

## 9 Vienna Erdberger Mais

### Public-sector driven long-term planning strategies

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#### Large-scale projects in Vienna: an introduction

For Vienna, the main consequence of the fall of the Iron Curtain was the dramatic shift of its geopolitical and geo-economical location: from a marginal position to a central one in Europe. Vienna expected to become one of the most promising interfaces between the east and the west (Borsdorf 2002). The new location factors became even more relevant when Austria entered the European Union in 1995 and the Union itself expanded towards the east in 2004. The new location in a unifying Europe was the reason for fundamental changes in the urban economy. While the industrial sector suffered a remarkable decrease in size, the service sector was not only able to compensate for the loss of the secondary sector, but was even responsible for an increase in the number of employed people in Vienna. In 2001, more than 80 per cent of all gainfully employed people were working in the service sector (Hatz 2002).

A much more significant statistic is the growing importance of the office sector in the urban fabric. Vienna is a quite traditional, densely populated capital, orientated around just one main centre and structured in concentric rings. Over the years its social and economic characteristics have changed and in the 15 years after the fall of the iron curtain, the city's physiognomy has altered quite visibly. Scattered high-rise buildings emerged from the homogenous fabric of the former 6–7 storey houses, accentuating new fragmented structures in the urban organism. Most of these new towers are office buildings, some of them complemented by malls and/or residential functions.

Donau City, Floridotower, Millennium City, Vienna Twin Tower, T-Center or City Tower Vienna are just a few of a number of projects which have only been realized in the last decade and which make the skyline of Vienna much more diverse than it has been in previous centuries (Fassmann and Hatz 2002; Hansely and Schopper 1999; Juchelka 2002; Schopper 2000). In spite of the lack of urban planning efficiency – hardly any of these projects corresponded to the official urban development plan – it is evident that Vienna's service sector was much more effective in keeping its main activities within its administrative boundaries than the retail trade sector, where quite powerful businesses established their centres and shops outside the city's administrative area. In a bid to stop, or at

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least delay, this process of suburbanization of economic activities, Vienna city administration showed that it was quite tolerant of new private projects, and it even encouraged new developments by public–private partnerships (Fellner and Schopper 2002). Of all these efforts, the four gasometers in the Erdberger Mais area was one of the most successful projects.

Erdberger Mais is the most diverse of all Vienna's large projects. It can be regarded as the most ambitious urban planning project in modern-day Vienna. We analyse this large-scale project in more detail below.

### **Background of the Erdberger Mais project**

The project site is located in sections of the municipal districts of Landstrasse (third district) and Simmering (eleventh district) in the traditionally industrialized south-eastern area of Vienna, between its nearby city centre and Vienna International Airport. It is bordered by the Danube Canal to the north, the Eastern Railway to the east, residential zones near Simmeringer Hauptstrasse and Rennweg to the south and south-west, and Landstrasser Hauptstrasse as well as Schlachthausgasse, which separate the project area from residential zones in the north-west, closer to the city centre.

Erdberger Mais is divided by highway A 23 running from the north-east to the south-west of the area (Figure 9.1). At present, the whole area covers 250 hectares and includes 5,000 inhabitants, 17,000 employees and 1,200,000 square metres of housing development. The project started in 1998 after the closure of the St Marx slaughterhouse, which dominated the St Marx area. The extension of the underground line U 3 from the station Schlachthausgasse to the new Simmering terminal with the line running through the project area was a pre-condition for the development of the Erdberger Mais area. The goal of the project is to create a concentrated location that offers potential investors security and flexibility. This goal is to be achieved by means of a designated mix of land use and ecological uses of production-orientated services.

The housing development of 1,200,000 square metres is expected to at least double in size during the process. The area is expected to have 13,500–16,000 inhabitants and around 45,000–53,000 employees by the time the project's scheduled completion date is reached. This is presumed to be between 2010 and 2015 (Magistratsabteilung 21A 2003a). The cooperative planning procedures will be supervised by the Vienna Municipal Department of District Planning and Land Use – Central West (MA 21A). In 1998, this body commissioned a planning team to coordinate the following fields of activity: extent and nature of land use, traffic, law of planning, available spaces, land management and preparation of land for building. According to the development plan, a stepwise development of the area requires service-orientated management of spaces in connection with professional marketing (Magistrat der Stadt Wien 2003a).

During the first project completion stage, which is expected to be finished in 2005, an increase in employment is expected due to the preparation and construction of the T-Center and TownTown projects, the expansion of Vienna

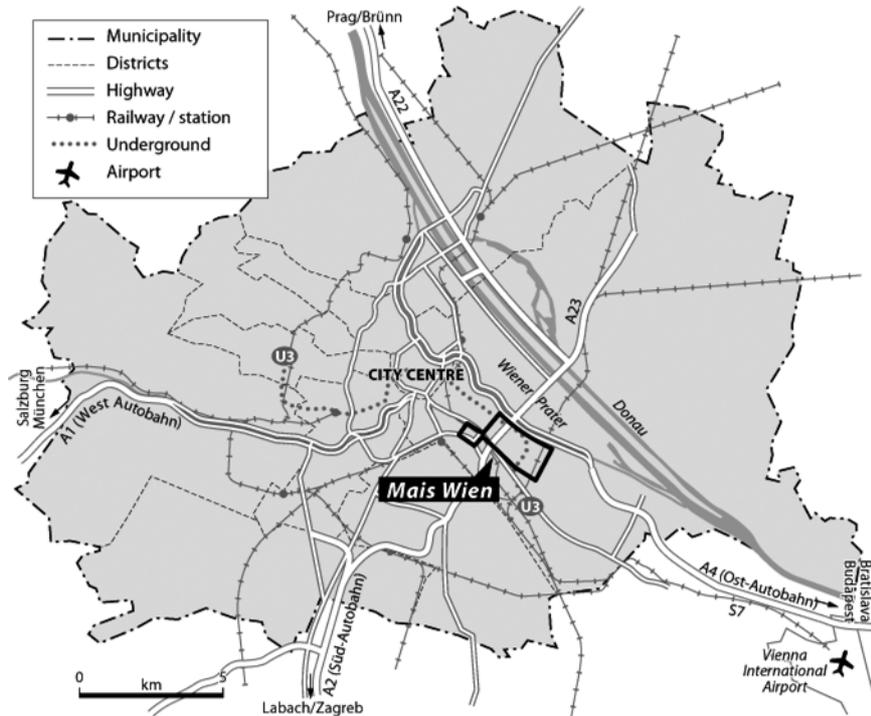


Figure 9.1 Location of Erdberger Mais in the Vienna agglomeration  
Source: UvA-Kaartenmakers

Biocenter and projects adjacent to the Gasometer surroundings. The number of jobs is expected to double from 17,000 to 32,000, although the population will only increase by about 10 per cent. In its second stage, presumably lasting from 2005 to 2010, employment at the combined former slaughterhouse area, federal property holding grounds at Karree St Marx and Vienna Biocenter and the Baumgasse/Litfasserstrasse and Gasometer areas will increase to 45,000. However, the population will only increase by up to 12,000 during the same period. The third stage of the project is to last from 2010 to 2015 and will be less dramatic than in the stages before, with smaller increases in employment and population. About 8,200 additional jobs will be created and the population will increase by up to 13,500. Overall, it is estimated that the number of jobs will triple during the development process, while the population will only increase by around 60 per cent (Magistratsabteilung 21A 2003b).

There are several reasons for preferring the description of practices of decision-making in the Erdberger Mais project and in particular the sub-areas of St Marx and Neu-Erdberg to the description of other urban development zones in Vienna such as Donau City or Wienerberg City. Apart from the size and scope of the project, the challenge lies in turning a huge trade and industrial area into a

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service sector area, rather than establishing an entire new business centre in the open countryside.

According to the municipality of Vienna (Magistrat der Stadt Wien 2002), the strengths of Erdberger Mais are not only its favourable situation between the city centre and the airport but also its access to public transport such as the railway S 7 going to and from Vienna International Airport, the underground line U 3 which runs from the western districts of Vienna via the city centre to Simmering, access to highways (A 23, A 4), the proximity to the Wiener Prater recreation and park area, the amount of space available with a high potential for development especially due to the closure of the slaughterhouse St Marx in 1997, numerous building plots owned by the city of Vienna or funds related to the city of Vienna and the existence of the Campus Vienna Biocenter biotechnology cluster, which is the mainspring for establishing a highly qualified labour-intensive district.

However, the area also needs to tackle a number of weaknesses such as the high unemployment rate, low purchasing power, a high proportion of migrants, poor housing, housing near a heavily used traffic node and the barrier effect of the highway A 23, deficient public transport and a poor pedestrian and bicycle network, unsatisfactory accessibility to the 'Prater' recreation area, which at present is solely accessible by bicycle or on foot from Erdberger Mais, a poor image due to the existence of various infrastructure facilities situated there (e.g. maintenance yard for the Vienna Underground, gas and electric works, old slaughterhouse area, old industrial plants) and the lack of local open spaces resulting from past industrial developments.



Figure 9.2 The Erdberger Mais project area

Source: Institut für Architekturwissenschaften – Digitale Architektur und Raumplanung (IEMAR), Technische Universität Wien

Although the extension of the underground line U 3, which made development in this area possible, only took place in the year 2000, one of the crucial problems is still the timely supply of adequate infrastructure, both private and public. A new transport planning concept concerning streets and public buses was needed that is in step with the development process of realization of the particular project sites. The large old industrial sites are in need of technical infrastructure to make it possible to prepare building land.

The eastern part of Erdberger Mais, located in Simmering, is characterized by an exceptional and famous landmark, namely the four Viennese gasometers, built in the years 1896–1899 to ensure that Vienna was supplied by gas for lighting purposes (see graphic 2, the four gasometers are situated in the centre of the project area). The gas tanks inside the 78 metre high brick buildings were closed down in the middle of the 1980s as a result of the complete changeover from locally made town gas to cheaper natural gas. The rotund gas pumping buildings were designated as listed buildings in 1981 and, after years of planning, a mixture of uses with the main focus on housing was finalized. After a construction period of three years, the brick buildings were reopened as a new centre for living, shopping, leisure and recreation in 2001 (Figure 9.3). In 2004, 1,600 inhabitants and around 600 employees were living and working in the Vienna gasometers (Pöschek 2004).



Figure 9.3 The Vienna gasometers after revitalization  
Photo: A. Borsdorf, 2005

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Another striking landmark is the recently finished T-Center nearby the biotechnology cluster Vienna Biocenter, in the south-western part of Erdberger Mais in the third district at the edge of Rennweg and the slaughterhouse area St Marx. Designed as the headquarters for the second largest wireless carrier in Austria, T-Mobile Austria, it is one of the biggest office buildings in the country. Because of the centralization of the hitherto distributed departments of T-Mobile Austria, 2,000 jobs are concentrated in one building. Construction started in 2002, and was completed in August 2004 (Figure 9.4). The T-Center offices are reserved for the companies T-Mobile Austria, T-Systems, T-Online, branch-related industries and infrastructural facilities (T-Systems 2004).

The most recent development in Erdberger Mais is TownTown, the superstructure of the 'Erdberg' station of underground line U 3. This is to be a business town with 21 huge office buildings, shops, restaurants and a large public square in between the buildings (Figure 9.5). The project is expected to have a major effect on the Vienna skyline through the creation of high-quality modern architecture. Plans now entering their final stage amount to an estimated total of 130,000 square metres of living and working space for 4,000 to 5,000 employees. This project is special because it offers companies the opportunity to design their own company buildings even before the construction phase has begun (TownTown 2002).

An ambitious project within the Erdberger Mais project is the development of the slaughterhouse area St Marx, located between T-Center and TownTown. Its roots go back to the middle of the nineteenth century, when due to the growth of the city, it became necessary to construct a slaughterhouse to safeguard supplies



*Figure 9.4* T-Center  
Photo: A. Borsdorf, 2005



Figure 9.5 TownTown

Source: Institut für Architekturwissenschaften – Digitale Architektur und Raumplanung (IEMAR), Technische Universität Wien

to the Viennese population. It increased in importance and in size until the 1930s. After the second World War, the slaughterhouse area was largely destroyed, but was reconstructed on the basis of old plans. In the 1960s, the city of Vienna decided to build a more modern meat processing centre to centralize the necessary supply facilities which were previously located in other parts of Landstrasse. A new meat processing centre was built between 1968 and 1975 and included a slaughterhouse, a vocational school and branch-related industries. In the beginning of the 1970s, the Federal Department of Landmark Protection concluded that there was no public interest in preserving old assets. The Cattle Market Hall, the administration building and the bank acquired the status of listed building in the 1990s. In 1997, the slaughterhouse St Marx was closed down due to structural problems. The plan is for the adjacent businesses located at Meat Center St Marx to be relocated in the intermediate term in order to make space for the development of this economically strategic important area covering 20 hectares (Magistrat der Stadt Wien 2002).

The listed Cattle Market Hall of the former slaughterhouse area is an example of another striking landmark. It is located near the T-Center in the centre of the slaughterhouse area St. Marx, and is one of the last examples of large iron constructions from the nineteenth century. It is a moot question as to whether it is going to be used for sports, leisure, culture or food and drink in the context of the high technology Campus St Marx, or torn down and rebuilt in another place.

Some parts of the project have already been realized: the flagship project was the revitalization of the Viennese Gasometer. A new renovation scheme gave the four gasometer buildings several new functions, namely housing, shopping and recreation facilities by 2001. The second largest project was the realization of the 'T-Center' office and business centre in autumn 2004, especially designed for the wireless carrier 'T-Mobile'. Another property already developed is the Media Center St Marx, located in the former administration building of the closed-down slaughterhouse St Marx.

Apart from the revitalization of the Viennese Gasometer no new residential buildings have been realized until now, although there have been some developer contests and land-use plan adaptations for an adequate mixture of land uses. To

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give an example, the Karree St Marx project situated on the periphery of the slaughterhouse area consists of four hectares of building land of which two-thirds are designated for residential use. The winning project of the developers' contest in Karree St Marx is to be completed by 2005–2006, when the approval by the MA 21A and the adaptation to the land-use plan has taken place.

In our study we focus on decision-making in planning in the sub-area of St Marx-Neu Erdberg, situated north to north-west from highway A 23. St Marx and Neu Erdberg are a matter of particular interest due to the revitalization of the former slaughterhouse quarter, St Marx, the development of the Biotechnology cluster Campus Vienna Biocenter and the establishment of TownTown, where companies will be offered the chance to design their own individual company buildings and/or office sites.

### **Structural analysis of Erdberger Mais: impact on regional economy and labour market**

Ten census districts cover the whole project area Erdberger Mais. Table 9.1 shows the number of business establishments and the number of fully employed people in 2001 at census tract level, project area level and municipal district level.

The data gives an account of the situation in the project area before the realization of the big office site projects. The census tract 6, Franzosengraben, the area north of the Viennese Gasometer and census tract 7, and the area south of Franzosengraben had the highest number of business establishments as well as the highest number of employed people in 2001. They were centres of economic activity even before the existence of the Erdberger Mais project and, due to their location near highway A 23, they are characterized by a high proportion of wholesale trade companies, textile companies, transport companies and the maintenance yard for the underground lines of public transport. A closer look at the census tract 2, the slaughterhouse area of St Marx, shows that, in 2001, there economic activities were still being performed relating to the processing of meat. There are plans to close these premises and relocate them in the mid term. T-Center, Media Center St Marx and other research buildings for the Vienna Biocenter were built and adapted after 2001. As a result, no data is available on the present situation of the number of establishments or employees working there. In 2003, a developers' contest for an office and residential building was held for the Karree St Marx area which also belongs to the former slaughterhouse area St Marx.

Table 9.2 describes the Erdberger Mais project area in relation to other large urban projects in Vienna such as Donau City and Wienerberg City. Donau City is located north-east of the city centre on the northern bank of the Danube and is connected both with the Donauufer-highway and the U 1 underground line, which runs from the north, through the city centre to the south of Vienna. Donau City is situated adjacent to Vienna International Centre, which is the international office and conference centre of the UNO, and is also close to the Austria Center Vienna conference and event building and the Neue Donau Residential Park. It is regarded as being a multifunctional urban mix of land use

Table 9.1 Business establishments and total employed persons at the workplace 2001

	<i>Number of business establishments</i>	<i>Number of total employed persons at the workplace</i>
Census tracts <sup>1</sup>		
(1) Residential area adjacent to Campus Vienna Biocenter	23	128
(2) Slaughterhouse area St Marx (now location of Campus Vienna Biocenter, Karree St Marx, T-Center, Media Center St Marx, Cattle Market Hall, Meat Center St Marx, Triple A)	57	1,528
(3) Residential area north of slaughterhouse area St. Marx	40	234
(4) Underground Station Erdberg (U3) and surrounding area	27	1,029
(5) Area north of Underground Station Erdberg (now location of TownTown)	79	1,622
(6) Franzosengraben and area north of Viennese Gasometer	124	4,386
(7) Area south of Franzosengraben	94	2,136
(8) Area south of Viennese Gasometer	13	224
(9) Viennese Gasometer and gas works	23	573
(10) Fuchsroehrengbiet	37	158
Project Area Erdberger Mais <sup>2</sup>	527	12,018
Municipal Districts <sup>3</sup>		
Landstrasse (3rd District)	5,420	58,683
Simmering (11th District)	1,984	20,808

Source: Statistics Austria, Business Units Census 2001, MA 21A, 2004.

1, 3 Statistics Austria

2 MA 21A

with international relevance. One-third of the total area is dedicated to offices and shops (Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 2003b). Wienerberg City in the south of Vienna is the extension of the existing Business Park Vienna, and its goal is eventually to counterbalance the inner city and Donau City. Critics state that Wienerberg City missed several planning targets. In contrast to the land-use plan, the buildings were built so close together that there are not enough open spaces in between and it is therefore quite dark for people living and working on the ground floors. There is also no direct connection with an underground line, no children's playgrounds and there are no recreation possibilities for the resident population because there is no access to the adjacent green space due to its rededication to a golf course (Die Grünen Wien 2004).

Table 9.2 Comparison of the project Erdberger Mais with the large-scale urban projects Donau City and Wienerberg City

	Erdberger Mais				Donau City		Wienerberg City		
	2001	2003	2005	2010	2015	2004	2012	2004	2005
area in ha	250					17.4		6.2	
inhabitants		5,000	5,500	12,000	13,500			3,000	
amount of dwellings			9,000		16,000	1,004		1,196	
employees	12,018	17,000	32,000	45,000	53,000				
housing development in m <sup>2</sup>		1,200,000			2,400,000		500,000		210,000
number of business establishments	527								
price level of rents in office site market (/m <sup>2</sup> , min.–max.)		9.00				10.00		8.50	
project duration	1998 – 2015					16.00		13.50	
						1991 – 2012		1995 – 2005	

Source: MA 21A (2004), Wiener Entwicklungsgesellschaft für den Donaauraum AG (2004), Wienerberg City Errichtungs Ges.m.b.H. (2000), CB Richard Ellis (2004)

Based on Table 9.2, Erdberger Mais is the largest of the three urban projects in Vienna. This is confirmed by the data concerning the (future) inhabitants, as well as the (estimated) number of jobs created or relocated. T-Center, which is rented by the wireless carrier T-Mobile, is an example of the relocation of jobs due to the centralization of most of the employees (except the T-Mobile Call Center) at the new headquarters. The development of the biotechnology cluster, the Vienna Biocenter, will lead to the creation of new jobs and new companies as well, as was the case in the past decade.

As regards the functional structure of the metropolitan area of Vienna, the dynamism of the centre structure will be enhanced by the large-scale Erdberger Mais project. This is the view of Robert Schweighofer, who is a member of the Erdberger Mais planning team, as expressed in an interview with the authors (on 1 July 2004). In Erdberger Mais, and especially in the sub-area of St Marx, the emphasis is on telecommunications, biotechnology and the media sector (Andreas Schandl, St Marx property development organisation, interview 1 July 2004). Apart from the central business district, attractive office sites have been planned under the guidance of the city of Vienna. These represent the polycentric structure of the agglomeration: Donau City – Lassallestrasse in the north-east, Erdberger Mais in the east, Wienerberg City in the south, Heiligenstadt in the north (headquarters of the most important daily papers in Austria and near the most attractive residential area in Vienna) and a relatively small office site in the western part of Vienna (near the western highway and suburban residential area).

## Institutional context

### *Administrative embedding of the project*

The city of Vienna is the capital of the Federal Republic of Austria and a federal province as well as a municipality. Vienna's city government is controlled by the Social Democrats, who have been in power since the 1920s, except for the period from 1938 to 1945, when Austria was part of the Third Reich due to Nazi occupation. The party has held an absolute majority since then, although there was a coalition between the Social Democrats and the Conservative party during the period between 1996 and 2001.

According to the provisions of the federal constitution, the municipal structure of the city of Vienna consists of the mayor, the city council and the city senate. The mayor of Vienna is elected by the city council and is also the governor of the federal province. The city council also acts as a provincial diet and the city senate serves a double function as the provincial government. The city council has 100 members and is the city's supreme body. Every land use plan made by the planning authorities has to be passed by the city council in order to become binding by law. The city senate, that is the city government, is headed by the mayor of Vienna and is made up of the city councillors. The mayor is also the head of the executive city councillors and of the city administration.

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The city administration (*Magistrat*) administers both the city of Vienna (municipal competence) and the administrative districts of Vienna (district competence). In practice, the various tasks are carried out by the Chief Executive Office, approximately 70 municipal departments (*Magistratsabteilungen - MA*) and the municipal district offices.

In the context of the municipal departments and offices, the executive city councillors, who at present consist of eight representatives of the Social Democratic party, manage the (currently eight) administrative city groups assigned to them. The Chief Executive Offices run the administrative groups of the city of Vienna and they are entitled to issue instructions to its staff members.

Economic issues are handled by the Vienna Business Agency (details below), housing is a task of the Vienna Land Provision Fund, and integration is the responsibility of the Vienna Integration Fund. These various competencies were assigned to independent bodies because their implementation would be too complicated in a strictly municipal context (*Magistratsdirektion – Allgemeine Angelegenheiten 2004*).

The Chief Executive Office 'Executive Group for Construction and Technology, Executive Office for Urban Planning' acts as a principal for the development of the Erdberger Mais area. It heads the 'Urban Development, Traffic and Transport' administrative group, which again consists of 12 municipal departments, among them the most important MA 18 (Urban Development and Planning) and MA 21A (District Planning and Land Use Central West). The main tasks of MA 18 include urban development planning, traffic planning and regional development, urban research and trend analyses, landscape architecture, project management and regional management for the city of Vienna. MA 21A deals with specific regional planning at district level, covering planning intentions in the inner city and the western districts of Vienna, to which the project Erdberger Mais belongs (MA 21B is responsible for all other districts in Vienna). The scope of duties consists of the preparation of land-use plans, which have to be approved by the city council before becoming legally binding, the composition of experts' reports during the course of construction processes and the carrying out of tasks related to information for citizens and citizen participation. Other municipal departments which deal with planning tasks for Erdberger Mais are MA 19 (Architecture and Urban Design), MA 28 (Road Management and Construction), MA 29 (Bridge Construction and Foundation Engineering), MA 33 (Public Lighting), MA 41 (Surveyors) and MA 46 (Traffic Management and Organization).

Apart from the 'Urban Development, Traffic and Transport' administrative group there are other administrative groups involved in the planning process of Erdberger Mais: the 'Environment' administrative group consisting of MA 30 (Vienna Waste Water Management), MA 31 (Vienna Water Works) and MA 42 (Parks and Gardens), the 'Housing, Housing Construction and Urban Renewal' administrative group consisting of MA 34 (Building and Facility Management), MA 64 (Legal Affairs: Construction, Energy, Railways, Traffic and Aviation) and MA 69 (Real Estate Management), the 'Finance, Economic Affairs and Vienna

Public Utilities' administrative group consisting of MA 4 (General Financial and Economic Affairs; Duties and Charges) and MA 27 (EU-Funding and Economic Development) as well as the municipal departments MA 7 (Cultural Affairs) and MA 59 Market Authority (concerning Meat Center St Marx).

Apart from the above mentioned actors, the role of the Vienna Business Agency is significant in terms of planning large-scale urban projects as well. In 1982, the Vienna Business Agency (VBA) was established by the city of Vienna, the Vienna Chamber of Commerce and two banks. Acting as a private enterprise it is a central platform designed to assist foreign companies and investors, as well as Viennese companies, with the establishment of businesses, plant extension and start-ups. The VBA is responsible for developing sites, helping companies to find attractive locations or premises and fulfilling all requirements of the various business support programmes and all questions concerning these tasks. It serves as a link between interested entrepreneurs and the interests of the city of Vienna. In 2001, the VBA helped 35 companies to establish premises for more than 400 new employees (Wiener Wirtschaftsförderungsfonds 2004).

#### **Strategic embedding of the project**

There have been several stages of urban development planning in Vienna. The first guidelines in 1972 were called 'Guidelines for Urban Development in Vienna' (*Wiener Leitlinien für die Stadtentwicklung*) and were not legally binding. When the first urban development plan for Vienna (*Stadtentwicklungsplan STEP 1984*) came into existence in 1984, binding objectives and strategies of action for the city administration were formulated with a focus on preservation and careful adaptation of the historical building structure, soft urban renewal, increased significance of the public participation and expansion along axes with efficient public transport. The second urban development plan (*Stadtentwicklungsplan STEP 1994*) comprised the fall of the Iron Curtain, accession of Austria to the EU in 1995 and, as a result of that, increased competition in the European urban system. New settlement areas have been linked to the specific development axes.

The coalition of the Social Democratic Party with the Conservative Party in the 1990s led to new elements of policy control and innovative aspects being included in the Strategy Plan of Vienna published in 2000 (*Strategieplan Wien*). The Strategy Plan provides details on: disclosure of people in charge of the project; target time frames; specific budget and the predefining of indicators of success and the pushing of the public-private finance model; explicit frame of action for private owners; investors and actors; knowledge of which developments are possible in which area and cooperation between public and private sector by means of public-private partnerships in both planning and realization.

As a result of the eastern enlargement of the European Union, a new Vienna Strategy Plan was formulated in 2004 (Magstratsabteilung 18, 2004). Compared with the Strategy Plan 2000 the main focus is on sustainable development, regional interrelation, gender mainstreaming, active location politics, publicity and participation. Vienna's new geopolitical situation in the extended European

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Union was worked out more clearly. Strategically important fields, such as 'sustainable social security' and 'residential building, housing promotion and sanitation of residential buildings' were reformulated. Initiatives in areas such as economics, labour policies and public health policy were substantially expanded and broadened. The Strategy Plan included the goals and frames of the Traffic Masterplan for Vienna which are related to urban planning and traffic and which were published in 2003. The Strategy Plan offers a fundamental strategic orientation for the Urban Development Plan 2005 (STEP 2005), which specifies the total spatial development of Vienna.

The contents of STEP 2005 were worked out by the members of the Vienna City administration and city council, investors, property developers, lobbyists, citizens from the agglomeration of Vienna and other relevant institutions by taking into account the principals of gender mainstreaming. According to STEP 2005 (Magistratsabteilung 18 2005), the central economic challenge is to guarantee and strengthen the economic-political quality of Vienna in the light of growing international and European competition. The urban development plan takes account of changes such as spatial specialization, the concentration of important functions in a few metropolitan regions and the development of central business districts. The Centropole region, including the 'Twin-Cities' Vienna and Bratislava, are intended to achieve a more competitive and more distinct position amongst the regions of south-central Europe. For that reason STEP 2005 is promoting the development of Erdberger Mais as a future central business district in addition to the inner city of Vienna and Donau City. Erdberger Mais is therefore treated as a development zone of crucial economic-political importance. Economic and residential functions as well as the quality of land-use mix are promoted in the light of internationality and a high level of innovation to ensure high living standards within the urban environment.

Another instrument relevant to the encouragement of urban development is the EU-based URBAN II programme. This is of crucial importance for the development and revitalization of the traditionally industrialized area of Erdberger Mais. EU funds and public national funds are used to enhance disadvantaged urban areas so that they can attain the average level of economic and social development in Vienna. The URBAN II Vienna – Erdberg programme covers a timeframe from 2000 to 2006 and deals with a number of priority areas, such as economic development, the development of urban diversity, small-scale business promotion, the provision of district management, the integration of ethnic groups, migrants and refugees in terms of creating equal opportunities, the transformation and adaptation of public open spaces, the enhancement of environmental and residential quality, the quality of living and the preservation of cultural heritage (Urban II Wien – Erdberg 2004).

The (re)development of Erdberger Mais therefore has to be seen in the context described above. The need for action in this area also arose from the poor economic situation of the St Marx slaughterhouse, which had to be closed in 1997 due to structural inconsistencies, a loss of profitability and a failure to fulfil EU obligations. The extension of the U 3 underground line helped to enhance

accessibility of the Erdberger Mais area and this resulted in an appreciation of this strategically well-positioned area between the city centre and Vienna International Airport.

Since 1998, a planning team coordinated by the 21A (MA 21A) Municipal Department has been working on the area's future development. The work of the planning team, consisting of the relevant municipal departments and institutions related to research and planning, is focused on utilization types and densities, traffic and transport, planning law, open spaces, land management, and developing infrastructure for land resources within the competence of the Vienna Public Utilities. It has now become clear that service-oriented land management and professional marketing measures are needed to ensure progressive development of this area (Magistrat der Stadt Wien 2003a).

### **Analysis of the multilevel decision-making process**

#### ***Framing the project, goals and interests***

When framing the Erdberger Mais project one has to consider that actors of the public and the private sector are involved both in the field of planning and in the field of realization of the planning targets. Table 9.3 shows the most important actors involved with regard to the St Marx – Neu Erdberg sub-area.

#### *Planning*

Apart from the institutions already described such as MA 21A, MA 18, MA 19, MA 27 and the Vienna Business Agency, the process of planning includes additional actors from the public sector.

The infrastructure and energy provider Vienna Public Utilities AG (Wiener Stadtwerke Holding) has to guarantee supply of energy (electricity, gas, long-distance heating) and efficient operation of local public transport. Although Vienna Public Utilities AG has been outsourced from the Vienna Municipal Departments since 1999 and acts as a private company owned by the city of Vienna, it is regarded as a public actor because it acts in the interest of the city of Vienna. It consists of six subsidiaries, including the Vienna Public Utilities Holding Company Management Ltd. (Wiener Stadtwerke Beteiligungs GmbH), which deals with the acquisition and administration of share companies. It has a holding share of 44 per cent in the public-private partnership Real Estate Development of Vienna Public Utilities & Soravia Corporation which deals with planning and realization of the TownTown project in Erdberg. The other two shareholders are Soravia Corporation (technical know-how) with a share of 44 per cent and Swiss Town Consult (planning know-how) with a share of 12 per cent. The concept is based on giving companies the opportunity to design their own company building even before construction has started. The companies can then choose from several structural components which, although specified, can be put together in different manners. This measure is intended to stimulate inter-

Planning process of the urban project "Erdberger Mats"

Principal	Chief Executive Office, Executive Group for Construction and Technology, Executive Office for Urban Planning							
Administrative Groups of the City of Vienna	Urban Development, Traffic and Transport		Environment		Housing, Housing Construction and Urban Renewal		Finance, Economic Affairs and Vienna Public Utilities	
Municipal Departments (= Magistrats-Abteilungen, MA's) belonging to the respective Administrative Group	MA18 Urban Planning	MA19 Architecture and Urban Design	MA30 Waste Water Management	MA31 Vienna Water Works	MA34 Building and Facility Management	MA64 Legal Affairs: Construction, Energy, Railways, Traffic and Aviation	MA4 General Financial and Economic Affairs; Duties and Charges	
	MA21A District Planning and Land Use—Central West	MA28 Road Management and Construction	MA42 Parks and Gardens		MA69 Real Estate Management		MA27 EU-Funding and Economic Development	
	MA29 Bridge Construction and Foundation Engineering	MA33 Public Lighting					MA7 Cultural Affairs	
	MA41 Surveyors	MA46 Traffic Management and Organisation					MA59 Market Authority	
Other involved Institutions and Companies	Vienna Business Agency (Wiener Wirtschaftsförderungslands WWFF)	Vienna Public Utilities AG (Wiener Stadtwerte AG)	Vienna Public Utilities Holding Company Management Ltd	Austrian Research centers Seibersdorf (ARCB)	Transport Planning ARGE Snizek, Tralico	Municipal District Office or Erdberg	Municipal District Office or Simmering	External planning, public relations

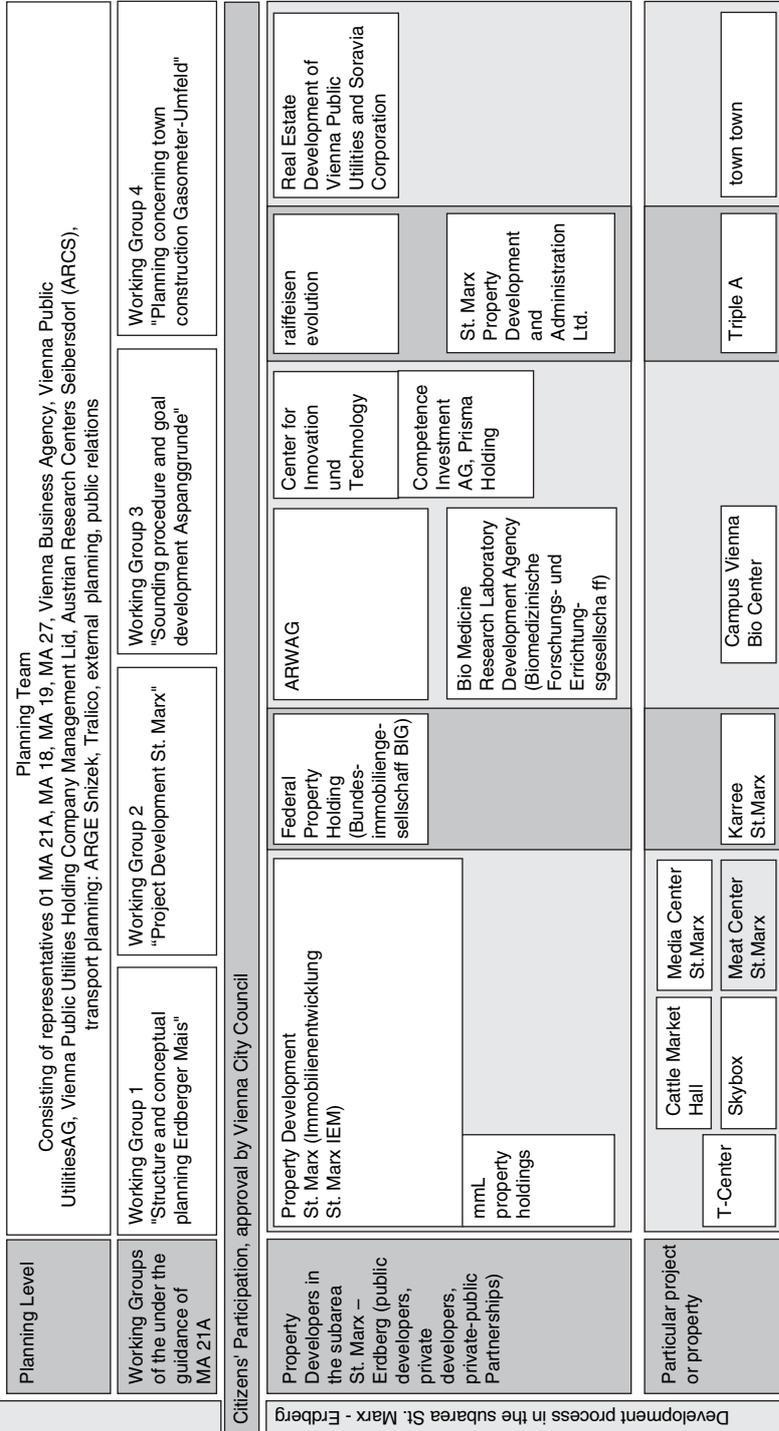


Figure 9.6 The structure of planning and development in Erdberger Mais having regard to the sub-areas St. Marx – Neu Erdberg Source: MA 21A (2004), modified and completed by Christina Enichimair

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national companies in particular to set up headquarters in Vienna in the long run, because it gives them the possibility of adapting their future headquarters or office sites to their own needs.

Other public actors are the municipal district offices of Landstrasse and Simmering, which represent the interests of the respective districts. They also collaborate with the planning team, property developers and investors.

There are also two private sector actors involved in the issue of traffic planning in Erdberger Mais. ARGE Snizek deals with traffic analysis, decision support, design and operation of traffic routes etc. (Snizek und Partner, 2004) and Trafico creates traffic concepts, public transport concepts, road planning and road development concepts, etc. (Trafico 2004).

The Austrian Research Centers Seibersdorf (ARCS) is a research institution that is jointly owned by the public and private sectors. The Republic of Austria holds a majority share which is slightly higher than 50 per cent, while the remaining minority share is held by actors in the fields of industry, electricity supply industry, banks and insurance companies. It is a research centre for the private sector and government agencies with around 800 employees at locations across Austria. It is the largest application-oriented information enterprise in the country (Austrian Research Centers Seibersdorf, 2004). In terms of planning for Erdberger Mais, a new project evaluation method was developed on the basis of collaboration between MA 21A and ARCS.

*Development*

Several public and private actors have been involved in the completion of the specific projects or properties to be developed as defined in the Erdberger Mais strategy plan.

The St Marx Property Development organization (Immobilienentwicklung St Marx – IEM) was established in 2000 as a one hundred per cent subsidiary of the city of Vienna. The objective target is the meaningful utilization or reinforcement of strategic important locations of large-scale properties owned by the city of Vienna. In order to ensure a sustainable development process on behalf of the city of Vienna, private property developers were excluded from this process. The St Marx Property Development organization developed the former slaughterhouse area St Marx and participated in the planning, preparing and opening up of properties for building. The main focus is to turn this area into attractive office sites for telecommunication, biotechnology and media technology. The St Marx Property Development organization participates in exclusively developing building sites of its own and founded a further subsidiary which is responsible for building construction. One example was the development of T-Center, where the St Marx Property Development organisation founded mmL (at that time it was named max mobil Liegenschaftsbesitz before max mobil was overtaken by T-Mobile) to build new headquarters for the wireless carrier. The property, which was rented to T-Mobile for 20 years, was recently sold to the German real-estate fund GENO Asset Finance (GAF), which is a joint venture of Citigroup and the

German Genossenschaftszentralbanken DZ Bank and WGZ-Bank. The St Marx Property Development organization is also involved in other projects that include St Marx Media Center, which has already been finished, Cattle Market Hall, which is under landmark protection and for which, therefore, certain building criteria have to be fulfilled before development, and Skybox, a small office site that is still in the planning stage. Future developments are to include the St Marx Meat Center, which is to be closed down in the near future. The St Marx Property Development organization is going to purchase this area from its present owner, Vienna's Municipal Department of Market Authority (MA 59), and expand the development sites total space from 12 to 20 hectares.

Another actor is the public-led Federal Property Holding (Bundesimmobiliengesellschaft – BIG) which is engaged in the development of the St Marx Karree and the Campus Vienna Biocenter. In the case of the Karree St Marx, a new office and residential building is planned for location in part of the old St Marx slaughterhouse area. A development tender was called to ensure a high-quality project based on the strategy plan guidelines. According to building law, every single property developer who is planning an office or residential site with a height of over 26 metres and covering an area capacity of 20,000 square metres has to undergo this process. The winning project is to be announced in 2005/2006. The plan is for two-thirds of the area to be dedicated to residential use.

In the case of the Campus Vienna Biocenter the Federal Property Holding in collaboration with ARWAG, a public-private joint venture acting as property developer, established the Bio Medicine Research Laboratory Development Agency (Biomedizinische Forschungs- und Errichtungsgesellschaft) in order to facilitate collaborations among universities.

The Center for Innovation and Technology (Zentrum für Innovation und Technologie - ZIT) is a 100 per cent subsidiary of the Vienna Business Agency that was established in 2000. It is involved in the development of Campus Vienna Biocenter. The main tasks are direct financial support for companies, incentives for the most ambitious companies, provision of technology-related infrastructure and support in the innovation process. The focus is on Viennese companies working in the fields of life sciences, information and communication technologies as well as creative industries. The Center for Innovation and Technology is collaborating closely with the private sector actors Prisma Holding and Competence Investment AG (CIAG). While Prisma Holding is the largest technology park developer and operator in Austria, Competence Investment AG, founded in 2001, is acting as an investment partner and owner of one building situated in the Campus Vienna Biocenter. An additional objective of CIAG is to create an Austrian network of technology centres.

Another private project developer is raiffeisen evolution, which is owner of a building site adjacent to the former slaughterhouse quarter St Marx. After 2005, raiffeisen evolution is going to establish a complex of office and residential buildings called TRIPLE A with a total of 40,000 square metres floor area. There are to be three office buildings of 35,700 square metres and one residential building

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of 4,300 square metres. The construction phase has not started yet because the land-use plan has yet to be approved by MA 21A and the city council of Vienna.

#### *Citizens participation*

There are no known social organizations, interest organizations or action groups that are known to be actively involved in the planning process and development of the Erdberger Mais project. This includes the period before actual development of the project started.

The St Marx Meat Center, where still several meat processing companies are located, is to be closed down and the affected companies are either going to resettle in the southern area of Vienna near highway A 23, where many wholesale trade companies such as the Viennese Green Market (Produce and Wholesale Market) are located, or they will go bankrupt. No interest group has yet been formed to oppose these developments.

On the other hand, citizen participation has already been determined during the course of the planning. Every land-use plan prepared by MA 21A has to pass through the Vienna City Council and must, by law, be accessible to the public for a period of six weeks in order to give people the opportunity to raise any objections. Furthermore, (travelling) exhibitions have been organized by the city of Vienna since 1982 relating to current and future developments in the Erdberger Mais area, especially for citizens living in and around this area. Only recently a school contest was organized relating to the appearance of the huge TownTown Square between the office sites. Generally, decisions concerning urban development planning and project developments in Vienna are made by consensus, with attention being paid to the concerns expressed by the involved actors as often as possible.

#### *Decision making practices*

In addition to the establishment of a planning team to deal with the conditions for the realization of a large-scale urban project like Erdberger Mais, it is also necessary to divide the project area into sub-areas such as St Marx, Neu-Erdberg, Gasometer surroundings in the south, etc. because every single project or project area has its own needs regarding planning, infrastructure and environment. For this reason, experts at the municipal departments of urban planning, infrastructure and environmental protection are working together with the project developers and project owners in the respective sub-area in order to reach consensual solutions. As regards the proposed urban development measures formulated in the strategy plan of Erdberger Mais, land-use plans and building plans – which comply with the targets of the urban development measures – are defined by MA 21A in collaboration with all involved actors. It may be the case that land-use mixes or building densities do not correspond with the targets of the strategy plan, that is they are caused by the reaction to changing market conditions in the field of residential or office use. In this case, development has to be counterbalanced in other sub-areas in order to meet the requirements for land-

use density and land-use allocation within the whole project area. This is crucially important for the traffic system and individual traffic.

### ***Democracy, institutional innovation and imagery***

The process of decision-making in large urban projects differs strongly from regular processes of decision-making in certain respects.

Regarding project development of large-scale properties owned by the city of Vienna, subsidiary companies owned by the city are found to represent the respective interests of the city regarding the objectives formulated in the strategy plan for the respective area of development. This is also found to be the case for many public–private partnerships involving projects like those listed above.

Furthermore, a very important difference is a new project evaluation method which was developed by a collaboration effort between MA 21A and the Austrian Research Centers Seibersdorf. It entails a real estate project measuring software which was designed as a strategic planning game to define urban development scenarios using different samples of real-estate projects for regional development and economic effects. Although it was designed for the Erdberger Mais project in the beginning, it can also be applied to any other urban planning projects in future.

The absorption of planning yields is another innovation, albeit at planning level. The structure plan of Erdberger Mais in some areas makes provisions for a higher density in building construction as was originally laid down in former land-use plans. The absorption of planning yields helps to finance for example a public park in the district of Simmering.

In the event that private project developers want to build office or residential buildings, they have to participate in a developers' competition for the respective project area. In order to ensure financing, sustainability and the designated mix of land use, the building law of Vienna states that developers have to bid for development rights in the case of potential buildings in building class VI, which exceed the height of 26 metres and a housing development area of 20,000 square metres.

### **Lessons to be learned**

Generally speaking, urban planning in Vienna is a public sector issue which focuses on long-term strategies. As regards Erdberger Mais, planning and realization is carried out by means of public–private partnerships with the main focus on local and national companies. Many of them, especially at property development level, have been established by the city of Vienna to ensure that the city maintains its influence in the development process. Decisions made by the planning team in collaboration with project developers and other investors are based on broad-based consent.

Framing, decision-making, institutional aspects and democratic properties seem to be taking place on a proper basis as regards the mechanisms of consultation, the developers contest or the development of a project evaluation method.

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The present development in Erdberger Mais is taking place at Gasometer and T-Center – which are the flagship projects – and their surrounding areas. Apart from Gasometer, no new residential building has yet been built, but the Karree St Marx and TRIPLE A projects are dedicated to a mixture of land uses. The Erdberger Mais planning team is trying to construct a lively quarter consisting of office buildings which attract international investors and companies and, to a less extent, residential areas as well, plus facilities for shopping, gastronomy and recreation. Because of its huge dimensions, the Cattle Market Hall would be a perfect building in which to accommodate these leisure facilities. However, due to landmark protection and the fact that potential projects may not meet the corresponding criteria that landmark designation creates, it will be difficult to determine whether a well-balanced development plan could be presented that could overcome these obstacles.

### Summary and final evaluation

During the past 15 years, Vienna's position within the system of European cities has changed dramatically. The fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989/90, Austria's membership of the EU in 1995 and the eastern enlargement of the European Union in 2004 turned the former marginal location of Vienna into one of the most central in Europe, allowing the city to function as one of the lively interfaces between east and west. This led to a boom in the service sector, and new office quarters were established all over the city, visible by the new landmarks of high-rise towers. The Vienna city administration developed a variety of strategies to attract investors to locations within its administrative boundaries and tolerated the quite fragmented pattern of single investments in order to keep its controlling function. The development of Erdberger Mais, the largest project of New Vienna in spatial terms, is indicative of the diversity and vitality public-private-partnership can create. Its ideal location, and a broad mixture of different infrastructures, functions and architecture may make this large-scale project a quite successful one for the future of Vienna.

By turning away from the traditional architectural tradition and opening up instead to new and exciting experiments in urban renewal and post-modern forms and structures, which combine old and new elements, Vienna has been looking for its own and distinctive way to express its unique position and possibilities. Erdberger Mais, which is being developed by public and private investors, is an example of how city administration and investors can work even if on the basis of unequal interests and of a quite diverse structure of functions. The result is both expressive of a common architectural language typical of Vienna and adequate enough to compete globally with other models.

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