffersonian grid, since Thomas Jefferson came up with the proposal. At that time the United States had an enormous debt due to the War of Independence and Jefferson invented the plan to fill the Treasury by selling the land west of the Ohio River for a minimum of \$ 1 an acre (Levy, 2009 and Linklater, 2002). But before it could be sold, the land had to be measured out and mapped.

“Among America’s most beautiful landscapes, seen from the air, are the circle-in-square patterns created by Thomas Jefferson’s square-mile grid and modern center-pivot irrigation circles.” (Earl, 2009, in: <http://agsci.oregonstate.edu/aaa/displayart.php?ID=438>). The grid



Figure 15: Jeffersonian grid with irrigation circles (source: oogle.nl/maps?hl=nl&tab=wl)

was set on 1 mile by 1 mile squares, equaling 640 acres (1,6 by 1,6 km, equaling 260 ha), and an area of 6 sections by 6 sections would define a township (9,6 by 9,6 km, equaling 9300 ha). The survey and land selling took some time (the last surveys were in the 1930s), but eventually the grid ended up all the way at the Pacific coast covering almost the whole United States with the grid. In the end 1.8 billion acres (750 million ha) had been surveyed, of which more than one billion (400 million ha) was sold to individual landowners and only 7 million (3 million ha) are still (or have been returned to) in federal ownership (Nature Reserves, Indian Reservations, etc).

Because of the land covering square-mile grid for agricultural and urban land, planning in the United States is not so much about structure; it's about the infill. This combined with the economic mindset of Americans, makes US planning not so much a spatial issue, but an economical one.

Planning profession

Reps (1965) states that until the beginning of the twentieth century planning in the US was mostly two dimensional, it was about the size of lots, with of the streets and patterns of open spaces. The vertical element came only when the urbanization boom occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century, along with the rise of the car. Planning became more than just street layouts. Zoning and comprehensive planning made their entry and the profession of planning was born. The first national planning Conference was held in 1909, and planners found their place among architects and landscape architects.

In the next hundred years planning has evolved into a few different types of planners. According to Bayer (2010) the different types of planning are:

- Urban Design; consist mostly of design of urban spaces, parks and streetscapes. It is actual designing in an urban context , but on a low scale with at maximum a few building blocks,
- Land Use Planning; is about mapping out major areas of different uses, like shopping centers, housing and factories and making local ordinances of zoning. This seems to be consistent with the Dutch profession of “planoloog”,
- Policy Planning; is especially used at the level of the federal government. These planners contribute to making policies to meet the needs for jobs, housing, poverty, energy, climate change, etc,
- Transportation Planning; compares with the Dutch “verkeersontwerpers”. This is done by traffic engineers, who technically design roads and other infrastructure for vehicle speeds and things like that,
- Other Specialized Planners; like Economic Development Planners which translates into the Dutch “Beleidsmedewerker Economische zaken”, Housing Development Planners, Dutch “Beleidsmedewerker Wonen”, etc.

As this survey shows, the US term of “urban planner” is not an integrating discipline and does not match with the Dutch term of “stedenbouwkundige”. As a planner in the US you can combine two or three different types of planning, but usually not more. In the Netherlands you have some specialists, but each urban planner is much more trained and equipped for the whole range. Design is an issue at all levels, and in every detail. In the US the design part is not so much an issue for an urban planner. It's more about allowing growth or restricting it, than about shaping it.

Also the litigation (the principal of suing and not seeking for other solutions) in the US (planning) culture does not contribute to a healthy design approach of urban developments. For instance, roads are not designed by landscape architects anymore but solely by traffic engineers. These engineers will follow the technical guidelines to the letter to minimize the chances of accidents and lawsuits. This adds up to the fact that planning in the US is not about design and spaces. Spatial planning is already much more about economics than it is spatial, but it is also much more about technical issues like transportation (vehicle speed and capacity), sewer (capacity), than we in the Netherlands perceive.

Another very important difference with the Netherlands is the professionalization of the actors involved in planning. In the United States, many people involved in planning do not have a planning education, but have a business background. The Dutch profession of “stedebouwkundige” is, similar to the profession of architect, a protected profession. Without an official degree in urban planning you cannot work as an urban planner. In the Netherlands professional urban planners are therefore hired by federal and city governments and oversee the planning process. Also developers must hire professional urban planning expertise to be able to communicate effectively with the government officials. In the US it is extremely unusual for a developer to hire urban planners and it is also very unusual for urban planners to play any important role in government decision-making.

Partly because of this lack of professionalism there is little foresight in developing and planning. The other factor that contributes strongly to this matter is the fact that comprehensive plans are more engaged in keeping up with occurring events and capacity than dealing with a long-term horizon (see also paragraph 3.2.2.) The result of this all is that instead of having vision and foresight, planning in the US is very ad hoc and short term based.

3.2. Urban Planning System: United States

3.2.1. General

The governmental system in the US was intentionally designed to prevent centralization, and as a result of that almost no central control exists in urban planning. Levy (2009) identified two additional reasons why planning in the US is mostly a local matter. The first is ideology, a national plan sounds in America too much like socialism, and that is historically seen not a welcome sound in the US. Second the size of the United States, being 3.7 million square miles (9.6 million square km; equaling 230 times the size of the Netherlands), makes engagement in national planning a very challenging task. Planning, and especially land use planning, is therefore mostly a local matter.

United States	The Netherlands
Land use planning	Spatial planning
Development-led	Plan-led
Development control	Balanced government & developer control
Single issue approach	Integral approach
Community involvement	Key stakeholders
High involvement citizens	Low involvement citizens
Political oriented	Policy oriented

Figure 16 Planning differences US and the Netherlands

Cullingworth and Caves (2009) point out that when planning is predominantly a local matter this means that there is a great variety in the ways in which planning is carried out. There are areas where there is virtually no planning at all: land owners are free to build where and what they wish (especially in rural areas with little development). Only a few regulations exist in those cases. On the other extreme end there are areas where there is a highly sophisticated planning machine, usually urbanized places, which controls the location, character, quality and design of the development.

An important side effect of this strongly decentralized system is that not only is there no overall planning system, there is also no overall planning legislation. This means that every state, metropolitan planning organization, county and city needs to make their own legislation for every detail.

In general the US planning system has some different characteristics than the Dutch planning system. The table indicates the main differences, partly based upon findings from Heurkens

(2010) unpublished PHD work on changes of the UK planning system. Other literature confirms these findings (Collingworth 2009, Levy 2009, Elliott 2008, Hannemann 2008). Land use planning in the US (see also paragraph 3.2.2.) is very much oriented on property protection in the here and now, while Dutch spatial planning is oriented on the spatial and economical future.

Cullingworth and Caves (2009) also state that there are three features that stand out in US planning compared with other countries. One is the limited amount of discretion which is allowed by the constitution to local governments. The Bill of Rights guarantees that individuals are to be free from arbitrary government decisions; everybody should be treated equal. This is a major constraint on US planning, since every decision needs to be totally objective and coherent with former cases and decisions. Similar cases cannot be treated differently. This effect is enlarged by the fact that in the United States a plan is typically prepared by the legislative body of the local government and administered by a separate board, because policy making and policy applying are seen as two different responsibilities that cannot be closely related. And the third feature is the domination of land use planning by lawyers and the law. In this it resembles other areas of American public policy.

Instruments

Zoning plan

Zoning originates from the concern of homeowners for negative effects on property value. The protection of single family homes, or more specific the excluding of unwanted neighbors, is one of the major objectives of zoning and the most eminent reason why there is zoning in the United States.

“Zoning is the division of an area into zones within which uses are permitted as set out in the zoning ordinance. The ordinance also details the restrictions and conditions which apply in each zone. Types of restrictions found in a zoning ordinance typically include allowed uses, restrictions on height and size of structure, minimum lot size, and setbacks and yard size.” (Cullingworth and Caves, 2009: 92). Regulating land use is the most important part of zoning, since that is the tool with which you can exclude certain uses. A zoning plan can have more or less the same amount of control on what can be built as in a Dutch ‘bestemmingsplan’. This is usually not all used since the purpose of zoning is to protect existing property rights by reducing uncertainties and not to plan or define a future development.

Since zoning originates from property protection, it is largely a local matter and more based on quantity than on quality. And because it is a local matter it is unique for every city. Not every city in the US has a zoning ordinance, since the law only enables cities to engage in zoning and does not force them to do so. Houston is a well known example of a city without zoning ordinances.

The Standard State Zoning Enabling Act of 1924 was a model act which gave state legislators the possibility to grant local authorities the power to zone. Within a few years nearly every state had adopted this act or a slightly different version of it.

Nowadays there are a number of different types of zoning, because for more than eighty years every city has made its own adjustments. Elliott (2008) states that the main types are (also see page 16 for explanation of the terms):

- Euclidean zoning,
- Plan Unit developments,
- Performance zoning,
- Form-based zoning,
- Hybrid plans.

The main zoning types according to Elliott (2008)

- **Euclidean Zoning;** is named after the town of Euclid (Ohio), which won the first lawsuit over the legality of zoning in 1916, and thereby was able to zone before the Zoning Act. Euclidean zoning is the backbone of zoning and divides the city into a (limitless) number of zones for land use, for instance residential - single or multi-family, commercial, industrial, etc. Euclidean zoning allows for mixed use through “pyramid zoning”. Each less restrictive zone allowed all the uses from the more restrictive zones. For example; it is okay to put apartments in commercial area, but not okay to put shops in a residential area. Euclidean zoning also controls the mass of buildings by established imaginary boxes within which the building had to be built, because of access and light. The sides of the boxes are defined by distances that the building had to be set back from the front, rear and side of the lot, while the top of the box is the maximum height limit. Drawings of preferred or required building types can be added to the boxes. The zones are defined on a map and the rest is put in text. You can change the map without the text, and vice versa.
- **Plan Unit Developments;** are zones that are custom designed for one parcel of land, and on which the city and the owner have reached agreement on about the zoning rules. After a few decades, zoning was not only about zones and boxes anymore. More and more planners put other requirement qualities like parking, landscape, architecture, etc, into zoning plans. PUD’s are so small the city and the landowner can negotiate the zoning rules. Therefore PUD’s are as well part of the zoning ordinance as a legal contract between the city and the landowner.
- **Performance Zoning;** regulates land to require a performance, instead trying to guess what physically shape that it has to take. Performance zoning is especially used in addressing environmental issues, like noise, emissions, radiation, etc. The levels of these issues are quantified and stated to deal with instead of calculating the worst-case setbacks and other dimensions one would use with Euclidean zoning.
- **Form-based Zoning;** focuses more on the form of the development and less on the uses. Urban designers argued that good urban forms require more than just an imaginary box that a building has to fit in. They wanted some level of control over the architecture, to be able to have the building address the street and neighboring buildings. Second, the assumption of Euclidean zoning that all uses have to be separated and only incidentally mix, does not agree very well with mixed use areas. Form based zoning makes mixed use possible in zoning.
- **Hybrid Plans;** were the result of these four main types of zoning. The root of all zoning is Euclidean zoning, but all cities have a mix of these four zoning types. The mélange varies per city.

The most distinct different tools of zoning compared to the Netherlands:

- **Incentive Zoning;** offers bonuses to developers in exchange for various amenities. These bonuses are usually higher maximum height limit, building in higher density (and therefore more houses), etc. The amenities can be parks at ground level, open space, day care centers, entrance to mass transit, donations housing, etc. With incentive zoning it is difficult to ensure that every developer is treated equally and consistently. This type of zoning is also difficult to control.
- **Transfer of Development Rights;** go back to zoning and its relationship to property protection. Zoning does not only protect existing property, it also protects future property. Everything that the zoning plan says about your land that has not been build yet is seen as building rights. If in a zoning plan your land is marked “Single Family Residential”, you have the right to build housing there. These rights can be sold and transferred to other lots. The goal of TDR is to concentrate development in areas where it is wanted and to restrict it in areas where it is not wanted.

Although zoning is not a subtle tool and seems quite strict, it is always possible to request a variance on zoning in the US. Usually all the neighboring property owners are notified and there will be a public hearing held by the zoning officials at which anyone can speak

Zoning in the US has some different tools than we have in the Netherlands. The most distinct different ones are, Incentive Zoning and Transfer of Development Rights.

Comprehensive plan

At the beginning of the twentieth century after the urbanization boom and the problems that came along with that, like public health, infrastructure, electricity, sewers, etc, urban America began to see the need for local zoning regulations and growth plans. The Plan of Chicago was the first master plan for a US city which tried to shape the growth of the city. As usual good examples have a lot of followers and it had a large contribution in paving the way for a new law. Comprehensive planning was enabled shortly after the zoning act by the Standard City Planning Enabling Act of 1928.

A comprehensive plan, or a master plan, is supposed to create a vision for the future (ca. 20 years) of a community in terms of transportation, utilities, land use, recreation, and housing. It is designed to be a blueprint for the physical development and typically covers large geographical areas, and cover a long-term time horizon. This contrasts strongly with the interests of local governments and land owners and their property rights. A high degree of public command over land development is politically not really accepted in the US. *“American cities seldom make and never carry out comprehensive plans. Plan making is with us an idle exercise, for we neither agree upon the content of a ‘public interest’ that ought to override private ones nor permit the centralization of authority to carry out a plan into effect if one were made”*. (Banfield, 1961, in: Cullingworth and Caves, 2098: 78). In practice therefore most comprehensive plans are more engaged with keeping up with occurring events than with looking ahead and long-term horizons. In most cities a comprehensive plan is not even legally binding, meaning that it is not a legislative document, and officially nobody is required to act on this plan. This is one of the reasons why planning in the US is very ad hoc and short term based.

Another challenging aspect of comprehensive planning is that there is not a strong connection between comprehensive planning and zoning. Similar to the Zoning Act, the Planning Act was not a requirement. States could enable planning, but were not forced to do so. Even in states that officially require both zoning and comprehensive plans, the connection between the two is often weak. This means that the locally oriented zoning plans dominate the planning system in the US, since they appeal most to citizens and politicians. This contributes to the ad hoc and short term perspective of US planning.

The procedure for developing a comprehensive plan may vary per state, but usually follows a typical planning process which consists of the following eight steps:

1. Identifying issues,
2. Stating goals,
3. Collecting data,
4. Preparing the plan,
5. Creating implementation plans,
6. Evaluating alternatives,
7. Adopting a plan (and communicating with inhabitants),
8. Implementing and monitoring the plan.

Building permit

In all cities a building permit is required for new constructions or renovations. The building permit is a legal document issued by the city and quite similar to the Dutch “bouwvergunning”.

Eminent domain

The interpretation of the following part of the Fifth Amendment ‘nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation’, has been subject to change in the last decades. As Cullingworth and Caves (2009) notes this part was conservatively interpreted until the early 1950s, meaning that property which was taken had to be literally used by a public body. It could not be taken for a public-private venture or for a private use. Over the years the interpretation of ‘public use’ evolved to the concept that the city could assemble property in a slum area for a private redevelopment, whereby the upgrading the slum area would be the ‘public use’. Eventually it came to the point where the city could use eminent domain to acquire property for an economic development.

Because of the US Supreme Court ruling in *Kelo v. New London* in 2005, the term ‘public use’ has now been more narrowly defined. In this case it was officially established that economic development was indeed a just interpretation of the ‘public use’. This ruling sparked a nationwide debate and had the effect that several states restricted the power of eminent domain within their own state, since the *Kelo v. New London* decision also indicated that states could have their own additional legislation regarding eminent domain.

Politics

Planning in the US takes place in a highly political environment. Levy (2009) identifies six reasons why:

1. Planning involves issues in which citizens have a large emotional stake,
2. The results of planning decisions are often highly visible,
3. Planning questions are more accessible to citizens than those handled at the state or national level,
4. Citizens feel they have insight into planning questions and are not overly deferential to planners’ expertise,
5. Planning decisions often have large financial effects on property owners, and
6. Planning decisions may have significant effects on property tax rates (in the sense that various program differs in the impact it has on the cities Treasury).

Because of the fact that political system is organized by districts they are very close to the people in their community. This has also a downside, because each politician represents a specific district and the council decisions can be tracked down to each person. At every level you can track down your districts representing politician, so politicians have a lot more to explain to citizens than in the Netherlands, since they are much more individually responsible for the decisions made.

Citizen participation

The United States, as the land of the self-made man, has a long tradition of citizen’s participating in the diction making of public matters. The degree and nature of citizens participation varies widely, as with a lot of things each local government has its own approach. One of the things they have in common is that not only the individual citizens are addressed in the participation process but also a wide variety of citizen groups, like for instance neighborhood associations.

The range of participation is very clearly illustrated in the “Ladder of Participation” by Arnstein (1969).

There are local governments who consider the normal electoral process to be sufficient, but usually in the US citizens have some form of Citizen Power. The difficulty though, is

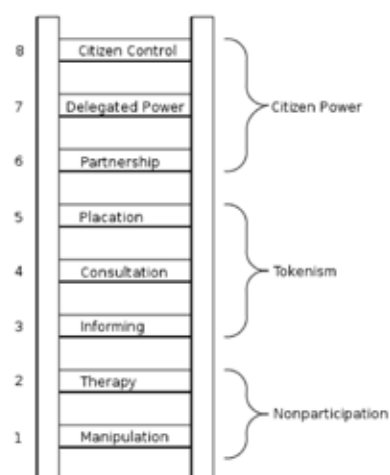


Figure 17: Ladder of Participation

that every city and every development will communicate differently. In the Netherlands we usually do not go beyond Informing and Consulting, but then again in the Netherlands we have a known and predictable system of informing, which means problems are likely to be addressed before a crisis occurs. In order to prevent a crisis in the US, there needs to be more intensive communication since the fragmentation of the system makes it less transparent

Adding to this need of more intensive communication is the fact that politicians represent a district and the council decisions can be tracked down to individual decisions. Because of that US politicians need to communicate a lot more than Dutch politicians.

Besides the official approach, usually there is also a whole informal approach. The planning officials will speak before the Rotary Club, the Chamber of Commerce and other groups, they will put up a website, pay visits to a community center, etc.

3.2.2. Role of Public Sector

“The United States may be one nation under God but, politically, it is fractured into a multitude of jurisdictions, states, counties, municipalities, school districts, election wards and more. While necessary for governance, taxation and administration of public services, these jurisdictions, for the most part, bear little relation to the distribution of population and economic activity across the landscape.” (Mark Solof, 1998).

The United States government is divided into different levels and branches. At the basis of the government there are three main levels of government:

- the Federal Government,
- the State Government and
- Local Governments.

These three levels of government have separate responsibilities and all consist of three separate branches, according to the Trias Politica: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. The responsibilities of each branch therefore differ, but no branch is given power over another. This is common in a lot of democracies.

Not so common is the degree of decentralization of the governmental system. Because of the American deep concern about the dangers of the government, the governmental system has been designed to prevent centralization. This reduces the efficiency of the government, which is exactly what was intended and this makes a lot of policies, including planning, fragmented and mainly a local matter.

The composition of the local governments can vary per state, but usually consists at least of Counties, Metropolitan Planning Organizations, Cities or other municipalities and Special tax districts (like for instance school and water districts). The biggest difference with the Netherlands is that there are many more local governments and they all are much more autonomous.

Income tax is the largest source of financing of federal government. This is similar in the Netherlands, where income tax and sales tax (Dutch: BTW) make up for the largest source of income of the federal government. The funding of the local governments is different from the Netherlands. In the Netherlands the federal government distributes part of their resources to the local governments and the local governments get an additional, smaller part of their sources through property tax (Dutch: OZB). In the United States each type of local government raises their own revenues and is thereby financed by its own unique mix of local, state and federal funds. Since financial responsibility and political autonomy are related, this also has an impact on the already large fragmentation of the planning system.

According to Orfield and Luce (Region, 2009) in the Minneapolis region, state and federal funds make up for almost 20% of the funds of cities, while property tax brings more than 40% of the

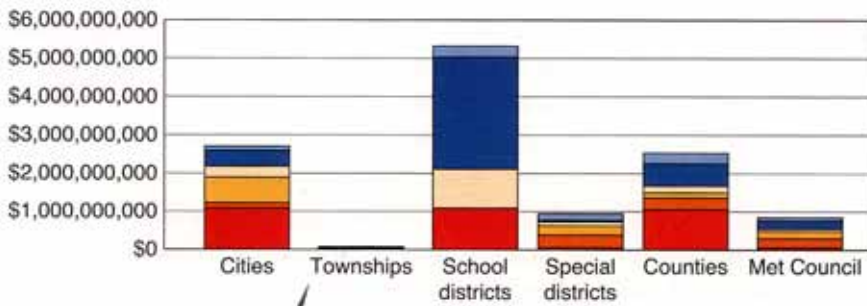


Figure 18: Revenue sources by Twin Cities local governments (Source: Orfield and Luce, 2010)

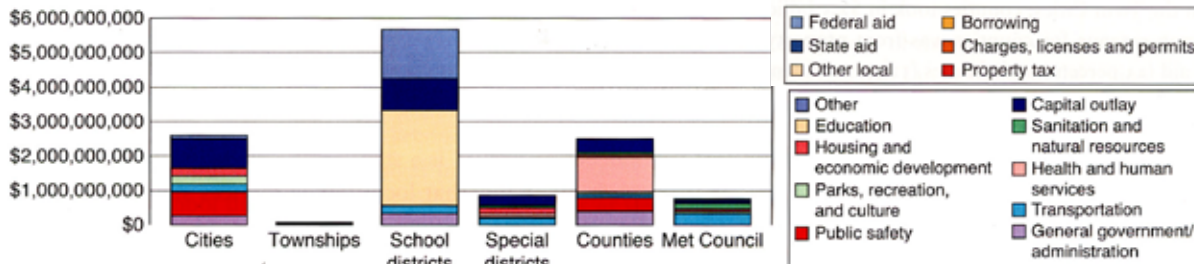


Figure 19: Expenditures by Twin Cities local governments (Source: Orfield and Luce, 2010)

yearly funds. For the counties in this region property tax also brings in 40% of the revenues and state and federal fund almost 30%. (also see figure 18).

There is money at the government levels, for instance the City of Minneapolis has a budget in 2010 of approximately \$ 1.28 billion, compared to the 2010 budget of the City of Almere (which is half the size of Minneapolis) with \$ 640 million (also half the size). There is budget, but this is just not prioritized for developments, because of the strong American believe that a government is there just to facilitate and not to initiate.

Because of the deliberate intent of the US to limit the role of the public governments in general, their role in planning is basically only reactive to private initiatives. The role of the local governments therefore is a regulatory one, which is mostly concerned with ensuring developments agree with legislation, a bureaucratic role of looking for errors and misinterpretations.

Cullingworth and Caves (2009) also note that the chronic shortage of resources, and the government's perpetual concern about the future costs of maintaining the public estate, leads it to try to secure the maximum amount of public benefit from developers. This is an extra strain on the already tense relationship between public and private actors, and often leads the private side to quote Margaret Thatcher (1976): "eventually you run out of other people's money".

Federal Government

The federal government itself has not been granted rights by the constitution to engage in comprehensive planning or land use planning. The federal government therefore has almost no role in planning, except for:

1. Federal legislation affecting planning,
2. Departments with impact on one aspect of planning,
3. Subsidies for lower governments for a single issue of planning.

Ad 1. Before the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was founded in 1965, there was no federal department primarily concerned with planning and therefore every department was engaged in planning. HUD has programs for grants and subsidies for programs to revitalize public housing, to ban discrimination in housing, to establish that low income families only pay no more than 25 percent of their income for rent, to help communities to deal with homelessness and to allow community development block grants.

Department of Housing and Urban Development:

Agencies

- Federal Housing Administration
- Federal Housing Finance Agency

Offices

- Center for Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships (HUD)
- Departmental Enforcement Center
- Office of Community Planning and Development
- Office of Congressional and Intergovernmental Relations
- Office of Equal Employment Opportunity
- Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity
- Office of Field Policy and Management
- Office of the General Counsel
- Office of Healthy Homes and Lead Hazard Control
- Office of Hearings and Appeals
- Office of Labor Relations
- Office of Policy Development and Research
- Office of Public Affairs
- Office of Public and Indian Housing
- Office of Small and Disadvantaged Business Utilization
- Office of Sustainable Housing and Communities

HUD has a annual budget of \$ 43.7 billion and approximately 10,000 employees.

Ad 2. *“Every time Treasury changes the Tax Code, every time the Defense Department awards a military contract, urban policy is being made”* (Donna Shalala, in Cullingworth and Caves 2009; 1).

Still other departments than HUD engage in planning, when their single issue policies have an spatial impact. For example, zoning was legislated by the United States Department of Commerce to protect economical value of property.

Ad 3. Also subsidies by other departments than HUD have impact on US planning. For instance, the highway system throughout US was legislated in the United States Department of Transportation in 1956. By the Federal Aid Highway Act, states were able to build fully subsidized highways within their borders. It is clear that this was a very popular subsidy since the car had gained a lot of popularity by then. This shaped the landscape of the US extensively.

State Government

The primary political unit of the United States after the federal level is the state. And similar to the European Union the states compose the United States of America. All states have a House of Representatives and a Senate, with as head of the state a governor. Most states have decentralized the administration of their powers to sector departments and counties. Counties are an administrative division of the state.

Since the federal government has no constitutional right to engage in comprehensive planning, state governments have taken the lead in this area and the degree of leadership varies greatly from state to state with some states having virtually no planning, to others with strong comprehensive planning. Every State is differently organized and has different legal powers regarding planning.

Metropolitan Planning Organization

The growth of the major cities in the US in the twentieth century has expanded far outside of their legislative powers, crossing many city boundaries and sometimes even state boundaries. These cities became regional economies, which were out of control for the fragmented local governments. The federal government recognized the problem and identified over 300 metropolitan areas across the country and tried to address them in establishing Metropolitan Planning Organizations (MPO).

The metropolitan planning organizations were organized by the states and their budget for policies is mainly funded by the state and the federal government. Their policies are on regional scaled issues like transportation, water quality, countering sprawl, etc. Federal and also often state funding for these issues are channeled through the MPO's planning process. MPO issue bonds to finance the major part of their developments, like new railway lines etc.

Because the lowest levels of government have a huge impact on planning, the MPO's have a very difficult task in the US. The highly fragmented public system contributes to cities making policy without considering the greater good of the region. They compete with other cities on high income housing, businesses, etc. From an economical perspective this is a good thing; it creates competition. From a more integrated view this is not a good thing, since it has a negative effect on the region as a whole. The relationship between cities and the MPO's is usually a challenging one.

County Government

A county is the governmental level just below the state level and is an administrative division of the state and provides the state local support of activities, such as collection of property tax revenues. There about 60 counties in each state. Counties almost never have their own power to tax and local governments can apply with them for subsidies and grants.

Every County is differently organized, differently financed and has different legal powers regarding urban area development.

City Government

The power for cities to plan generally is legislated by the state. Local governments in most states however are enabled by the state to engage in zoning and/or comprehensive planning, they are usually not required to do so. Since there are so many levels of local governments,

A **Bond** is a debt security, in which the issuer owes the holders a debt and is obliged to pay interest and to repay the principal at a later date. In short a bond is a formal contract to repay borrowed money with interest at fixed dates.

Tax Increment Financing (short TIF) is a public financing method which has been used for redevelopment in the United States for more than 50 years. TIF is controlled by the municipality and captures the increased property tax revenues, generated by the development. The value is usually captured by issuing notes. The public costs associated with the project, such as infrastructure, landscape, etc, can be financed by the Tax Incremented Financing. With generally little federal and state sources available for redevelopment, Tax Increment Financing has become an often-used financing mechanism for municipalities. In short, TIF is a tool which uses future gains in property tax to finance current public improvements.

(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tax_increment_financing)

Pay-as-you-go Tax Increment is based on the same principle as TIF only its value is not captured at beginning of project, but on year by year bases as the project is on its way. Hence the phrase pay-as-you-go.

city governments hold a restricted amount of governing power, compared to Dutch cities. The remaining power held by cities is often a target of numerous outside influences, such as large corporations and real-estate developers.

City governments have two possible forms of governance system; the Mayor-Council system and the Council-Manager system. The most common is the Mayor-Council system and has a division in a Strong-mayoral system and a Weak-mayoral system. In the Strong-mayoral system the mayor is given almost total administrative authority. He or she has strong political independence and has the power to appoint and dismiss department heads. In the Weak-mayoral system, the council is the administrative authority and the mayor is mostly ceremonial, with only some political power. The right to veto is usually of the strongest powers a weak-mayor has.

In the Council-Manager system, there is a city manager appointed, to oversee the administrative operations. The city council consists in this system of council members and a mayor. The influence of the mayor in this system is usually also mostly ceremonial. This system compares best to the Dutch system of mayor and aldermen and an appointed “gemeentesecretaris”.

The city council compares to the “wethouders” in the Netherlands, not to the “gemeenteraad”. The council members are all elected personally, including the mayor. This is different than in the Netherlands, where you vote for a party and afterwards the aldermen are appointed by the party. The council members represent a particular area of the city (called a district, ward or parish). This is the same district as they were elected in. So the council members are directly accountable by the people in their district, who have elected them, for the results they produce. This is also very different in the Netherlands, where the aldermen have a portfolio of responsibilities, like Economics, Sports, Education etc, for the whole of the city. According to the US legislation a city government is not supposed to take initiative in urban area development. The city government is there to facilitate initiatives; the model of public sector involvement is to support the private sector in achieving community goals for buildings. There are cases in which a local government will be more actively involved in developments. This will be the case for buildings with public use (libraries, police stations, etc.), or major public interest buildings (sports stadiums, theaters etc.), and low income housing. If the government owns the site they can issue a Request for Proposal, seeking development proposals from private developers. The winning developer would then implement the development plan under various profit-sharing arrangements.

Although it is very unusual for a city to engage in acquiring land for a development, this does happen now and then. Generally, a city will only take initiative in the planning process and get involved in acquiring land if they have a reason to desire additional control over a site, for instance; sometimes it is not economically feasible for a developer to acquire many small parcels (due to the long lead time), if there is pollution on the site that needs to be cleaned up, if there is a historic structure that needs to be renovated, etc. The percentage of deals where cities acquire land up front is very low, but many of the deals that cities get involved in are high profile. Since *Kelo vs City of New London*, legislation makes acquisition very difficult for most cities and cities don't have the extra money to buy land. In most cases that eminent domain is still used it is a development of a road, bridge, utility, or other clear “public use” project.

And it seems almost to be repeated endlessly, but every city has different legal powers regarding urban area development. In general city governments have a few instruments that they can use for planning and urban area development. Comprehensive plans, zoning, building permits and eminent domain and are the most common ones. Financing instruments are very rare within city governments, the most often used are therefore Tax Increment Finance tools. Tax Increment Financing is a tool which uses future gains in property tax to finance current public improvements.

Small Area Plans try to implement the goals and recommendations of the comprehensive plan. A Small Area Plan is a detailed plan for a sub-area of the County or the City and serves as a guide for land use, zoning, transportation improvements, open space, public facilities, and community design and identifies opportunities for commercial revitalization and mixed-use developments. The comprehensive plan and zoning map are policy guides for a Small Area Plan.

Request for proposal is an invitation for developers in a tender process to submit a proposal on a specific development. The proposal that qualifies best with the required issues (money, quality, program, architecture, etc) will win the tender.

Other government agencies

There are a number of other government agencies, engaged in the planning process, which cannot all be mentioned. Special tax districts like, school districts, watersheds, etc, are the most important ones along with governmental bodies that are especially formed for a development, like the Minnesota Ballpark Authority.

3.2.3. Role of Private Sector

As stated is the American ideal of a facilitating government also in place in planning. The government is there just to facilitate and not to initiate, which means that the government is responsible for regulating development proposals. With one exception; in the provision of infrastructure and in rendering essential services plays the government a large role.

The private planning process is very different, and involves typically a degree of risk. Therefore developers need to have a good judgment about the state of the market. When they decide that there is a market demand for a particular development, a site is selected, the development is financed, a license obtained with the appropriate local government and the project can be built. After completing the project, it will be sold or rented. A major problem for a developer is finding its way through the maze of government bodies that have to be consulted or satisfied about the development proposal.

“There are thus two different worlds, with different objectives. One is characterized by willingness (and necessity) to take risk; the other, being publicly accountable, is averse to taking risks. One is opportunistic; the other bureaucratic. One seeks financial reward; the other good husbandry and probity.

Given these very different frameworks, there is a serious communication gap between the two sectors. Bridging this gap is a major part of both the private development and the public planning process.” (Cullingworth and Caves (2009).

3.3. Urban Planning System: Twin City Metropolitan Area

3.3.1. General

The planning system in the Minneapolis region follows the US planning system as described above. The main variance is the regions highly fragmented system of local governments. Where the US already has a lot more local governments than we have in the Netherlands, the Minneapolis region has also for US standards a more than average number of local governments. The region consists of 11 counties, 172 cities, 97 townships, 76 school districts and 100 special districts. On top of this these local governments do not perfectly line up with one and other: some city boundaries cross county borders, school district borders do not match with any of the city boundaries, etc. Recent research of Orfield and Luce (2009) shows that the way the counties, municipalities, school districts and special districts overlap in the Minneapolis region results in 1,714 unique combinations of tax rates and public services.

Although the Minneapolis region is not unique in this kind of fragmentation in the US, it certainly presents a challenge for coordinated planning, since every local government is pursuing their own agenda. The region's growth patterns therefore reflect the fragmented local system: the Minneapolis region has been significantly decentralized. The growth of the region moves outward and has now already reached the third ring of suburbs (also see Appendix III). For the future it is predicted that there will be a fourth ring of suburbs.

3.3.2. Role of Public Sector

Federal Government

On the federal level there are no differences in the Twin Cities metropolitan region with other parts of the United States. The federal government has about 35,000 employees working in Minnesota.

State of Minnesota

The Democratic Farmer Labor Party has now the majority in the State of Minnesota. Generally speaking Minnesota is a state where neither party has an absolute majority for a long period of time. The change in majority between democrats and the republicans effects urban policy. There are radical shifts in policy depending on what party is in power.

On the state level the approach to planning is changing. Where the state departments used to work individually on the same development with no integration, they now try to collaborate. This is an attempt to see if they can improve quality and shift away a bit from the single issue and engineer driven approach that is less cohesive and comprehensive.

This is an interesting new approach, especially since the most funding for local developments come from the federal level. Departments of the State of Minnesota involved in planning are:

- Housing department,
- Transportation department
- Energy department and
- Environmental agency.

The state of Minnesota has almost no direct involvement in planning, but is a very powerful and influential government level, since it not only controls the planning legislation for the Metropolitan Council, the counties and the cities, but also provides subsidies to these same actors.

The state of Minnesota has approximately 56,000 employees.

Metropolitan Council

The Twin Cities Metropolitan Council was created by the State of Minnesota in 1967 to plan and coordinate the growth and development of the Twin Cities metropolitan area. It has authority to plan for and operate regional systems like transportation, wastewater, regional parks and has an assistance program for low income households. The council has three main divisions:

- The Community Development Division, is responsible for the regional growth strategy, planning and technical assistance to local communities, and parks and open space,
- The Environmental Services Division, operates and maintains the regional sewers and treats the wastewater,
- The Transportation Division (also called Metro transit), operates the public transportation, including the Northstar Commuter rail, the Hiawatha light rail and bus systems in the Twin Cities.

The Metropolitan Council has 17 council members of which 16 members represent a geographic district and the 17th member (the chair) represents the metropolitan area as a whole. All council members are appointed by the governor. When the political color of the state changes, all the appointed council members have to go and there are new council members appointed by the new governor, resulting in a lack of continuity. Because the council consists of appoin-

tees rather than having an elected council, the Metropolitan Council it is highly influenced by politics and policy changes dramatically every time there is a different party in office.

Numerous attempts to convert the council to an elected body have failed. Because a Metropolitan Planning Organization is required by law to have an elected board, the Transportation Advisory Board (TAB) was created. The Transportation Advisory Board has an elected board but does not engage in planning. Together the Metropolitan Council and the Transportation Advisory Board serve as an official Metropolitan Planning Organization.

The Council has an annual budget \$850 million and approximately 3,700 employees. 90% of the Metropolitan council's budget is funded by the state and user fees such as wastewater treatment charges and transit fares. Only 10 percent of the budget comes from local property taxes. The Council spends about \$80 million on grants to local jurisdictions for community development projects, regional park operations and on housing assistance for low-income families.

According to its legislation the Metropolitan Council is the most powerful metropolitan planning organization in the United States, since it has legislation whereby all lower local governments are obliged to adjust their local comprehensive plans to the Metropolitan Councils plans within three years. Local governments that did not agree with the Metropolitan Councils sometimes sued the council sometimes, lost their lawsuit and had to copy the council's plans in their comprehensive plan.

In recent years however the Metropolitan Council does not make very good use of these legislative powers. The Metropolitan Council is founded to control the growth of the Twin City metropolitan area, but seems unable to do so. In earlier years the Metropolitan Councils policy was clustering further growth, but in recent years this approach has disappeared from their plans. The council tries to limit growth outside of the growth boundary (officially called the Metropolitan Urban Service Area - MUSA), by not extending the sewer system outside the growth boundary. But developers just build a sewer system with the new developments there. Some metropolitan planning organizations (including Portland's Metro Council) have a ban on developments outside the growth boundary, which really constraints growth. The Twin City Metropolitan Council has no such thing, and since the tax deductions of the federal government make living in the suburbs much more financial attractive and part of the American dream is a quarter-acre-lot with a two-car garage, the council has almost no control over sprawl.

Today 2.9 million people live in the Twin City metropolitan area. The Metropolitan Council covers only seven of the 11 counties in the Twin City region, and the housing market has already expanded in recent years to the extra four counties. The Metropolitan Council has now no longer full jurisdiction, and thus no control, over the expanded metropolitan area. The growth of the region keeps on moving further outward (see Figure 20) and has now already reached the third ring of suburbs. For the future there is a forth ring of suburbs predicted.

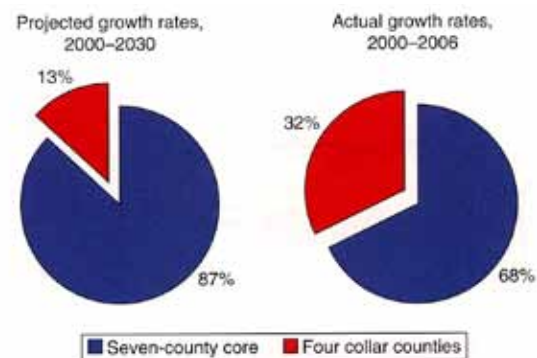


Figure 20: Projected and actual growth in the seven-county core and four collar counties

Hennepin County

Hennepin County is much older than the Metropolitan Council, and was established in 1852, six years before Minnesota became a state. Hennepin County is a region of 1.2 million people and the City of Minneapolis is its largest city. The county has a Board of Commissioners, which consists of seven members. The board members, also called county commissioners, are elected from within their districts.

The departments that have to do with planning are:

- Housing, Community Works & Transit: the only department that really has to do with spatial planning, focuses on housing, transit and community improvement,
- Transportation: the Transportation Department administers all functions associated with the county highway system.
- Research, Planning and Development: engages in research, planning and analysis that support and inform public policy and county practice.

As a very unique asset Hennepin County has its own power to tax. This is very unusual for a county and it makes Hennepin County an important local government.

City of Minneapolis

The Minneapolis City Council is the governing body of the City of Minneapolis. The City Council is composed of 13 councilmember, each elected from a district. Minneapolis has a weak-mayoral system, which means that the council members control the city of Minneapolis, as opposed to a strong-mayoral system, where the mayor controls the city government. Minneapolis is a stronghold for the Minnesota Democratic Farmer Labor Party (12 out of 13 council members and the mayor are from the MDFLP).

Like in most US cities there is a division between politicians and the civil servants. This slows down a lot of good initiatives and development in general. The Department of Community Planning and Economic Development (CPED) is Minneapolis' department concerned with planning and urban area development. The department was established by the current mayor Rybak, who also appointed the head of the department. CPED is has three divisions: Planning, Housing and Economic Development (also see appendix IV).

The city of Minneapolis has 390,000 citizens and approximately 6,000 employees. The 2010 budget of the city of Minneapolis is \$ 1.28 billion, but a low priority is given to development. Minneapolis has a comprehensive plan and a hybrid zoning plan, based on Euclidean zoning. Other instruments that are used in Minneapolis for urban area development are Small Area Plans and Requests for Proposal. When the city owns a piece of land, the selection of developer usually goes by Request for Proposal (RFP).

In the 1970s through the early 1990s the city of Minneapolis acquired property for redevelopment, mostly in the downtown area or at major commercial locations. A developer would acquire most of the properties, but if there were one or two "hold outs" that refused to sell their properties at any price, the city would step in to acquire those properties through eminent domain. The city would not buy the property before there was a specific project and private investors and always argued that it was a small necessary step in order to ensure that a much larger project could be done (public use), and not an arbitrary or a speculative action to make money.

Historically the city of Minneapolis has also acquired some properties through tax forfeiture, if the owners didn't pay their property taxes for three or more consecutive years. The county tax office provides a list of property each year of houses that will be forfeited and sold at auction. The city has the option of picking up properties before the auction, at no cost. In an average year the city would take five or less properties. Because of the recent boom in home foreclosures the city of Minneapolis has acquired more than a hundred single family homes at very low prices in the past few years. The city uses federal and state grants to fix up the foreclosed houses before they are sold to families that purchase them for their own residence, in order to stabilize some very bad areas of the city.

Citizen's participation

On the ladder of Participation, the Minneapolis citizen's participation process is one of the

highest rungs. There is real citizen's power. They have at least Delegated Power and in some cases even Citizen Control.

The Neighborhood Revitalization Program is a very important part of citizen's participation. Minneapolis holds 81 neighborhoods, which have a variety of origins. Some neighborhood associations were formed recently for the program, while others originate from neighborhood associations formed by activists as early as 1901. The division of the city into official neighborhoods was part of the Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP) of the early 1990's. The program was started to give citizens more power in the participation process in general, but one of its main outcomes was the commission Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP) Policy Board. Every development in Minneapolis has to have approval from this board. The budget for the NRP is \$400 million for 20 years and therefore a serious program.

Minneapolis has also 45 commissions by which citizens can participate in the decision making process. Similar to the NRP all these commissions consist of citizens who can apply for this function. In total there are 8 (!) planning related commissions that have official powers. Each spatial plan needs the approval of every commission and the plans have to find their own way to these commissions, this is not coordinated. The planning related commissions are:

1. Planning Commission
2. Zoning Board of Adjustment
3. Capital Long Range Improvement Committee (CLIC)
4. Economic Development Company, Minneapolis (MEDC), A non-profit Minnesota Corporation
5. Empowerment Zone Governance Board, Minneapolis
6. Heritage Preservation Commission
7. Neighborhood and Community Engagement Commission
8. Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP) Policy Board

All these commissions advise the City Council, and the Council can ignore the advice if they see fit. Besides the NRP Policy Board, the Planning Commission is most powerful commission. The Planning Commission is responsible for advising the City Council on matters of development, zoning, and capital improvements. This citizen's committee works with CPED on the development of plans and the review of development applications. The citizens in the Planning Commission consists are appointed by the mayor or representatives from the School Board, Library Board, Park Board, Hennepin County, and the City Council. Typically though, there is no participation for downtown, only in the residential areas. The council members seem to reign supreme in downtown.

City of St. Louis Park

The city of St. Louis Park has a Council-Manager system, with six council members and a mayor. The professional city manager carries out the decisions of the council and provides day-to-day city services, like the "gemeentesecretaris" does in the Dutch system. The city of St. Louis Park has 44,000 citizens and an annual budget of \$ 27.5 million (in 2007) and 250 employees.

The city of St. Louis Park has one sole department responsible for urban area development, the Community Development Department:

- Administering the zoning ordinance, comprehensive plan and other documents that guide land use,
- Administering housing rehabilitation and first time-homebuyer programs,
- Administering subsidized housing programs for qualifying residents,
- Encouraging economic development and redevelopment efforts,
- Administering small business and commercial rehabilitation loan programs.

3.3.3. Role of Private Sector

There seems to be a wider variety of different types of developers in the US than we have in the

Netherlands. The spectrum of different developers is broader and they are more localized on the extreme ends. The Dutch type of developer would be the middle part of the spectrum in the US.

There are quite a few local developers in Minneapolis, which have a strong history of community engagement. Some of these developers are non-profit developers and some work on a profit-base. All these local developers are small to middle large firms and are very well linked to and integrated in the Minneapolis community. Since the local governments are so fragmented and the legislation is different in every city, county and state, most developers have a geographically defined work field and they tend to have a cooperative attitude towards the local government.

On the other end of the spectrum; the bigger, big money driven developers, seem to be mostly the state wide operating developers, and developers from other states. It is more difficult for them to identify all the governmental bodies they need for their approvals, and know the differences in legislation. These developers tend to disagree more with legislation and tend to seek conflict more often as a way to get the development done, instead of negotiating. Sometimes they play a tough game, and are not afraid to go to the limit.

Public Housing is developed by a city owned developing agency. A practice we have said good-bye in the Netherlands. Public housing is differently financed in the US, so the transition to non-profit development company, as we did in the Netherlands, is not something the US government is willing to consider. The distrust between the government and developers also plays an important factor in this.

The Dutch public private partnerships do not match the US situation. The role division between public and private is very clear but the role of the public side is so minimal, that the word “partnership” is too strong a word to describe the relationship. There are some real public private partnerships when a city is bit more actively involved in the development, but usually the word “relationship” describes the content better.

The developers seem at peace with the large number of local governments they have to work with. This is something they have accepted. The necessity of bridging the gap with the local governments, created by the system, is a mutual frustration in developments. This gap seems to be difficult to bridge, and as with any process a lot depends on the quality of people. The frustrating thing for developers is that the good people on the public side do not remain long enough in the same job to build long-term relationships. So developers have to try to find another way to create a new project.

There is a difference to be seen in quality of people working for the government and for developers. The system makes working on the governmental side of the development process not very appealing. This has the consequence that in general most of the good professionals work on the private side and only the less eligible are on the payroll of a government. Some exceptions break this rule of course, but in general the local governments do not need creative people, they just need people who do their job and enable developments others initiated. The most engaged and creative people work therefore at the private side. This gave an answer to one my first surprises that a large number of local developers have an architectural education.

3.3.4. Conclusions System and Culture

Because of the highly fragmented system in the US, the planning system differs between cities and states. These differences can be small or large, depending on which two developments you compare. This makes general comparisons very difficult.

It became very clear by the studied literature that the public sector in US developments is supposed to be an active party; they have generally a passive attitude and support the private sector in achieving community goals for buildings. The US developer will initiate a development project, will always be the risk barer and have leadership with a passive government.

There are exceptions to this general approach and that concerns buildings with public use (libraries, etc.) or major public interest buildings (theaters, etc.) and low income housing. If the government owns the site they can issue a Request for Proposal, seeking development proposals from private developers.

A local government in the Netherlands has much more control over which party is developing a project, since it is much more involved in the development process, by initiating projects, financing them, controlling the zoning codes, etc.

The fragmented system makes the process longer and more opaque. Public actors cannot have legislative and administrative role at the same time, so within the many local governments there are usually two types of boards; a legislative and an administrative one. This makes the already complex process even more difficult to perceive and makes it very opaque for citizens. Implications of decisions often come out when the decisions already have been made. Partly by this system there is a greater need and wish for citizen's participation. Citizens are much more involved and organized in the development process compared to the Netherlands.

There are almost no large scale projects. One building, two buildings a building block maximum is the general scale. The system leaves all initiatives at the private sector, but it is very difficult to acquire enough land for a larger scale project. That would also drive up the risks, and therefore is almost never done.

Planning in the US is indeed not so much about spatial planning but much more about economical planning. The spatial part of planning and the design culture of the Dutch system make Dutch planners more in control over and influential in the zoning plans than US planners.

The basics of the planning system are in place to have a healthy relationship between private and public partners. If the government chooses to have a more active role (when a politician and city staff have guts and vision for instance) the system will work well.

Implications of politics in the development process are great. The state, metropolitan planning organization, county and city all can and will change power and policy after a change in majority between democrats and republicans. These enormous shifts that occur are unthinkable of in the Netherlands and cause the already highly fragmented system to be fragmented in a 3rd dimension.



Figure 21: Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Main_Page



Figure 22: Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Main_Page



Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27

4. Case studies in Minneapolis

4.1. Context

4.1.1. Case Studies

The differences in practice were researched based on two case studies in the Minneapolis Metropolitan area. These two projects were selected based on the following criteria:

- Projects with a public private partnership of some kind,
- Projects of a recent date,
- Mixed use projects,
- Projects of sufficient size (more than one building block),
- Preferably already completed projects,
- Preferably downtown projects.

The first case I selected was the Ballpark area, simple because it was the only larger project being developed in downtown. The ballpark project had been initiated around the year 2000, and the ballpark itself was completed in 2010. Although the ballpark is finished, the area near the ballpark, the warehouse district, is not finished at all. In fact for the area near the ballpark there is an overall plan by the City of Minneapolis, the North Loop Small Area Plan, that nobody seems to be interested in, and there are a few fragmented plans, and initiatives which do not seem to be coordinated. There was a public private partnership between Hennepin County and the Minnesota Twins and there is a public private partnership consisting of all actors in the ballpark area, called The 2020 Partners. The process of this case and how public and private actors interact seemed very interesting. The total site is approximately 250 acres (100 ha) and the ballpark is approximately 16 acres (6.5 ha).

The second case is not in downtown, since all other projects in or near downtown were only on paper or very, very small scale projects, like reroofing, fifty apartments, etc. (also see Appendix V). And it proved to be very difficult to find a project of sufficient size; most developments in Minneapolis and the surrounding area are (very) small scale. Therefore I chose the only project close to Minneapolis larger than one block: Excelsior and Grand. This project was completed in 2007, has a substantial program and is of a sufficient scale, 16 acres (6.5 ha).

4.1.2. Minneapolis

Minneapolis, nicknamed “City of Lakes” and the “Mini Apple,” (as opposed to the “Big Apple”- New York City) is the largest city in Minnesota and the 47th largest in the United States, with 390,000 residents. Minneapolis lies on both banks of the Mississippi and originated next to the only waterfalls in the Mississippi. The name Minneapolis is a combination of minne, the Native American Dakota word for water, and polis, the Greek word for city. St. Paul (290,000 residents) is situated just 7 miles (12 km) down the river. Minneapolis and St. Paul are known as the Twin Cities and the 13th-largest metropolitan area in the US, with 2.9 million residents. It is said that St. Paul is the last of the East-coast cities, with its old, brick look and the formal government buildings, and that Minneapolis is the first of the West-coast cities, with its commercial economic base, modern, glass look and the large cultural scene.

Dakota Sioux were the region’s residents when French explorers arrived around 1680. The history and economic growth of Minneapolis history are tied to its river resources and you can still see on the city map, how the Minneapolis grid and the Jeffersonian grid collided. The first settler’s came in 1820 and because of the location near the falls, Minneapolis was between 1880 and 1930 the world’s flour milling capital and a hub for timber. Like many cities that expanded rapidly during the Industrial Revolution, Minneapolis and St. Paul experienced shifts in their economy as heavy industry declined in the 1960s and 1970s. Both cities have made a successful transition to service, high-technology, finance, and information economies. The Twin cities are today the primary business center between Chicago and Seattle with companies who

Minneapolis's European American community is predominantly German and Scandinavian:

Minneapolis demographics	
German American	23.1%
Scandinavian American	20.7%
British American	18.3%
African American	17.4%
Latino	9.2%
Asian	4.9%
American Indian	1.7%
Other	4.7%

Figure 28: Demographics Minneapolis Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minneapolis>

The population of the city of Minneapolis has been stable for 10 years, but the Twin City Metropolitan Area grew with 207,000 people between 2000 and 2007. For the future of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area the Metropolitan Council forecasts a regional growth toward 3,608,000 people in 2030, a 35% increase from the year 2000, which is likely to find a place outside the existing third ring suburbs, creating of forth ring of suburbs.

Year	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2009
Population	5,809	13,800	46,887	164,738	202,718	301,408	380,582	464,356	492,370	521,718	482,872	434,400	370,951	368,383	382,618	385,542
U.S. Rank ^(*) (4)	--	--	38	18	19	18	18	15	16	17	25	32	34	42	45	48

Figure 29: Demographics Minneapolis Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minneapolis>

Sports and culture are flourishing in Minneapolis. The Twin City region is third in largest theater and live performances market in the US after New York and Chicago. Minneapolis has also the fourth-highest percentage of gay, lesbian, and bisexual people in the adult population, with 12.5% (after San Francisco, Seattle and Atlanta). This all is a good climate for community engagement and there is a good climate for the creative class in the Minneapolis region.

The Minnesota Vikings (Major League Football) and the Minnesota Twins (Major League Baseball) arrived in Minneapolis in 1961. The Twins won the World Series in 1987 and 1991. The Minnesota Timberwolves brought NBA basketball back to Minneapolis in 1989, followed by the Minnesota Lynx Women's NBA team in 1999. Some other famous sports teams gained their names from being in Minnesota. The Los Angeles Lakers got their name from once being based in Minneapolis, the "City of Lakes".



Figure 30: Minneapolis in 1918 - Transit map Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Main_Page

originated from the Twin Cities and/or have their company headquarters there: Kellogg's, 3M, General Mills, Northwest Airlines (now merged with Delta Airlines), Greyhound, Target Corporation, Xcel Energy, Ameriprise Financial, etc.

As part of urban renewal during the 1950s and 1960s, the city tore down more than two hundred buildings in downtown. This destroyed approximately 40% of downtown, including the Gateway District (which used to be the red-light district) and many architecturally important buildings. This destructive force can still be seen today by the enormous amounts of parking on empty lots in downtown. Rather than filling in the gaps, the city of Minneapolis continues a pattern of demolishing old buildings and replacing them with new ones (Guthrie Theater, Lutheran Brotherhood Building, etc.), this in contrast to Saint Paul.

In the 20th century, the Twin Cities area expanded outward significantly (also see appendix III). The city has grown to a total area of 151.3 km², of which 6% is water. Automobiles and freeways made it possible for the suburbs to grow exponentially. The public transportation system is gaining ground with the new light rail transit running from downtown Minneapolis to the airport, along Hiawatha Avenue and the in 2009 opened Northstar commuter rail. In 2014 the new light rail transit line to St. Paul will be completed, running along both Minneapolis and St. Paul's University campus. To further extend the public transportation system, two new light rail transit lines will go into the suburbs; the Bottineau Transitway to Osseo and the Southwest Corridor to Eden Prairie.

Minneapolis ranks the second most bicycle friendly city in the US and bicycle trails are expanded every year. Currently there is 54 km of biking trails. Because of the continental climate typical of the Upper Midwest, Minneapolis has cold and dry winters and hot and humid summers, with winter low of -20oF (-30oC) and summer high of 100oF (40oC). Because of the fierce winters, seven miles (eleven km) of enclosed pedestrian bridges, called skyways, link eighty city blocks of downtown.

4.1.3. St. Louis Park

St. Louis Park is a classic first ring suburb of Minneapolis with approximately 45,000 residents. The city of St. Louis Park is located near South Minneapolis, less than 5 miles from downtown Minneapolis, neighboring Uptown and the Chain of Lakes.

The first settlers came to St. Louis Park in 1885 and the village had an explosive growth just after World War II. Today most of the land in the city is already developed, and much of the focus has shifted from building developments and infrastructure to improving them.

4.2. Case #1 Excelsior and Grand (St. Louis Park)

4.2.1. Initiative

The City of St. Louis Park initiated the project Excelsior and Grand. The site had about 20 run down bars, an unutilized park and visiting crowds that gave a lot of trouble. The police initiated the change because the situation could no longer be controlled properly and got a very bad reputation.

Just before the city of St. Louis Park officially declared the site of Excelsior and Grand a problem site, there was a visioning process. This process was organized in 1994 by the city government, and other partners like the school district and the business community. In this community visioning process residents expressed a strong desire for a "community gathering place" or "town centre". Morphologically and functionally St. Louis Park did not have a centre.

After the visioning process, in 1996 a design charrette was held with people from the St. Louis Park community, developers, designers and civil servants and here the foundation for the vision was laid. The town green and the first ideas of smart growth and new urbanism for this town centre were born (compact, vertical, mixed-use buildings up to five stories, ground floor

Excelsior and Grand



Figure 31: Birdseye view Excelsior and Grand Source: City of St. Louis park



Figure 32: TOLD plan, Source: TOLD



Figure 33:



Figure 34: Avaton Bay plan Source: city of St. Louis Park



Figure 35



Figure 36: Charette design Source: city of St. Louis Park



Figure 37: Source: city of St. Louis Park

retail, neighborhood services, high-quality architecture, transit oriented, pedestrian friendly, public spaces). The charette was seen as a huge success by the community and the city council. The city council was very bold in committing itself to this vision. A series of neighborhood meetings were held about how this project could take shape and a task force was installed.

From the community visioning process emerged also a potential site for the new city centre. The Park Commons area location along Excelsior Boulevard was found very suitable for a city centre by citizens; it used to be the route for an old streetcar line and an important street for the city of St. Louis Park. Excelsior Boulevard has commercial all along, and this particular site was a top location for retail within the city of St. Louis Park.

Around this time one of the council members, Gail Dorfman, was voted mayor, and she was very strongly engaged with this project. She had the guts to start the pre-development process of changing the zoning ordinance, soil analysis and start buying properties on the site. This was found a necessary step by the civil servants and the city council to be able to make the development possible, so they could have a very clear defined project, with no surprises about for example polluted soil, which would drive up the costs. Since Excelsior and Grand would be a more risk full project than average in St. Louis Park, the city wanted to have the project as clearly defined as possible when they filed a request for proposal. They wanted to be able to say: this is the 16-acre site, this are our concepts of what we want, tell us how you can deliver on this.

The community support led to political courage; the council backed the mayor and wanted to see this development through. Due to the long and intensive participation process the residents were in favor of this plan and wanted to see a new city centre being build on the site. There were some single family homeowners from the other side of Excelsior Boulevard who were very anxious of how dense a program would be, but otherwise everyone in St. Louis Park community agreed with the vision. So changing the zoning ordinance was not a very difficult and time consuming exercise. Crucial in this process was the very unusual, great level of trust between the politicians and the civil servant staff. The window of opportunity for this project was open.

4.2.2. Land Acquisition

On the site at were 20 bars and 17 private houses before the project was initiated. The city of St. Louis Park assembled all the land (16 acre) and paid \$ 18.4 million for acquisition, relocation and demolition costs. The value of the land was at that time estimated at approximately \$ 10 million.

4.2.3. Program

Through a Request for Proposal a strong housing developer was selected, to develop the site. This developer Avalon Bay (from Washington DC) had made a plan for the site, but had miscalculated the local market because he was a developer from out of town and there rose a lot of problems that had to be solve during the process. After a year and a half this developer pulled out (in May 2000), and the city was left with a plan with some problems:

- it was not financeable,
- there was too much retail,
- too many expensive underground parking stalls
- difficult to phase
- no clear project definition (is it primary retail, housing or offices?)

A new developer was selected (in July 2000). This time the selection did not follow a request for proposal process but, by was done by request for qualifications. A RFQ is a process for selecting a qualified developer which after being selected is going to make a plan, instead of selecting a plan which is done with RFP. This meant that the city could this time select a developer for qualities needed in this development; a local developer who knows the market

Phase 1 (completed in 2003):

- 338 apartments
- 4 stories
- Lease range, from approximately \$ 800 per month (studio) to \$ 3,400 (large corner)
- 63,000 Square feet (8,000 m2) retail space
- 850 parking stalls in two ramps
- 265 on-street parking stalls

Phase 1 total project value \$ 60 million

Phase 2 (completed in 2004):

- 120 condominium units
- 4 stories
- Unit price range \$ 189,900 to \$ 519,900
- 4,500 Square feet (500 m2) retail space
- 177 underground parking stalls

Phase 2 total project value \$ 35 million

Phase 3 (completed in 2006):

- 86 loft-style condominium units
- 5 stories
- Unit price range \$ 189,900 to \$ 374,900
- 14,235 Square feet (1,300 m2) retail space
- 109 underground parking stalls
- 58 at-grade parking stalls
- 14 on-street parking stalls

Phase 3 total project value \$ 25 million

Phase 4 (completed in 2007):

- 96 condominium units
- 5 stories
- Unit price range \$ 250,000 to \$ 750,000
- 5,100 Square feet (500 m2) retail space
- 147 underground parking stalls
- 41 on-street parking stalls

Phase 4 total project value \$ 40 million



Figure 39



Figure 40

of St. Louis Park, was mainly a retail developer, which could team up with other developers for housing, etc.

TOLD Development Company was selected in this process and was a local developer who knew how to do the most risk full program: retail. They could get another developer on board for housing and offices or expand their portfolio and learn it themselves as a retail developer. The city of ST. Louis Park and TOLD signed a preliminary development agreement (basically an agreement to work exclusively towards a set goal, with a clear role division between the actor). TOLD then faced the challenge to close a gap of \$ 20 million with only some adjustments on the plan, so that the city new urbanism wishes of vertical mixed-use, pedestrian friendly etc, could remain intact. To solve the problems TOLD and the city of St. Louis Park set around the table and identified the costly parts of the plan.

The developer TOLD then hired the same architect as the first developer (ESG, Elness Swenson Graham Architects Inc. and Landscape architect, Damon Farber Associates), to keep speed in the process, and came with a new designed plan. TOLD got rid of part of the retail program and part of the underground parking because it was too difficult to phase with housing. They solved the parking issue by putting the parking spaces above ground in garages, but without having them dominant the public space. The program shifted slightly by this, but the most important agreement by developer and city was the ability to shift the mix of office and housing program according to the demand during development.

Because of the good market for housing the program ended up to be:

- 644 houses (338 rental, 306 condominiums),
- 87,000 Square feet (8,000 m2) retail space,
- 1650 parking spaces,

The project had an estimated total project value of \$ 162.1 million.

4.2.4. Financing

Before acquiring the land, the site's total market value was just over \$ 10 million. The City of St. Louis Park paid \$ 18.4 million in business and residential acquisition, relocation and demolition costs in connection with the land assembly.

The total costs of the development were \$ 162.1 million, and it had a total market value in 2008 of \$143 million. The public art cost \$ 177,400.

The city of St. Louis Park invested \$ 9 million in public improvements (i.e. Town Green, Excelsior Boulevard, sewer, water, curbs and other infrastructure). The city also received \$ 3.2 million in grants to partially fund demolition, structured parking and pedestrian/transit improvements (\$ 2.8 million from the Metropolitan Council, and \$ 0.4 million from DEED). The gap of 15.5 million was bridge by issuing notes for Pay-as-you-go tax increment financing, since the development was actually a redevelopment.

Excelsior and Grand Project Budget 2008				
Costs development	\$ 160 million	Sources	Market value development	\$ 143 million
Acquiring land	\$ 18.4 million		Market value land	\$ 10 million
Improvement retail space	\$ 2.1 million		City public investments	\$ 9 million
Public art	\$ 0.2 million		Tax Increment Financing	\$ 15.5 million
			Grants	\$ 3.2 million
Total Costs	\$ 180.7 million		Total Budget	\$ 180.7 million

Figure 38: Budget Excelsior and Grand

4.2.5. Risks and Revenues

When the development of Excelsior and Grand started in 2001, there was a good market for housing. The developer started on the safe side with rental housing. The market for housing kept good all the way up to the completion of the development in 2007. In the beginning the housing market for rental housing was a safe bet, but in the years following the market for owner-occupied (condominiums) got better. Offices did not do well the whole time during the development and because of the deal about the program; the office program was totally converted to housing. The split for rental and owner occupied was totally up to the developer, although the city encouraged the developer to also build owner occupied.

The risks of contaminated soil, etc, the city of St. Louis Park already analyzed in an early stage all the risks. There was polluted soil from burning cars on the site decades ago and there was methane gas in the ground because the site used to be a swamp. The city government had already arranged grants to address these costs.

The developer took all the risks, which the city did not already address, but the developer also had control over all the risk factors. They hired the architect, made the design, contracted the contractor, etc. There was an open book process, in which the developer showed the budget and costs and in which his revenues were open. The developer earned an accepted percentage of revenues from the development.

The biggest risk the city of St. Louis Park took was that the developer didn't complete the development, and there would be a half completed project in their city, and that could hurt the city council. The zoning plan and the Plan Unit Development were the instruments for the city to steer the development with. In the Plan Unit Development the city and the developer got down to the detail in describing the quality and specifications of the development, down to the design of the lampposts. The Plan Document Development is a contract between the developer and the city of St. Louis Park as an extension of the development agreement.

4.2.6. Approval

The whole process needed countless votes from the city council, from every piece of land that needed to be acquired till the approval of initial plans, change of the zoning ordinance, the Tax Increment Financing and the detailed development plans. Since the process took, from initiation till completion, more than 10 years there were different city councils in office and different mayors involved. Surprisingly all the votes of the city council were unanimous, and the votes of the planning commission were all but one unanimous, once there was a 6 to 1 vote in favor of the proposal.

The secret behind this very smooth process was that a partnership for the developer meant that there would be no secrets and surprises during the process, and acted according to that. The developer proved to be a very reliable actor and its motto; never a surprise, was embraced by the city of St. Louis Park. Everything that went to the council had been discussed and agreed on by the staff. And the staff had discussed everything with the city council and the planning commission when it went in for a vote. If problems arose, they were analyzed and a joint strategy was thought of for dealing with it. Trust and openness were the key words, which made this project work.

4.2.7. Roles of Public and Private Partners

Even before a developer was in sight, the city council and the mayor of St. Louis Park took the leadership role and initiated the development of Excelsior and Grand. Normally with developments in the US a city leaves the initiation of a project with the developers and is only involved in the approval of the project. Because of a citizen driven vision for St. Louis Park, the city of St. Louis Park boldly took initiative and thereby had a greater responsibility than the planning system had intended. After initiating the project the city government also started acquiring land, analyzing the site and already solving some of the problems that had presented themselves.

This meant for the developer they stepped in the process later than they were used to. The developer believed in the vision of the city and was very glad with the road the city had already paved. There was much less hassle with polluted soil, and there were no extras surprises which governments usually keep turning up with. The city of St. Louis Park set the stage very clear and was by doing so recognized as a serious partner by the developer. This clear stage led to a very clear role division, which was actually signed in an agreement at the start of the project.

Because it initiated the development, the city could engage in an official partnership with TOLD Development Company. They contributed financially with grants and TIF and thus had a larger seat at the table, compared to the one they would normally have had. For the US this was a huge involvement from the public sector. This partnership inspired both actors. And although they did not always agree immediately, a lot heated discussions were held and sometimes heads were bumped, the attitude of the developer and the open dialogue kept the process going, resulting in a successful development.

The developer TOLD was a local developer with a very community engaged attitude and had a business track record of being trustworthy. With this project he proved his reputation to be correct.

4.3. Case #2 Ballpark Area (Minneapolis)

4.3.1. Initiative

The major baseball league club The Minnesota Twins has initiated the Ballpark project. They were playing their games at the Metrodome stadium since 1984 along with the national football league club Minnesota Vikings. The Metrodome was designed as a football stadium and the stadium has never really been suitable for major league baseball. In the mid 1990s Twins owner Carl Pohlad claimed that the team needed a new stadium to survive. The team was economically unattractive in the Metrodome and the end of the lease on the Metrodome was in sight.

When it became clear after a number of years that a new stadium with public funding was not an option, Pohlad led the team in 2001 up for contraction, as part of the leagues plan to eliminate two teams. This plan was crossed when the Hennepin District Court ruled that the Twins needed to fulfill their lease at the Metrodome for 2002. Pohlad hired then lawyer Ralph Strangis to sell the team. When no credible buyers presented themselves, the Twins tried to persuade the State of Minnesota that there had to be a new ballpark.

The State had earlier proven to be a difficult hurdle and was once again uncooperative. Since the City of Minneapolis had to have an approval from Hennepin County for budgets above \$ 10 million, the Twins turned to Hennepin County directly after realizing the State wasn't going to fund a new stadium. The negotiations with the County took quite long, but by the end of 2005 they got to an agreement. In the meantime the Twins played on the rivalry between Minneapolis and St. Paul over a suitable site, and causing a beauty contest between the Twin Cities over where the ballpark would be.

4.3.2. Land Acquisition

At the same time as the Twins claimed they needed a new ballpark, in the late 1990s, Bruce Lambrecht and partner Hines, a big global real estate developer, owned a piece of land at the edge of downtown in the Warehouse district, that was being used as a parking lot. Bruce Lambrecht took the Twins wish to relocate very seriously and thought he owned the perfect spot for the new ballpark. In trying to persuade others he had an urban design made for the ballpark and all the land he owned around the ballpark. The three existing parking garages (each 2000 parking spaces) were a good asset to the site when used as a ballpark, but the ace in his pocket was the proposed transit hub. A node of public transport with the light rail line

Ballpark Area



Figure 41: Birdseye view Minneapolis Downtown Souce: <http://www.google.nl/imghp?hl=nl&tab=wi>



Figure 42



Figure 43



Figure 44: Birdseye view Minneapolis Downtown Souce: <http://www.google.nl/imghp?hl=nl&tab=wi>

and the Northstar line was going to be located at the corner of the site. Lambrecht eventually persuaded the Twins and thereby the County that his site of 8 acres was the best for the future ballpark and they made a contract for selling the land for \$ 12.9 million dollar and 5 acre compensation on the south side of the stadium.

4.3.3. Approval

Meanwhile at the beginning of 2006 the Minnesota Twins and Hennepin County went to the State governor with their mutual agreement for the ballpark. They had an agreement on the division of the costs, risk, revenues and on the site. For this agreement, the Hennepin Council needed officially to take a stand and approve a sales tax raise of 0.15% for the next 30 years, to be able to gain the money.

They didn't use a citizen's referendum as usual, because the chance of getting a positive result was thought to be very slim: there was opposition about publicly financing the stadium and a lot of skepticism about the site (the site was next to a garbage burner and the size was too small, therefore the stadium had to be built over an interstate highway and over railroad tracks). To persuade enough Council members voting in favor of the tax raise, the Council member who put in the bill added to the funding of \$ 350 million for the new stadium also \$ 45 million for libraries and \$ 45 million for other sports. The Hennepin County Council had a vote and by a 4 to 3 vote the Council decided to raise County sales taxes by 0.15% and thereby financing the new ballpark. Effectively all the State of Minnesota had to do then was authorize the ballpark. This sounds much easier than it was and after a very close vote (34 in favor and 32 against) the ballpark legislation got approved by the State of Minneapolis in May 2006.

The ballpark legislation included the establishment of the Ballpark Implementation Committee (BIC) and the Minnesota Ballpark Authority (MBA). The Ballpark Implementation Committee was established as an alternative land use and development review process for the ballpark project. Although agreed upon by the city, with this the BIC officially overruled the city of Minneapolis in the approval process, and the City Council had one end vote for the whole ballpark project, instead of the numerous approvals of the City Council, approval boards and Committees which it would have otherwise. The Ballpark Implementation Committee was a ten-member Committee and included equal representation from the City of Minneapolis and Hennepin County, with both elected officials and citizens.

The Minnesota Ballpark Authority was created to oversee the design, construction and operation of new baseball stadium. The Minnesota Ballpark Authority owns the site and the facility on behalf of the public. The Minnesota Ballpark Authority consists of five Commissioners appointed by the State Governor (two), Hennepin County (two, including the Board Chair) and the City of Minneapolis (one).

The Ballpark Implementation Committee completed its review of the project and made its recommendations in October 2007. In December 2007 the Minneapolis City Council acted on the Committee's recommendations and approved the building of the new stadium by issuing the permits. The building of the new stadium could then begin.

4.3.4. Financing

With the legislation in place in spring of 2006 the Twins and Hennepin County then encountered the biggest problem of the process. The contract for acquiring the land just expired before the legislation went through and the developer demanded a new price for the 8 acre site of \$ 50 million. In the eyes of the developer this had become a golden site to be developed near downtown and claimed the land was much more worth than first agreed upon. This raised a lot of bad blood with all public governments. In their view now nothing was happening there, other than that the developer was going to make money on parking on game days in the future.



Figure 46: Site Ballpark before Source: <http://commons.wiki-media.org/>



Figure 47: STarget Field Stadium



Figure 48: Site Ballpark under way Source: <http://commons.wiki-media.org/>



Figure 49: Inside Ballpark looking at downtown



Figure 50: Site Ballpark almost there Source: <http://commons.wiki-media.org/>



Figure 51: Opening day



Figure 52: Source: <http://commons.wiki-media.org/>

The County then was facing a dilemma. They could start a lawsuit for eminent domain and claim the site for public purposes. In that scenario they then had to pay the value of the land. They knew the outcome of the lawsuit was not going to be \$ 50 million, but it was also going to be more than \$ 12.9 million, and they had no more money to spend. The County sold the 5 acre compensation to the United Properties, a development company related to the Twins owner, and the Twins put up an extra \$ 15 million for infrastructure and that convinced the County to start the lawsuit. The outcome of the lawsuit was that the County had to pay \$ 29 million for the site, which met the budget after the team owner put up the extra funds.

When the Ballpark bill was approved by the Minnesota Legislature in May 2006, the total estimated project budget was \$ 480 million. The team’s commitment to the project was to pay \$ 130 million for ballpark construction costs and to pay for any additional ballpark enhancements or ballpark cost overruns. Under the terms of the legislation, the team had officially no responsibility for infrastructure costs. Hennepin County was committed to funding \$ 350 million of the initial project budget, \$ 260 million for the ballpark and \$ 90 million for infrastructure costs.

In April 2010 when the ballpark was completed, the total project budget had increased to \$ 555 million. The \$ 75 million budget increase came partly by the increased land costs and partly by the extra demand of the Minnesota Ballpark Authority for enhancements of the ballpark and the public space. The Twins and other private partners have funded 100% of the ballpark’s enhancements, and over 80% of the infrastructure enhancements. In total, the Twins have committed \$ 195 million to the project and Target Corporation (who bought the name of the baseball field: Target Field) has added another \$ 4.5 million for plaza improvements. Hennepin County’s \$ 350 million contribution did not change. The other public funds came from the Minnesota Ballpark Authority who funded \$ 2 million (for a sustainable certification and public art) and Minnesota Department of Transportation with \$ 3.5 million (for an extra skyway and also the public art).

4.3.5. Risks and Revenues

The risks were very clearly divided: all the cost overruns were for the Twins team. Therefore the team had total control over everything concerning the stadium and public space.

2006 Ballpark Project Budget				
Stadium	\$ 390 million	Sources	Hennepin County	\$ 260 million
			Minnesota Twins	\$ 130 million
Infrastructure	\$ 90 million		Hennepin County	\$ 90 million
Total Costs	\$ 480 million		Total Budget	\$ 480 million

2010 Ballpark Project Budget				
Stadium	\$ 435.5 million	Sources	Hennepin County	\$ 260 million
			Minnesota Twins	\$ 175.5 million
Infrastructure	\$ 119.5 million		Hennepin County	\$ 90 million
			Minnesota Twins	\$ 19.5 million
			Target Corporation	\$ 4.5 million
			Minnesota Department of Transportation	\$ 3.5 million
			Minnesota Ballpark Authority	\$ 2 million
Total Costs	\$ 555 million		Total Budget	\$ 555 million

Figure 45: Budget of the ballpark in 2006 en 2010

The project furthermore exceeded all workforce diversity and community participation goals, such as small women- and minority-owned businesses. These goals are very important to the public governments. Target Field has also been certified LEED Silver for sustainability.

4.3.6. Program

The program for the ballpark area is very fragmented and remains still a bit of a mystery, due to the fact that there has never been a plan that had been embraced by all the key players. The same goes for the area boundaries, there are no two actors who have with the same boundaries for this area in mind.

The ballpark was the clearest item of the program when the project was initiated. The transportation hub of one light rail line and the Northstar line were also autonomous program, initiated by the Metropolitan Council, which landed coincidentally at the same site. Also some individual projects, like incidental housing buildings in the warehouse district, have been developed but they are all individual projects which have no connection to each other whatsoever.

The developers of the ballpark, Hennepin County and the Minnesota Twins are not going to develop anything in the warehouse district, their goal was the ballpark and never anything else.

Bruce Lambrecht and partners have a vision for the area, but they only made a plan for the land they own. In this plan they seemed to have concentrated the entire available program for the next decades into a small strip, making it a very high density area that almost competes with the downtown densities. Thus their plan is a development that can only do well in very good economical tides. It is therefore to be expected that their plan is not going to be developed for a while.

A new program set up for the next phase at the site are two extensions of the light rail line. The Hiawatha line is a big success and is going to be extended at the ballpark hub into two new lines into the suburbs, the Bottineau Transitway and the Southwest Corridor. Both lines have been initiated by the Metropolitan Council.

The 2020 Partners do not have an actual plan for the whole ballpark area, instead, using extensive analyses examining opportunities and risks for the area, they make ad hoc decisions at regular meetings. Design proposals are presented, assessed in light of their analyses, and voted upon at their meetings. If the proposal is approved the actors responsible for the proposal will work with the group. All the (small) projects that are proposed by the city, county, metropolitan council, or private partners for the area are analyzed in the larger connection with the area and discussed.

Although almost nobody acted on it, the city of Minneapolis made a master plan already in 2003 for the warehouse district: Downtown East/Northloop Masterplan, with matching land use legislation. This plan was succeeded in 2010 by the North Loop Small Area Plan, which is a policy document to guide land use and development in the North Loop neighborhood for the next 20 years. This is the only actual plan that covers the whole of the warehouse district. Interestingly enough almost nobody is following this plan or realizing parts of it, especially not the city itself. The city of Minneapolis facilitates with this plan possible developments, and after making this plan they are waiting to see which and when developments will happen.

The City of Minneapolis projected in 2003 a 20-year program for the Northloop district that is based on analysis and long term projections:

4.3.7. Roles of Public and Private Partners

There was a public private partnership between the Twins and Hennepin County in the first phase of the ballpark area. The division of risks and revenues were very clear from the begin-

	20-Year Projections for Northloop
Office space	2-4 million sq. ft. (185.000-370.000 m ²)
Residential	750-1,500 dwelling units High end attached housing near: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entertainment destinations • Light rail station
Retail space	300-400,000 sq. ft. (28.000-37.000 m ²) Eating & Drinking near: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entertainment destinations • Emerging office & residential areas
Lodging	750-1,000 rooms near: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entertainment destinations

Figure 53: Program Northloop, Source city of Minneapolis

ning. The role division between the County and the Twins was therefore very clear, although the investment of the County and the amount of \$ 350 million in the ballpark can be questioned. It would be very controversial for a Dutch government to put so much money in a stadium for professional sports. It was at least a very active role the County had here.

In phase one there was also the public private partnership of The 2010 partners, The 2010 Partners was a private initiative, initiated by real estate developer Chuck Leer, who saw a series of developments happen, but no cohesive vision come down in this area. The focal point of the partnership was coordinating, and trying to figure out together how the ballpark was going to be integrated into the city; a way to coordinate and address issues that concerned more than one actor. Before 2010 partners everybody was doing their own thing; a lot of effort, but not very effective. The 2010 Partners seemed to be the oil that got to move things more easily.

Every organization with even the slightest interest in the warehouse district and its surroundings were invited to join the partnership. More than hundred people and actors came to their first meetings. If you wanted to know what was going on around the ballpark, this was the group to join. Chuck Leer had hired Mary deLaittre from Groundwork to help him with trying to make the sum greater than the separate parts in the ballpark area. And since Minneapolis is a small world for developing, everybody knew them from other projects and trusted and respected them. This legitimized their leadership role.

In this phase this public private partnership functioned well because all parties involved gained something in knowing what was going on at the ballpark site. The role of The 2010 Partnership changed slightly, after the ballpark had been opened. The ballpark was now well integrated in the city and the two new proposed light rail lines formed a nice follow up to continue the partnership. Leer and deLaittre hired architects VJAA to make an analyses of the ballpark area, and presented the analyzed opportunities and threats to the partners. This convinced most actors that there was still a lot to be coordinated in the ballpark area and they then became The 2020 Partners.

The 2020 Partners is now THE leading group in the ballpark area (with Leer and deLaittre as driving forces), but the public actors are not active in this partnership. The public side is not actively involved in the ballpark area, they are just waiting for the private side to come with initiatives. Some small projects have already happened, like the construction of some new apartment buildings. Each developer built his own apartment building. The inactive attitude of the private actors might be why the partnership seems to be struggling in beginning of this second phase. Exemplary for this is the attendance of the members of the Steering Committee. The members of the Steering Committee on the private side are all the presidents of their company and always join these meetings themselves. On the public side usually the directors, but also other civil servants attend the meetings, and not the council members. In this phase

The 2020 Partners do not seem an equal partnership, it looks remarkably like the process that the constitution intended: a facilitating public side and the private side coming up with initiatives. Although the private actors repeatedly try to convince the public side that in this area a more active attitude is needed, the public side does not change its role and remains just facilitating.

The Steering Committee of the 2020 partners:

- Barbara Johnson, City of Minneapolis Council President
- Peter McLaughlin, Hennepin County Commissioner
- Erika Carter, Target
- Dave St. Peter, Minnesota Twins
- Dan Kenney, Minnesota Ballpark Authority
- David Frank, North Loop Neighborhood Association
- Joanne Kaufman, Warehouse District Business Association

4.4. Conclusions Cases

4.4.1. Excelsior and Grand Process

The project was initiated by the city of St. Louis Park, which showed an unusual involvement for US standards. A typical development in the US is much less collaborative than Excelsior and Grand was. Usually there is not a partnership, but merely just a relationship between the public and private actors.

Trust opened all the windows. It got the politicians to show leadership because they felt backed up by the community and their staff, it got the developer TOLD to take extra risks, because he knew the city of St. Louis Park wanted the same development and that somehow they would see this through together and that they would not stab him in the back. I found to be an unusual level of trust, even for a Dutch development. Certainly for an American one, where there is usually a lot of distrust between the public and private actors, this was a true joint cooperation. This trust made it an effective and efficient partnership.

There was no budget overrun. The costs were split; costs for land acquisition, the public realm, extra quality and clear polluted soil were paid for by the city in TIF-notes or grants, which met up with the expenses. All the other costs were for the developer. By these financial investments the city of St. Louis Park enlarged their involvement in the project quite a bit and positioned itself in the driver's seat.

Excelsior was not only done with the support of the local community, it was actually initiated by the community. This did not slow the process down, as citizens participation normally would have done, it made the process much smoother.

Both the developers and the city of St. Louis Park goals were achieved. It is regarded a very successful development by both the community and the professionals.

Product

The spatial quality of the development is very good. It is an integral plan, which has been completely realized, the way it was planned. Especially in a US planning culture, which is mostly economically based; there are some European solutions in the plan that normally are too expensive in a suburb in the US. Creativity of the developer made the high quality possible. Part of the good result of the collaboration is seamless transition to the park next to it, which was an all city development.

Since the plan of 16 acres (6.5 ha) was build in four phases, the scope of the project corresponded with the market.

Roles

There was a very clear public private role division in the Excelsior and Grand development. Both actors set the roles and responsibilities in advance, and included his in a contract. The city initiated the project and financed the public quality and amenities, and the developer did the rest. The developer made the plan, the city made the corresponding legislation, approved it, and arranged the permits.

The role of the city of St. Louis Park was not as limited and restricted role as it generally was supposed to be. Since the Kelo vs City of New London ruling the state of Minnesota has changed legislation and the city of St. Louis Park would now not be able to use eminent domain any more.

4.4.2. Ballpark Area

The ballpark proved to be a very interesting case because it was two development cases in one, the first being the development of ballpark itself and the second of the area around the ballpark. Interestingly enough they were both typical developments for the public sector; the ballpark itself being a development with an active public attitude and the area around the ballpark is the classic case of how the constitution intended development in the US; initiatives by the private actors and a facilitating role for the public actors.

Process

The city of Minneapolis was never in the driver's seat with the ballpark. It was much bigger than them, they were taken along for the ride by Hennepin County. The ballpark project proved that when a politician can score with a project, it will have some chance of more government involvement. With the ballpark the county was very involved with \$ 350 million.

Phase one (building the ballpark) went well and got finished within time, due to the private actor, and slightly over budget. Extra costs were mostly caused by extra public amenities and more costs for acquiring the land than anticipated. Once the state legislation passed for the ballpark, the private actors had a very firm grip on the whole development (process, product and budget) and were able to control it the whole process. The Twins held leadership during the entire first phase of the process. And everything went well because it was a major project, but it still was a single issue, single use project.

Everybody involved in the process (public and private) knew each other from earlier developments, commissions, boards and things like that. The Twin Cities are not a small region, but small enough for all people involved to bump into each other time after time. The network worked well and there was a level of trust among the involved actors, outside the political system. This helped the process greatly.

Phase two (after the ballpark), seems to be uncertain. While a lot of opportunities presented themselves for this neighborhood (warehouse district):

- the new infrastructure hub getting extended with two newly approved extra light rail lines,
- the district being neighbors with the cities most expensive housing area,
- the decayed warehouse district with potentially good buildings,
- the City of Minneapolis in a battle with the suburbs for attractive housing,
- part of Minneapolis creative class already present in the area,
- most bars and restaurant of the city in the neighborhood or in close range,
- the red-light district being there (legal reason to interfere).

The ballpark could be a catalyst for the area and turning the tides.

The private side recognizes this and states that there is more needed here than just the usual single-issue approach and bilateral meetings between actors. They initiated the public private partnership the 2010 Partners to evolve into 2020 Partners after the ballpark was completed. They are addressing issues like the integrating of the two new light rail lines and other op-

opportunities and threats for the area. In the Netherlands, this would be the main domain of the local government. The local governments however keep in their passive role of just facilitating and do not show any interest to become more active partners. Their strongest tool therefore remains the power of persuasion for getting the plan realized.

The unclear program and unclear boundaries of site result in an unclear process and product. But they are very exemplary for developments in US and especially in Minneapolis.

An urban development in the Netherlands is much more efficient in the Netherlands because of the integral approach. Transportation, public domain, utilities, and water issues are easily integrated in developments. In the US all these issues are dealt with one after another, really meaning after one another.

Product

The ballpark is a high class stadium, with a high quality of public space. Except for the pedestrian connections downtown, the stadium could not have been more integrated in the area. It is over a highway, over train tracks and on the corner of the largest public transportation hub in the metropolitan region. The ballpark is of excellent quality due to the private actors and the public space due to both public and private actors. The connection to the surroundings is very good, except for the public ramp going into downtown, which is too small for such a large audience.

The public transportation hub contributes to the quality of the public space with 20% of visitors of the stadium coming by public transport. In addition to that were no new parking structures build or areas cleared for parking lot. All parking is situated in existing buildings or on existing lots. That is quite an achievement for a 40,000 seat stadium, and a huge contribution to the quality of the public space.

The effect on downtown was also very positive. Downtown is vibrant on game days, and the bars and restaurant in the warehouse district have seen their business boom.

The public realm in the Netherlands is very clearly the domain of the public actors, at least for maintenance. In the US this seems to be a gray area. Public real is sometimes also the invested in and maintained by private partners, like the Twins.

The scale of the second phase of the ballpark area has the potential for a large scale mixed use project, but the scale of the projects remain very small, due to the passive attitude of the local governments. The private sector sees the bigger picture, but has not yet teamed up well enough to make this bigger picture work. The private sector remains also in a very solo approach of their developments. They have not yet partnered in a consortium or anything of that kind, while there are some major development actors in the area, like Hines and United Properties. So the process will probably be ad hoc and single-issue based for the next 20 years, if not longer.

Roles

Also in these projects there was a very clear role division. In the ballpark development actors negotiated the terms in advance, made a contract out of that and lived up to it: all the cost overruns were for the Twins team and all amenities had to be approved by them. Therefore the team had total control over everything concerning the stadium and public space. This is an often used principle when a local government is more involved in a development. Usually this will be transportation, stadium, affordable housing, etc.

In the first phase, the county was active in the single approach of the ballpark. Without County the Minnesota Twins would have left Minneapolis, so they were successful of keeping the twins for Minnesota and getting the ballpark realized.

There was a clear role division between federal government, state government and the county,

but there was not a real clear role division between Metropolitan Council and other government bodies, and between the city of Minneapolis and other public bodies. This was a very opaque process.

The county did overrule the city in the process. But the city of Minneapolis addressed the county only slightly different than other developers.

Most of the local governments seem to have a large and inefficient staff. This is probably also due to the fragmentation of the public system and the large citizens participation in any

The private landowner proved the prejudices towards big greedy developer to be correct by raising the price of the land. Although the public side likes to forget the 5 acres of the first deal, the 29 million for 8 acres was justified compared to 12.9 million for 3 acres.

In the second phase, also everyone plays their role as they are supposed to by the system. The private actors take initiative and the local governments facilitate. The private side likes to see more involvement of the public side, but they stick to their role. 2010 Partners does not seem to benefit greatly therefore from the partnership of the public actors.

Culture	United States	The Netherlands
	Free market Economy	Market regulated Economy
	Negotiation (gaming)	Consensus (debating)
	Trust on hierarchical relations	Trust on self-reliance employees
	Distrust of government	Confidence in government
	Conflict	Consensus
	Individual	Group
	Economical based	Socially based
	Planning & Control	Strategy & Flexibility
	Priorities: Legal - Organizational - Relational	Priorities: Organizational - relational - Legal
	Expression	Leveling
	Network	Family
	Profit is money	Profit can be various things

Figure 54: Table Cultural differences VS and Netherlands

Planning System	United States	The Netherlands
	Decentralized	Centralized
	Fragmented	Coherent
	Passive government	Active government
	Bottom Up	Top Down
	Economical planning	Spatial planning
	Political oriented	Policy oriented
	Directive based	Consensus based
	Development-led	Plan-led
	Development control	Balanced government & developer control
	Restricting developments	Enabling developments
	Ad hoc	Long term oriented
	Single use	Mixed use
	Single issue approach	Integral approach
	Small scale	Large scale
	Technical	Design
	Report on planning outcome	Shape planning outcome
	Highly depended on politics	Political influenced
	Community involvement	Key stakeholders
	High involvement citizens	Low involvement citizens
	Opaque: no standard process of engagement	Transparent: developed process of engagement

Figure 55: Table system differences VS and Netherlands

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Comparison

5.1.1. Context

The most distinctive differences between the US and the Netherlands regarding the planning system and urban city development have a cultural origin. Cultural differences caused the system to be designed almost opposite of the Dutch system. This causes the context to be so different, that it is not easy to make general comparisons.

There are several cultural differences; the most distinct ones are named in the table: As a Dutch, orderly, trusting-in-the-federal-government paradigm person, I was initially slightly shocked when I found out that the US system was actually deliberately intended to reduce the efficiency of the government, considering the side effect of it becoming a disruptive system, with very difficult public-private relationships and very long processes. Interestingly I also observe in practice that if there is a trust level established and a government takes some initiative that is a good base for quality and a much smoother process.

The outcome of the US planning system is very different from our planning system. The US developments are usually small scale, single use, single issue and ad hoc based. As opposed of the Dutch larger scale, mixed use, integral approach and a long term orientation. There are much more differences between in US and Dutch planning system; the most distinct ones are named in the table on the left.

In the US situation the Spatial Quality is almost not there, because of the economical approach and the little government involvement in the urban area development. The little there is comes from the developing site, from the the demand of citizens. The triangle of Van 't Verlaet (2003) shows clearly that in the US situation there is almost no organizing capacity, when the Spatial Quality is not there.

The good governance theory proves that the system in the US and the Netherlands are also on that aspect very different. Where in the Netherlands there is an intense connection between the public and private actors, no more communication than necessary is going on with the citizens. The US has a totally different approach, there is not very much connection between the public and the private actors, but from the public actors towards citizens there is a lot of communication involved. The private actors are falling a bit behind in the citizen participation process, compared to the public actors.

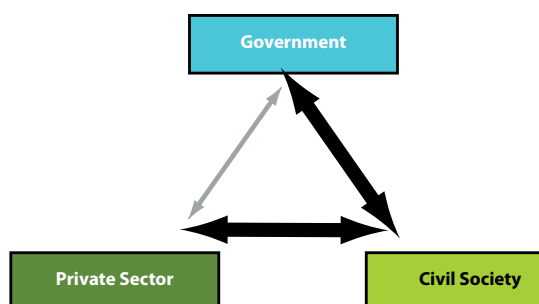


Figure 56: Governance in the US

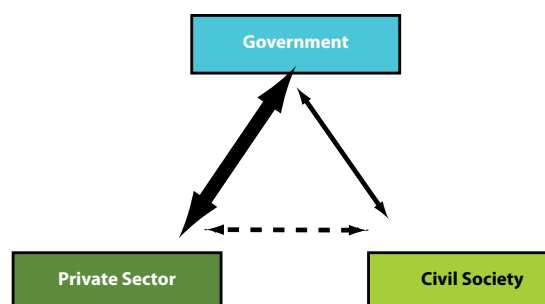


Figure 57: Governance in the Netherlands

The Ladder of Participation gives a very clear view on US citizen participation. This is an other league than ours and there is much to be learned here.

I matched the US case studies with the schemes of Heurkens (2010), and came to the conclusion that there is a part of the public private partnership missing in the US. The playing field is much smaller there than in the Netherlands (Figure 61). Also I found that public actors are always involved in legislation approvals and permits and private actors are always the ones doing the activities, so there are two different situations to be distinguished in the United States (Figure 59). And as earlier explained there are no high complexity nor large scale developments (Figure 60).

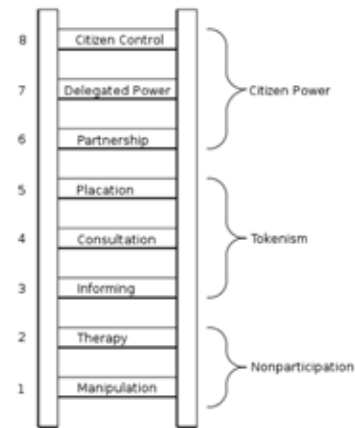


Figure 58: Ladder of Participation

		Type of Management Possibilities		
		Resources	Activities	Instruments
Type of Development Process	Private Sector Led	Public & Private	Private	Public
	Public Sector Led	Private	Private	Public

Figure 59: Typology of Public & Private Relationship & Management in the development Process

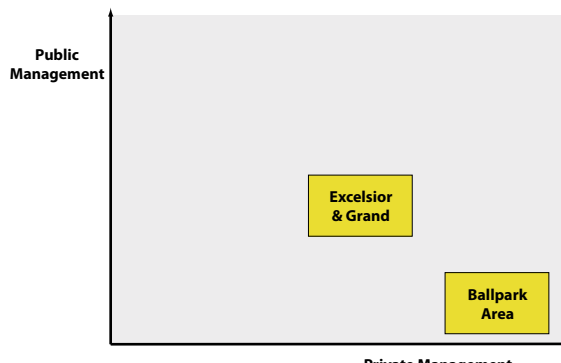


Figure 60 : Relationship between Types of Development Process & Types of Management

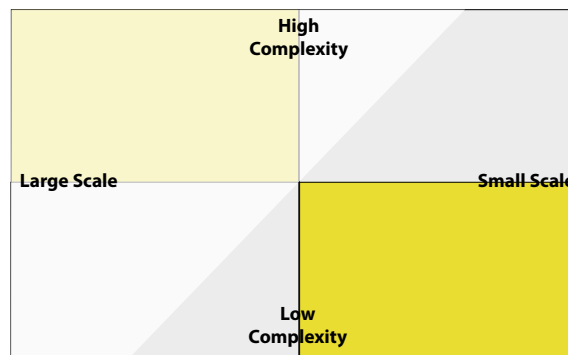


Figure 61: Type of Collaboration- Model

5.1.2. Practice

Through the case studies I was pleasantly surprised by the private sector I met in Minneapolis. The local developers were by far the money devils I anticipated; although they ensured me there are quite a few ones to be found. Almost all the local developers were very engaged in the community of Minneapolis, and very engaged with their work. I found that they had a lot of patience with the governments and that they were very creative. Maybe this last observation can be explained by the fact that most of them had an architectural background.

All projects of a respectable size in the US have government involvement of some sort. Normal straight developments like legislations intends, are small and have only need for the city to facilitate, give approvals and permits. In these cases the government is not able to steer a development other than with the power of persuasion. If a development is initiated, a government can be more active, but usually that is also not the case.

It was and still is difficult to perceive for someone involved Dutch urban area developments, that a public actor actually can passively wait (when all windows of opportunities are open) when they could invest far less than 350 million and upgrade about 250 acres (100 ha) near downtown.

In the Netherlands we would spend much less money on the stadium, invest in the surrounding decayed area and actively try to find developers interested in the development.

The high degree of political context and the impact of the power shifts I had expected, but I had not realized before that the aspect which has probably the most impact on the planning system of the three; the direct link between a councilmember, as a district representative, and his or her voters. Even politics is very individually oriented, or should I say; especially politics, as an exponent of American culture, is individually oriented.

In most interviews and in the ballpark case I found a big gap between politicians and the staff, with all governments. At first I was surprised by that, until I remembered a large corporation in Oss I read about in the paper while I was writing this rapport. Very similar there seemed to be absolutely no connection between the politicians and the staff. It seemed like the politicians did not know what happened down at the workplace, and the people at the workplace had no idea what was going on. It is a typical case of power being high in the organization. That won't do well in the Netherlands.

The cases and interviews showed that the US planning system is working the way it is intended to do. The role of the public actors is limited and the roles of private and public actors are very clearly and strict divided. The main features are named in the table:

Planning Practice	United States	The Netherlands
Private actors	Broader spectrum	Narrow spectrum
	Extremes	Middle range
	Local and Regional, few national	Regional and national, few local
	Clear role division	Unclear role division
	Role very apparent	Role apparent
	Role very needed	Role accepted
Public actors	Fragmented	Continuous
	Facilitating government	Very active government
	Active citizen participation	Tokenism citizen participation
	Citizen participation in residential areas	Citizens in all plans
	Role less accepted	Role very apparent
	Role sometimes apparent	Role very accepted

Figure 62: Planning Practice differences between US and the Netherlands

5.2. Lesson Drawing

The US planning system is deliberately designed to minimize the influence of the government. The consequence is a development process that is a struggle for both public and private actors. This is preferred over the alternative of a stronger government influence. The result of this is a lack of respect between public and private actors, and often distrust. This has substantial negative effects on the process and product of the developments.

When one is able to adjust some of the things created by the US planning system, like trust instead of distrust and initiation instead of facilitating, great projects can be build in the US. The system itself stands in the way for larger scale projects; real urban area development therefore does not take place in the representative parts of the US. The best chance of finding them is in some very progressive metropolitan regions.

The case of Excelsior and Grand shows clearly that Tax Increment related financing is a huge contribution why local governments do not have money for maintenance. That is mortgaging the future and that is a situation we definitely want to avoid in the Netherlands.

Transferable Development Rights work well in an economically based planning system, but clash with a spatial planning system. Economically it makes sense to transfer developments, but spatially there is already another program, or reason not to want more program, there. In a spatially based planning system it is rare if the program of the source site will fit in the developments of another site. Therefore I do not think Transferable Development Rights can be implemented in the Netherlands.

And we could learn from the citizen participation in the US. There is such a wide variety of citizen groups of people involved and engaged in developments that that can be a contribution to our system.

The triangle of Van 't Verlaat (2003) shows clearly that both public and private interests need to be met for a balanced development. That is now not the case in the US. The private actors will address Spatial Quality due to the demand of citizens, but by far not enough to have a balanced system. This would be an unbalanced future, which we better prevent. Since design and spatial planning are so much part of our planning system, it is unlikely we could end up with an such unbalanced system in the sense the US has. But it proves that it is very important for the future in the Netherlands that local governments are able to be a countweight for developers and address spatial quality. This also implicates that local governments need some professional staff to be able to do that. It takes actors from both private and public sides to bring balance to spatial quality.

Due to the planning system in the US, there will mostly be small scale, single issue approach, single use and ad hoc developments initiated by the private sector. So the outcome of the system is even as the system itself, almost opposite compared to the outcome of the current Dutch system. A dramatic shift in our planning system is not predicted, so a dramatic shift in the size and nature of our development projects is also not to be expected. But; I expect that a government with less money to invest in developments, will shift more and more to small-scaled and single use projects. The integral discipline is so woven in our system that we should be able to keep that asset, and the same can be argued for long-term vision. It is not expected therefore that with less money for local governments, projects will turn single issue and ad hoc. It seems to be our foreland that we shift more to small-scaled and single use project.

The Netherlands government is more effective and efficient in planning because they have a smaller and orderly structured government, and the government was actually intended to plan for the future and to be involved in the development process. After studying the US planning

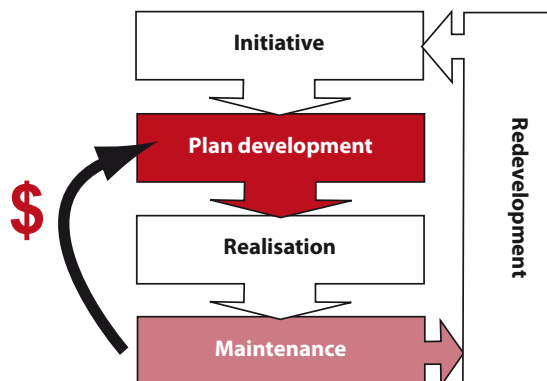


Figure 63: Phases Urban Area Development

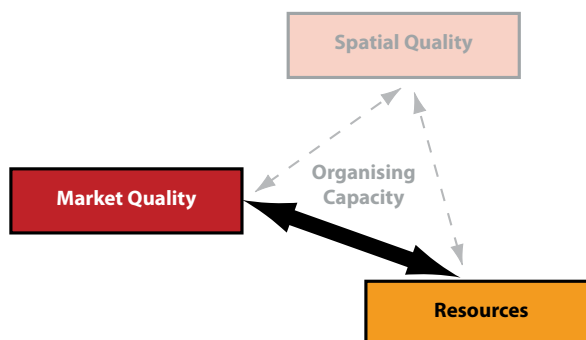


Figure 64: Triangle of Optimisation of the three Corners for US

system, I recommend not to change the essence of that principle and to focus on the aspect of local governments taking initiative in the development process. Their role can be more limited in the plan developing phase, but initiating projects is essentially the base of urban area development, and is certainly the tool that has the biggest impact in the United States.

Excelsior and Grand would be a good model for future urban area developments. It is based on the Dutch “Concession model”: initiative and some involvement in plan development from the public government, but very clear role, risk and responsibility division. The developer got a palet of paint from the city and painted the picture. The city could set the conditions, if it was to be a modern or renaissance painting, lot of red or lots of blue, landscape or protrait, etc. That is an interesting way of painting pictures. A precondition for that was the Request for Qualifications, instead of Request of Plan. A very interesting approach for the Netherlands.

So do Americans build bigger, better and bolder?

Bigger: definitely not. Better: also not, Dutch developments have averagely more quality.

Bolder: yes, Americans have a less modest culture and a very creative private sector. More bolder and creative than our private sector at least.

I learned a lot in the US and while studying the US system, culture and planning system. I learned what we shouldn't do and what we could do, I was inspired and saw some very nice things. I saw that the Anglo Saxon western wind is blowing some nice things our way. But I also learned that there are some things we really better avoid, like Tax Increment Financing and prohibiting governments to have initiative. But there was one more which I found very bias confirming and that could only have come from such a fragmented political government as that of the United States, it is the political variant of NIMBY, named: NIMTOO - Not In My Term Of Office...

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Appendix I - Interviewed people

Independant - General



Julia Robinson

Julia Robinson is Professor Architecture at UofM, has a PHD (TU Delft) in cultural differences in architecture as a cultural medium.



Cynthia Lapp

Cynthia Lapp is Associated professor Landscape architecture at the University of Minnesota and did her final thesis on a project in the Netherlands.



Peter Brown

Peter Brown teaches private sector development at the UofM and is an architect and planner working in real estate development in the Twin Cities.



Jeremy Jones

Jeremy Jones is an Urban planner, did his final thesis last year on Danish planning.

Independant - Private actors



Kit Richardson

Kit Richardson is a Minneapolis developer, principal of Schafer Richardson, Inc.



Michael Lander

Michael Lander is President of Lander Group (early involvement design charette of Excelsior and Grand).

Independant - Public actors



Tom Streitz

Tom Streitz is director of the Division of Housing Policy & Development, with CPED-Community Planning Economic Development at the city of Minneapolis

Note: Both Professor Julia Robinson and Cynthia Lapp have read, checked and commented this paper multiple times. If there is still some inadequate information in, it is all my doing.

Excelsior and Grand - Public actors



Gail Dorfman is former Mayor of St. Louis park (and currently Commissioner at Hennepin County).



Tom Harmening is City Manager at City of St. Louis Park.



Sean Walther is Senior Planner at Department of Community Development with the City Of St. Louis Park & Chair of the Minnesota Design Team.

Excelsior and Grand - Private actors



Bob Cunningham is Principal of TOLD Development -the developer that build Excelsior and Grand.



Michael Lander is President of Lander Group and early involvement design charette of Excelsior and Grand.

Excelsior and Grand - General



David Graham is architect of Excelsior and Grand, and Principal at ESG Architects.

Ballpark Area - Private actors



Mary deLaittre is owner of Groundwork (urban planning process firm) and the driving force behind 2020 Partners.



Chuck Leer is Chairman and founder of 2020 Partners and Owner of North First Ventures, LLC (Real Estate industry).



Ralph Strangis is lawyer for the Minnesota Twins and managed the ballpark public private partnership.



Bruce Lambrecht is owner of private property in ballpark area and used to own the land of the ballpark.

Ballpark Area - Public actors



Gail Dorfman is former Mayor of St. Louis park (and currently Commissioner at Hennepin County).



Phil Eckert is Director of Housing, Community Works and Transit at Hennepin County.



Dan Kenney is Director Minnesota Ballpark Authority.



Beth Elliott is the lead planner City of Minneapolis: AICP; Principal City Planner, City of Minneapolis, at CPED, Planning Division.

Ballpark Area - General



Jennifer Yoos

Jennifer Yoos is Principal of VJA Architects and Lead Architect in process hired by 2020 partners.



Wilbert Shilling

Wilbert Shilling is an artist with a studio within one block of the ballpark and owners of real estate in the ballpark area.



Shelly Miller

Shelly Miller has this year finished her study Landscape Architecture at the University of Minnesota with her final thesis on the ballpark area.



Trish Shilling

Trish Shilling is an artist with a studio within one block of the ballpark and owners of real estate in the ballpark area.

Appendix II - Interview Questions

Interview vragen - algemeen Urban planning system

How does the urban planning system function in Minneapolis (Minnesota)?

- What policy instruments are there?
- What and how, do policy instruments affect on the development practice?
- What are the roles of different public and private organizations?
 - What different public bodies are there in the planning system?
 - What is the role (responsibilities & tasks) of these different public bodies?
 - How are the different public organizations related in the planning system?
 - What is the influence of the different public bodies?
 - What is the role (responsibilities & tasks) and influence of the State government in the urban planning system?
 - What is the role (responsibilities & tasks) and influence of the County government in the urban planning system?
 - What is the role (responsibilities & tasks) and influence of the City government in the urban planning system?
 - What is the role (responsibilities & tasks) and influence of the Xxxx government in the urban planning system?
 - What type of different private organizations are there?
 - What are the role (responsibilities & tasks) of the private actors?
 - How do the public and private organizations interact in the urban planning system?
- What is the cooperative relationship/culture between the public and private sector?
- Is there a clear (general) role division between the public and private sector?
- What type of partnerships can be distinguished?
 - What types of public-public partnerships exist?
 - What types of public-private partnerships exist?
 - Do private-private partnerships exist, and if so what types?
 - Is there a private sector-led development process?
 - What type of projects are usually public sector led?
 - What type of projects are usually led by the State?
 - What type of projects are usually led by the County?
 - What type of projects are usually led by the City?
 - What type of projects are usually led by the Xxxx?
 - What type of projects are usually private sector led?
- How does the public sector normally ensure public objectives?
- How does the State normally ensure their objectives?
- How does the County normally ensure their objectives?
- How does the City normally ensure their objectives?
- How does the Xxxx normally ensure their objectives?
- What means do they have for this (instruments, money, etc)?
 - What means does the State have for this (instruments, money, etc)?
 - What means does the County have for this (instruments, money, etc)?
 - What means does the City have for this (instruments, money, etc)?
 - What means does the Xxxx have for this (instruments, money, etc)?
- How does the public sector steer developments with low budgets and limited instruments?
 - How does the State steer developments with low budgets and limited instruments?
 - How does the County steer developments with low budgets and limited instruments?
 - How does the City steer developments with low budgets and limited instruments?
 - How does the Xxxx steer developments with low budgets and limited instruments?

- How does the private sector normally ensure private objectives?
- What means do they have for this (instruments, money, etc)?
- What are the resources used by the by the public actors?
- What are the resources used by the by the State?
- What are the resources used by the by the County?
- What are the resources used by the by the City?
- What are the resources used by the by the Xxx?
- What are the resources used by the by the private actors?
- How are the risks and venues in general divided between the public and private actors?
- How are projects normally financed, and by whom?

- What urban governance* differences exist between cities?
 - What types of (urban) governance bodies are there?
- What is the influence of the inhabitants in the planning system?

How does the urban planning system function in the USA?

- Are there differences with the Minneapolis planning system?
- What are the main differences with the Minneapolis planning system?

- What is the influence of the National government in the urban planning system?
- What is the influence of the State government in the urban planning system?
- What is the influence of the County government in the urban planning system?
- What is the influence of the City government in the urban planning system?
- What is the influence of the Xxx government in the urban planning system?
- What is the influence of the inhabitants in the planning system?
- What is the influence of the private sector in the urban planning system?

- What is the cooperative relationship/culture between the public and private sector?
- Are there additional types of partnerships that can be distinguished?
- Are there additional types of resources used by the by the public sector?
- Are there additional types of resources used by the by the private sector?
- Are there additional types of dividing risk and venue between the public and private actors?
- Are there additional types of financing?
- What urban governance differences exist between regions/states?
- Are there additional types of (urban) governance bodies?

Interview vragen - projecten

Urban planning practice

What are the characteristics of the public private relationship in Minneapolis?

- What is the governance philosophy/agenda within the city?
 - What is the role of the public sector in general?
 - What is the role of the State in general in Minneapolis?
 - What is the role of the County in general in Minneapolis?
 - What is the role of the City in general in Minneapolis?
 - What is the role of the Xxxx in general in Minneapolis?
 - What is the role of the public sector in this project?
 - What is the role of the State in this project?
 - What is the role of the County in this project?
 - What is the role of the City in this project?
 - What is the role of the Xxxx in this project?
 - What is the role of the private sector in general in Minneapolis?
 - What is the role of the private sector in this project?
-
- What steering instruments are there for the public actors?
 - What steering instruments are there for the State?
 - What steering instruments are there for the County?
 - What steering instruments are there for the City?
 - What steering instruments are there for the Xxxx?
 - What steering instruments are there for the private actors?
-
- What juridical instruments are there for the public actors?
 - What juridical instruments are there for the State?
 - What juridical instruments are there for the County?
 - What juridical instruments are there for the City?
 - What juridical instruments are there for the Xxxx?
 - What juridical instruments are there for the private actors?

What are the motives & history for the urban development?

- What public objectives are related to the project?
- What private objectives are related to the project?
- What decisions and events influenced the start of the development?
- Who initiated the development and why?
- Who decided what the program should be?
- What was the land ownership situation at the start of the development?
- What type of coalition/partnership is chosen for the development?
- Why did this coalition/partnership got chosen?
- How was(were) the private actor(s) selected?
- When was the planning application handed in?
- When was the planning permission given?
- Who was explaining the plans to the public?
- Who was defending the plan to the public?
- Who was approving the plans/development?
- How was the project designed, by whom, and who is financing the design?
- Were there any public spatial conditions or guidelines?
- Who was taking the lead in this development?

What are the characteristics of public and private cooperation?

- Was there a clear role division between the public and private sector?
- Was it a private sector-led development process?
- How were objectives managed (instruments/activities), and by whom?
- How did the public sector ensure public objectives?
- How did the State ensure the State objectives?
- How did the County ensure the Counties objectives?
- How did the City ensure the Cities objectives?
- How did the Xxxx ensure the Xxxx objectives?

- How did the private sector ensure private objectives?
- What are the responsibilities & tasks of the public actors?
- What are the responsibilities & tasks of the State?
- What are the responsibilities & tasks of the County?
- What are the responsibilities & tasks of the City?
- What are the responsibilities & tasks of the Xxxx?
- What are the responsibilities & tasks of the private actors?
- What are the resources used by the by the public actors?
- What are the resources used by the by the State?
- What are the resources used by the by the County?
- What are the resources used by the by the City?
- What are the resources used by the by the Xxxx?
- What are the resources used by the by the private actors?

How were the risks and venues divided between the actors?

- How and by whom was the land obtained? Why them?
- How were the risks divided between the actors?
- How were the venues divided between the actors?
- Who is dealing with the financial risks?
- How was the project financed and by whom?
- Were there any changes in circumstances during the process?
- How was dealt with these changed circumstances, and by whom?
- Who is fighting the hardest to make the plan a success?
- Who benefits most by this plan?

What are the experiences of public and private actors with the cooperation ?

- How do public and private actors view their cooperative relationship?
- How do you view the cooperative relationship between public and private actors?
- How do public and private actors view the decisions made?
- How do you view the decisions made?
- What are the experiences with different lifecycle phases (Initiative, Planning, Building, Maintaining, Redevelopment?)
- What problems arose during the development process?
- How were they dealt with?
- What was the effect on the plan?
- Did the development go according to schedule?
- If not, what caused the delay?
- What was the effect of the delay (costs, quality, etc)?

What are the effects of management on the urban development result?

- Do the actors think this is an effective development, and for what reasons?
- Was it an effective development, and for what reasons?
- Do the actors think this is an efficient development, and for what reasons?
- Was it an efficient development, and for what reasons?
- Do the actors think this is a high quality product, and for what reasons?
- Was it a high quality product, and for what reasons?
- Do the actors think there was a clear role division between actors?
- Was there a clear role division between actors?
- What conditions, in their view, contributed to positive results?
- What conditions, in their view, contributed to negative results?
- What management instruments/activities had a positive effect?
- What management instruments/activities had a negative effect?

Did I forget something important?

Questions for me?



Final Thesis Paper
Ria van Dijk

Master City Development 6

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