

GOVERNANCE AND URBAN REGENERATION: TRADE OFF BETWEEN COMPETITIVENESS AND SOCIAL COHESION IN ZURICH¹

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1 INTRODUCTION

The paper is based on the assumption that urban governance is much more about managing complex problems and actor networks than about making decisions and enforcing legislation. Two different examples from Zurich will be presented: the Zurich West development project as an example of urban regeneration to improve urban competitiveness, and the Schwamendingen branding project as an example of urban regeneration to improve quality of life and social cohesion. Both are part of a broader governmental strategy to improve sustainable performance of the City of Zurich, taking into account *multi-level collaboration between governmental and non-governmental actors*. In designing policies that meet the needs of different user groups and are efficient and fair in their delivery, Zurich policy makers had to learn to package policy recommendations with strategies of adaption and work more closely with targeted stakeholder groups.

The *Zurich West development project* is an attempt to bridge the gap between physical planning and the concrete decision-making process that precedes development. It is a renewal process of an old industrial area in the Zurich river basin. The investigation follows a set of relatively stable variables – historical developments, problem attributes and political framework – and a set of more dynamic variables such as network structures and actor relationships. Finally, network governance and process management are assumed to cause *policy changes*, changes within networks, new forms of cooperation and learning processes. The current political situation is favourable for large-scale conversion: the city of Zurich seeks to attract more people to live in the city, and industrial districts are one of the most interesting locations of the city where large-scale business and sports or entertainment projects can be realised.

In the *Schwamendingen branding process*, the City of Zurich is testing methods and approaches developed through an international INTERREG project around neighbourhood branding. The IMAGE Project is an innovative transnational programme, exploring and sharing lessons across Europe on how enhancing the image of (high-rise) housing estates can support the overall regeneration of our neighbourhoods and cities. Lack of investment, poor physical surroundings, feelings of insecurity, single-dimension housing stock, high crime levels, social exclusion and lack of economic activity all typify such areas. If rebranding is to work, it cannot be based on an empty promise. Substantial investment is needed as a foundation for this new image and to maintain trust among stakeholders. Likewise a long-term regeneration strategy is required, based on *image, investment and masterplanning*.

2 THEORETICAL SKETCHES

2.1 Stratetgic network-building in urban planning

Developments in urban and regional performance take place in an era in which also the *type of governance* has changed. Political scientists assume that traditional planning policies were no more able to manage such a great variety of spatial phenomena; there is a shift from physical and spatial development planning to a more integrated planning, covering aspects such as socio-economic, environmental, institutional, and financial variables. This means that top down, centralised and hierarchical management of public policies has to be revised and transformed into a more decentralised, reticular, and interactive process (e.g. public-private partnership) (Hill, 1994: 179; Schenkel and Serdült, 1999: 483).

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Much experience has been gained in the field of urban renewal and regional development over the last decade. A core question remained: how to make urban policy without knowing all “data” of future reality. It is assumed that public, private and scientific sectors should form the strategic network and develop joint visions and strategies. Important factors are leadership, political support, societal support and spatial-economic conditions. In this context, *organising capacity* is the ability to enlist all actors involved, and with their help generate new ideas and develop and implement a policy designed to respond to fundamental developments and create conditions for sustainable development. Projects must fit into a broadly supported comprehensive vision and strategy. Strategic networks – thus – have been identified as constituents of organising capacity (Berg et al., 1996). And *sustainability* is the only concept which systematically takes uncertainty and normative values into account. It is both a global project that has a long-run time horizon and a local project that consists of a variety of parallel and intense short-run projects (Baker et al., 1997). It sets objectives for urban policy and presents the strongest possible justification for strong corporate policy.

2.2 Branding – or how to address emotions in planning

Uncertainty in planning also means that subjective and emotional factors cannot be eliminated. Extensive research has been carried out on the success of neighbourhoods and inhabitants housing requirements. The following points give a compact overview (IMAGE Project Consortium 2006: Branding Guidelines):

- Inhabitants often have a more *positive attitude* towards their neighbourhood than outsiders.
- Improving the image is often a question of *patience*. Neighbourhood improvement involves many different parties, priorities differ, and it is a process of many years. Great involvement and equal inspiration are needed in order for all parties to work in the same direction.
- Government involvement recedes, more input is expected from other parties. Because government usually had leadership and control over improvement of neighbourhoods, a new system is needed to direct the improvements and *replace the hierarchy*.
- Successful neighbourhoods are usually those with a *definite identity*. Working towards a definite identity involves making choices, and a clear vision.
- The *atmosphere* (ambience) of the neighbourhood is very important for pleasant house/home conditions; such as neighbours, inhabitant relations, and the type of community present.
- Inhabitants themselves are not only the *consumers* but also the *producers* of a successful neighbourhood.
- People are different and have different housing requirements. The norms and *values evaluation* is therefore of importance: difference in lifestyle implies a difference in housing/living requirements.
- Successful neighbourhood improvement is based on *the strengths that are already present*, it is true to the character of the area, that is to say it complements the potential of the neighbourhood and its residents.
- Every area is different, the sense of urgency is different, and the partners and stakeholders are different. Therefore a *unique approach* is required suited to each situation.

The experience gained in regional development and the changed circumstances such as the wider parameter and the different governmental position necessitate supplementary methods for regional development and planning. The experience gained with branding has shown it to be a good supplementary method. We understand branding to be “*the search for the character of an area, the identity of an area (key values and norms) and its community*”.

Harvesting the identity of an area can be compared to meeting someone in everyday life. When meeting someone we learn of the stable and changeable elements of the person’s character. The stable, reoccurring elements (typical to him or her) are bound to the understanding and opinions that are of great importance to the individual. They can be summarised in key values that can be used to describe someone. The search for the identity of an area mainly involves searching for the meaning of the key values in the eyes of the inhabitants and the people that are to work on the future of the neighbourhood.

The aim behind tackling neighbourhoods is to realise a successful housing area, a neighbourhood *full of vitality*. The solution is often sought in the physical or spatial elements. The buildings are in need of modernisation, the monotony must be broken, a good mix between buildings, services and inhabitants is desired.

Regional development is often based on the search for good functional and spatial logic. Various research into appreciation and experiences of living in the neighbourhood has shown that the ambience of the neighbourhood, next door neighbours and neighbour-relations are important factors of pleasant living. It is also apparent that people have very different preferences. The variation in norms and value orientation is an important determining factor for the *difference in lifestyle* and the difference in housing/living preferences. We all have preferences when it comes to ambience or style when buying a car, visiting a restaurant or booking a holiday. This is also true of housing and living. People with a preference for a lively and dynamic lifestyle will find the city centre (e.g. Zurich West) to their taste, while others who prefer a more relaxed and neighbourly atmosphere will choose a suburban situation (e.g. Schwamendingen). A successful neighbourhood is a neighbourhood with a clear identity; a neighbourhood that binds inhabitants and entrepreneurs, and where people feel involved and at home. This means *that choices have to be made* and attention must be focussed. Compromising solutions such as “a neighbourhood for everyone” lead to the same dreary, ordinary area, lacking in character and identity like so many urban neighbourhoods.

2.3 Hypotheses

The hypotheses also take into account the workshop's topic: How can resources and a sustainable urban development project be formulated and managed, in what kind of institutional structures? How can private companies, city dwellers and civil society associations be stimulated to take part in the management of resources and urban services? Translated into hypotheses, following assumptions should be discussed and analysed in comparative terms:

- Objectives and goals of urban areas and regions should be formulated *in words rather than in plans*, i.e. "software" is more important than "hardware", informality is more important than formality.
- *Confidence replaces regulation* as a basis of planning, cooperation and consensus replace hierarchy and order.
- There is a *new spectrum of actors*, and new organisations within or outside the political-administrative system are created: project groups, public-private partnerships, intermediate organisations, scientific experts.
- *Close-to-market steering instruments* dominate traditional urban and regional planning. The claim for areawide, long-term and comprehensive regulation is abandoned, flexible actor arrangements serve as the framework for the way towards sustainability.
- Beside political and societal support, successful spatial management projects need *promotional spirit and leadership*, whether relying on specific competencies of organisations or on the charisma of individuals who fulfil the function of project-puller.

3 THE ZURICH WEST DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

3.1 The beginning

The *industrial district of Zurich* is not simply the area, where industry was placed in the last century. It involves housing facilities related to industrial employment as well as vocational schools related to production. The whole area extends over 3 kilometers from the Central Railway Station, whereas the industrial site in the narrower sense (Zurich West Development Project) comprises about one sqkm between the Limmat River and the main railway corridor. Connected with the general desindustrialization process in developed countries since the 1970s, the area suffered from depression, with an increasing concentration of foreign migrants and socially disadvantaged groups, strong dispute on land-use policy, heavy traffic (highway, logistic enterprises). The area is now about to be converted into a broader spectrum of urban functions: residential, cultural, leisure, office, services, high-tech industry manufacturing, breeders for enterprises. It was till recently not an address for more wealthy classes. Yet this is changing with implants of lofts and other modern types of urban housing. And while part of the old industrial production has disappeared, some very specialised high-tech niche production has remained. Furthermore, various up-grading efforts are already under way, initiated by single industries and local authorities.

The new policy-making approach which was initiated by city planners and a new political leadership has its origins in a *deep and unsolved conflict* around attempts to revise land use regulation in the early 1990s. However, during the last couple of years, there has been an opening in regulations and minds; certain zones are allowed for other uses and the municipal authorities have realised that co-operation can dissolve the deadlock. Both municipal authorities and land owners are interested to revitalise the industrial districts and to include them actively in the urban economic space. At first, the Mayor of Zurich has created the *Zurich Stadtforum*, a platform for various interest groups, in order to discuss the problems faced in Zurich West and ways to solve them. Recommendations have been submitted in summer 1997 (Strauch, 1996; *Stadtforum Schlussbericht*, 1997). A major outcome was that up-grading and development projects should be differentiated according to the specific potentials in each part of the area and that they should be tackled up in a so-called *co-operative process*. The organising capacity should be coupled with a vision and strategy of sustainable urban development. Yet to formulate a vision is one thing, to implement another. Both activities may require specific allocation of human capacities and organisational set-ups. Thus, a spin-off of the Stadtforum, the grouping of those landowners in Zurich West who dispose of real estate apt to conversion, was formed in winter 1997/98.

This has led to the Zurich West Development Project and was first characterized by some specific process-oriented action lines (*Hochbaudepartement Stadt Zürich, Synthesebericht*, 1999):

- to launch a process, by which various human capacities, private initiatives, state levels and departements of local government are brought into an optimal interaction for defining development goals, consolidating a short and medium term action plan and achieving soon first results;
- to consider both real estate market developments and capacities of state and municipality to finance infrastructures;
- to launch an urban design, which will mobilize interest from investors and individuals in the area and support the emergence of a new identity;
- to launch a business site marketing in view of a distinct structural policy for economic activities in the area.
- to emphasise the attractiveness of the river landscape and the 'cultural mile', which link the development area with the city;
- to tune a broad set of urban activities in an attractive cocktail of perspectives and land use.

3.2 Actor network and learning process

In the Zurich West network, the public sector was neither dominant nor passive but was eager that public and private actors complement and reinforce each other. In the course of the process and after some scepticism could be diminished, there was more and more willingness to co-operate and to agree on joint framework conditions. However, *political and societal support* for process and results was unclear. Actors involved were able to develop a joint strategy but could not agree on an overall vision. Federal and cantonal approaches to urban development were missing. The first phase of the Zurich West Development process was mainly financed by the land owners with the largest development potential. A second phase co-ordinated planning and realisation in each private and public area. Most ambitious plans concern a new soccer stadium and related commercial facilities; this project probably requires an other intense network building and managing, taking projekt stakeholders, political groups, and nearby inhabitants into account.

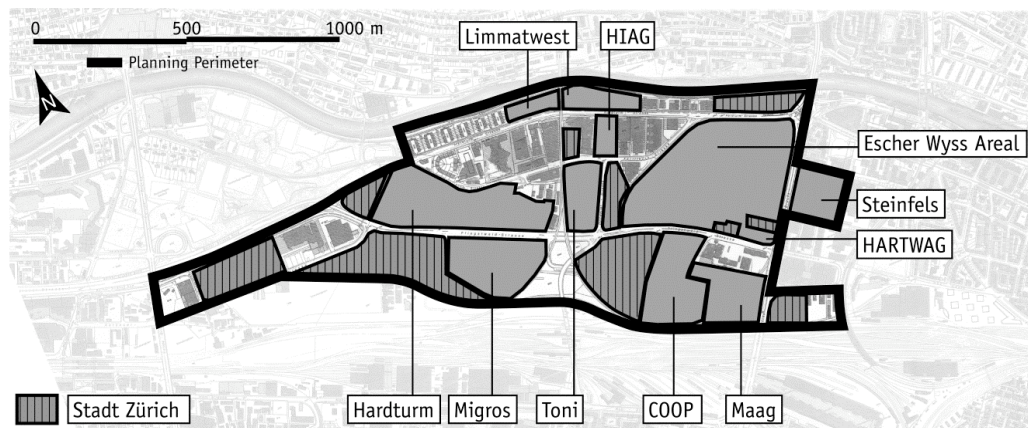


Fig. 1: Zurich West and its land owners

Much power was exercised by the *core land owners*: *Sulzer-Escher Wyss*, the oldest Swiss machine factory, involves today also real estate management and was taking part as a key actor in the development process of Zurich West; its main interest was to couple its own projects with the up-grading process in the whole area. The *Technopark* of Zurich was opened in 1993 and serves as a melting pot and breeder for enterprises, where knowledge and experience of science and economy interlock. It is clearly a trendsetter in the area and is promoting better accessibility to the area, better integration, and better working conditions. After reducing production and removing it to another location, the area of the ancient *Steinfels* soap factory area was converted into a site of residential, business, service, and cultural uses. Like for Sulzer Escher-Wyss, the development concept was fixed in a *Gestaltungsplan* (1988). Steinfels was co-operative but did not belong to the core group of Zurich West land owners, as its own conversion process was already well under way. *Hardturm Real Estate Company* is actually developing the former area of the Schoeller textile factory (a first section of the housing and commercial compound is completed) and the area around the *Hardturm soccer stadium of the Grasshoppers Club*. The development aims at capitalizing the attractive proximity of the river landscape for industry, commerce and housing. Hardturm has a large potential to develop. Together with Maag, it held the entrepreneurial leadership in the process. *Maag Swiss Real Estate Group* manages the development of the former Maag area. It actually heads a project group whose aim is to turn the area and its surroundings into a neighbourhood of varied uses. The excellent access to public transport and highways gives the site a status of prime location for people-intensive land uses. Changes on the adjacent industrial areas are going to have an important and welcomed impact on the Maag area itself and on the whole Zurich West area. *Migros and Coop* are widely engaged in food production, food (and non-food) distribution and core administration of their businesses. They intend to further concentrate these activities in Zurich West. Logistic needs will increase, having impact on truck traffic volumes. The two logistic giants accept up-grading activities as long as their transportation needs are not cut.

Substantial inputs were provided by the *Agency for Urban Development, the Office for Urbanism, the Transport Section of Infrastructure Department, and the Office for Urban Green and Public Space*. The function of the Office for Urbanism has shifted from an operational level to a strategic level. Management stood above the individual interests. Specialised administrations (traffic, environment, green areas) were clearly promoting their own belief system and represented specific social groups (inhabitants, cyclists, ecologists etc.). Policy change towards sustainable principles has been supported by them. The environmental agency, however, had in the early process stages no more than a corrective function. Business-oriented visions for renewal were not always compatible with relatively small-scale plans for “green networks” and “ecological niches”. The role of the *planners and experts* was in line with the new understanding of mediation and conflict management. Due to the planners’ credibility as experts, they had authority and opportunities to facilitate co-operation among competing interests (market, politics, society) in building a “better community”.

3.3 Declaration of intent: By-passing legislation or more sustainability?

The definition of *area identity* and planning concepts was relatively easy to achieve; administrations were open-minded and followed the land owners' ideas. As soon as it came to concrete figures such as the intensity of land use and the share of open space, it was a bargaining rather than joint solution-seeking process. Target achievements will increasingly depend on policy programmes in the fields of private and public transport. Conflicts between economic growth and sustainability remained somewhat unsolved; it was not clear if these conflicts were deep or not. Both the administration and the land owners stress that the work done by the working groups was fruitful and carried out in a good atmosphere. There may be the danger that the "corporate identity" being built up throughout the first negotiation phase would go to weaken again in subsequent phases. The lack of clarity with regard to what sustainable development could mean certain advantages. It has allowed groups with different and often conflicting beliefs to reach some common ground upon which concrete action could be designed. Participants agreed that entrepreneurial planning is not just about recreating the market. It has the wider goal of getting people and vitality back into neglected areas; it aims to inject them with life and excitement. Ecological sustainability was not a target as such, but the actors' acceptance of future uncertainties and planning flexibility is an inherent factor of sustainability, understood as normative, process-oriented and long-term concept.

The first phase of the Zurich West development process led to a written document, consisting of process description, the mutually agreed upon declaration of intent and development concept, with relevant land use and transport plans. The *declaration of intent* stands for a certain policy change and is the result of the learning process.



Fig. 2: Development concept

In a nutshell it says (*Hochbaudepartement Stadt Zürich, Synthesebericht, 1999*):

- *Objectives* are efficient co-operation in view of long-term attractive development and urban quality. The market potential as well as political and legal feasibility are to be considered.
- *Guidelines* aim at adding value for inhabitants, land owners, and business. Sustainable development must be understood as an attractive and market-oriented land use mix in terms of international competitiveness, environmental-friendly infrastructures and open space, as well as participation, transparency, security, urban quality, legal compliance, and resource management. Procedural principles demand flexibility, legal certainty, efficient decision-making, and specific forms of infrastructure financing. Basic principles have been uncoupled from legal framework.
- The landowners and the representatives of the municipal government shall form a "*conference for co-operative development planning of Zurich West*". Operative bodies shall elaborate financing and marketing models for the infrastructures. Authorities co-operate with land owners, while developing legal frameworks. Third parties will be included step-by-step.
- The *development concept* is a first step towards a implementation plan. It links private projects (working, living, sports, leisure, culture, logistic) and public infrastructure planning (schools, green area, public space, transportation). It involves respect for interests and developments in the adjacent areas. There is a change from individual targets towards common identity and interdependent targets. Sustainable development is "positively" formulated in order to attract potential investors.

4 THE SCHWAMENDINGEN BRANDING PROJECT

4.1 Situation

Schwamendingen (population: 28,000) is situated in the north of Zurich. It is a well functioning urban area with different village-like neighbourhoods. Recent SWOT analysis of its characteristics can be summarised as follows (see table 1): Schwamendingen is in a *negative spiral*. Traffic noise and pollution along the motorway and hindrance from aircraft have caused those Swiss that have an option, to leave the area. In their foreigners without an option have taken their place. The result of this is that life in the neighbourhood has come under pressure and the area now has a negative image. Activities are being undertaken to reduce the number of aircraft flights over the neighbourhood and to cover the motorway. These efforts appear to be successful. Projects aimed at improving the image, but without having to make large investments, are intended to make the area more attractive to people who have a choice of living there.

Besides a new *spatial planning masterplan*, the area needs an *effective branding strategy* because its image is poor. Schwamendingen should remain and become an attractive location for families and people who cannot buy a dwelling or house closer to the city. The branding strategy should improve the image of Schwamendingen towards both its internal and external stakeholders. Schwamendingen has the potential to become an attractive living area very close to new working areas nearby the airport. There are (still) no large acute problems, which would lead to a vacancy of houses, but some of the houses are old, they need modernisation. It is an area with much open space and relatively low housing densities. There is some *friction* between the elderly and young people, in particular about the use of the common outside space, and between immigrants and traditional residents. On the one hand, the (commercial) landlords do not have a strong connection with the area. On the other, large housing associations and traditional residents' organisations are highly motivated to participate in image improvement activities. They already took part in the first part of the process (*Schwamendinger Forum*) and are involved in the branding strategy.

Dimension		Strengths	Opportunities	Weaknesses	Threats
Space, Environment	<i>Residential needs</i>	Potential for development and densification, planning guidelines, regional function	Sustainable development	No private investments, non flexible regulations (BZO), poor quality of living environment	Social segregation, non sustainable densification
	<i>Traffic</i>	Good public transport (tram, bus, rail), environmental-friendly measures, Glattal tramway	"Public transport city"	Distance to the city centre, transit routes, isolated areas due to highways	"Car city"
	<i>Open space</i>	Green space, potential for reduction (noise, air), highway roofing	"Garden city"	interrupted green network, poor quality of open space, not accessible private areas	Loss of open space
	<i>Pollution</i>	Potential for reduction (noise, air)	Eco-City	Motorized traffic, airplanes,	Increasing pollution
Living, Working	<i>Living</i>	High share of living space, prices, building associations	Heterogeneity	Need for renewal	Demolition of settled structures
	<i>Supply</i>	Good supply (shopping, education, public space, green area, market)	Supply improvements	No social projects and "help points", supply concentration at central square, negative tendencies	"Suburbia"
	<i>Social mix</i>	Attractive for middle-income families, affordable house ownership, different identifiable neighbourhoods	Social mix	Underprivileged residential area, integration and social problems, negative tendencies	Social segregation, right-wing movements, crime
	<i>Work</i>	Nearby development areas with high quality working places (airport, Glattal)	Highly qualified inhabitants	Low meaning as working area	No economic basis for small businesses
Image, Process	<i>Image</i>	Good internal social networks, green space	Image improvement (existing qualities, physical change)	No or bad image, measures for improvements must be different in each neighbourhood	Measures without impact
	<i>Programs</i>	Sustainable Zurich targets, local agenda 21, planning guidelines, social work	Sustainable development	Non-binding programs/measures, financing	Domination of formal procedures
	<i>Procedures</i>	Active inhabitants, sustainable processes, participation, problem pressure, successful small projects	Pilot function, media echo	Groups of inhabitants (foreigners) are difficult to reach	Social exclusion

Table 1 : SWOT

4.2 How to make the brand a reality – concept and implementation

Important branding aspects are the time schedule (when with which actor groups) and the function of *participative processes* in relation to formal planning and decision-making procedures. Participative processes can be about information exchange, common planning, or joint decision-making. This has to be clear and communicated to the potential participants. As a rule, *formal procedures* take place anyway, while participative processes may have the function to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of entire planning and decision-making processes. Following information is a short summary of analytical preconditions, visions and targets, which have been described and formulated at the beginning of the Schwamendingen branding process (IMAGE Project Consortium 2006):

Trigger is:

- Public platform (*Schwamendinger Forum 2000*) brought up idea of branding process
- Social and environmental pressure causes image problem
- Governmental program of sustainable urban development (urban living quality for all)

Strategic targets are:

- Sustainable urban area development according to planning guidelines and with selected public interventions and investments
- Engagement and willingness to invest of private and public real estate/land owners, incentives such as PPP
- Self-initiative and social networking of inhabitants and interest groups
- Image improvement such as attractive living environment, living and working quality, supply, social mix, potential for the entire region of the city of Zurich and Glattal.

Operative targets are:

- Social-friendly renewal and densification, high quality of living and open space
- Improvement of open and green space
- Private investments (incentives and coordination, coherent urban area development)
- Improvement of social work, support, and meeting points (integration projects)
- Cooperative development of a branding strategy (outside/inside image improvement)
- Reduction of environmental pollution (highway roofing, slow traffic, plane noise, accessibility by public transport)

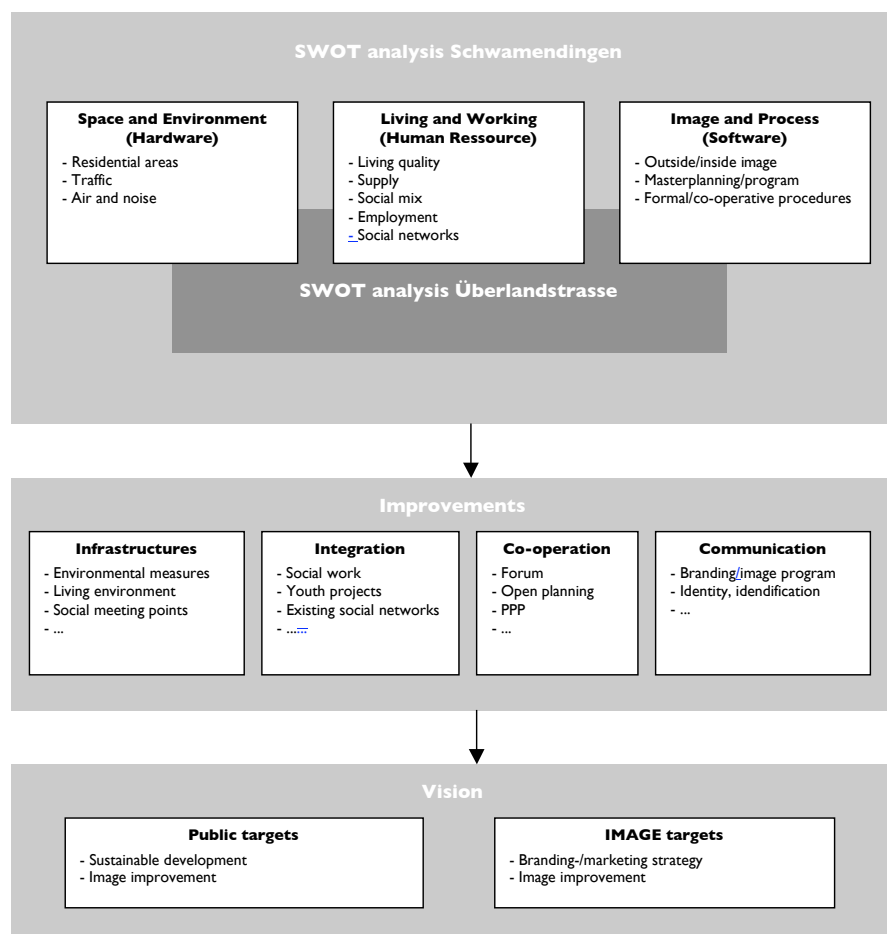


Fig. 3: Development concept and the role of branding

Following dimensions of project management are important for the branding strategy in Schwamendingen:

- *Knowledge Management*: SWOT results, IMAGE branding guidelines; previous campaign in Schwamendingen; information exchange between city administrations (workshops, IMAGE participation); external marketing experts; interdisciplinary coordination (planning guidelines, social work strategy, sustainable development strategy)
- *Expectation Management*: exchange of ideas and information with local interest groups; clarification of human and financial resources; clarification of formal procedures; branding concept
- *Process Management*: actor identification; process design (workshops, realtime branding, etc.); preparation, realisation, and wrap-up of a participative process; options to act and joint decisions; feedback and coordination with formal processes and other relevant activities within the area and the city
- *Implementation Management*: campaign and concrete measures targeting at sustainable urban development; engagement and willingness to invest of stakeholders; promotion of self-initiative and social networks; evaluation, fine-tuning, and improvements

“*Gartenstadt Schwamendingen*” has been chosen as the main theme for the projects. Large scale inhabitants meetings (Nov. 2005), walk-in information sessions and residential working groups have been organized to select projects that could improve the image of the neighbourhood. Several 2006 meetings were held to present the projects. These projects varied from art initiatives such as a photographer competition, postcard action, blog and video project, to public events such as permanent breakfast, rock against noise, neighbourhood walks, and the institutionalisation of a neighbourhood secretariat. In a reflection meeting on the presentation the following question arose in regard to the connection of the theme *Gartenstadt* with the projects: “in what way does the project strengthen the brand *Gartenstadt*?” This will be the challenge of future phases of the Schwamendingen branding process.

5 CONCLUSION

We have adhered to the broad definition of the term *masterplanning*. This does not only apply to the physical aspects. It also concerns economy, services, and social projects. In spite of the broad definition, the emphasis in masterplanning as executed in Zurich West lies on the analysis and determination of a functional logic. It is particularly aimed towards execution of a plan. The ‘what’ and ‘when’ is the central aspect. *Branding*, as it is defined in Schwamendingen as “the search for the character, the identity, the brand of an area”, adds an emotional logic. In the process of branding the “why” and “how” are key elements. It is the search for meaning: what does this neighbourhood signify for the rest of the city, what does (the neighbourhood) mean to the inhabitants and they to it, and the meaning for inhabitants in relation to each other and the significance of organisations/institutions, services and companies in the neighbourhood.

The two case studies show that two different approaches have been applied, but both are embedded in a *comprehensive strategy for the entire city*. Different neighborhoods, different development areas have specific internal functions and potentials, but sustainable development strategies have to be framed by the question on what these areas contribute to the development of the entire city. Zurich West was economically driven, social cohesion was hardly addressed. Its contribution is to improve the competitiveness of the City of Zurich. However, at later stages of the process, (new) inhabitants were able to organise strong opposition against traffic plans, the soccer stadium, etc.. The defined identity was true for the land owners and the investors, but not for the residents. The actors were not able to define a joint branding strategy, which could have helped to develop synergies between economic and social needs. In Schwamendingen, social cohesion and quality of life was at the centre of the development strategy, participative search for identity caused an effective branding strategy. The image will be improved, and this will have positive impacts on both economic and social factors. However, both areas are important to the city’s performance, their functional success in longer terms can be seen as a trade off between competitiveness and social cohesion.

With regard to our hypotheses (chap. 2.3), we can conclude that *historical spatial and social structures* play an eminent role. In both areas, old and new identities had to be re-defined and developed on the basis of historical structures. Then: Objectives and goals of urban areas should be formulated in comprehensive strategies, *in words, rather than in plans*. Ideas and visions have to be formulated throughout discursive paths of policy-making. Plans only serve as a tool to come closer to a common roof for different ideas. Last but not least, successful spatial and social management projects need *promotional spirit and leadership*, whether relying on specific competencies of organisations or on the charisma of individuals who fulfil the function of project-puller. In Zurich West, promotional spirit and leadership could be revived by a relatively new city planning crew. In Schwamendingen, this driving force should have its source in social networks of the residents.

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Short summary:

Both case studies, the Zurich West development project and the Schwamendingen branding process, are framed by two theoretical messages: Urban sustainability must be a multi-level game of governmental and non-governmental actors. In designing policies that meet the needs of different user groups and are efficient and fair in their delivery, policy makers will have to learn to package policy recommendations with strategies of adaption and work more closely with targeted stakeholder groups. The Zurich West project is a renewal process of an old industrial area in the Zurich river basin. Its main target is to improve urban competitiveness of the City of Zurich (functional logic). The Schwamendingen process applies “soft” planning instruments such as neighbourhood branding. Its main target is to improve the areas’s image and social cohesion, in close collaboration with the residents (emotional logic).

Key words:

Urban regeneration, competitiveness, social cohesion, actor networks, participation, neighbourhood branding