

Switzerland	41'000Km2	* Inhabitants	7'500'000
Urban Region	2'300Km2	* Inhabitants	1'200'000

## From the Urban Revolt to the New Metropolitan Mainstream

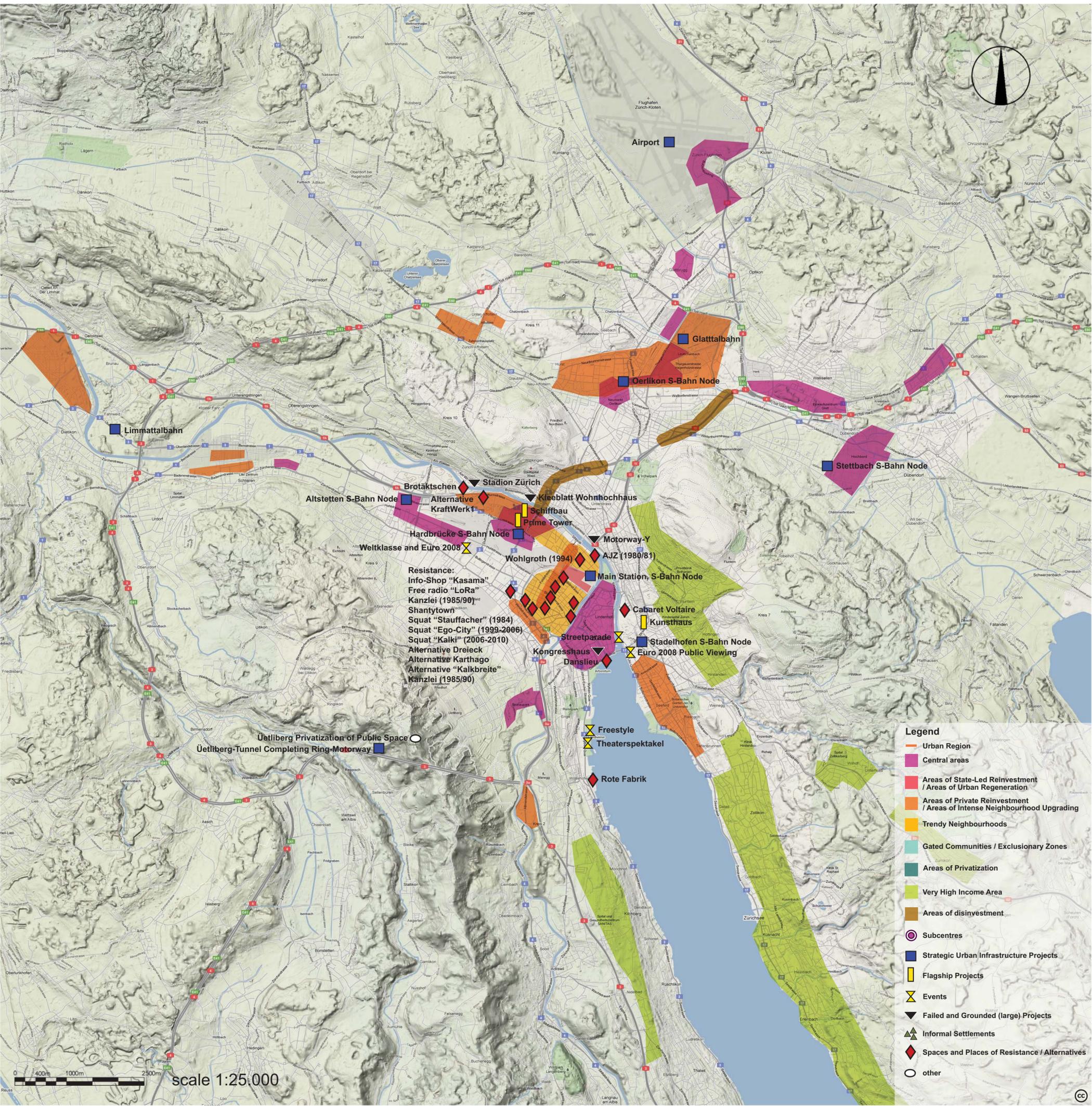
From an international point of view, the metropolitan region of Zurich is relatively small. Nevertheless, it has been for many years routinely placed as a «Beta-World city», because of its strong «headquarter economy» which is specialized in the organization and control of global financial flows. At the same time, Zurich has also regularly been awarded one of the world cities with the highest standard of living. It is located in a privileged landscape with a lake and surrounding hills and forests. Additionally it offers a broad range of cultural activities, a vibrant party scene, hip bars, trendy and multicultural restaurants, the «Street Parade» – a kind of carnival of techno-music that draws up to one million visitors each year – and also alternative cultural venues and activities, as for example the «Rote Fabrik».

Fifty years ago, Zurich was still an industrial city with a strong position in the machine and armament industries. In the 1970ies, with the increasing deregulation and globalization of financial markets, the transformation into a global city began. This was a contradictory process, which was strongly marked also by local forces. In this context, especially two local lines of conflict proved to be crucial: On the one hand side, a strong controversy concerning the modernization of the city arose which resulted in a territorial compromise: Since the 1970ies, Zurich's

model of urbanization has been growth oriented, but it was also characterized by a strong regulation of urban development and the conservation of inner-city areas.

On the other side, the question of «urban culture» proved to be crucial. In the 1970ies, public life in Zurich was still characterized by a crushing parochialness which left hardly any margin for new lifestyles or alternative forms of cultural expression. This situation eventually caused a social explosion, and in spring 1980 an urban revolt began: With street fighting, but also with cheerful happenings and creative action protesters demanded a different, vibrant and open city. Although the urban revolt collapsed after two years, it had changed Zurich's everyday life, its cultural sphere as well as its public spaces. In the following years, Zurich experienced a remarkable cultural and social opening, legal and illegal bars and clubs sprouted up everywhere and contributed to an urban renaissance, stimulating, among other things, the development of a milieu of cultural production, including design, image production, events, etc. This economic sector today plays a key role in international competition between global cities. The urban revolt thus became in itself a constituting factor of the global city formation of Zurich.

In the course of the 1990ies, another change of paradigm in urban development occurred. While the inner-city of Zurich evolved into a culturally and socially pulsating urban center, the «headquarter economy» expanded into the region, thus changing fundamentally the development of the former suburban areas. The metropolitan region now forms the unit of everyday life. It includes many different places which among each other are interconnected by a dense tissue of overlapping interaction networks. At the same time, a new hegemonic political alliance emerged in the City of Zurich which might be called «metropolis alliance». The focus of local politics shifted towards a new combination of strategies: On the one hand side, it aims at attracting international investors, global capital and affluent groups of residents to Zurich, while on the other it looks for pragmatic, integrative and efficient approaches to solve the current social problems. Thus, the «New Metropolitan Mainstream» evolved in Zurich as a result of conflicting forces and processes.



# Failed Project: Stadium Zurich

<b>Purpose</b>	A new football stadium on top of a new shopping mall in place of the demolished old stadium
<b>Dimensions</b>	200 x 100 and 40 metres high. A full-size stadium for 30'000 people and parking space for 1'000 cars.
<b>Projets costs</b>	around 200 millions EUR
<b>Investors</b>	Credit Suisse
<b>Architects</b>	Meili Peter Architekten AG



Description / Reason for this choice / Background / context: Planning for the stadium started in 2002, when Switzerland became host of the 2008 European Football Cup. The site is located at the outer edge of the former industrial, then regenerated and now very upmarket quarter «Zurich West», with much office space, some housing and many entertainment venues. This project (mainly because of the shopping mall and the induced traffic) was since its launch heavily opposed and the main investor withdraw in 2009. A new stadium for 20,000 people and without a shopping mall is now in planning.

Significance for New Metropolitan Mainstream: A new football stadium as «another impulse» (as the mayor of Zurich said) for Zurich West. Important for local fans, important in inter-city competition, as a reply to archrival Basel's much praised new football stadium by Herzog & de Meuron. This project symbolized a new dimension of public private partnerships. The combination with a huge shopping mall built to cross-subsidize the construction of the stadium caused much resistance.

Stakeholders and their interests: The football club Grasshoppers Zurich (and to a certain degree Zurich's other first league football club FC Zurich) want a new purpose-built football stadium; one of Zurich's major landowners, Albers, wants to sell the land for the stadium and the permission to build over the former training pitches adjacent to the stadium; the city of Zurich as host of prestigious Euro 2008; the global bank Credit Suisse as developer and investor for profit (and prestige) reasons. The neighbours and the environmental organizations were resisting.



Deals: Instead of simply building a new football stadium with public money, the city looked for private investors who would build a stadium for free. Credit Suisse bank offered to do this in return for the permission to build a combined three level shopping mall with a stadium on its roof. A complex public private partnership, involving the private landowner, was organized. A number of untransparent deals between the partners, the granting of special planning exceptions and the violation of several environmental regulations caused much concern. Resistance was strongest from the neighbours and environmental organizations. Despite a referendum approving the project the stadium was contested in the courts. The severe delays that were caused by the legal process and the current economic crisis gave a final blow to the project in 2009. After the demolition of the old stadium, there is now an empty lot awaiting an uncertain future.

Impacts: vvLandowners and developers, architects and investors (highly uncertain) would have benefited from the project. Nearby neighbours might have benefits from newly created shopping facilities. But the negative impacts would have been more important: increased traffic, gridlocks, noise and air pollution, deterioration of physical environment with wider and more dangerous roads. Urban development in an already over-heated urban regeneration area would have been further boosted. The main argument of the opposition against the project was: Zurich West does not need more attractions like shopping malls but rather housing and green spaces.

# Alternative: Cabaret Voltaire

<b>Purpose</b>	Avenue, a shop and a museum for Dadaism in the original house where Dada was founded in 1917
<b>Dimensions</b>	2 floors with a bar and a stage room in the medieval heart of the city
<b>Projets costs</b>	650'000 € p. year for rent and subsidies
<b>Investors</b>	Initially squatters, then a private association and the city
<b>Architects</b>	Rossetti + Wyss Architekten AG



By inaugurating the legendary „Cabaret Voltaire” on February 5, 1916, Hugo Ball, Emmy Hennings, Hans Arp, Tristan Tzara and Marcel Janco founded the art movement Dada. From the house Spiegelgasse 1 Dada started its journey into the world – launching an international cultural revolution. The Cabaret Voltaire closed only 4 months later, in July 1916.

Nearly 90 years later, the tireless efforts of numerous Dada friends have finally cleared the way for a dada-inspired re-dedication of the house: on September 30, 2004, the home of the Dadaist world opened again its doors under the name of Cabaret Voltaire.

What happened in between 1916 and 2004?

The house and its little hall were first used for living and as restaurant, in the second half of the 20th century also as music club, disco and for offices. In 1999, SwissLife, a big insurance company bought the house. It was intended to renovate the building and install a pharmacy as well as luxury flats.

In February 2002 the house was squatted by a group of cultural activists. They installed a provisional Dada museum and started a series of events and cultural activities, such as readings, painting actions, performances, concerts. The aim of the squat was to install Dadaism in the house and remind the place where Dada was born, to form an open space for Dada culture.



The squat went on for a few weeks, almost like the original Cabaret Voltaire. The cultural department of the City of Zurich started negotiations with the owner. Also, the CEO of the Swatch Group showed interest to contribute to a Dada house. In spring 2003 the government of the City of Zurich consented to rent the house to install a Dada center. In September 2003 also the parliament agreed to the plans.

The rooms were slightly renovated, a funding body installed and a director and its crew elected. The Cabaret Voltaire re-opened one year later, in September 2004. A rich program of events, actions, and interventions started. Also, a series of provocative actions found public resonance. For instance, the artist group Bitnik installed a mobile phone in the Opera House and transmitted the Operas via a computer in the Cabaret Voltaire to accidentally called persons at their homes.

As the sponsoring by Swatch was about to end, new financial sources had to be found. The City of Zurich decided to give financial support, but the right wing party SVP fought against this public involvement and demanded a referendum. In September 2008 more than 65 percent of the voters of the city of Zurich consented to the public support of the Cabaret Voltaire.

# Flagship Project: Europaallee

<b>Purpose</b>	Diverse mix of uses comprising offices, residential, homes for the elderly, hotel / restaurant, retail, leisure, education and supporting services.
<b>Dimensions</b>	78,000 sqm, total site area
<b>Total floor area</b>	273,000 sqm, 6,000 planned jobs within approx. 100,000 sqm of office space.
<b>Investors</b>	As the sole land-owner, SBB has the leading role. During the implementation phase, it will lead the search for investors and retain total responsibility for the development.
<b>Building heights</b>	up to 40 m in selected areas
<b>Parking spaces</b>	approx. 700 spaces



Zurich's economy is largely based on banking, insurance and financial services. The centre of these activities is around Paradeplatz and Bahnhofstrasse at the edge of the medieval city. The dramatic growth of the financial sector in the post-Second World War decades prompted a growing demand for additional office space. This demand met with a chronic shortage of space in Zurich's highly densified and narrow inner city.

To get out of this impasse, two strategies offered themselves. One was to move office space (primarily back offices) to peripheral, sub-central or edge city locations. This has been going on for many years. The other one was to expand the central business district into the adjacent railway lands, incorporating the railway station and building on a deck across the immense field of railway tracks. This scheme, envisioned since the late 1960s, was seen as the 'natural' and 'obvious' extension of Bahnhofstrasse's CBD. Besides providing much needed floorspace for Zurich's expanding financial services, the 'fallow land over the tracks' promised to be the prime site for an internationally visible flagship project, a – supposedly – still missing element in Zurich's ambitious pursuit of world-city status. The total area of development measured approximately six hectares (200 by 300 metres). Situated right next to the financial heart of Switzerland it had a potential of up to 500'000 m2 of floor space.

The project Europaallee currently under construction is the last one in a series of failed projects begun in the late 1960s. In contrast to all its predecessors, Europaallee does not use the space over the tracks, but only the former Railway land along the sides of the tracks.

The Europaallee project is the result of decade-long struggle. A bewildering diversity of interest groups fought over the land use of this most central piece of urban land. On the one hand side there were Swiss Federal Railways as landowners and developers, supported by the local and national business community, namely from the financial and construction sectors, eager to build, manage and use commercial space. On the other hand side there was a multitude of neighbourhood, environmental and heritage groups opposing the project on numerous grounds (density, prices and profits, land use, gentrification of the adjacent neighbourhood, etc.). Caught in the middle and playing the decisive role were the governments and administrations of both the Canton of Zurich (the province) and the City of Zurich. Over the decades, coalitions and majorities changed time and again, referendums were held and court cases fought, some won some lost.

The current project consists of 250'000 m2 floor space in 10 buildings. Large shares are taken by the Pädagogische Hochschule Zürich, PHZ (teachers college), headquarters for global bankers UBS, private bank Clariden Leu (currently involved in an investigation over their slave trade past), expensive senior citizen apartments, a hotel. Much of the ground floor space has been allocated to shops and restaurants. The masterplan designed by Kees Christiaanse tries to respond to many of the opponent's arguments by an elaborate urban design with i.e. the extension of existing streetscape, creation of public squares enhanced by public art and reserving groundfloors for public and semi-public uses like shops and restaurants. Despite these concessions (and the reduced overall dimensions of the project) some of the original arguments remain valid (and threatening). Regardless of all real and / or imagined improvements, the core fear of neighbourhood gentrification remains. Opposition to the project was always around feared infiltration of the banking city and the ensuing destruction of the existing traditional habitat in Aussersihl, one of working class, immigrant, artsy avant-garde and political resistance. Europaallee will be finished by the year 2020. There are plans to continue the development of railway lands on both side of the tracks further outwards.



Above: Project HB Südwest, 1988

# Infrastructure project: Renaissance Tram 1 / Limmat Valley City Train

<b>Purpose</b>	Public transport for the developing Limmat Valley
<b>Dimensions</b>	Tram 1: 5km, Limmat Valley Railway: 13.5km
<b>Projets costs</b>	Tram 1: 260 Mio. EUR (100 Mio. EUR for land acquisition), Limmat Valley Railway: 500 Mio. EUR
<b>Investors</b>	Responsible for both projects are the public transport companies of the City of Zurich (VBZ) and of the Canton of Zurich (ZVV)



Description / Reason for this choice / Background / context: The "renaissance" of tram 1 means two things: On the one hand it restores tram line 1 which was closed 1954 and replaced by the bus line 31; on the other hand it is truly a tram linking Zurich's "renaissance" projects together: The "Europaallee", the new developments of the Casern Area (Kasernenareal), the "Justice and Police Centre", the "Herdern" area, the "Letzi" area and the developments around the Altstetten railway station. In the whole area eventually there will be space for 15'000 people and 27'000 jobs – most projects are mixed use developments. The Limmat Valley City Train connects the final stop of the future tram 1, Altstetten, to the new developments (mostly regeneration projects themselves) down the Limmat Valley. It parallels the main train line and disperses passenger traffic from the train stations to the new housing and working places in Altstetten, Schlieren, Urdorf, Dietikon, Spreitenbach, Killwangen and, maybe, Baden. The number of inhabitants of the densified urban region will grow from the present 125'000 inhabitants to 140'000 in 2025; in the same time, the number of jobs will be increased by 40%.



Significance for New Metropolitan Mainstream: The Limmat Valley is on the move. The region bordering the eastern fringes of Zurich has long been deemed a declining area due to deindustrialization. Now it is going through the mainstream processes of urban regeneration: new service and high-tech industries, "creative" clusters and back offices of global players like banks, insurance or ICT companies are entering the area, mostly upscale, dense "urban" housing schemes and "upgrading" projects like art interventions are planned, etc. Public transport plays a crucial role linking the main center (and "the world") to the emerging subcenters, turning them from marginalized into "connected" – and thus attractive – areas. As individual transport increasingly is seen as a "downgrading" factor in urban development (ugly parking lots, noise, pollution) it is avoided where possible.



Stakeholders and their interests: The echo from stakeholders in the Limmat Valley is mainly positive: developers still try to get the train pass near by their own projects, as the route is not yet clear; inhabitants endorse the fast connection to Zurich. As the Limmat Valley railroad will only be realized in 2016, protests from adjacent owners only will be heard in the years to come. By contrast protests have been heard from the owners of the 20 houses to be destroyed for the tram 1. Urban initiatives from the area also warned against the gentrifying consequences of the developments along the route of the new tramway, especially in the districts 4 and 5, Zurich's traditional working class districts.

Top: „Schlieren, Zentrum”, Copyright: „Visualisierung: Mathys Partner, Technopark Zürich”



## The New Metropolitan Mainstream and the Social Question

In a booming but relatively small city like Zurich, the «New Metropolitan Mainstream» has strong impacts. Large parts of the central areas of Zurich are affected by a strong process of socio-economic upgrading and commodification which goes far beyond classical processes of gentrification: Today, large parts of the inner city areas are becoming privileged spaces, and are suffering a severe housing crisis.

Until now, local politics are not fully addressing these tendencies: Throughout the past decades and independently of political shifts in government, the City of Zurich has always pursued a politics of growth, struggling to maintain or even improve its role as global city, striving for international prestige and recognition. In this setting there is not just room but also a demand for alternative and to a certain extent even oppositional places like

«Rote Fabrik» and «Cabaret Voltaire», widely seen as constitutive elements of cosmopolitan life.

At the same time, the city government implemented in the last decade a strategy of «upgrading of distressed neighborhoods» attempted to strengthen the social fabric by luring «stable» and affluent residents. Defined as areas with a high concentration of migrants and a high level of fluctuation and transience, these areas are to be revitalized. Given Zurich's wealth, it is astonishing to see such an upgrading and regeneration program. Instead of encouraging the potential and creativity of social processes, this strategy attempts to domesticate urban life. It focuses on targeted, specific interventions, which however might have severe consequences. Amplified by market mechanisms certain areas in the inner city are now affected by strong urban transformation.

This process shows a paradoxical, and yet logical, development: In places where metropolitan Zurich pulsates today, there is little space for underprivileged social groups. They are pushed into the outskirts, where predominantly petty bourgeois residents who are further scared by Zurich's global city development demonstrate a strong tendency towards xenophobia and a low level of tolerance. Even in these peripheral areas, upgrading is going on, and the socially weak were pushed out again. Along highways and near air lanes, one can witness the formation of pockets of deprivation, emerging territorial traps.

Zurich is no longer the cosmopolitan, yet introverted city of the 1980s. Under today's changed conditions, the city portrays itself as open-minded, productivist, culturally avant-garde, consumerist, and growth-oriented. The

summer months thrive with events of all sorts from the "Iron Man" competition to the Street Parade, and one reads regularly that Zurich ranks as one of the trendiest cities in Europe. In this New Metropolitan Mainstream, the social question has become ambivalent.

One thus observes a basic contradiction, which is visible not only in Zurich, but in other metropolitan regions as well. Although they celebrate diversity and portray themselves as open-minded, and although many urban spaces indeed demonstrate integrative potential, the process of metropolization often results in the exclusion of the very groups that created these spaces in the first place. As the city becomes a privileged space for a well-to-do urban middle class, a loss of urbanity and creativity inevitably follows.