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Planned Improvisation

The Rail Redevelopment Project *Neugasse Zürich*

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Abstract

Brownfields, including former rail areas, are a central pillar of inner-city redevelopment and densification. Yet brownfield redevelopment creates conflicts of interest. Private investors and city governments are tempted to realise large urban developments, positioning themselves within an environment of increasing competition. Opposed to this are claims for liveable cities and affordable housing. Redeveloping brownfields is thus a complex task. Planners find themselves confronted with a constantly changing and uncertain reality. This study examines how planners in the *Neugasse Zürich* project approach the complexity of an inner-city rail redevelopment. I investigate the factors contributing to complexity, ask in what ways the *Neugasse* case reflects particular (planning) rationalities, and explore what moments of improvisation emerge in the planning process. Hence this thesis contributes to the literature on complexity theory in planning and on brownfield redevelopments. I adopt an analytical frame which joins a complexity perspective with the concept of improvisation. While the first is useful to describe the *situation* and the *conditions* of action, the latter captures emerging *practices*. Improvisation provides a way of understanding how planners practically deal with complexity. Drawing on interviews, participant observation and document analysis, I show that it is 'hard' factors like laws, overlapping planning procedures and process coordination which make planning *Neugasse* complex. But most importantly, these intermingle with 'soft' factors: with interests and claims and the irrationality of human action. I illustrate that within a planning process, controversies over means and ends – or over rationalities – are a major source of unpredictability, which makes that planners often have to improvise. The *Neugasse* project embraces moments of improvisation, it is planned improvisation. The latter is characterised by multidisciplinary, dialogue and consensus-oriented planning, attempts at bottom-up planning, and planning step by step. I identify two forms of improvisation, *collaborative improvisation* at the level of the planning context and *individual improvisation* at the level of individuals. *Neugasse* shows that there is a need to find new ways of planning which incorporate complexity and uncertainty. I propose that planning for improvisation is one way of doing so.

urban planning | rail redevelopment | complexity | improvisation | *Neugasse Zürich*

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I Introduction

I am standing in front of the old brickwork buildings of a former rail repair work centre at Neugasse in Zurich, Switzerland. The parcel, owned by the national train company *Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB*, is surrounded by a fence. Somebody placed banners where I can read “SBB muss Weichen noi stellen”, “100% gemeinnütziges Wohnen an der Neugasse” and “So viel zahlen wie Wohnen kostet”¹. What is going on here?



Figure 1: Standing in front of the Neugasse area in Zurich, Switzerland. In the background the Prime Tower, landmark of the Zürich West redevelopment (photos by the author).

The people around me are discussing animatedly. I am sitting in a rail works hall, but instead of trains there are a dozen tables with chairs around. Movable walls showing sketches, plans and col-

¹ “SBB has to take new directions”, “100% non-profit housing at Neugasse” and “Only pay as much as housing costs”.

oured papers encircle the whole scene. It is an early summer evening and the people have come to discuss an urban development concept for the *Neugasse* area.

In our discussions we try to find a consensus, a solution which suits everybody. But from the very beginning it is evident how difficult this is: each of us has her or his own personal preferences and political views, and also the urban context is multilayered and confusing. How can we reconcile green spaces with the demand for high plot ratios², the reluctance for high-rise buildings and the need to make the area accessible for automobiles, public transport and slow traffic? And what kind of social interaction does one or the other urban environment promote? How will people act and react to new material structures within their grown and known neighbourhood? Everything seems to depend on everything else. Interdependencies are manifold and obscure. In this complex context, how is it possible to plan such a thing like a large rail redevelopment?

Neugasse is one of the many **brownfield areas** which became available in the course of the economic restructuring since the 1980s (Thissen 2015). Brownfields – a term now widely used among planners and policy makers – are defined as “[...] *any land or premises which has previously been used or developed and is not currently fully in use, although it may be partially occupied or utilized*” (Alker et al. 2000, p. 49). In this thesis I examine a specific type of brownfields: unused or not fully used **rail areas**. This vacant building land became a rare resource because of tightening regulations (Van Wezemael & Silberberger 2016). Together with the calls for brownfield instead of greenfield development, the restructuring and densification of brownfields is of high importance for city governments and developers. Many western European cities, including Zurich, try to build spaces of national and international appeal, positioning themselves in an environment of increasing competition among cities for capital and creative companies (Harvey 1989, Peck et al. 2009): building **large urban developments** on brownfield areas has become an image-boosting strategy of many city governments today (Peters 2009, Leick 2016).

Large urban developments are full of ambiguities, however: they not only raise enormous expectations, but also **critique**. For many years city regions have tried to use urban mega-projects as a means to promote the economy and culture and to sustainably develop their de-industrialising cities (Leick 2016, p. 13). At the same time, a critical academic discourse on large urban developments, seen as an expression of neoliberal urbanisation, evolved (ibid.). Critiques do not only refer to the negative outcomes (Swyngedouw et al. 2002), but also to the planning processes itself: as regards rail areas, their redevelopment is particularly interesting for developers, profit-seeking investors and city government because they are located at strategic central points next to the city centre, usually with good connections to public transport (Peters 2009). Hence, railway companies – be it in Switzerland (Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB 2017), France (SNCF Immobilier 2017) or Germany (Deutsche Bahn AG 2017) – are increasingly acting as real estate developers. This means that there is often one single and powerful land owner and developer. As a consequence

² The plot ratio (*Ausnutzungsziffer*) is a density measure in planning. It is calculated by dividing the chargeable total floor area by the chargeable plot size. A neighbourhood with single villas the plot ratio is about 0.3, with block perimeter developments it reaches 1.0 and in old middle age towns a maximum of 4.0 to 5.0.

participation is rare, and the few participation processes carried out remain superficial (Albrechts 2004). What adds to this is that for a long time, planners in European countries have mostly been concerned with land use planning (ibid.), that is to say with attributing parcels of land to a specific type of use without paying much attention to local socio-economic processes. Critical voices, however, pointed to the limitations of such a technocratic and *physicalist approach* to planning (Jacobs 1961).

This criticism led to a paradigm shift in planning, from a technical rationality to a communicative rationality. Rationalities refer to “[...] *the reasons for choosing a particular means to achieve a specific end* [...]” (Teresa 2017, p. 200). More generally speaking, rationalities are “[...] *modes of linking justifications to action* [...]” (West 2017, p. 223) which arise from broader societal, political and professional discourses. Translated to the domain of planning, a **planning rationality** is understood as the logic which links means like plans and policies to an end (Rivero et al. 2017, p. 174). A communicative rationality focuses on the creation of meaning through intersubjective interaction and involves intrinsic uncertainties (de Roo 2010, p. 6). But two decades after this paradigm shift, many planners find that the greatest challenges arise where social processes entangle with the materiality of the physical environment, or where different rationalities overlap. New concepts are needed to confront today’s reality.

A **complexity perspective** is a way of understanding this reality of constant change, a globalised reality with unmanageable interdependencies which evolves non-linearly and alters between stable and dynamic periods (ibid., p. 15). Hence “[...] *cause and effect are not proportionally related*” (Van Wezemael & Silberberger 2016, p. 176). A complexity perspective also states that “[...] *effects are generated by the intertwining of physical, mental and relational networks*” (ibid.). From this results intrinsic uncertainty. And when uncertainty is a rule and not the exception, problems get *wicked* (Rauws & De Roo 2016, p. 1054) and uncontrollable, and emergence rather than linear relations shapes planning results.

Emergence and uncertainty are characteristic for planning **inner-city rail redevelopments**. Redeveloping a rail area is not a normal project or routine task, but a complex planning problem (Scholl 2010), meaning that it is not just highly *complicated* yet resolvable, but inherently messy and fluid. Many factors contribute to its complexity. Generally, redeveloping in densely populated areas means that the conflicts of interest are more numerous than when building on a green meadow (ibid. p. 29). Moreover, in Switzerland planning and constructing are meticulously regulated, but at different governmental levels, which leads to conflicting planning laws and procedures. Therefore large urban developments pose operational and technical challenges, as they involve multiple actors and demand increased coordination, cooperation and communication (ibid.). But most importantly, the unpredictability, irrationality and obscurity of social action intermingles with these seemingly calculable aspects so as to make the whole process uncertain.

Starting from such an uncertain situation, planners in their daily practice often need to **improvise**. In reaction to an unforeseen event (Müller forthcoming) they need to deviate from plans or change them completely, they need to *make do* (Rowan 2004, p. 7) in the moment, relying on their own skills and resources.

Research Questions

The situation outlined above can also be observed in the ongoing rail redevelopment *Neugasse*. In Zurich brownfields like *Zürich West* and *Europaallee* have been developed – and criticised – since the 1990s, and now three former rail areas, *Werkstadt*, *Hardfeld* and *Neugasse*, are available for redevelopment (Kälin 2016). *Neugasse* is the first of the three projects realised by the national train company *Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB*. Against the background of the heavy critique of *Europaallee*, also developed by SBB, the neighbourhood being a political hotspot and the challenges of a relatively large inner-city rail redevelopment, SBB is exploring new ways of planning in the *Neugasse* project. In March 2017 SBB started a broad participation process, and during five workshops between March and November 2017 it created an urban development concept in close dialogue with neighbours and interested people (Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB Immobilien 2017a). With the centrality of participation, a circular process organisation with flat hierarchies and the relative openness of the process, the route chosen by SBB seems to embrace and acknowledge improvisation – more than the familiar modes of planning in Switzerland do (e.g. *Testplanung*, cf. Scholl 2010, chapter 3). Starting from these observations, I pose the following research questions:

How do planners in the 'Neugasse Zürich' project approach the complexity of an inner-city rail redevelopment?

- I. *What factors contribute to complexity in planning Neugasse?*
- II. *In what ways does the Neugasse case reflect particular (planning) rationalities?*
- III. *What moments of improvisation emerge in the planning process?*

With these research questions I trace the **debates** and **practices** in an early stage of an ongoing planning process (cf. figure 5). I describe the *Neugasse* project as an example for planning large urban developments – in this case a rail redevelopment – in an increasingly complex and uncertain world. In order to understand the context on the ground, I propose to first examine the factors which contribute to complexity in planning *Neugasse*. Building on these insights, I approach the question *why* certain things are done in one way and not in another by exploring the rationalities at stake. Finally, focusing on emerging moments of improvisation illuminates *how* ideas – or rationalities – are put into practice.

Contributions and Aims

This thesis contributes to two strands of academic work: research on **brownfield redevelopments**, which partially overlaps with the field of large urban developments or urban mega projects, and research on **complexity theory in planning**. By combining a complexity science perspective (Rauws & De Roo 2016) with the concept of **improvisation**, I depict a way of understanding complexity in practice. In a nutshell, the contributions of this thesis are the following:

- I. *On a practical level, by examining the 'Neugasse' project I add a case study to the research on complexity in planning; I explore the rail redevelopment 'Neugasse' as a crucial pillar of inner-city redevelopment and densification.*
- II. *On a theoretical level, I link a complexity perspective with the concept of improvisation so as to provide a way of understanding how planners deal with complexity in practice.*

Research on rail redevelopments has hitherto neglected social questions such as **participation** and instead focused on managerial and technical aspects (Dixon 2006, Raco & Henderson 2006). Peters (2009), for example, provides a critical investigation on the role of rail station redevelopments in the postindustrial restructuring of large European and American cities. While she points to the problematics of displacement and social housing (ibid., p. 177), she does not substantially discuss them.

Given that rail redevelopments are crucial pillars for inner-city redevelopment and densification, but the research on them rests partial, the planning and participation process at *Neugasse* is worth being examined closely: in Switzerland with one of the densest railway networks in the world and an increasing demand for inner-city housing, the importance of rail redevelopments will grow in the future. The *Neugasse* case sheds light on the participation process for a large rail redevelopment, which can be seen as a response to growing claims for respecting social aspects in planning.

Public participation in the *Neugasse* project reveals how different **rationalities** are negotiated and overlap. Rationalities are at the heart of the controversies occurring in every planning process. A rationalities approach is a useful way of conceptualising such controversies (Rivero 2017, p. 178), which are seen as encounters “[...] among, not just different goals, but divergent rationalities – divergent ways of selecting an optimal connection between means and goals” (ibid.). Moreover, it regards interests and values “[...] as dynamic principles of actions and considers their content” (ibid.). Thus, we can better understand how “[...] controversies originate and evolve throughout the planning process, as well as how they might be resolved” (ibid.).

Within a planning process, controversies over means and ends – or over rationalities – are a major source of uncertainty and unpredictability. The latter is defining for a globalised world with unmanageable interdependencies. Out of this observation grew an increasing interest among planners for **complexity theory**. The complexity turn in planning theory is underway, but meanwhile there are many different understandings of complexity (Rauws & De Roo 2016, p. 2). Therefore, “[c]omplexity and how it might work as a concept within planning is, however, not yet well understood [...]” (ibid.). Hence this thesis is a contribution to a better understanding of complexity in planning. I adopt one possible understanding of complexity (cf. 2.1) as an analytical lens (Lelong 2015, p. 22ff.), a specific view through which I examine the *Neugasse* project. Because competing rationalities and resulting controversies refer to ideological and practical aspects, the research perspective needs to be attentive to actual planning practice.

I think a fruitful way to illuminate the latter is to combine a complexity perspective with the concept of **improvisation**. Although many planners would state that they improvise in their daily planning activities, it is only very recently that the concept entered the planning debate (Rowan

2004, Silva 2011, Lévy 2013, Soubeyran 2015, Lévy 2016) So if improvisation is so omnipresent in practice, why has it received so little attention?

In this thesis I focus on the **understandings and practices of improvisation** in planning. Hence I outline a perception of planning in which the view of what a planner *is* and what she or he should *do* changes: the planner as an improviser has different tasks and therefore needs other competences than the planner as a technician (Lévy 2016). By investigating moments of improvisation, I shed light on these new tasks and required competences. At the same time I identify conditions under which improvisation can happen and point to the possibilities as well as to the limits of improvisation in urban planning. Put differently, I explore the relationship between improvisation and planning – two concepts that are often seen as opposite, but which are tightly bound together.

The following chapter 2 is dedicated to presenting the theoretical background. I will first talk about planning from a complexity perspective, explain the concept of improvisation and then elaborate on planning brownfield redevelopments. In chapter 3 I describe the rail redevelopment *Neugasse*, the case study examined here, and in chapter 4 I give some details on the research design. The empirical results I describe, explain and discuss in chapter 5. This chapter is divided into four subchapters, the first three exploring one research question each, and the fourth linking empirical material to theory. Finally, in chapter 6, I conclude by giving a synthesis.

2 Theoretical background

In this chapter I introduce my research perspective and then review the literature on brown-field redevelopments. Subchapter 2.1 starts with an overview of complexity theory in planning and continues with my understanding of complexity. In subchapter 2.2 I explain the concept of improvisation. After a general outline I move on to discuss improvisation as a way of dealing with complex situations. While a complexity perspective is used to describe the *situation* or the *conditions* of action, the concept of improvisation captures the emerging *practices* and is therefore the central concept for this thesis. Subchapter 2.3 on planning brownfield redevelopments leads us towards more practical planning questions and political discussions we will later encounter in the field at Neugasse.

2.1 Planning from a complexity perspective

Complexity theory in planning

Up to the 1950s most planners thought that their work essentially embraced 'rational choice' and acted according to a technical rationality (de Roo 2010, p. 4). In some regards, this spirit dominates until today, as since the 1960s and 1970s planning practices in Europe and Switzerland have mostly been concerned with land use planning (Albrechts 2004), with attributing parcels of land to specific types of use. But the limitations of such a *comprehensive bounded rationality* (Rauws & De Roo 2016, p. 1054) have not rested undiscovered. Already in 1961, with *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Jacobs 1961), Jane Jacobs took issue with this *physicalist approach* to planning. In her view, "[...] the way social processes unfold across urban space in unpredictable ways" (Murdoch 2006, p. 140) was ignored in modernistic mainstream planning which focused on the physical and formal properties of cities. Jacobs was one of the first to acknowledge that problems are not *tame* but *wicked* or bad and uncontrollable (Rauws & De Roo 2016, p. 1054), that they are not clearly definable but fuzzy and uncertain (ibid.).

In the 1980s, this led to a paradigm shift from a **technical rationality** which assumes certainty and has an ontological focus on maximising objectives to a **communicative rationality**. The latter focuses on the creation of meaning through intersubjective interaction and involves "[...] *intrinsic uncertainties, which above all should lead to agreements through interaction, resulting to some degree in frameworks for practice, in ontological terms a process optimisation*" (de Roo 2010, p. 6). Now, two decades later, many planners assert that most 'real life' planning situations are found between a technical rationality and a communicative rationality (ibid.). Hence another paradigm shift – the **complexity turn** – is underway in planning.

Complexity theory has its origins in the field of mathematics where it is used to analyse non-linear and interdependent systems (Hepple 2009, p. 105f.). In his typology of complexity approaches, Manson (2001) calls this mathematical complexity *algorithmic complexity*, while he makes out two other types of complexity: *deterministic complexity* which deals with chaos and cata-

strophe theory, and *aggregate complexity*. Key attributes of the latter relate to “[...] *the holism and synergy resulting from the interaction of system components [...]*” (Manson 2001, p. 409). Together with Manson (ibid., p. 405) Hillier (2012, p. 62) asserts that there is not *one* single complexity theory, but rather *many* theories engaging with complexity. Following Law (2004) Hillier offers a different typology of complexity theories and identifies two paths of complexity thinking which emerged since the 1970s. The first, *romantic complexity*, is based on system dynamics, a mathematical modelling technique. The second path, called *baroque complexity*, encompasses narrative approaches to complexity. It is inspired by psychoanalysis, French social theory, and systems theory, among others (Hillier 2012, p. 42f.).

While all types of complexity theories have their shortcomings (Chettiparamb 2006, p. 73), planners have been inspired by various accounts of complexity (Hillier 2012, p. 42f.). At the heart of a complexity perspective in planning is the observation that neither a purely technical rationality nor a purely communicative rationality can satisfyingly confront today's complex reality – a reality of constant change, a globalised reality with unmanageable interdependencies which evolves non-linearly and alters between stable and dynamic periods (de Roo 2010, p. 15).

We are, however, far from a single understanding of complexity among planners. For some, the term has a negative connotation and represents potentially unmanageable situations. In that case complexity stands in the way of satisfactory solutions (ibid., p. 3). But an other understanding is more positive and sees complexity “[...] *in relation to notions of co-evolving and self-organising realities and complex systems which are adaptive and emergent*” (ibid., p. 1). Still, even if interpreted like this, there are many different understandings of complexity (ibid., p. 2), and depending on the perspective from which complexity is discussed, complexity can mean different things (de Roo et al. 2012, pp. 2–3).

The notion of complexity in this study

To discuss a complexity perspective, I start from a **relational** understanding of the world: the main organising principle is not physical proximity, but the relations established between different entities, be they material or immaterial (Healey 2007, p. 221). In this view, the city or urban areas are seen as *intertwined systems with human and material components* (Van Wezemaal & Silberberger 2016, p. 176) and “[...] *places can become ‘actors’ in their own right, through the recognitions that they call up and the way these recognitions are used, in the same way that machines and techniques have the power to ‘act’*” (Healey 2007, p. 221). In what follows I outline my understanding of complexity in planning by first describing the central concepts and then explaining their implications for concrete planning problems.

A main property of complex systems is their **relationality** or that they “[...] *are foremost driven by the situational and changing relations between the elements themselves [...]*” (Boelens & Goethals 2016, p. 187). Thus cities, being socio-material entanglements, are characterized by non-linearity, self-organisation, adaptability and co-evolution (Rauws & De Roo 2016, pp. 1056–1058, de Roo et al. 2012, p. 14) as well as by emergence and uncertainty (Van Wezemaal & Silberberger 2016, p. 176).

Non-linearity means that in urban systems “[...] cause and effect are not proportionally related” (ibid., p. 177). This is partly because cities are **self-organising**, that is to say because interactions between actors happen without external coordination (Rauws & De Roo 2016, p. 1057) and because structures spontaneously emerge “[...] on the basis of changing relations and the co-evolution of component parts” (Van Wezemael & Silberberger 2016, p. 177). Scholars adapting a complexity perspective understand cities “[...] as open systems which are sensitive to changing circumstances and therefore need to adapt to maintain their functionality” (Rauws & De Roo 2016, p. 1057). Hence urban areas are **adaptive** or **responsive to a dynamic environment**. As different urban systems adapt mutually, they co-evolve. The **coevolution** process involves “[...] the spatial configuration of an urban area as well as its institutional arrangements” (ibid., p. 1058).

An urban system's non-linearity, self-organisation, adaptability and coevolution contribute to its **emergence**: the city as a whole is more than the sum of its parts because “[...] effects are generated by the intertwining of physical, mental and relational networks” (Van Wezemael & Silberberger 2016, p. 177). **Uncertainty**, finally, results from the above mentioned five characteristics of complexity. Uncertainty “[...] refers to the components, relationships and interactions we do not fully comprehend or of which we may not even be aware” (Salet et al. 2013, p. 3) or in other words: uncertainty refers to the ignorance of ignorance, to the things we are not even aware we do not know.

In table 1 I explain the implications of a complexity perspective as described above for planning practice.

Table 1: Concepts which constitute a complexity perspective and their implications for planning.

Concepts	Description	Implications for planning practice
Relationality	Cities are seen as intertwined systems of human and material components. Both can become 'actors' on their own right.	The city is more than houses and infrastructure. It emerges from the entanglement of human and non-human components. Both can show agency and are thus equally important for urban planning.
Non-linearity	Cause and effect are not proportionally related.	If you plan and do A it is not sure that B results.
Self-organisation	Interactions between actors happen without external coordination and structures spontaneously emerge because relations between actors change steadily and component parts co-evolve.	Structures always change, also if you do not plan and intervene. Thus, you can never know what kind of picture you'll find the next day, what structures you'll meet in the field and what relations have been established.
Adaptability	Structures are responsive to a dynamic environment, they adapt to maintain their function.	The planning environment is dynamic and changing. One must be sensitive to changing circumstances and adapt the planning process with them.

Co-evolution	Different urban components and systems adapt mutually, they co-evolve.	If one component changes, the others are likely to change too. The institutional arrangements as well as the configuration of urban space are in constant flux. Hence command and control modes of planning hit barriers and planning needs to co-evolve with changing circumstances instead.
Emergence	The city as a whole is more than the sum of its parts.	You can never grasp and control everything within your planning system. New entities and effects may be unexpectedly generated by the rearrangement and intertwining of physical, mental and relational networks.
Uncertainty	The opposite of certainty: the world is not fully comprehensible and there are always things of which we are not aware.	Uncertainty is an integral part of every planning process. By acknowledging that one needs to find new ways of dealing with and integrating uncertainty into planning.

2.2 Improvisation as a way of dealing with complexity

Uncertainty is the cause why, day by day, planners face unpredictable, unplanned situations. In these moments they have to improvise, to act in the very moment relying on their personal skills and networks.

Improvisation comes from a very different realm than that of the sciences: it is often associated with arts and jazz music. Yet improvisation is not something that belongs exclusively to the world of music and performance; we do it in our everyday lives. Since the late 1990s scholars from organisation science (Weick 1998), architecture and planning (Rowan 2004, Silva 2011, Desai *et al.* 2015) sociology (Farías 2014) and geography (Lévy 2013, Soubeyran 2015, Lévy 2016, Young *et al.* 2017) have been developing the concept. With so many disciplines involved, conceptualisations of improvisation vary significantly, as do the cases it is applied to and its definitions. I subsequently discuss improvisation in the planning literature and outline how improvisation and a complexity perspective could complement each other.

Improvisation in the planning literature

The term *improvisation* comes from the latin *improvisus* and means *unexpected, unforeseen or without preparation* (Dell 2002, p. 17) Here I want to specify this general definition: in her writings on improvisation in spatial planning (*aménagement du territoire*), Lisa Lévy defines improvisation as a mode of doing characterised by the logic of **coordination** and continuing **adaptation** to the contingencies and constraints of action (Lévy 2013, 2016). Indeed, the concept of improvisation emphasises action and **process**, says Olivier Soubeyran, who examined the parallels between improvisation in jazz and in planning (Soubeyran 2015). Soubeyran identifies **interruption** and **unpre-**

dictability, irreversibility and **spontaneity** as essential characteristics of improvisation and states that improvisation is **subjective** because the improviser and his actions are inseparable (ibid, p. 166-172).

Lévy's work explores this subjectivity with her investigation of a planner's informal planning practices in France. She finds four essential **competences** planners need in order to successfully improvise: listening to the milieu of others (*l'écoute du milieu des autres*), the handling of temporalities (*la gestion de temporalités*), the capacity to perceive, adapt to and coordinate the rhythm of actions, and creativity (*créativité*) (Lévy 2016). In the contemporary society which is marked by growing uncertainties Lévy stresses the importance of improvisation as a **theoretical** as well as a **practical concept**.

In her eyes, through considering improvisation in an affirmative instead of a rejective way (as it is often the case among planners), it may be possible to find positive approaches to today's challenges. Furthermore, Lévy makes clear that conceptualising improvisation does not mean to disguise neoliberal ideals like innovation and flexibilisation in other words, but quite the opposite: it is values such as exchange, solidarity, creativity, sensibility, emotion and physicalness that are the basis of improvisation (ibid.). Thus, if planning practices were increasingly organised on the basis of improvisation with planners going to the field, directly engaging with people and taking their needs and questions seriously, this would contribute to the **diffusion of power** (ibid.).

The following definition of improvisation captures the characteristics mentioned by Lévy, but is also more universal and applicable to other fields than planning: "*Improvisation is a creative, skilful and effective practice of dealing with emerging situations that embodies past experiences, present relations and future capacities*" (Müller forthcoming). Similar to Lévy, Müller mentions **creativity** as a prerequisite for improvisation, and dealing with emerging situations implies adaptation to the contingencies and constraints of action Lévy has in mind. Additionally, referring to *emergent situations* points to the **ephemeral** character of improvisation: improvisation only *arranges things for a while* (ibid.). What comes to the fore in the above definition is that improvisation is **skilful** and **effective**. Skills can be the three essential competences identified by Lévy, but also others depending on context, and they build upon past experiences, present relations and future capacities. Or in other words: improvisation relies upon resources or repertoires appropriated in the **past**, effective negotiations in the **present**, and it lies the ground for possible **future** capacities.

Thus, improvisation is a highly **actor-dependent** practice (ibid.). But this does not mean that these actors are independent from their environment and have total control over the situation (Dell 2012, p. 16) nor does it mean that improvisation embraces only the human realm: spatial arrangements and material realities define how people improvise and therefore non-human things can become actors or *actants*³ (Latour 2010) by themselves. Dependency on key actors, however, makes improvisation a **risky** endeavour that can have positive as well as negative effects (Müller forthcoming).

³ In what follows I use the word 'actor' as a synonym for 'actant'. In my perspective actors can be humans or non-humans.

Complexity, improvisation and changing planning rationalities

With Lévy (2013, 2016) we have seen that improvisation is closely linked to questions of planning: Lévy's improvisational competences have consequences for the planning rationality, since they imply closer contact with affected people, building relationships of trust between planners and residents and, ultimately, flatter power relations.

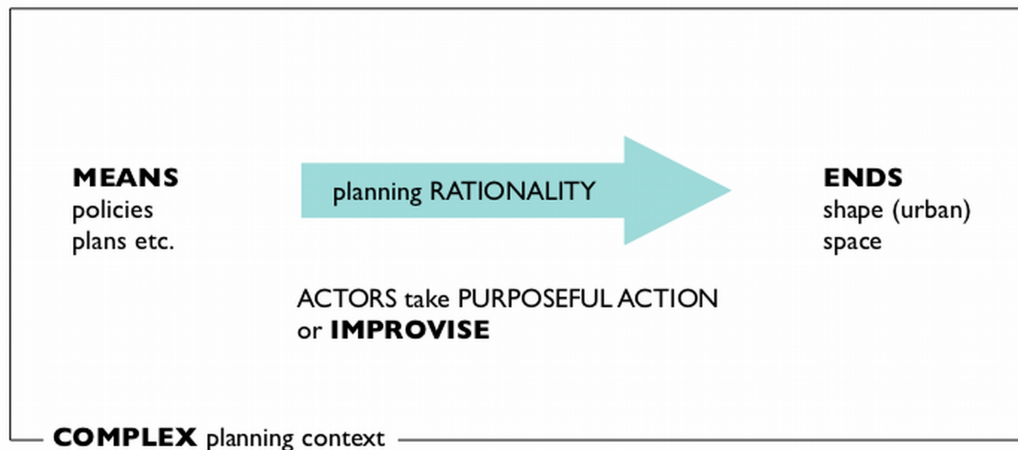


Figure 2: Conceptualisation of improvisation in planning (source: author).

Planning is often depicted as opposite to improvisation (Soubeyran 2015, p. 7), carrying the *whiff of something improper* (Müller forthcoming). Planning and improvisation, however, are tightly linked together in a paradoxical way: the more you plan, the more likely are deviations from your plans (ibid.). Figure 2 shows how I conceptualise improvisation in planning: together with Soubeyran (2015, p. 166) I understand improvisation as a practical way of dealing with uncertainty, disorder and unforeseen moments in a world of complexity. Hence in this view the actors are in the centre. Planning involves taking purposeful action in order to shape (urban) space (Rivero et al. 2017, p. 174). But sometimes this action turns into improvisation because things are not foreseeable. As mentioned before, planning rationalities can be understood as the linking logic between the means and ends of planning. When the actions which relate means to ends are improvised, the planning rationalities might change too, and improvisation not only becomes a (sometimes unconscious) practice but also a mindset of openness towards the new and unexpected.

Improvisation includes coordination and continuous adaptation to changing situations, be they in formal or in informal settings. In other words, improvising is **spontaneously acting in the moment**. Improvisation thus focuses on the stabilising and destabilising, on the making and remaking of **connections** in actor-networks. The **interactions** leading to establishing new connections are actor-dependent. Not only humans but also non-humans – for example a building, a symbol or a word – have agency. Therefore improvisation is not only a top-down or only a bottom-up practice. In this thesis though I mainly focus on planners. Moreover, starting from such a **flat ontology**, from a sym-

metry between subjects and objects, implies that in the beginning it cannot be said what is going to be most important for the action (Boelens & Goethals 2016, p. 190). It is possible, however, for certain actors to become more dominant through mobilising connections within the network and enforcing other actors to behave in their interest (ibid.).

2.3 Planning brownfield redevelopments

Connections have multiplied in an increasingly globalised world. From the 1980s on many western European and North American cities started to feel the negative consequences of unexpected interdependencies: they are confronted with rapid **economic restructuring**. In Zurich factories began to move out of the city's biggest industrial area, now called *Zürich West* where until the beginning of the 1990s beer was brewed, soaps were produced, yoghurt was filled into jars and ships were constructed (Thissen 2015, p. 22f.). This was accompanied by a loss of jobs and the city's worsening financial situation. At the same time, the real estate industry crashed in the early 1990s after a decade of speculation (ibid.).

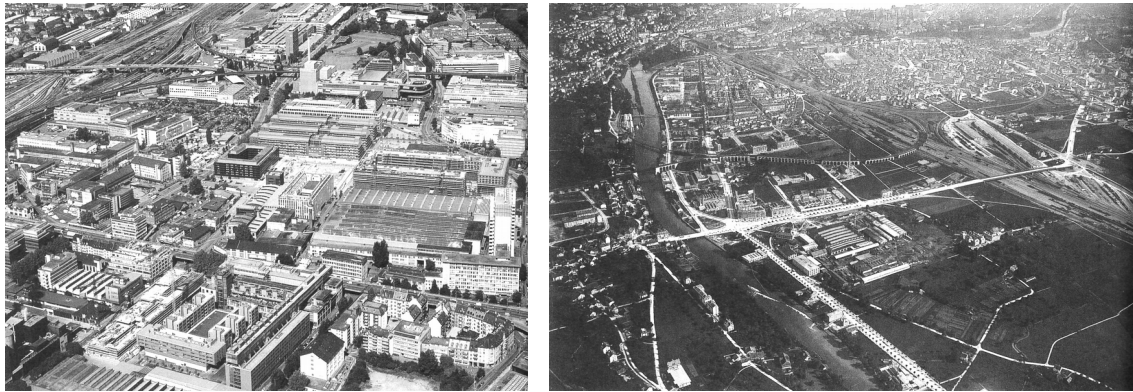


Figure 3: On the right the Zürich West area under full restructuring in 2003. On the left the neighbourhoods Aussersihl and Industrie seen from above in 1904. At that time, the western part was almost undeveloped (source: Fritzsche et al. 2010, pp. 108 & 112).

Like many other European city governments at that time, the city of **Zurich** saw itself confronted with the challenge of promoting economic restructuring in a context of increasing **competition** among cities (Kühne 1997, p. 1). And like other cities, Zurich saw the redevelopment of urban brownfields through large urban developments as a means to face modernisation under economic pressure. The reconstruction of *Zürich West* started in 1988 (Klaus 2013, p. 20) and the area became one of the largest brownfield redevelopments in Switzerland (cf. figure 3).

As the process of economic restructuring goes on, there are still brownfields becoming available for new uses (Thissen 2015). In expanding urban areas, these sites are now often located in the midst of a city and attractive for developing apartments, service spaces and offices. Furthermore, in the course of **tightening regulations** which aim at directing settlement development to already developed sites (Van Wezemaal & Silberberger 2016), these spatial resources become a central pillar of inner-city redevelopment and densification.

At the same time, large urban developments are an **image-boosting strategy** of many city governments (Leick 2016) who find themselves in an environment of intense competition for financial capital and creative people (Peck *et al.* 2009, Peters 2009, p. 164). As these developments require large unused, but centrally located areas, brownfields have become a rare and demanded commodity. Among the interested parties are not only the local governments who seek to make their city more competitive and attractive, but also private companies, including real estate departments of railway companies. Other parties, like housing cooperatives, are also interested in the building land, yet their motivations are different ones.

In Switzerland there are many **examples** of brownfield redevelopments. Besides *Zürich West* there is the redevelopment of an industrial area in Malley, western Lausanne (Vetter 2014), the restructuring of the former waste incineration plant area in Bern (Stadt Bern 2017) and the construction of a pharmaceutical production site in the place of a cellulose factory in Lutherbach (canton Solothurn) (Büchli 2016). In the city of Zurich other prominent brownfield redevelopments are the project *Sihlcity* (Theurillat & Crevoisier 2013), the redevelopment of *Europaallee* (Wolff 2012), and the ongoing development of *Greencity* (Winter 2014).

As diverse as the above examples are the types of **brownfields**: a brownfield can be a former production site of heavy industry, it can describe the unused land on which an old factory stands or it can relate to an old hospital which is currently not used, and much more. This explains why there is no universal understanding of what a brownfield is. Alker *et al.* (2000) give a very broad definition: “a brownfield site is any land or premises which has previously been used or developed and is not currently fully in use, although it may be partially occupied or utilized” (*ibid.*, p. 49). In this thesis I look at a specific type of brownfield redevelopment, a **rail redevelopment** project. With rail redevelopment I understand *the restructuring of a site with unused or not fully used rail infrastructure*. The latter can be a repair work centre – like in the case of *Neugasse* – but also an old train station, a depot or a track field.

A rail redevelopment poses **specific challenges**. Redeveloping in densely populated areas means that conflicts of interest are more numerous than when developing on a green meadow (Scholl 2010, p. 29): developers want to make profit, land owners are interested in pursuing their personal goals on that particular piece of land, city governments may be in favour of prestigious, potentially image-boosting flagship architecture or have the task to provide affordable housing, residents try to bring in their personal needs and wishes, and finally there are NGOs like WWF or ProNatura with their environmental claims. Moreover, the central location of former rail areas makes their future use a strategic question. Not every use is wanted; but the redevelopment should be important and useful for the whole urban area and eventually also take regional needs into account (Wolff 1999, p. 8f.). Additionally, sites like old train stations with their brickwork buildings and concourses tell stories of past times which makes them important components of local identity. This means that discussions around the cultural and architectural legacy often intermingle with planning decisions. Finally, in Switzerland planning and constructing are meticulously regulated,

but at different governmental levels, which leads to sometimes competing planning laws and procedures.

Large urban developments pose operational and technical challenges. Sometimes the sites are contaminated and need cleaning up (Anna)⁴. Moreover, because of noisy adjoining rails and roads as well as the surrounding grown urban structures, future uses need to be thoroughly planned. Besides technical problems there are political issues: most brownfields lie in industrial zones and therefore the existing zoning law needs to be changed. This process involves intense negotiations, and disagreements are inevitable. In short, as rail redevelopments involve multiple actors, they demand increased coordination, cooperation and communication (Scholl 2010, p. 29). Eventually, the above challenges mean that rail redevelopments cannot be planned like routine tasks or projects with a defined start and end date, but they represent **complex planning problems** (ibid. p. 28 & 30).

In the past these complex redevelopment tasks on brownfield areas have not always been solved satisfactorily, and large brownfield redevelopments carry the risk of neglecting social questions. Hence a **critical academic discourse** concerning the planning process and outcomes of urban mega-projects has evolved (Leick 2016, pp. 15–20). Swingedouw et al. (2002) for example examined thirteen large urban development projects (UPDs) and found that *“large-scale UDPs have increasingly been used as a vehicle to establish exceptionality measures in planning and policy procedures [...]”* (ibid., p. 542), that *“[...] local democratic participation mechanisms are not respected or are applied in a very ‘formalist’ way [...]”* (ibid.) and that *“[...] UDPs are poorly integrated at best into the wider urban process and planning system [...]”* (ibid.). Furthermore, *“[...] most UDPs accentuate socioeconomic polarization”* (ibid., p. 542f.), and finally changes in spatial scales of governance *“[...] reflect a shifting geometry of power in the governing of urbanisation”* (ibid., p. 543).

The critique raised by Swingedouw and others points to **unequal power relations**. In rail redevelopments, power concentrates in the hands of rail companies, now playing a major role as real estate developers (Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB 2017, SNCF Immobilier 2017, Deutsche Bahn AG 2017). Along with that goes the predominance of market-oriented planning, or a **market rationality**, over other modes of planning (Rivero 2017, p. 179), guided for example by a **value rationality** – *“[...] a rationality that takes into consideration the prudence of the morality of means and ends [...]”* (Teresa 2017, p. 200). *“Market rationality refers to a belief, grounded in neoclassical economic theory, that market mechanisms provide the most efficient method for achieving society’s goals, with utility maximization serving as the governing criterion”* (ibid.) or in other words: within a market rationality, planning goals are best achieved via the means of the market. The increasing financialisation of real estate (Theurillat & Crevoisier 2013, Theurillat & Crevoisier 2014) can be seen as an expression of the predominant market rationality.

Looking back at the redevelopment of Zürich West, we can observe unequal power relations and a dominant market rationality too. In 2004, the cantonal bank of Zurich, *Zürcher Kantonalbank*,

⁴ When citing or referring to interviews, I indicate the name of the interviewee.

and the city administration of Zurich carried out two separate sustainability assessments for the area (Thierstein et al. 2004, Schulte et al. 2004).

They found that from an economic viewpoint, *Zürich West* has been successful. The area significantly contributed to the creation of work places and gained importance on the local and regional level (ibid., p.5). When it comes to ecological and social questions, however, the picture looks less charming. The area suffers from high congestion and the loss of natural environments (Thierstein et al. 2004, p. 5) and public free spaces as well as social facilities were partially missing in 2004 (Schulte et al. 2004, p. 5). Moreover, several problems regarding process management, including participation and collaboration between administration offices, interests groups and residents were identified (ibid., Thierstein et al. 2004). What is more, academic literature has identified the process of new-build gentrification and the slow squeezing out of 'creatives' who were formerly working in old buildings in the *Zürich West* area (Rérat et al. 2009, Dörry et al. 2016) and adjacent neighbourhoods (Wolff 2012, Klaus 2013). Hence it seems that in *Zürich West* economic goals were given priority over ecological and social concerns. The city only posed minimal demands while developers had the power to realise their economic interests.

In summary, brownfield redevelopments exemplify what it means to plan in a complex world. The challenge is to not only plan traffic flows and calculate plot ratios, but to include social questions. Yet this means that planning processes get even more unpredictable and that improvisation becomes a significant component of planning.

3 Case study *Neugasse Zürich*

The brownfield redevelopment *Neugasse Zürich* is located in Zurich, Switzerland, just adjacent to the *Zürich West* area (cf. figure 4). This means that, although not in the planning perimeter, the *Neugasse* project is to some extent part of these developments.

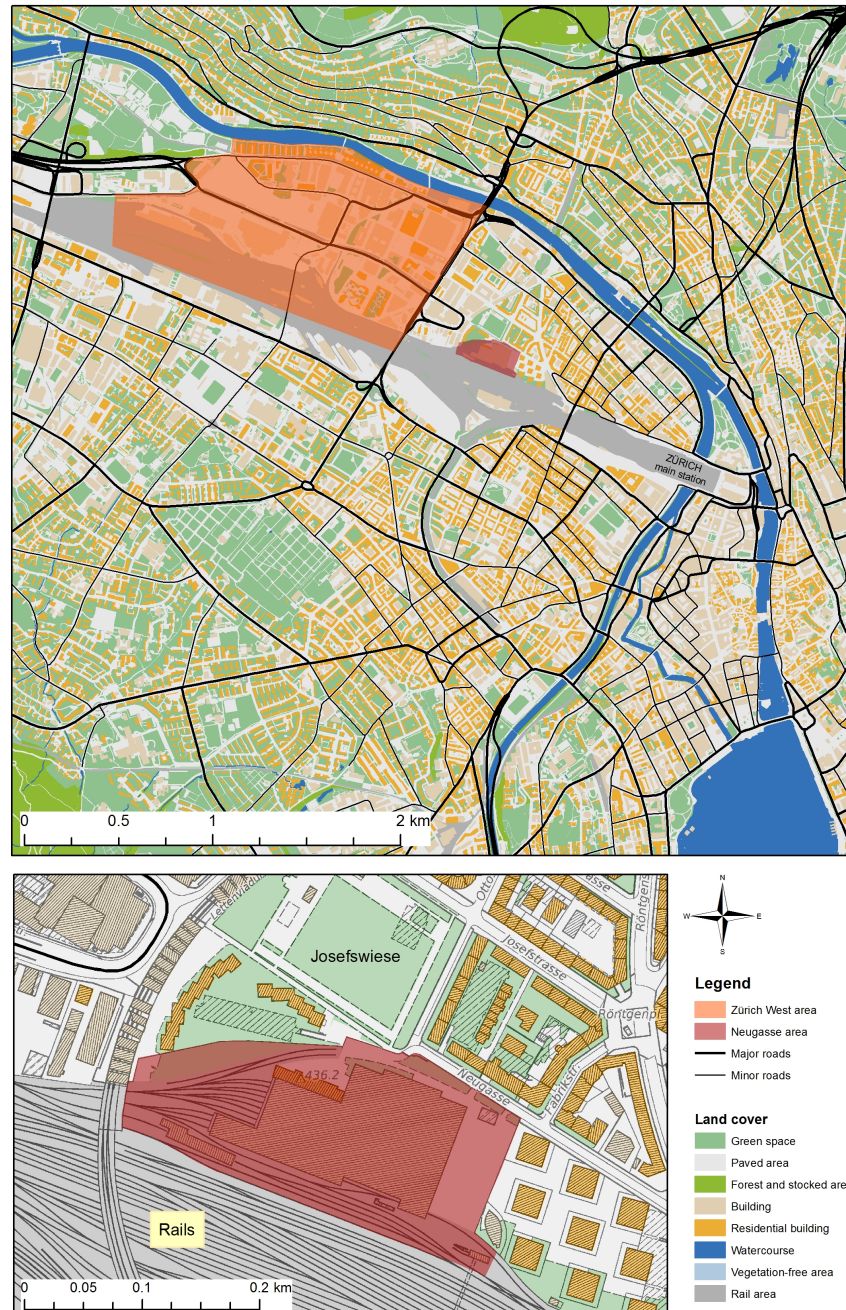


Figure 4: Above the location of *Zürich West* and *Neugasse* in Zurich. Below a detail view of the case study area located between the rails and an important public green space called *Josefswiese* (map by the author, data from: <http://maps.zh.ch>).

The former rail area, with 30,000 m² as large as four football fields, lies in the city district *Kreis 5*⁵; it is close to the railway station *Hardbrücke* and the main railway station *Zürich Hauptbahnhof*. North-west of *Neugasse* lies the *Zürich West* area, southwards it borders the rails and northwards an important green space, the *Josefswiese*, and block perimeter developments (*Blockrandbebauungen*) typical for the neighbourhood. A newer part of *Kreis 5* called *Röntgenareal* with its nine individual buildings marks the eastern border of the parcel.

The national train company, *Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB*, owns the land of the parcel under consideration. They plan to redevelop the area between 2016 and 2025 (cf. figure 5), and build a new part of the neighbourhood with dwellings and offices (*Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB Immobilien 2017a*). *Neugasse* is only one out of three SBB-owned areas, *Neugasse*, *Werkstadt* and *Hardfeld*, all together comprising 140,000 m² (Kälin 2016) and not used anymore as rail infrastructure. Together with the city of Zurich, SBB agreed on an overall development strategy for the three areas (*Strategie für die Areale Zürich West*). The city of Zurich was a partner in establishing not only this strategy, but also the framing conditions for the development at *Neugasse*, namely that 25% of the area were reserved to services, business and public spaces, and that 300 to 400 apartments, of which one third should be non-profit⁶, are to be built (*Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB Immobilien 2017a*). Moreover, the city has the political power of changing land use zoning, which is a necessary step in the case of *Neugasse*. This means that even though SBB are the lead developing agency, they rely on cooperation with the city administration and the city government, and also with many other involved actors.

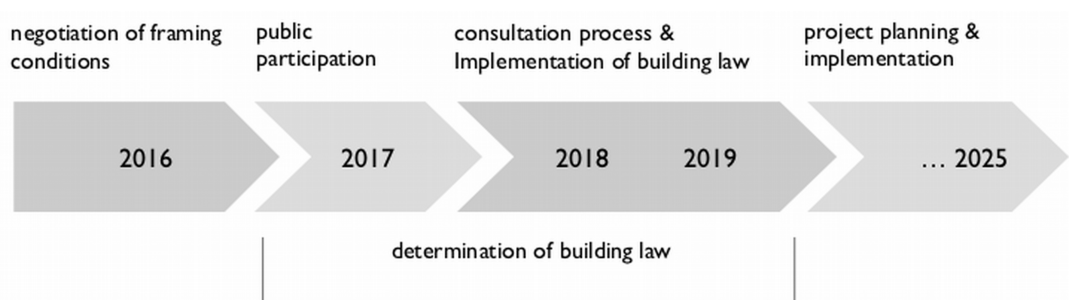


Figure 5: Timeline of the Neugasse project (source: adapted from *Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB Immobilien 2017a*).

In the face of potential opposition and with an inclination towards experimentation, the project leader aimed at a deeper involvement of the population than usual. The participative process should not solely serve as an opportunity to comment the planner's finished work, but as a way of creating an urban development concept *in close exchange* with the population and thus keeping as much local and professional knowledge as possible (Ramon, Dan). With this goal in mind, the pro-

⁵ The city districts, partially autonomous administrative areas, in Zurich are called *Kreis*.

⁶ This means that apartments are rented out at cost rent (*Kostenmiete*) which only covers the costs of the residence and its maintenance.

ject is organised in a circular process with three interlinked planning containers, *participation*, *planning* and *reflection* (cf. figure 6).

In the **participation** container volunteers and interested people bring in their ideas, requirements, opinions and propose different versions. The aim is to agree upon a common concept for development (Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB Immobilien 2017a). Between March and November 2017 five workshops were held, each attended by 60 to 180 people (Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB Immobilien 2017b). The **planning** container consists of three distinct teams, the *Projektteam Stadt* (project team of the City of Zurich), *Team Raumplanung* (team for land use planning) and *Team Städtebau* (team for urban development). The first sees through the process and legal procedures, the second's task it is to define the building law, and the third designs the urban development concept. The *Team Städtebau* is constituted of two architectural offices and two landscape planning offices each of which has two to four people involved in the project (Olivier). Finally, the whole planning process is supervised by a monitoring team, the *Fachbegleitung* or **reflection** container, comprising 16 experts and representatives of professional associations (Anna). The public workshops and some of the internal meetings between the planning and the reflection container were moderated by experts for participation. Furthermore, SBB gave some mandates for expertise to another external office and commissioned professionals for communication and website design (ibid.). The involvement of many actors from different disciplines who closely work together makes the planning challenging for all involved parties (Emilia, Olivier, Anna, Amanda).

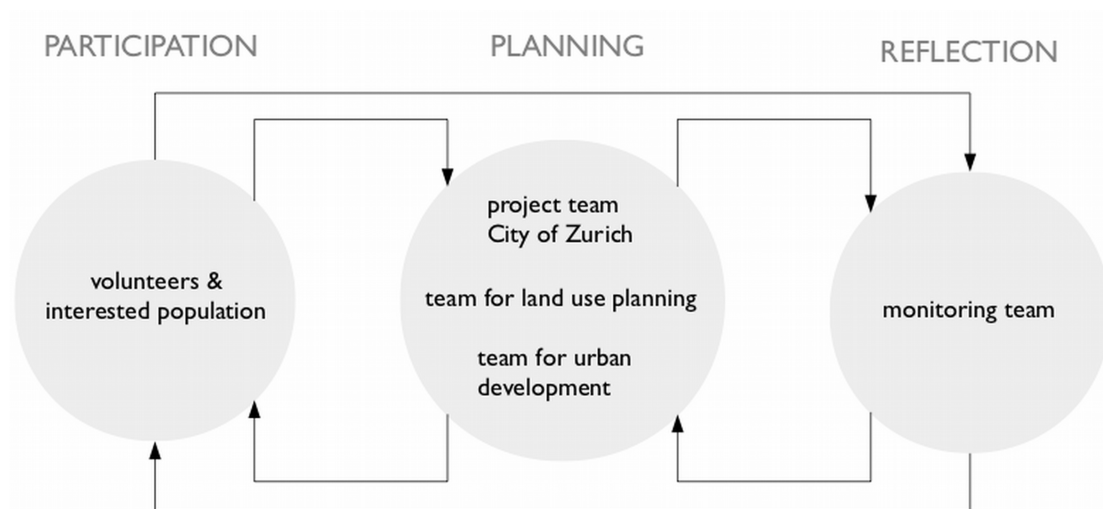


Figure 6: The organisation of the Neugasse planning process (source: adapted from Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB Immobilien 2017a).

Besides this demanding internal project organisation, SBB has to negotiate with political parties and, most importantly with an association called *Noigass*: in March 2017, a few workshop participants who did not agree with the framing conditions of the project – which were not discussed in the workshops – gathered and decided to mobilise interested neighbours and citizens. In the evening of March 28th I witnessed how the community centre in *Kreis 5* filled with around 120 in-

interested people, some of whom decided to form the association *Noigass* representing their requirements. Because of the gentrification processes and high rents in Zurich additionally aggravated by recent real estate developments in *Zürich West*, *Europaallee* and *Altstetten*, they want SBB to build exclusively non-profit cooperative housing apartments. On a more abstract level, this is a political discussion about whether housing as a basic need should be provided by the market or by the state.

The members of the association *Noigass* are not the only people wanting to get their voices heard, but probably the most active and radical ones, as they have a maximum demand. Other neighbours living in the buildings adjacent to the repair work centre also try to be part of the negotiations and bring in their ideas of a liveable urban environment (Riedi 2017).

Planning *Neugasse* is different from standard planning procedures known in Switzerland, such as a *Testplanung*. The latter is a way of planning where propositions of three to four *separate* teams are compared and discussed within a multidisciplinary communication process (Scholl 2010, p. 28). A jury consisting of experts leads and accompanies the process and reports to the executive body which orders the planning (ibid., p. 30). In the *Neugasse* project, on the other hand, there is only *one* planning team which develops different versions in a less competitive and more integrative way (Emilia). Integration also means that the participation process is not conducted *before* and *after* planners and architects take up their work, but workshops take place *during* the whole design phase for an urban development concept. Planning *Neugasse* is an experiment with new planning procedures in response to the challenges of planning inner-city rail redevelopments (cf. 5.3.2).

So why is *Neugasse* a complex planning problem? Or put differently, how can we link this case to the previously outlined theoretical background? Factors contributing to complexity in planning *Neugasse* are, among others, the sheer number of involved actors and the overlap of rules, laws and planning procedures: planners have to deal with regulations on historic preservation, school facilities planning, noise protection, environmental standards and many more, most of them defined at three governmental levels. Not only the legal, but also the social requirements and the overlap of individual interests are higher for an inner-city brownfield redevelopment. What adds to this is the political contestation of the *Neugasse* project. Interdependencies are manifold and obscure, so that for a single planner it becomes impossible to grasp and understand the whole process (Dan). From this results a deeply uncertain planning context.

Starting from such a situation, the project leader established an overall process plan, but its implementation rests unsure, has changed many times, and relies on the unpredictable discussions and results of participation workshops (Ramon, Lea, Dan). Because workshops with the population are a central part in planning *Neugasse*, the project leader and planners have to credibly integrate the ideas during the participation process, if they do not want to lose their reputation. This makes it impossible to predict the exact direction of the process, and it points to a readiness to adapt plans, or to improvise, if necessary.

In the history of large urban developments such broad participation of the public is a novelty, also in Switzerland with its subsidiary urban planning system (Schärli 2017): until now many scholars have pointed to the lack of democracy in urban mega-projects (Albrechts 2004, Swyngedouw et al. 2002). To some extent, the development *Zürich West* is an example for poor democracy and participation. Indeed, together with the development *Europaallee* at Zurich main station, *Zürich West* has been discussed as a bad example during the workshops, as something one does not want to repeat at *Neugasse*. Whether this works out in the end is not foreseeable yet. It is certain, however, that the socio-economic circumstances have changed compared to the early 1990s, and that the *Neugasse* project is an attempt to do differently than in the past.

4 Research design

Starting from a complexity perspective which assumes relationality has methodological implications: focusing on the *connections* that are being made and remade between human and non-human actors or *actants* – the ‘things’ which actually *make a difference* to the object of study (Latour 2010) – and on how this leads to the formation of new entities (Dankert 2011). Following the connections means following the movements since only movements can be recognized and therefore be traced (ibid.). Thus, during data collection (subchapter 4.1) and data analysis (subchapter 4.2), I was paying attention to the processes of becoming, stabilizing and remaking of entities.

4.1 Data collection

I started the empirical part of my thesis by attending a gathering of neighbours who do not agree with the framing conditions of the project *Neugasse*. This was the first meeting of the now politically active association *Noigass*. During this and following events as well as during two out of five public workshops held by SBB I conducted **participant observation**. In parallel, the analysis of official planning **documents**, newspaper articles, webpages and blog posts helped me to find out about involved actors and their connections to other actors. Finally, after having made out centrally involved people I conducted semi-structured **interviews**.

Participant observation

Participant observation is a relatively unstructured method which is attentive to the constitution of people’s social realities, and it allows to assess what people actually *do* and not only what they *think* or *say*. Because of this, participant observation suits a methodology which claims that only the things in movement are actually traceable and can become actors (Latour 2010, Dankert 2011).

I had the possibility to attend two participation workshops, one in May and one in November 2017, each bringing together over 140 people in a former rail works hall in Zurich Altstetten. The latest information about the project was shared and animated discussions were held. In addition I followed the activities of the association *Noigass*: I attended their first meeting, their founding event, their presence at the neighbourhood’s summer party (*Röntgenplatzfest*) and witnessed how stickers with their logo and even cinema advertisements for their goal spread all over the city. And finally, many personal conversations with friends, neighbours and acquaintances during these eight months of field work touched on the theme *Neugasse* as it gained attention from press and politics.

By considering four dimensions – scientific character, standardisation, transparency and role of the observer (Mattisek et al. 2013) – I specify the method applied in my research. *First*, I aimed to systematically plan, record and analyse the data. Hence, when doing fieldwork, I always carried a field book for notes and observations, a camera and a voice recorder with me. In my mind I had a

loose collection of topics and interests and systematically recorded, saved and analysed data (cf. next section). *Second*, my observations were little structured and standardised since I could not anticipate what I would see, hear and feel. *Third*, I had to carefully consider when to clarify my position as a researcher and when to stay undercover. On the one hand, in the gatherings of the association *Noigass* I did not clarify my position because I was afraid of being categorised as an ally of SBB, 'the evil' in some politician's vocabulary. When asking expert's opinions on the project, on the other hand, it was useful to take the role of a researcher. *Fourth*, as an observer I actively participated in certain activities, but in others I only listened and watched from outside. This means that I was as participant observer rather than an observant participant (ibid., p. 145).

Document analysis

In parallel to doing observations in the field, I analysed newspaper articles and web pages dealing with the urban development in *Kreis 5* and the neighbouring city districts. Official reports and research concerned with the topic completed my first understanding of the situation and allowed me to draw the broader picture. With the list of considered documents in table 2 I give an overview and describe the document's relevance for the case study. Complete source information can be found in the bibliography. I only did a detailed data analysis of those documents which I considered key for my research question (cf. 4.2), meaning that they directly refer to the case study and provide some degree of in-depth information. These are marked with an asterisk.

Table 2: Summary of considered documents and their relevance for the case study.

Title	Type	Relevance for case study
Tagesanzeiger	Newspaper	Six articles between January 2014 and November 2017 discussing the role of SBB in real estate, the planning process at <i>Neugasse</i> and the activities of <i>Noigass</i> .
Neue Zürcher Zeitung NZZ	Newspaper	Seven articles between November 2016 and February 2018 discussing the planning process at <i>Neugasse</i> and the activities of <i>Noigass</i> .
Medienmitteilung SP Stadt Zürich November 23 rd 2016	Notice for media	Statement of SP (<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei</i> , social-democratic party) concerning the development of <i>Neugasse</i> . They express concerns about SBB building luxury apartments and demand the option to buy for the city of Zurich and a fair distribution of additional benefits.
neugasse-zuerich.ch	Web page	Project web page of SBB real estate development (<i>SBB Immobilien</i>). Gives information on the project, the site and the possibilities to participate. Summaries and documentations of workshops can be downloaded there.
* Workshop I Auswertung	Summary	Summary documenting results of workshop I.

Title	Type	Relevance for case study
Workshop 1 Ergebnisse	Documentation	Photo-documentation of workshop 1.
Workshop 2 Ergebnisse	Documentation	Photo-documentation of workshop 2.
* Workshop 3 Auswertung	Summary	Summary documenting results of workshop 3.
* Workshop 4 Auswertung	Summary	Summary documenting results of workshop 4.
Workshop 4 Ergebnisse	Documentation	Photo-documentation of workshop 4.
* Workshop 5 Auswertung	Summary	Summary documenting results of workshop 5.
Workshop 5 Ergebnisse	Documentation	Photo-documentation of workshop 5.
<i>In Zürich haben die SBB bereits genug Geld herausgeholt</i> June 23 rd 2017	Newspaper	Interview with two members of the steering committee of Noigass, in <i>Die Linke Zürcher Zeitung P.S.</i> (left Zurich newspaper). They explain the concerns and aims of the association.
noigass.ch	Web page	Web page of the association Noigass. Outlines their concerns and arguments. Possibility to become a member or sign their petition via the web page.
* Keine Profite auf dem SBB-Areal Neugasse!	Flyer	Invitation to the first meeting of the persons who later founded the association Noigass. Outlines their concerns.
* 100% günstig Wohnen und Arbeiten auf dem Areal Neugasse	Flyer	Invitation to the founding event of the association Noigass. Outlines their main arguments.
* Neugasse-Areal Chronologie Zahlen und Fakten	Factsheet	Factsheet provided by the association Noigass. Gives a chronology of the planning process which questions the credibility of SBB and media reporting about the participation process. Facts about Kreis 5, the gentrification process and Zurich's housing policy and prices are provided.
<i>Erinnerung: Mittwoch 8.11. Unterschriftenübergabe, Infomail Noigass</i> November 6 th 2017	E-mail	The association Noigass informs that it will hand in more than 8005 signatures for its request on Wednesday, November 8 th 2017.
* <i>Save the Date, Noi-Grüsse und Stellungnahme, Infomail Noigass</i> December 23 rd 2017	E-mail	The association Noigass informs about the state of its work and planned actions and comments on the development concept presented during workshop 5 on November 27 th 2017.
* <i>Genossenschaften diskutieren 100%, Infomail Noigass</i> January 22 nd 2018	E-mail	The association Noigass informs about the state of its work and planned future actions.

Title	Type	Relevance for case study
<i>Immo Dorado Zürich West – Bilanz 2013</i>	Research paper	Research paper about the redevelopment of Zürich West which analyses the following questions: What has been built? Who built it and for whom? Which profits and costs were generated and how were they distributed? What kinds of apartments are built and what do they cost?

Interviews

Through my involvement in workshops and information sessions I had the possibility to meet planners, politicians, public employees and citizens involved or interested in the developments at *Neugasse*. Some of them I later asked for an interview. Other interview partners I found via phone calls or e-mail. Between July and December 2017 I led 13 interviews with 14 interviewees, each lasting one hour in average. Subsequently I transcribed the records as close as possible to the original speech. Because this step is already a first interpretation, I only translated from Swiss German to high German but not into English (Müller 2007). As it is typically the case for qualitative research, it was only possible to have a small sample selection (Merriam & Merriam 2009). Still the sample covers a broad range of involved persons from three fields: the **public administration**, the **private economy** including the project management from SBB and mandated planners, and **civil society** composed of immediate neighbours and interested citizens. A fourth field, local politics, would have been interesting to include, but it appeared impossible to cover a reasonable spectrum of political parties within the given time frame. The **snowball sampling** principle led me to new interview partners and I stopped the data collection as soon as I felt that more interviews would not bring significantly new information, meaning that a **theoretical saturation** was reached (Matissek et al. 2013). In table 3 I give details on my interview partners⁷ and their role in the *Negasse* project.

Table 3: The interview partners and their role in planning *Neugasse*.

Interview Nb.	Interviewee	Category	Function in planning <i>Neugasse</i>
1	Timon	Private economy	Architect, head of real estate developments at SBB
2	Anna	Private economy	Architect, project leader of <i>Neugasse Zürich</i>
3	Emilia	Private economy	Manager of participatory processes, involved in the planning and moderating of workshops and planning team meetings
4	Olivier	Private economy	Architect, involved in urban development team (<i>Team Städtebau</i>)

⁷ For reasons of anonymity names are pseudonyms. When citing an interviewee or referring to an interview I indicate the pseudonym of the interviewee.

5	Brigitta	Private economy	Urban planner, involved in land use planning team (<i>Team Raumplanung</i>)
6	Ramon	Private economy	Architect, involved in urban development team (<i>Team Städtebau</i>)
7	Jeanne	Private economy	Landscape architect urban designer, involved in urban development team (<i>Team Städtebau</i>)
8	Lea & Dan	Private economy	Landscape architects, involved in urban development team (<i>Team Städtebau</i>)
9	Amanda	Public administration	Architect, working at the <i>Amt für Städtebau AfS Zürich</i> , part of the monitoring team (<i>Fachbegleitung</i>)
10	Hans	Public administration	Geographer, working at <i>Gesellschaft & Raum, Stadtentwicklung Zürich</i> , part of project team City of Zurich (<i>Team Stadt Zürich</i>)
11	Simon	Civil society	Craftsman, active in local neighbour's association, lives in a housing cooperative adjacent to <i>Neugasse</i>
12	Jörg	Civil society	Retiree, active in local neighbour's association, lives in apartment building adjacent to <i>Neugasse</i>
13	Joël	Civil society	Organiser, president of the association <i>Noigass</i>

The research questions and underlying concepts implied relatively open interview scenarios with a loose interview guide (cf. appendix); the questions should not be strictly pre-defined and leave open space for narratives. Such an interview method can be called **semi-structured** (ibid., p. 167) and has the advantage of few restrictions for the interviewee, flexibility to valorise aspects she or he brings up and a relatively open discussion (ibid.). The interviews with citizens could be categorized as **problem-focused interviews** (Flick 2011, p. 193 in Matisseck et al. 2013) which explore questions with regard to theoretical knowledge and research questions prepared before. In most cases, though, when I talked to planners and government representatives, I conducted **expert interviews**. This specific type of semi-structured interview aims at accessing expert knowledge on practices, interpretations and context (ibid., p. 175).

4.2 Data analysis

After the collection of empirical material a new phase started. First of all, I needed to select some data and leave other sources untouched because not everything was equally relevant for answering the research questions (Dankert 2011). Starting from data collected during field work meant that in an **inductive** process a particular case study led to more general considerations. From this followed a methodological approach inspired by **grounded theory**. The collected data was evaluated using **qualitative content analysis** through theorising (Paillé 1994).

With the schema in figure 7 I explain the procedure: after selecting the relevant data followed the coding or paraphrasing of text segments and the categorising, that is to say the elaboration of shorter, summarising codes and their hierarchical ordering. As supporting software I used MAXQDA. In a next step I worked out the relations between the categories by referring back to academic literature and thus established a first explication. For each research question a mental map with the relations among codes can be found in the appendix. During the integration of data, phenomena which seemed important and the main problems were identified. The modelling consisted of working out the organisation and the functional relations characterising the phenomena in question (ibid., p. 212). Finally, conclusions could be drawn from these insights.

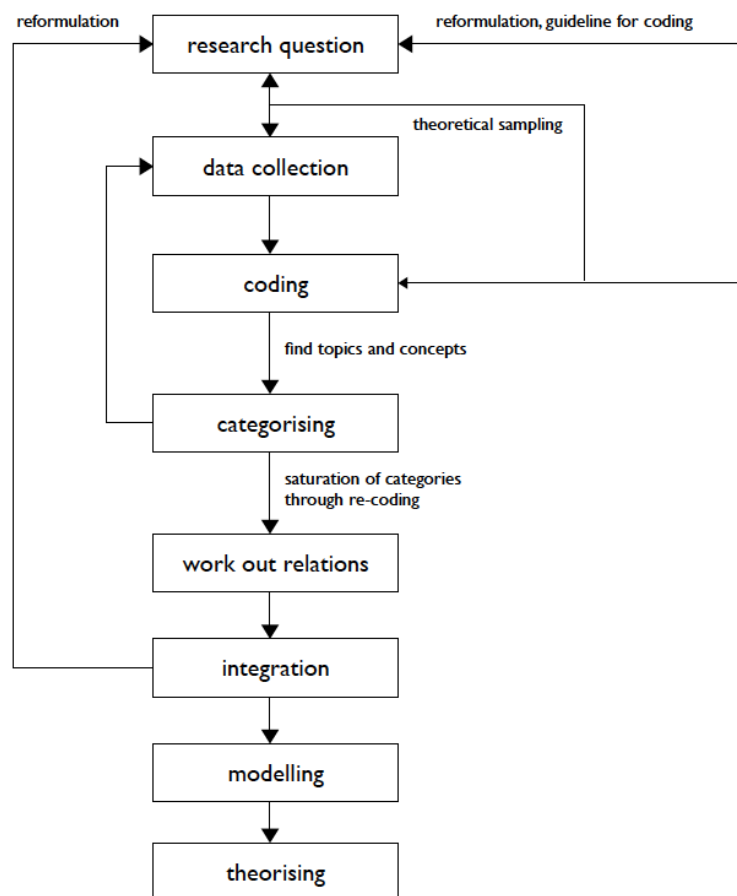


Figure 7: Schema of data analysis: qualitative content analysis through theorising (Grounded Theory; source: Ejderyan, Oliver, Université de Fribourg).

As indicated by the arrows, during the process it was constantly necessary to reformulate and adapt the research question as well as the research design: the design of the study was open to-wards changes and adaptations, flexible and emergent (Merriam & Merriam 2009).

4.3 Reflections on the methodology

It seems important to reflect on at least three methodological aspects: the theoretical assumptions underlying my work, positionality, and the research process itself. By doing so, I intend to create transparency, knowing that knowledge is always partial and situated and that somebody else would tell the same story differently (Müller 2013).

This study starts from a post-structuralist ontology, and my results would not be the same had I made different **theoretical assumptions**: the readings and reflections undertaken before starting field work guided my attention. Yet being aware of that, I endeavoured to stay open. This entailed changing or adapting the interview and research questions in reaction to ongoing field experiences. I noticed, for example, that if I asked the interviewees whether there had been *surprises* in the planning process, they were immediately thinking of something negative. Thus I framed the question differently and asked about *positive or negative* surprises during the planning process. I also realised that I had to add an open question in the end of the interview, where the interviewee could tell me anything she or he thought was important in relation to the planning process.

The main instrument of data collection in this thesis was me, observing and doing interviews. Therefore my **positionality** – my cultural and social position, how I see myself and how others perceive me – mattered. It affected the questions I asked and how I framed them, how I read and interpreted and what possibilities of access to data and institutions I had (Pratt 2009). In spite of the “[...] *unresolvable ‘unknowability’ of our own positions and those of others*” (ibid., p. 557) I want to reflect on two specific aspects here, on the possibilities of access to data and on the hazards of over-identification (ibid.).

In the beginning of field work I thought that I, being a young, female, white, Bernese, Swiss German speaking researcher who has only recently moved to Zurich and therefore has a restricted local network in the city, could encounter barriers of access. Yet in my experience the first four attributes mentioned did not matter much, because once I told the interviewees that the data were going to be anonymised, all the people I spoke to were eager to share their thoughts and opinions. The fact that I am not from Zurich, however, had consequences: I am not involved in any political party or local association, which makes me a more distanced observer than I would be otherwise. I was rather observing things than being directly involved. The flip side of this position is that more local contacts could also have provided me with more insider information and opinions of citizens. Overall, it was interesting to see how, depending on the situation, I had to put forward a different aspect of my positionality – be it being a citizen of Zurich, be it studying Geography – to build confidence and make the conversation or interview more fruitful.

Another aspect which influenced my possibilities of access to data was the political relevance of the planning process. Involved planners and city officers were very cautious to share information and would only give an interview if reassured that the data was treated confidentially. The political dimension of *Neugasse* also meant that I had to be particularly cautious not to over-identify myself with one specific position.

To conclude I want to reflect on the **research process**. I have always been interested in urban issues. When a colleague and I discussed rental prices and cooperative housing in Zurich, she told me about *Neugasse* and that there were people mobilising against the ideas of SBB. After having visited the first meeting of the association *Noigass*, I decided to write about the *Neugasse* redevelopment.

The fieldwork started with the search for interview partners. Many times I had to remind myself to be persistent, write a fourth e-mail or call a third time. Hence the choice of interview partners was not only a matter of my possibilities of access, but also one of their availability. What made this work sometimes more difficult was the political dimension of the case. Moreover, the restricted time frame in front of many appealing paths of inquiry was challenging. The difficulties I had when asking interview partners about improvisation tie into this: after a few interviews, I realised that quite often my interviewees could not remember what exactly they had done in an unexpected situation, or even if there had been such a situation. This posed the question whether interviews were the appropriate method to do research on improvisation. It seemed to me that, because improvisation is what happens somewhere between thought and action, one should study it *in action*, and I concluded that an approach via participant observation or even observant participation (Mattissek et al. 2013) could prove more useful. Time limits, however, did not allow me to change the research design.

In parallel to the field work I elaborated on the theoretical background. I read broadly and made many deviations. At some point it became clear that greater conceptual economy was more promising. I subsequently focused on complexity and improvisation in planning a brownfield redevelopment.

5 Handling complexity or planned improvisation

This chapter is dedicated to answering the research questions based on my empirical material. In subchapter 5.1 I explore the factors which make the *Neugasse* project a complex planning problem. Drawing on these insights, I subsequently elaborate on the rationalities which can be made out in the planning process. Then I continue in subchapter 5.3 to show how the *Neugasse* planning rationality translates into practice and what moments of improvisation emerge in the planning process. On this ground I will answer the main question, how planners in the *Neugasse Zürich* project approach the complexity of an inner-city rail redevelopment. Each of these three subchapters ends with a summary and discussion which zooms out, situates the project within the broader debates and considers critical aspects. Finally I explain how the empirical material relates to the theoretical background in subchapter 5.4.

5.1 Laying out the ground: planning in a messy world

“Every planner knows from experience, that even out of fairly straightforward planning issues, fuzzy and fluid moments emerge that are full of uncertainties and could easily result in legislative jungles, bureaucratic nightmares and confusing power relations. Moreover, a growing number of planning issues are not straightforward at all, being overly complicated throughout the various stages of the planning process, with no-one being able (anymore) to grasp all the aspects of any one project. This is caused by the increasing internal and external complexities. Both, space and time, being both of reference in planning and the issues it deals with, also add to the complexities [...]. There is also the issue of contextual dynamics in spatial planning, which is becoming increasingly relevant as a result of a rapidly changing environment, but also because of changing societal opinions [...].” (de Roo et al. 2012, p. 1f.)

In many instances, issues mentioned in the above citation came up during my interviews. So let me describe the complex context in which *Neugasse* planners act by starting with societal aspects, including the politicisation of the project.

5.1.1 A complex societal context

A planner's influence diminishes where social aspects come into play: one can have high aspirations to build a socially well-functioning project, but the outcomes of **neighbourhood issues** and **living together** are unpredictable. In the *Neugasse* project expectations are high, says Dan: “[d]er Anspruch ist relativ hoch, dass das sehr belebt ist und und... und sozial funktioniert” (Dan). The aim is to build an animated neighbourhood with good social relationships and not one of these dead and deserted new development areas (Emmenegger 2017) because, “[d]as Schlimmste ist ja wenn ein Aussenraum nicht belebt wird, wenn er tot ist” (Lea). But the question arises in what ways living together is predictable at all, and what kinds of common issues there are in a multicultural society (Jörg).

One thing planners can influence in terms of living together is the **identity** and possibilities of **appropriation** of space through the design of architecture and landscape. In the *Neugasse* project, planners intend to respect the local context and the identity of the neighbourhood, and to reunite existing and new spaces with new and old stories (Anna, Olivier, Jeanne). *Neugasse* should not become a *tabula rasa* development with no history.

The architect Olivier means that in large urban developments 'that certain something' of an animated neighbourhood is most often absent and that "[...] *das gewisse Etwas ist vor allem Aneignbarkeit*" (Olivier). One reason for lacking appropriation of space could be that space is not appropriate by everyone, but only by one high-earning social class and that "[...] *nicht alle sozialen Schichten die Möglichkeit haben, in der für sie passenden Hausform dort wohnen zu können* [...]" (Emilia). Indeed, Olivier thinks that appropriation of space is an important social question because people who identify with their neighbourhood and feel safe, tend to get more involved with their neighbours: "*Oder, zum Beispiel 'Mehr als Wohnen' [a housing cooperative in Zurich] zeigt sehr schön, dass tatsächlich [...] durch diese Arbeit von den Leuten, die sich eher in einem Ort begnügen, sich dort wiederfinden, dass da tatsächlich etwas entstehen kann, was sehr gut funktioniert*" (Olivier).

The debate around housing cooperatives (cf. 5.2.3) ties into this, as in some people's eyes low-budget residents are more willing to **engage in the neighbourhood**, or as Olivier says: "[...] *Es steht die Behauptung im Raum, [...] dass Leute, die viel Geld haben natürlich dann mit dem Lift in die Tiefgarage fahren, dort in das Auto sitzen und nach St. Moritz Skifahren gehen und sich eben nicht um den Sozialraum in der Umgebung kümmern* [...]" (Olivier). But still, the design of architecture and landscape influences the quality and appropriation of a neighbourhood and with it the social fabric (Lea, Hans), including **conflicts over space usage** (Brigitta). It is difficult, however, to predict how exactly the material interacts with the social.

Displacement of low-earning classes is connected to the quality and appropriation of a neighbourhood because of potential gentrification in attractive urban areas. In relation to the *Neugasse* project there are heated and emotional discussions around effects of displacement and gentrification. In *Kreis 5*, the adjoining *Kreis 4* (*Langstrassen-Quartier*) and *Zürich West* gentrification effects are an issue (cf. 2.3) and residents, workshop participants, planners and city representatives are worried that these tendencies aggravate (Timon, Hans, Joël).

Yet, there is a seemingly unresolvable dilemma which Timon, head of SBB real estate, brought to the point: "[...] *die Frage ist: Wie tut man allfällig negative Auswirkungen ins Umfeld verhindern. [...] dass man sagen würde, jetzt ist der Kreis 5 noch attraktiver und der Preisdruck nimmt noch mehr zu*" (Timon). If *Neugasse* becomes what it is planned for – a lively and socially functional neighbourhood – this increases the attractiveness of the area and fosters gentrification. A consensus, however, about the importance of gentrification and displacement does not exist. Whereas Timon thinks that there are always cycles of increasing and decreasing demand and says "[...] *jetzt [...] von dort her... glaube ich schon dran, dass es eine gewisse Selbstregulierung gibt*" (ibid.), representatives of the association *Noigass* make their political claim based on this issue.

Discussions on gentrification are linked to the topic of **social mixing**. *Neugasse* should become an attractive, animated neighbourhood and social mixing is depicted as a means to achieve this

goal. Nevertheless, there are many different interpretations of 'mixed' or 'heterogeneous': how much and what heterogeneity is desirable? Does it include elderly people, low-income families and high-earning business people all together (Brigitta)? What is the target audience of the *Neugasse* project (ibid., Ramon)? Do housing cooperatives contribute to social mix or not (Olivier, Brigitta, Amanda)? The architect Ramon concludes:

"[D]as [die Durchmischung] kann man jetzt eben in verschiedenen Massstäben sehen. Man kann sagen, schafft es eine Heterogenisierung vom Kreis 5? Schafft es eine Heterogenisierung auf seiner eigenen Parzelle? Ist es eine Heterogenisierung für die ganze Stadt? Und das ist eigentlich die grosse Frage, die irgendwie wie so der Elefant im Raum ist, die so nie richtig... eigentlich beantwortet wird" (Ramon).

Planning for social mix is a complex task which needs guidance – because without people self-segregate (Olivier). But what kind of guidance? This question stays contested and unresolved. Moreover, the temporal dynamics and the financing of a project – both uncontrollable for planners – play a major role, as older apartments are cheaper and investors have different profit claims.



Figure 8: Political mobilisation against the *Neugasse* project in summer 2017 with the slogans “100% low-cost living and working at the *Neugasse* area” (left) and “association *Noigass* – become a member” (right) (photos by the author).

Political controversies about how much and what kind of guidance for social mix there should be emerged with the foundation of the association *Noigass*. In its members' eyes, cooperative housing is a means for achieving good social mixing. The state should provide housing which is not subject to a market rationality and thus inhibit further speculation in real estate markets (Joël). The

president of Noigass Joël says “[...] *man hat gesagt, wir gründen jetzt einen Verein [Noigass], der das bekämpft, dass hier [im Neugasse-Projekt] wieder spekuliert wird*” (ibid.). In a petition Noigass collected 8005 signatures and demanded 100 per cent cooperative housing at Neugasse: it delivered them to SBB and the city of Zurich on November 8th 2017 (Noigass 2017b). In February 2018 the association continued its political activity by launching an initiative which demands the city to buy the land and build non-profit housing (Kälin 2018).

Opinions are divided over the demand of Noigass. For SBB it is clear that “[...] *es ist ein nicht lösbarer Konflikt*” (Anna) because it has a profit order from the state and function like a semi-private enterprise (ibid., Timon). Ramon brings SBB’s situation to the point when he observes: “*Wenn der [Genossenschaftsanteil] auf zum Beispiel, nehmen wir auf 100 Prozent gehen würde, dann würde es natürlich für die SBB keinen Sinn mehr machen, das Land überhaupt noch zu besitzen. Das heisst, die ganze Planung wäre eigentlich Geld rausgeworfen. Und sie müsste das Land dann der Stadt übergeben*” (Ramon).

Representatives of the city seem to be between the two fronts, Noigass and SBB. City representative Amanda recognises the claim that the city should demand more cooperative housing where it has the power to do so: “*Es gibt ja dann auch die Forderung, dass man sagt, ok ein Drittel ist ja eigentlich das, was man sowieso im Durchschnitt erreichen sollte. Und dort, wo man quasi ehm... es in der Hand hat, dass man dort mehr fordert*” (Amanda). At the same time, Hans, when considering the three rail areas Hardfeld, Werkstadt and Neugasse, thinks that the deal upon which the city and SBB agreed is a good one and says: “[...] *das ist ein gutes Gesamtpaket und ich denke... das kann man auch vertreten*” (Hans, city representative).

Also among planners and neighbours the claim for 100 per cent cooperative housing at Neugasse is controversial (Emilia, Ramon, Simon). The statement that a majority of the workshop participants was in favour of 100 per cent cooperative housing (Das Organisationsteam 2017) is opposed to the statement that “[...] *weil die Stadt das mit den SBB schon abgemacht hat, gibt es eine recht grosse Phalanx, die findet, dass es eigentlich ein bisschen absurd ist, diese [...] 100 Prozent zu verlangen*” (Ramon). Emilia realises how important and difficult it is to be aware of the **power relations** which are at play in the project and says: “*Dass man sich diesen [politischen] Einflüssen wie auch aussetzt und die zu verstehen anfängt, das ist wie... Weil wir sind in einem Machtsystem drin. Und das kannst du ja nicht einfach so über den Haufen werfen. Aber ehm... ja, das wirklich so zu erkennen, das finde ich eine Herausforderung*” (Emilia).

The politicisation of the Neugasse project is – also because of upcoming elections and with it the uncertainty about political players in charge – a **risk** (Anna, Brigitta, Ramon). Or to put it in Brigitta’s words: “[...] *es ist ein, ein Risiko auch, politisch natürlich, oder. Also... wie weit kann ich dann auch gehen in der Auslegung zum Schluss vom Planungsrecht? Wie kann ich es festsetzen?*” (Brigitta).



Figure 9: The association Noigass in action: political mobilisation with stickers saying “100% low-cost living and working at the Neugasse area” (photos by the author).

5.1.2 Overlap of interests and claims

Overlapping interests and claims lie at the ground of politicisation. As we shall see later, this leads to conflicting rationalities (cf. 5.2). In inner-city redevelopments there are always many interested parties coming together and thus, “[...] jede solche Arealentwicklung, [...] das ist einfach eine Versammlung von Zielkonflikten” (Hans). Moreover, as Dan observes, in the Neugasse project, people are even more concerned: “Und da, da bei der SBB ist eigentlich ganz eine andere Ausgangslage. Weil natürlich sehr viele Leute, die von aussen kommen zuerst einmal sagen, ja gut die SBB, das ist eigentlich, die haben ja das Land von der öffentlichen Hand bekommen, [...] wir dürfen hier drin sehr wohl mitbestimmen, mitdiskutieren” (Dan).

In the Neugasse area, public and personal, opinions and wishes come together. SBB has interests in the Neugasse project, but there is also the neighbour who does not want to lose the view of the alps from his balcony (Simon), the cooperative which would like to expand into the new buildings (ibid.), the workshop participant who is opposed to high-rise buildings, the mother who wishes more open space for her children, and many more.

Starting with the developer's interests, it appeared that **SBB does not have one single and clear goal**. The planner Jeanne told me that one should ask SBB: “Was möchtet ihr als Aus-

hängeschild, was möchtet ihr, dass ganz spezifisch dieses Projekt macht? Also es könnte sein, dass es super [...] nachhaltig [ist], es ehm, eine radikale Nutzungsmischung [gibt ... oder] genau zu forcieren eine innovative, innovativere Ansätze. Und die SBB halten sich total zurück bei jedem Versuch zu sagen, hey, was ist das spezielle Merkmal, [welches sind] eure Wünsche?" (Jeanne). SBB is in a difficult position: it wants to develop a diverse and lively part of Kreis 5, but also needs investment return. The head of SBB real estate Timon says that the Neugasse project is "[d]urchaus auch ein wenig ein Experimentierfeld, was geht, was geht nicht. Und... es soll, ich sage jetzt einmal, es soll sich selber rechnen. Also es soll so wirtschaftlich sein, dass es... dass es ehm... schwarze Zahlen schreibt" (Timon).

At least at the level of architecture SBB's purpose is clearer: the new buildings should **integrate well into the existing built environment** and not become a foreign object. Metaphorically speaking, instead of building single parts of a puzzle which do not match, the aim is to insert a new, but matching part at the right place (Emmenegger & Nold 2017, Emmenegger 2017). Amanda says: *"[...] es wird eigentlich ein Teil vom Kreis 5 geplant [...] knapp 30'000 Quadratmeter, ehm... man versteht sich als Teil vom Quartier, in dem Sinn gibt es ja auch den Titel 'Quartiererweiterung'" (Amanda). For Hans and Olivier, the Neugasse project should not only be woven into the existing neighbourhood, but also positively emanate into the whole city of Zurich (Hans, Olivier).*

Architectural and social aspirations are high (cf. 5.1.1). Jeanne wished that once the implementation phase starts, the project does not end up ordinary. She insists that it is important *"[...] dass das [Potential des Ortes] ausgeschöpft wird und dass das nicht kippt in diese generischen Kli[schees]... guter Wohnungsbau, normale Freiräume. Also da finde ich wie, [...] der Ort hat super Potential, um zu etwas Besonderem zu werden [...]" (Jeanne). Regarding the social aspects, Dan asks:*

"[...] wie kann man einfach sozusagen auf der grünen Wiese [...] wie tut man etwas initiieren, also bauen und dann initiieren, dass das soziale Gefüge am Schluss funktionieren kann? Und ich glaube, da gibt es Tausende von Studien und gute und schlechte Beispiele auf dieser Welt, wie man das machen kann. Und im ganzen Prozess waren deswegen auch immer Leute aus dem Sozialbereich involviert, also in dieser Echogruppe hatte es Leute, die den sozialen Teil abgedeckt haben und ich glaube, das... das ist ein grosses Thema" (Dan).

A good integration into the existing neighbourhood encompasses architectural and social questions which are both discussed in the planning process. What ties into this is the goal of high **acceptance and satisfaction** (Anna, Dan, Amanda, Simon). The project leader Anna puts it like this: *"[...] grundsätzlich ist es ja so, dass man [...], wenn man so grosse Areale entwickelt, man ja auch das entwickeln möchte, was nachher auch genutzt wird und was möglichst vielen gefällt" (Anna). In Dan's eyes Neugasse is a unique chance to plan a large urban development: "[...] ich sehe jetzt wirklich die einmalige oder erstmalige Chance in der Schweiz, dass du so ein grosses Areal bebauen kannst, wo am Schluss 90 Prozent der Leuten sagen: 'Ja doch, wir sind eigentlich zufrieden, wir waren irgendwie Teil davon'" (Dan). And also the neighbour Simon says that he wishes *"[d]ass alle zufrieden sind. Das ist so ein Ziel, das man nie erreicht, aber ehm... dass sicher die meisten sagen doch das ist etwas Gutes" (Simon).**

Many hope that once implemented the project will count as a **best practice example**. Timon from SBB states “[...] es soll... ehm... ein Beispiel sein, wie man heute an der Stadt weiterbauen kann, sie weiterentwickeln, ohne dass es ehm... zu gravierenden Konflikten mit der gebauten Umgebung, ohne dass es zu Lasten von irgendjemandem geht” and “[...] von uns aus soll es natürlich auch ein... ein... ein Beispiel sein, wo wir sagen, so wollen wir in Zukunft mit Arealen auch vermehrt umgehen” (Timon). The architect Ramon adds: “[...] es [das Projekt Neugasse] hat wie Symbolcharakter. Oder, es ist wie so, wir üben, es ist wie ein Minimini von einer Stadt, was wir machen. [...] Ich glaube, dass das ein Schritt... ein Projekt ist, das man auch studieren wird, teilweise, für zukünftige Planungen” (Ramon).

As regards the interests and claims expressed by the city and workshop participants, five frequently discussed topics can be made out. The *first* is the **density** and **plot ratio** which should be high for reasons of economic rentability. Lea says that “[...] städtebaulich [ist] die Aufteilung Wohnen, Gewerbe, so diese ganzen Sachen, oder halt die Ausnutzung, ein riesen Thema” (Lea). *Second*, at the same time the city demands **open spaces** to be integrated in the Neugasse area, because “[d]as Quartier ist Freiraum-unterserviert, die Josefswiese ist überlastet” (Amanda). Open space is something everybody wants, but in terms of *what* people want opinions differ: what is the balance between private and public space? And how defined or undefined should this space be (Emmenegger & Nold 2017, Emmenegger & Langenegger 2017, Amanda, Jeanne)? Conflicts over the use of space makes out a city. To keep those conflicts small, open spaces in the Neugasse project should allow for overlapping uses, or as Lea says: “[...] also der Aussenraum muss im Prinzip fähig sein, dass er überlagert genutzt werden kann [...]” (Lea).

The *third* topic, controversy over **high-rise buildings**, ties into the discussions on open spaces: some people might associate high-rise buildings with business districts and deserted housing estates and thus do not want such buildings at Neugasse. High-rise buildings are also expensive to construct what makes them unattractive for housing cooperatives aiming for low rents (Emmenegger & Nold 2017). Relating to this, Amanda points to social issues: “Ja, wer wohnt dann in einem solchen Hochhaus? Das ist ja immer... es sind eigentlich teurere Bauten, und ist dann das, sind es einfach die Besseren, die schauen dann von oben runter, oder kann auch gemeinnützig Kostenmiete stattfinden?” (Amanda). With the required plot ratio of 2.0 to 3.0, however, it is impossible to leave open spaces if not by building high, or in Jörg’s words: “[...] damit wir Luft kriegen unten, müssen wir oben in die Höhe” (Jörg).

The *fourth* topic, whether and how to **integrate trade** into the development is also connected to discussions on open space. While some see trade as part of a vivid urban area, others point to negative side effects such as noise and pollution (Emmenegger & Nold 2017, Emmenegger & Langenegger 2017a). Additionally, the claim for cheap rents for traders emerged as a requirement (Emmenegger & Nold 2017, Joël). *Fifth* and finally, and as we have already seen with the politicisation, it is not clear what acceptable **rental prices** at Neugasse are (Timon, Joël).

In summary, Neugasse is a point of intersection of immaterial wishes and goals with the material urban built environment: “Es ist eben [...] ein... ehm... Schnittpunkt dort [...], eigentlich prallt

recht viel aufeinander" (Lea). Through the concentration of many interests and claims in a small area, the project's complexity increases (Dan, Lea, Olivier).

5.1.3 Overlap of legal requirements

Besides 'soft' requirements expressed by the interests and claims of individuals or single institutions, the state sets a framework of legal requirements at its three governmental levels: the municipality, the canton and the federal state. Legal requirements include regulations on **environmental standards, noise, traffic, access** and **historic preservation**. Additionally, in the *Neugasse* case the city of Zurich demands to integrate **school facilities planning** into the project. Indeed historic preservation and school facilities planning were most frequently mentioned as adding to uncertainty in the planning process.

At the beginning of the participation phase, it was still unclear which parts of the existing built structure fall under preservation order. When Amanda says "[...] was man vermutlich versäumt hat, noch als man das [Strategiedokument zu den Arealen Werkstadt, Hardfeld und Neugasse] erarbeitet hat, ist die Denkmalpflege sauber abzuklären" (Amanda), she points to the difficulties this poses. Planners had to do their work, but were not sure how to deal with historical buildings. This means that they had to act in an uncertain context as "[...] das [die Denkmalpflege] schränkt die Bebaubarkeit natürlich ein, respektive dann auch die Dichte, die man erreichen kann" (ibid.). Moreover, with the implementation of preservation order, additional outside actors which do not have an overview of the project come into play. They tend to give their opinion based on fragmentary knowledge (Hans).

School facilities planning is a difficult topic too. The city demands a school to be constructed on the area: "Dann gibt es natürlich die Stadt, die auch noch eine Schule auf diesem Areal möchte. Weil es ist nachvollziehbar, es gibt viele Leute und allgemein Schulen sind in Zukunft gefragt, weil alle viele Kinder haben, die in die Stadt ziehen" (Ramon). But the city and SBB do not have exactly the same goals. City representative Amanda notices "[...] der Schulraum, da hatten die SBB am Anfang auch Mühe. Es ist aber unsere Aufgabe, dass wir die Infrastruktur sicherstellen" (Amanda). The city has to ensure infrastructure supply, while SBB's main focus is rentable area. Furthermore, the architectural and social integration of school facilities into a dense urban structure is difficult. The architect Olivier says:

"Und dann gibt es alle möglichen anderen Konflikte: dass die Stadt einen Schulstandort reservieren möchte. Dieser Schulstandort ist nicht ganz einfach abzubilden, weil Schulen sind wichtig und toll, Schulen sind aber auch Atmosphärenkiller. Oder [...] weil Schulen, so wie sie heute geplant werden müssen, leider, haben grosse Aussenflächen, die Distanzen generieren, die ich schwierig bespielen kann, oder. Schulen haben einen Rhythmus, wo sie am Morgen aufgehen, um 16 Uhr zugehen und danach ist es eigentlich relativ ruhig und es passiert eigentlich sehr, sehr wenig, potenziell, oder. Schulen haben recht stringente Lärmvorschriften, Besonnungsvorschriften und so weiter. Das heisst, es ist schwierig, Schulen in dichten Situationen reinzubringen" (Olivier).

He also remarks how complex and seemingly unmanageable the project is: “[...] dass man immer wieder von Neuem merkt, wie komplex das ist. Weil halt eben die, die... Anspruchsüberlagerung da ist. Also eben: Denkmal plus Lärm plus Nutzung plus Erschliessung plus, plus, plus. Also dass... dass das dieses Ding noch recht schwierig zu managen ist” (ibid.).

Finally, as the Neugasse project experiments with new planning procedures, the **legal basis** of the project is another source of uncertainty. Until today it is not sure how the re-zoning and establishment of a special utilisation plan (*Sondernutzungsplan*) will be regulated (Brigitta). While for the city of Zurich it is important to have legally binding regulations and to ensure quality, the planners are confronted with the challenge of keeping flexibility and adaptability. Brigitta puts it like this: “Ich glaube, dass die Stadt die Sicherheit braucht. Die SBB ist sicher offener, mit Flexibilität umzugehen. Aber die Stadt muss ein Industriegebiet in ein höherwertiges Gebiet umzonen und möchte gewisse qualitative Sicherheiten haben. Das heisst die Einforderungen der Sicherheit kommen von der Stadt und [sind] motiviert natürlich vom Volk, nämlich vom Gemeinderat” (ibid.).

5.1.4 Overlap of planning procedures

Not only interests, claims and legal requirements overlap in the Neugasse project, but also planning procedures at the level of institutions and in time. In the Swiss federal structure this is not new. What made things more difficult was that, unlike in a standardised planning procedure, clarifications on environmental issues, noise protection and historic preservation were led in parallel to the planning workshops, and not beforehand (Ramon).

Especially for **historic preservation** the situation was uncertain for a long time because of unclear responsibilities between the different governmental levels. Hans told me: “[...] ist das [der Denkmalschutz] jetzt auf welcher Ebene? Ist das eidgenössisch, kantonal? [...] das ist dann auch noch ein Zuständigkeits-Thema” (Hans). And Amanda says: “[...] zum Beispiel Denkmalpflege [wird plötzlich unerwartet relevant]: Wer entscheidet jetzt den Schutzzumfang? Wie fliesst das wieder zurück? Wie argumentiert man das?” (Amanda). Furthermore, in the beginning SBB thought that things were clear: “Da [beim Denkmalschutz] haben wir uns auf ein altes Gutachten verlassen aus dem 2009, ist zwar nicht so alt, aber mit dem Effekt, dass es jetzt heute geheissen hat ‘nein nein, das gilt für uns nicht mehr, wir sehen das heute anders’, und man jetzt die ganze Diskussion noch einmal frisch aufrollen musste” (Timon, head of SBB real estate). SBB had to realise that circumstances had changed and an old clarification from the preservation order was not valid anymore.

Planning procedures also overlap in **school facilities planning**. The project leader says that, “[w]as sicherlich noch eine Herausforderung sein wird, wird die Integration von dem Schulhaus sein. Oder weil [...] wie bisher die Behörde, die Schulbehörde ihre Schulhäuser plant, die plant ja nicht vorausschauend, sondern eher reaktionär. Gleichzeitig haben wir jetzt eine Entwicklung, wo wir sagen, wir würden alles gerne in einem Zug entwickeln” (Anna). Because of their different goals, SBB and the city have different logics of development with their own procedures and time lines. Hence the two parties need to negotiate a procedure which suits both.

5.1.5 Interdependencies, loss of control and uncertainty

The overlap of interests and claims, legal requirements and planning procedures means that it is impossible to predict how initial ideas evolve. Moreover, **implementation and operation** are outside the control of planners. **Investors** who might not have the same ideas and goals – or different rationalities – decide on the implementation. For Jörg – who says, “[d]ann gibt es, wie gesagt, die Entwicklung, wer finanziert? Welches sind die Erwartungen von denen, die finanzieren?” (Jörg) – this makes the project’s future even more uncertain. And regarding operation Emilia says: “Es ist dann mehr so die Frage [...] vom Betreiben: Wer betreibt dann das, oder wer wird der zukünftige Eigentümer, und was hat dann der für Interessen?” (Emilia). In many cases house owners prefer trivial operational concepts, made to produce the least possible effort, as Brigitta puts it: “[...] in der Regel macht es [das Betriebskonzept] der Eigentümer, der hat einen Hausverwalter und der Hausverwalter wird pro Quadratmeter bezahlt und [...] der hat dann vielleicht noch einen Hauswart vor Ort und der mag sich auch nicht überarbeiten und irgendwelche Kieselsteinchen ständig wegräumen [...]” (Brigitta). But operation co-determines the possibilities for the appropriation of space and with this its enlivenment. This means that on the one hand, operators should leave space for the resident’s own initiatives, but on the other, residents need to commit to engaging in the neighbourhood (ibid.) – one thing nobody can predict or force.

The project leader is aware that planning, implementation and operation are often detached from each other and that many ideas get lost (Anna). Therefore, and also because social questions and demands change over time, she has the idea of **continuing participation** (ibid., Emilia, Ramon, Jeanne, Emmenegger & Langenegger 2017). In planning Neugasse, participation is and should stay a central element. This places the people – and with them a main source of uncertainty – in the middle of the process, or as Emilia says: “[...] wir [sind] ja in einem Prozess [...], der grundsätzlich dynamisch ist, der geprägt ist von Unvorhergesehenem, eben, ehm... wo Leute beteiligt sind [...]” (Emilia).

Put differently, planners in the Neugasse project are confronted with manifold **interdependencies** and thus often feel that they **do not have control** over the situation. Lea for example observes: “Und dann das [den städtebaulichen Entwurf] in Varianten zu denken, [das] ist extrem komplex, oder, weil alles voneinander abhängt...” (Lea). In the planning process, Dan feels that “[...] manchmal, als Individuum in diesem ganzen Prozess drin... fühlst du dich vielleicht manchmal ein wenig unbehaglich, weil, weil du das... das grosse Ganze dann trotzdem nicht bis ins letzte Detail verstehen kannst. Du bist immer nur so ein Mosaiksteinchen und alle Mosaiksteinchen zusammen geben dann vielleicht das grosse Ganze [...]” (Dan). When he says “[d]adurch, dass man ja nicht alle Faktoren kontrollieren kann, hat man es auch nicht im Griff, was am Schluss hinten rauskommt [...]” (ibid.), Dan also points to the fact that the result of the planning process is not controllable.

5.1.6 First zooming out

The question *what factors contribute to complexity in planning Neugasse* led us through subchapter 5.1. We have seen that the entanglement of social factors with the given legal frame-

work and the materiality of the urban environment makes the societal context and the planning context of the *Neugasse* project *fuzzy, fluid* (de Roo et al. 2012, p. 1f.) and uncertain. Figure 10 summarises the factors which contribute to complexity I discussed. There are a changing and unpredictable societal context which politicises the topics of displacement and social mixing, and the overlap of interests and claims. As we shall see later, the *Neugasse* planning rationality reflects these interests and claims. The *legislative jungles* mentioned by de Roo et al. (ibid.) express themselves with the overlap of planning procedures and legal requirements in the *Neugasse* case. Planning and construction laws are narrow and at the same time insecure. Hence, standing between political claims, legal requirements and their own ideas and ideals, planners sometimes find themselves in *confusing power relations* (ibid.).

Through the involvement of many actors, interdependencies increase. Together with the uncertainty inherent in a planning process which places the people – the irrational and obscure ‘human factor’ – at its centre, the feeling of losing control emerges: no one can grasp all the aspects of the *Neugasse* project. Temporal dynamics of planning add to this: mode and speed of implementation and operation as well as the new actors – construction firms, sponsors, operators, tenants etc. – who will appear are another source of uncertainty.

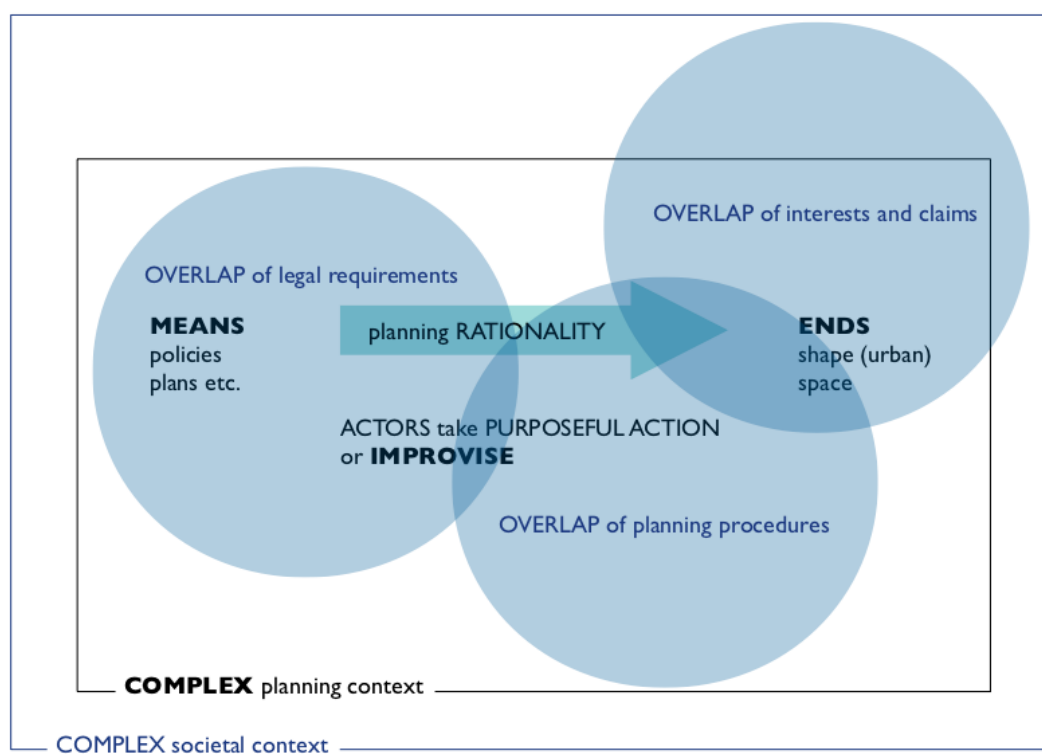


Figure 10: Factors which make planning Neugasse complex – a visual summary (source: author).

Before ending this chapter I would like to reconsider one aspect: in this planning context – one of meticulous regulations at three governmental levels – experimenting with new planning methods is difficult. On the one hand it is challenging because of technical obstacles such as the inflexible legal framework. Later I shall discuss this in greater depth (cf. 5.3.3). It is important, however, to

realise that planning and zoning laws are necessary: had they not been implemented in the 1980s, a hodgepodge of settlements would probably cover the entire Swiss *Mittelland* region. On the other hand, there are difficulties at an emotional level (cf. Soubeyran 2015, p. 174). In the *Neugasse* project new ideas meet tested and standardised planning methods, and this raises fears. The planner Dan says: “[...] jetzt soll dort [...] ein riesen Ding entstehen, das [...] bei einem gewissen Teil der Leute [Anwohner], die dort sind ehm, auch Ängste schürt” (Dan). Something new is always an insecurity that can produce fear (ibid.). For the neighbour Jörg this is a fear of being overrun or encapsulated: “[...] was wir gerne möchten, [...] was ich mir vorstelle ist dass wir nicht abgekapselt werden” (Jörg).

Because one tends to fall back into old patterns (Brigitta), exploring uncharted waters is difficult and “[e]s braucht einfach ein bisschen dann den Mut wieder dazu [...]” (ibid.). It is a challenge not only for the project leader and planners, but also for the city of Zurich because “[...] die Stadt operiert halt mit klassischen Begriffen, ehm, und für sie ist klar, für so ein grosses Gebiet braucht es ein Konkurrenzverfahren” (ibid.). Thus the project leader had to undertake persuasive efforts to convince all participants of her ideas for the organisational structure in the *Neugasse* project. Thereby she contributed to the important task of raising awareness towards the need for new ways of planning and creating platforms for discussion (de Roo et al. 2012, p. 18). What these discussions entail and what rationalities they reflect I shall explore in the next chapter.

5.2 Rationalities in the Neugasse project

The overlap of interests and claims discussed above translates into conflicting and competing rationalities: depending on their interests, actors have different aims and thus diverging ideas of how to achieve them. Put differently, competing rationalities provoke controversies and are thus a major source of uncertainty in planning *Neugasse*.

I now discuss these rationalities by describing four strands of debates which appear around the *Neugasse* project. While the first three debates are situated within the broader societal context, the fourth takes place within the planning context and thus shows the *planning* rationality in the *Neugasse* case. Each debate mobilises different logics – or rationalities. As we will see, the debates change over time, are interrelated or overlap with each other. Yet their description helps us to better understand not only the broader societal context, but also why planners approached their task as they did and not differently.

5.2.1 Building for profit or for people?

In the *Neugasse* project, power concentrates in the hands of the developer SBB. **Power relations are unequal** in a twofold way. On the one hand, the land at *Neugasse* is owned by SBB. This means that even though the city has to do the rezoning and give building permits, SBB still has the land at its disposal. In the face of politicisation and an insecure future, the head of SBB real estate Timon is aware of this power when he says: *“Also da gibt es verschiedene Szenarien, oder. Es gibt... ehm... ehm... wir könnten bauen, ohne dass wir eine politische Genehmigung holen. Ein Teil ist heute Wohnzone. Also ungefähr 20 Prozent des Areals könnte ich heute mit Wohnungen überbauen”* (Timon). Or when the project leader notices *“[o]der, der Wohnungsmarkt ist da und eigentlich muss man nicht mehr viel tun”* (Anna), she means that because of the big demand for housing in Zurich, SBB could basically build anything.

SBB also has power over knowledge – knowledge the company gains with conducting the participation processes – and over narratives. The architect Ramon is critical about this:

“Was man wissen muss, das ist ja ein super kompliziertes Verfahren, oder, mit den Leuten [...] und alles, so. Und wenn jetzt plötzlich am Schluss ein paar Developer die einzigen sind, die wissen, wie man solch komplexe Verfahren durchbringt, dann ist die ganze Stadt angewiesen auf dieses Prozesswissen von denen, die mehr oder weniger danach die Stadt definieren. Das heisst, der Städtebau wird am Schluss gemacht von Halter, SBB, Mobimo etc. Und das ist ein riesiges Problem. Und es ist ja jetzt schon mehr oder weniger so, wenn man Zürich West anschaut” (Ramon).

With the participation process, SBB steers the narratives which surround the *Neugasse* project, or again in Ramon's words: *“[...] die SBB hat eigentlich, wenn man jetzt das so überlegt, eigentlich eine sehr starke Rolle. Und macht aber auch den Prozess vorwärts, aber hat auch die Narrations-Hoheit”* (ibid.).

Unequal power relations are a characteristic of a **logic of profit**, or a market rationality, which partially guides SBB's actions. SBB is subject to a market rationality because, as Hans points out, it has a profit order:

"[d]ie SBB hat natürlich... ja, die Immobilienabteilung die hat einen Auftrag von Bern, oder, die müssen ihre [Gewinne erzielen...] das ist auch ein Auftrag, den wir als... schweizerisches Gemeinwesen dieser Abteilung auf den Weg geben, und der SBB. Und die haben natürlich ehm... ja, die haben eine gewisse Immobilienlogik und sagen, wir wollen hochwertige Nutzungen, wo wir auch gute Erträge generieren können" (Hans).

Joël says even more straightforwardly: *"Die SBB hat quasi den Auftrag, oder, ihre Immobilien, die sie nicht mehr braucht, dem Meistbietenden zu verkaufen oder möglichst gewinnbringend zu vermieten"* (Joël). With profit from properties, however, SBB cross-subsidies other sectors, including public transport; Olivier states: *"Die Rendite, welche sie [die SBB] auf dem Areal generieren, hilft uns natürlich auch diese Mobilität, welche wir alle toll finden, quer zu subventionieren [...]" (Olivier).*

Without prospect for profit, the Neugasse project is not attractive for SBB (Timon). In response to critiques who take this as an argument against SBB, the project leader Anna says that if there was no investment return, there would be no more investments and the real estate market would collapse (Anna). In short, profit enables development. Anna thinks that making profit is not only evil and that she wants to show *"[...] dass nicht nur alles irgendwie gewinnmaximierend entwickelt wird. Und dass das [nicht] nur der Teufel ist. Sondern dass wirklich auch Stadt dadurch lebt, dass es eine Vielfalt hat und dass jeder eine Berechtigung hat, dort zu sein"* (ibid.).

But critical voices, Noigass being one of them, say that SBB is making enough money with the development of *Europaallee* (Olivier, Joël) and some are suspicious that also the planners only want profit: *"Also die [Planer] haben schon das Interesse, dass das möglichst reibungslos und kostengünstig oder Rendite-orientiert oder wie auch immer [abläuft]" (Jörg).* While with the participation process SBB seems to pursue other goals than just investment return, many are critical about the real purpose of this planning process. Not only Noigass deeply distrusts SBB (Joël), but also the planner Jeanne is unsure and says: *"Und die SBB halten sich total zurück bei jedem Versuch zu sagen, hey, was ist das spezielle Merkmal, [welches sind] eure Wünsche? [...] und da denkt man: Genau, und die wollen nur Rendite!" (Jeanne).*

These remarks make clear that, **between profit order and social concerns**, SBB has a difficult position. Jeanne recognises this when she points out: *"Das Potential [der Neugasse] ist fantastisch, die SBB wollen, ist bereit, den Weg einzuschlagen – und schliesslich sind ihre Ziele nicht speziell. Also was heisst das dann? Wo geht die Reise hin?" (Jeanne).* It seems that in SBB's behaviour a market rationality mixes with a **value rationality** and it is not clear whether the two rationalities are compatible.

The participation process – if not regarded as a pure farce, as some critics do (Joël) – reflects a value rationality. But with its preference for large urban structures, high plot ratios, and quick construction in one go (Brigitta, Hans), the market rationality is opposed to more socially aware planning. The latter includes smaller structures at a more 'human' scale, open and green spaces, and time for identity building through appropriation of space, all characteristics desired by workshop participants (Emmenegger & Langenegger 2017b).

There are voices who say that **housing** should – at least to some degree – be **excluded from the market**. The architect Olivier for example states that free markets automatically lead to unfair distribution and therefore the state has to make sure that there is some kind of redistribution: *"Je offener der Markt, je zugänglicher, desto unfairer ist er. Ganz prinzipiell, also das ist mathematisch, das ist fast ein Naturgesetz, oder. Ehm... und das heisst, [...] ich brauche irgendeine Form von Umverteilung und ich brauche irgendeine Form von politischem Willen"* (Olivier). Hans, a city officer, points to this political will which in his eyes exists in Zurich, as the city invests in subsidized housing (Hans). He finds it important

[...] dass es da [bezüglich Wohnen] nicht einfach nur eine reine Marktlogik hat, sondern wir [von der Stadt] auch wirklich um diesen Drittel [gemeinnützigen Wohnungsbau in der Stadt Zürich] ringen müssen. [...] Wohnen ist eine zu wichtige Funktion, als dass man einfach sagt, der Markt richtet es, oder, das ist nicht wie Zahnpasta. Also dort richtet es tatsächlich der Markt, dass wir genug und gute Zahnpasta haben, oder. Aber Wohnungen, das ist einfach ein wenig ein anderes Gut" (ibid.).

5.2.2 City politics and the Neugasse project

The above controversy is nourished by the **tense situation in the Zurich housing market**. Compared to other Swiss cities, rents are high in Zurich and people with a small budget have difficulties in finding a decent place to live. Hans observes that because of this, political debates are directed towards the topic of affordable housing. The city also has to take a more active role in taming profit-seeking investors and promote a value rationality because *"[h]eute verlangt man mehr, ehm... weil diese Drucksituation so gross ist, oder. Es gibt eigentlich nichts mehr [freies Bauland]. Also die Stadt verkauft kein Land mehr, ehm... die Stadt will, dass ein Drittel [...] gemeinnütziger Wohnungsbau [realisiert wird], zum Teil verlangt man subventionierte Wohnungen"* (Hans).

Yet there are other urban functions which influence city politics: for example **trade and urban production** – also not very interesting for making profit – should not be neglected. City officer Hans says: *"Aber die reine Fokussierung auf das Wohnthema, das ist... muss ich sagen, ist für mich... zu wenig"* (ibid.). Therefore trade and urban production are – at least in the planners' eyes – thought as an integral part of the Neugasse project, because in the future they gain importance (Olivier), and may also attract political attention again. For architect Olivier's work, integration of various urban functions at small scales is a guiding principle. He says: *"[...] aber man muss wieder mehr in... vielleicht Teil-Autarkien, Teil-Autonomien [denken ...], eben mehr in Subsidiarität denken."*

Dass man versucht, möglichst viel in Einzelbereichen zu lösen. Dass man eben zum Beispiel auch einmal einen Garten dort hat, noch ein wenig Produktion da hat und so weiter und so fort [...]” (Olivier).

The debates around two large urban developments in Zurich, **Zürich West** and **Europaallee**, tie into the tense situation in the housing market. Again and again *Zürich West* was mentioned as a negative example for an inner-city redevelopment (Emmenegger & Nold 2017, Emmenegger 2017, Lea). One point of critique is that in the beginnings of the *Zürich West* redevelopment rental prices were low and many creatives and small traders settled in. But with ongoing gentrification most of them have sought cheaper spaces elsewhere (Joël, Klaus 2013, p. 14), they were squeezed out by the forces of the market. Additionally, alluding to *Zürich West*, workshop participants found that it is important to make sure that public spaces are not sterile and commercialised, but sometimes unplanned, undefined and changeable (Emmenegger 2017).

Hans observes that in *Zürich West*, “[d]a hat man aber eigentlich die Steuerungsinstrumente von der Stadtseite ein wenig aus den Händen gegeben” (Hans). Yet he insists that the situation has changed today and that, given the high demand for building land, the city has more power to implement its requirements (ibid.). The latter take social and environmental questions into account and are thus closer to a value rationality.

In relation to the *Neugasse* project, the *Europaallee* development is also criticised. People do not want a second *Europaallee* at *Neugasse*. A resident told me: “Ganz am Anfang ist es schon so *Europaallee*-mässig dahergekommen” (Simon). And one of the planners also observed that some workshop participants stated: “[...] es darf keine zweite *Europaallee* geben und wir möchten 100 Prozent gemeinnützigen Wohnungsbau” (Dan). When planners’ propositions were evaluated during the fourth workshop, another comment regarding public squares took up the *Europaallee* debate and said: “Der Platz ist insgesamt zu gross und zu leer. Er ist nicht quartierbezogen und erinnert so fast an die *Europaallee*” (Emmenegger 2017).

Ramon observes that altogether it seems that people are in an ‘anti *Europaallee* mood’: “[...] momentan ist es ein bisschen Mode, die *Europaallee* so zu bashen” (Ramon). And Dan adds: “[...] durch diese *Europaallee* ist ja die SBB immer relativ stark in Kritik gestanden. Das hat man ja auch in diesen Mitwirkungsverfahren immer wieder gemerkt” (Dan). Ramon finds different reasons for the criticism of *Europaallee*: some architects do not agree with “[der] Art und Weise, wie die SBB dort fast so ein wenig... einfach so ein wenig selbstherrlich dort einfach so ein wenig Städtebau macht” (Ramon). What adds to this is “[...] dass viele finden – also viele – dass es Leute gibt, die finden, die SBB hätte das gar nie entwickeln dürfen, weil es ist eigentlich Land, das [...] die Stadt der SBB geschenkt hat. Damals als sie das gebraucht hat. Jetzt braucht sie das nicht mehr – wieso können sie jetzt das entwickeln?” (ibid.). And finally, rents at *Europaallee* are high and there is no cooperative housing: “Also es gibt jetzt keine Genossenschaft dort. Null Prozent Genossenschaft” (ibid.). To many people this gives the impression that a market rationality alone was guiding for the project.

But there are others who say that the development of *Europaallee* is not wrong at this central location in the city. Jörg comments: “[...] das ist vielleicht kein Fehler. Dass dort die... die sehr Einkommensstarken und die internationalen Konzerne, dass die mitten in der City sich ansiedeln” (Jörg).

Moreover, what concerns *Europaallee's* architecture, there are also positive voices. While for some it is sterile and bulky, others say: “[...] die urbanistischen Lehren, die sind glaube ich tendenziell eher positiv: Volumetrie, EG-Nutzungen, dass man zum Beispiel die Lagerstrasse eigentlich so ein wenig billiger gemacht hat für die Läden als vorne” (Ramon).

5.2.3 What can we learn from housing cooperatives?

In the debates around *Zürich West* and *Europaallee* the exclusivity of these areas is often criticised. At the same time others point to the fact that **housing cooperatives are also exclusive** towards some, but different people. The planner Brigitta for example observes: “Und wenn ich mir heute eine Genossenschaft anschau wie es die Kalkbreite ist, da hat es so ein paar speziellere Nutzergruppen vielleicht drin, aber im Endeffekt... wohnen da auch Leute, die es bezahlen können. Also eine Kalkbreite ist auch nicht billig” (Brigitta), and she adds: “[...] wenn ich mir jetzt anschau, wer wohnt in der Kalkbreite, dann ist es auch ein sehr intellektuelles, urbanes Völkchen, was über ein gewisses Einkommen verfügt” (ibid.).

In the wake of the political mobilisation through *Noigass*, the debate around cooperative housing was taken up by all interview partners, but when they referred to **housing cooperatives**, there was **confusion** among them. Many were not sure whether housing cooperatives automatically include low rents and non-profit goals, or what the meanings of **cost rent**⁸ and **public benefit** are.

Whereas for the city representatives cooperative housing means cost rent (Hans) and public benefit (Amanda), for others things are more complicated. Timon from SBB says: “[...] man [muss] darüber diskutieren, ja was heisst gemeinnützig? Und... und wer zahlt dann zum Beispiel die Schule, wenn es gemeinnützig ist?” (Timon). With this he makes clear that with cost rents the financing of infrastructure such as a school is impossible, and that the state – which means the tax payers – would have to pay for it. Also the resident Jörg says that non-profit does not mean cheap:

“Gemeinnützig heisst nicht billig, sondern gemeinnützig heisst ehm... (überlegt) [dass] mögliche Interessenten, die im Rahmen dessen, was das Projekt dann als Gesamtes definiert, was sie [die SBB zusammen mit der Bevölkerung] wollen, die Wohnungen bauen und [die Rahmenbedingungen] einhalten. Das können Genossenschaften sein, aber das können auch andere Gruppen sein, die sagen, wir bauen jetzt zum Beispiel, was weiss ich, Mehrgenerationen-Häuser und gründen dafür eine neue Gemeinschaft, so” (Jörg).

In summary, non-profit orientation is a broad term and cost rent does not automatically mean that rents are low. Brigitta says: “[...] also wir reden da jetzt etwa von 10, 15 Prozent im Endeffekt, was eine Miete billiger ist, nicht über 50 Prozent” (Brigitta). And Timon adds: “[...] ich kann auch mit 10'000 Franken Landwert Kostenmiete machen, aber dann ist der Wohnungsbau zwar Kostenmiete, aber nicht mehr gemeinnützig” (Timon). Hence rents in housing cooperatives are not necessarily cheap. Moreover, it is not only housing cooperatives which have non-profit goals – the *Röntgenareal* adjacent to *Neugasse* is an example (Jörg) – and not only cooperatives have low rents.

⁸ Rent which only covers the costs of the residence, *Kostenmiete* in German.

While there is confusion about the meanings and goals of housing cooperatives, the statement that the latter support a value rationality and potentially foster good neighbourhoods is less contested. Housing cooperatives are named as **desirable examples of living together**, also because their inhabitants appropriate space more than other groups do, as Jeanne points out: “[...] die Frage ist, was braucht es zum Gelingen, dass das Areal von ganz vielen Leuten angenommen werden könnte und ein ganz tolles Magnet, ein belebtes, entspanntes, informelles, aber reizvolles Magnet sein könnte. Wie kriegt man diese Bedingungen hin? [...] Wenn man nur Genossenschaft macht, dann ist das wahrscheinlich eher so [...]” (Jeanne).

In this sense, the planner Olivier expresses the idea that the creation of a lively neighbourhood needs guidance through planning and that housing cooperatives can play a major role here: “Das heisst, es ist auch richtig, dass es da irgendwie eine Art von Programmierung braucht, wo etwas wie Reichhaltigkeit entstehen kann. Und da sind tatsächlich natürlich die genossenschaftlichen Planungsprozesse, die können das extrem gut. Also Genossenschaften in Zürich haben bewiesen, dass sie interessante Stadtteile bauen können” (Olivier).

Because housing cooperatives seem to be successful in planning lively neighbourhoods, planners in the Neugasse project would like to **learn from their planning models**. Olivier told me that “[...] wir [haben] im Planungsprozess drin die Idee, [...] von den genossenschaftlichen Prinzipien im Planen zu lernen, und deswegen [haben wir] versucht, eine sehr reichhaltige Welt und reichhaltige Nutzungsvorstellungen zu generieren” (ibid.). During the first two workshops visions and ideas were collected, so as to approach the rich and sometimes experimental vocabulary for living together found in some housing cooperatives.

Another idea stemming from cooperative housing models is **continuing participation** into the implementation and operation phases (Emilia, Ramon, Jeanne, Emmenegger & Langenegger 2017a) which should increase the self-determination of residents. Besides that, interviewees took up ideas from cooperative housing when it came to the question of diversity and social mixing. Regarding implementation, Ramon mentions **diversity of developers and house owners** as a prerequisite for social mixing: “[...] wenn man dort etwas hin tut, was verschiedene Angebote schafft, wie zum Beispiel teurere Wohnungen, billige Wohnungen, Wohnungen, die dem Markt ausgesetzt sind, Wohnungen [die das] nicht [sind]; also Eigentümerdiversität vor allem und Kapitalisierungs-Heterogenität, es geht eigentlich darum, dann schafft man wahrscheinlich... schon einmal so einen Ansatz von einer Diversität” (Ramon).

Relating to this, Hans thinks that **building in small units** with various developers, and **step-by-step implementation** are important, but that these concerns do not fit a real estate and market logic: “[...] ich finde, ein Anliegen wäre – und das funktioniert aber nicht immer in dieser Immobilienlogik – [...] eher in kleineren Einheiten, mit verschiedenen Architekten, verschiedenen Bauträgerschaften, auch vielleicht nicht alles gerade auf einen ‘Tätsch’” (Hans). He mentions Freiburg Vauban in Germany as a good example: “[...] in Freiburg Vauban [...], das sind so ein wenig kleinere Einheiten, nach einfachen Regeln, verschiedene Leute verfolgen ihre Ziele, oder. Und das gibt automatisch einfach mehr...

Statt wie da irgend so ein 50-Millionen-Töff, wo dann eigentlich alle von den Gleichen drin sind [...]" (ibid.). In Hans' eyes, creating a diverse urban environment, "[...] das kann man eigentlich nur eben über verschiedene Trägerschaften, die auch mit verschiedenen Leuten und auch nicht ganz in den selben Zielgruppen bauen" (ibid.). One sort of owners could be housing cooperatives, or different cooperatives which build for distinct groups.

The planner Brigitta has the idea of **small housing communities** as another means to foster diversity: *"Es gab auch mal eine Überlegung, dass man eigentlich so Hausgemeinschaften, Kleinhausgemeinschaften speziell fördert damit, oder auch vergibt an Kleinhausgemeinschaften, die... Also mehr wie so ein Baugenossenschaftsmodell, wie es in Deutschland gibt."* (Brigitta). Small housing communities or cooperatives would also contribute to a **variety of operational concepts**. Architect Ramon says: *"Also, etwas was positiv ist, [ist] dass es vielleicht wirklich danach Genossenschaften betreiben. Also, man bräuchte verschiedene Betreiber-Konzepte, nicht. Und das wird glaube ich von Haus zu Haus angestrebt [...]"* (Ramon).

During the operational phase **rental models** and the **allocation of flats** significantly influence social mixing. Therefore the project leader could imagine to experiment with flexible rental models. She says that

"[...] ich habe auch immer noch die Idee, dass es vielleicht Varianten gibt mit langfristigeren Mietmodellen, wo man Wohnungsmieten über 20 Jahre abschliessen kann und zum Beispiel jetzt ganz banal gesagt für die Familie, wo das Kind in die Primarschule kommt, möchte man im Schulkreis bleiben bis das Kind Matura gemacht hat oder aus der Schule raus ist. [...] für diesen Zeitraum wäre es ja ideal, hätten sie eine Grundabsicherung über eine Mietdauer. Ohne dass sie das Risiko eingehen, sie sind Mieter und sind jederzeit kündbar innerhalb von drei Monaten" (Anna).

In the interviews there was also the idea of income-adjusted rents. Joël, head of the association Noigass, says: *"[...] man könnte auch nach Einkommen vermieten, vielleicht, oder, das hat noch niemand versucht. Aber das fände ich ein super Experiment, zum Beispiel, oder. Einfach sagen, du bezahlst einfach... was auch immer, 20 Prozent von deinem Einkommen ist deine Miete, so. Oder minimum 20, maximal 30, was auch immer"* (Joël). And finally, while lessors allocate flats, they should pay attention to social mixing (ibid.)

Considering all these appealing ideas, the architect Olivier notices that, with their small budgets, housing cooperatives can only plan as they do because they profit from their members' unpaid work: *"[...] das kann ein privater Eigentümer mit irgendwie zwei, drei Leuten, die sich um Funktionen kümmern, der kann sich das gar nicht leisten"* (ibid.). Therefore a developer either invests a large amount of money, or he plans in standardised terms. Here again, different rationalities – a developer's market rationality and a cooperative's value rationality – collide and intermingle.

5.2.4 The Neugasse planning rationality

The three debates, planning for profit or for people, Zurich city politics, and cooperative housing associations, set the broader framework, or the societal context, in which the *Neugasse* project is planned. Within the smaller framework, the planning context, planners are influenced by these debates, but also have their own narratives for cities worth living in, and they look back at past planning experiences. During the examined planning phase it is these narratives – influenced by a planning debate currently in movement – which constitute the planning rationality of the project (cf. figure 11).

At the ground of a planning rationality lies the question: what is a city? Each planner and resident has a different, more or less concrete answer; and so did my interview partners. The architect Olivier's **narratives for cities** for example embrace emergence (cf. 5.3.3), cities as central, imageable places, cities as networks of man-made locational factors and cities as fusion reactors for people (Olivier). Ramon brings in the idea of the city as a process when he says that today's generation of architects is one “[...] *die tendenziell eher prozessual denkt, eher offen. Die Stadt als offenes.... also so prozessual sich vorstellt*” (Ramon).

This process includes interchange among people and material components (Olivier). Thus cities are made by everybody and everything who acts within their realm, or as Emilia puts it: “[...] *wir sagen, Stadt machen alle, und deswegen sollen alle an diesem Prozess [Planung Neugasse] teilnehmen*” (Emilia). As the city is produced by everybody, planning should allow everybody to have her or his say. This includes that cities are always contested: “*Also Stadt ist immer umstritten, sonst hat man nicht... also ausser du hast nur einen Akteur, der alles dominieren kann. Aber ab dem Moment, wo man ja so wie miteinander eine Stadt zusammen bauen will, dann wird es umstritten*” (Ramon). As cities are contested, there is a constant need for negotiation, city-making is “[...] *ein Prozess, der schwierig ist, wo man immer wieder neu verhandeln muss. Das heisst das Immer-Wieder-Neu-Verhandeln was Stadt ist, wie leben wir miteinander [...]*” (Olivier).

Cities and their neighbourhoods also encompass more than solely provision with housing: “[...] *zu einem Quartier gehört, neben dem Wohnen gehören auch die ganzen Freiräume, die Erschliessung, die Infrastruktur, auch mit Schulbauten [dazu]*” (Amanda). From this, Amanda concludes that cities are “*Lebensraum für ganz viel... [für] Leute, Lebensformen, Lebensvorstellungen, Lebensentwürfe*” (ibid.).

These narratives influence what planners judge as good or bad urban environments. The idea of **mixed, lively and diverse cities** turned out to be the most desirable among them. For Olivier the middle age city represents this ideal: “[...] *gut gemachte Städte sind natürlich sehr stark die fussgängerfreundlichen, über Jahrhunderte hinweg durch diesen Algorithmus von Raum, Nutzung und Bau und Denken und Umbau entstandenen Städte des Mittelalters*” (Olivier). Pedestrian-friendliness is, together with short distances, an important attribute of good cities (Joël). Other characteristics are possibilities of appropriation, overlap of uses, subsidiarity, quality of open space and diversity (Olivier; Brigitta, Jeanne, cf. 5.1.2).

Regarding diversity Ramon observes: *“Also, lustig ist, historisch hatte man überhaupt kein Problem, riesige Stadtgebiete total homogen zu machen”* (Ramon). Some fifty years ago nobody problematised the building of whole neighbourhoods exclusively for one social class. But there were negative experiences with social segregation and, as Ramon puts it: *“[...] das [Heterogenität] ist wie das romantische Gegenbild gegenüber unserer Zeit”* (ibid.). Hence planners of the *Neugasse* project agreed to plan extremely heterogeneously, hoping that this would promote at the same time political acceptance (ibid.) and social mix. In this sense, social mixing is also regarded as a reassurance against uncertainties (Timon).

The ideal of a diverse city is nourished by **critique of globalisation** and the fear of homogeneity. Hans observes how the euphoria for globalisation has gone:

“Und auch wenn man das Gefühl hatte, am Schluss sind wir nur noch Anwälte und Portfolio-Manager und alles, was wir auf dem Leib tragen oder brauchen oder wie wir unsere Wohnungen ausstatten, das kommt alles aus China. Also eine Zeit lang hatte man ja das Gefühl, das ist so [die Zukunft], nach der Jahrtausendwende braucht es eh alles nicht mehr, tschüss, adieu. Und jetzt gibt es solche Dinge wie Reshoring, es gibt auch zunehmend urbane Produzenten, die halt den Markt auch suchen, mit diesen Leuten, die hier sind” (Hans).

Today the idea that problems need to be solved locally is growing. Olivier finds it important *“[d]ass man versucht Probleme möglichst lokal zu lösen, das müssen wir möglichst befähigen in einer Zukunft [...] wo wir zunehmend kapieren werden, dass die Vernetzung von allem mit allem auf der einen Seite und die Fiktion des konstanten Wachstums [...] nicht mehr funktionieren wird”* (Olivier).

A critique of globalisation also involves **critique of large urban developments**. Ramon says *“[e]s ist wie eine unheilige Allianz gegen solche Grossprojekte momentan”* (Ramon). And he adds: *“[...] allgemein hat man so ein wenig, so nach der neoliberalen Phase, wo alle Grossprojekte fanden, super, Stadtmaking etc., wird man heute sowohl konservativer wie auch kritischer”* (ibid.). While in left circles the demand for fair distribution of land and property, and the democratisation of urban space are the main arguments against large urban developments, political parties from the right criticise the loss of identity, tradition and homeland (ibid.). Thus, be it from the left or from the right, people demand smaller-scale, interconnected structures and integration instead of *tabula rasa* developments. Anna puts it like this: *“[...] persönlich finde ich das verheerend wenn Stadtentwicklung, Siedlungsbau, alles autark entwickelt wird, unabhängig vom nächsten. Das funktioniert ja nicht”* (Anna).

Critique of globalisation and critique of large urban developments play into the paradigm shift **from modern planning to post-modern planning**. Planning *Neugasse* is a post-modern planning project. In Olivier’s view this means that planning is a process with emerging but unforeseeable possibilities and constraints. Departing from such an understanding is important in order to ensure *“[d]ass es nie diesen Schnitt gibt, der uns ja durch die Moderne, durch die Moderne – ehm, also das Be-*

herrschen des grossen Massstabes, das Denken im grossen Massstab, das Denken in tabula rasa und Infrastrukturweiterung – aufgezwungen wird” (Olivier).

Importantly, and contrary to modernist planning, planners in *Neugasse* do not try to suppress **uncertainty**, but acknowledge it. Olivier says: *[...] ich meine wenn du jetzt an so eine Planwirtschaft denkst, an so eine modernistische planwirtschaftliche Idee, dann ist natürlich so etwas wie wir es hier machen absurd, oder. Das ist... das ist gefährlich sogar! Weil du eben nicht genau weisst was passiert*” (ibid.). Moreover, planners in the *Neugasse* project do not believe in objectivity, but are very much aware of their **subjectivity**. Jeanne depicts subjectivity as something positive which allows planners to draw their attention towards certain things and recognise the uniqueness of a place: *“Und ich glaube, dass Subjektivität nötig ist, um überhaupt spezifische Sachen wahrzunehmen. Das heisst, man muss, wenn man keinen spezifischen Blick hat, dann tut man immer das Nullachtfünfzehn produzieren*” (Jeanne).

This **understanding of planning** which emerges from the critique of modernist ideals involves more. Olivier for example thinks that planning is like gardening, or as he puts it: *“Man muss sich vorstellen, wie ein Gärtner zu arbeiten. Ein Gärtner muss ja auch [...] mit einem vorhandenen Grundstück [arbeiten], das gewisse Fähigkeiten hat, gewissen lokale Möglichkeiten bestehen, eben Standortfaktoren einerseits [...]. Auf der anderen Seite natürlich muss ein Gärtner [...] mit Pflanzen arbeiten, die es gibt. Er kann ja nicht eine Pflanze neu erfinden*” (Olivier). His description reflects the recognition of **local context**. The latter is important when it comes to questions of quality of life and the social dimension of planning, the two being part of post-modernist planning ideas: *“Das ist das grosse Thema heute, Integration und ehm auch die soziale Dimension des Städtebaus*” (Ramon).

The *Neugasse* project falls into a time of movement within the planning debate (ibid.) and takes up the claims for **diversification in planning** (Anna) and for **more participation**. Planning is not seen as a top-down activity anymore, but as an interplay between bottom-up inputs and top-down decisions. Since participation processes became more popular in the 1980s the know-how how to stage them has spread (Hans) and is now further experimented with in the *Neugasse* project.

5.2.5 Second zooming out

The guiding question of this chapter was: *in what ways does planning Neugasse reflect particular (planning) rationalities?* I have shown different rationalities by describing three strands of debates – planning for profit or for people, Zurich city politics, and housing cooperatives – in the broader societal context. The fourth strand of debate is located within the planning context and covered the *Neugasse* planning rationality (cf. figure 11).

As we have seen, in the first three debates, a market rationality intermingles with, overlaps and opposes a value rationality: not only SBB, but also the city of Zurich finds itself in a difficult situation between profit order, financial constraints and social concerns. SBB holds the power over the *Neugasse* project in its hands and is subject to a market rationality. The latter is difficult to reconcile with a growing awareness – of at least some exponents of SBB – towards social implications

of planning. The city of Zurich is in charge of promoting affordable housing and diverse urban functions, which is challenging in an increasingly entrepreneurial environment. As regards housing co-operatives, they seem to be particularly good at building lively neighbourhoods, and *Neugasse* planners are inspired by their ideas. Yet they encounter one difficulty: how can a model which is based on a value rationality and on cooperative members' unpaid work be translated to a context which is ultimately subject to a market rationality? The answer of this question lies in the future. In summary, different goals and tasks lead to conflicting rationalities and this produces controversies with unpredictable outcomes. Therefore competing rationalities are a major source of uncertainty in the *Neugasse* project.

The rationality adopted by *Neugasse* planners is on the one hand influenced by debates in the societal context. On the other hand there are the planners' own narratives of cities and current debates in planning which problematise large inner-city redevelopments in the same breath with globalisation and a modernist understanding of planning. The *Neugasse* planning rationality embraces the acknowledgement of subjectivity, complexity and uncertainty, renewed attention to the local context, awareness of social implications, and the understanding of planning as a bottom-up and top-down practice at the same time.

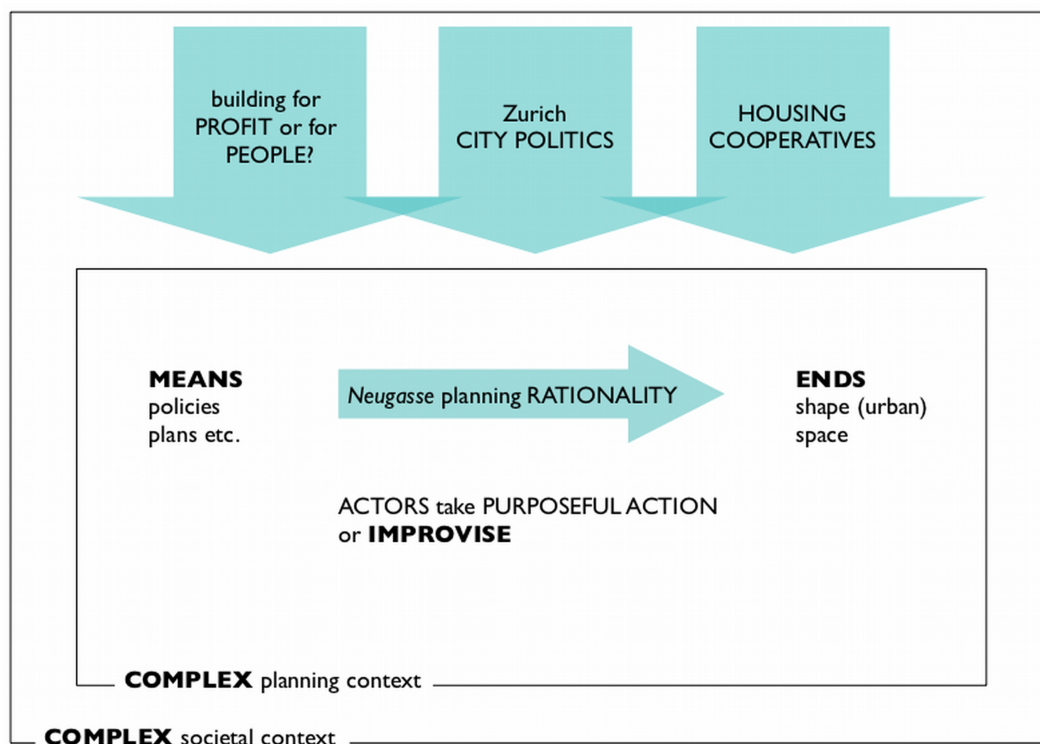


Figure 11: Rationalities in the *Neugasse* project – a visual summary (source: author).

In the debates I discussed there are some critical aspects: a value rationality seemed to prevail during the participation phase of the project. We have to be aware, however, that a market rationality might guide the actual construction phase because **money means power**.

This makes me ask: what are the consequences if cities are increasingly constructed and reconstructed by the means of mega projects? Swyngedouw et al. (2002) already pointed to the “[...] *shifting geometry of power in the governing of urbanisation*” (ibid., p. 543) which might accentuate with the Neugasse project: a large urban development with **one single and powerful developer** largely depends on the goodwill of this developer, for example on his readiness to invest money into a **costly participation process**. Dan says: “[...] *ich glaube, das vermag nicht jeder Bauherr!*” (Dan). But besides bearing high expenses, SBB accepted that planning was not always straightforward (cf. 5.3.4) and granted time extensions if necessary (Brigitta). Therefore I think that if SBB was only pursuing monetary interests, it would not have gotten involved in this process. Nevertheless, great uncertainty about implementation remains.

And **knowledge** too means power. Thus it is important that the city gets involved in new ways of planning and participation and does not leave experimentation to powerful developers. Expert knowledge must not be “[...] *strengthened at the expense of a diminishing role of the public* [...]” (Swyngedouw et al. 2002, p. 574). Architect Ramon means that

“[...] *die Stadt muss jetzt unbedingt diesen Prozess analysieren [...] und sagen, wie kann man solch einen, dieser Prozess, der wahrscheinlich in Zukunft von mir aus gesehen viel mehr passieren wird, wie kann man den machen, dass [...] das Kollektiv nicht die Planungshoheit verliert. Weil es geht ein wenig in diese Richtung, oder. Der Developer hat [die Macht]... wir sind jetzt schlussendlich angestellt von der SBB*” (Ramon).

Moreover, the fact that SBB is the powerful developer in the Neugasse project has implications for **collaboration**. For the participation process this means that some people do not **trust** SBB, but think that everything is a sham. Joël from Noigass means that participation only makes sense for non-profit developers who do not aim for investment return: “[...] *grundsätzlich finde ich es natürlich wichtig, dass eh... überall, wo die öffentliche Hand oder wo gemeinnützige Bauträger am Werk sind, dass es dort Partizipationsverfahren gibt. Weil dort... dort finde ich es sinnvoll*” (Joël). And in its evaluative statement on the participation process Noigass writes even more clearly: “*Mit dieser starken Limitierung der Teilhabe am Planungsprozess verkommt die aufwändige Beteiligung der Bevölkerung zur Farce. Bleibt der Einbezug der Bevölkerung auf die bloss materielle Ebene beschränkt, dient der ganze kostspielige Aufwand bloss der Akzeptanz und entpuppt sich als reine Marketingstrategie*” (Noigass 2017b). In Noigass’ view, participation was too narrowly focused on architecture and design. The association says that by setting the framing conditions without discussing them in a broader plenum, SBB selfishly pursues its interests. Others were sceptical in the beginning, but then felt positive about the participation process. Amanda from the city says: “[...] *ich fand es zwar spannend, aber ich war nicht ganz überzeugt, ob man dann wirklich zu dieser Qualität kommt. Und in der Zwischenzeit finde ich auch mit diesen ganzen Diskussionen, die folgen, sehe ich da eine gute Entwicklung*” (Amanda). It is the purpose of the next chapter to discuss the development of the Neugasse planning process.

5.3 Planning is improvisation

In this chapter I show, how the *Neugasse* planning rationality discussed above translates into practice. One of the means SBB deploys to reach its goals is the participation process. I thus begin this chapter by explaining the motivations for conducting a costly and time-consuming participation process. This subsequently leads me to examine more closely the ways *Neugasse* is planned, with an emphasis on the challenges of this emergent planning within a narrow legal framework. I close by identifying two forms of improvisation which planning *Neugasse* embraces.

5.3.1 Why a costly and time-consuming participation process?

In the *Neugasse* project, the participation process is a central pillar. But why is it necessary to undertake such a costly and time-consuming process? The reasons are tightly linked to the aims of the project. Given the political situation, Anna states that “[...] für den Prozess *Neugasse* haben wir uns einfach dafür [für Partizipation] entschieden, [dafür] dass es nur so funktionieren kann” (Anna). Ramon adds to this: “[...] wenn man dort irgendetwas machen will, dann muss das mit Integration von der Bevölkerung [...] passieren. Sonst hat man dort keine Chance [...]. Also es ist sowohl idealistisch wie auch strategisch, glaube ich, eine Entscheidung, dass man das macht” (Ramon). With this Ramon alludes to the fact that with public participation **dissenting votes and critique** are early integrated into the project: “[...] es ist sicherlich so, wenn man die Bedürfnisse frühzeitig mit einbringt, sind dann allfällige Einsprachen oder Gegenstimmen oder Kritiken nachher eher absehbar oder schon vorher diskutiert worden” (Anna). Timon, the head of SBB real estate, also means “[...] man ist sicher, dass man etwas macht, das, gerade wenn es eine Zustimmung braucht oder ehm... irgendwo eine Opposition entstehen könnte, dass man das frühzeitig erkennt und dort ein Dialog ist” (Timon).

But even if participation is a means to **achieve acceptance** (Simon, Jörg), it does not calm down spirits, or in Ramon's words: “Also man schafft lustigerweise auch ein Forum für die Gegner [...]” (Ramon). In the participation forum requirements were collected – and of course also dissenting voices expressed. Hence planners have to engage more closely with the ‘outside world’ and people's wishes and wants:

“Auch ein wenig ein Reality-Check ist das [Partizipationsverfahren]. Also einfach auch einmal ein wenig wieder... oder, nicht immer nur wir Planer-Hirne ehm... sondern einmal so ein wenig andere Ideen. [... da ist] dieser Irrglaube, einfach jetzt macht man da so ein Prozesslein und dann sind dann schon alle ruhig und zufrieden, das... das... Ich glaube, dass das ein wenig ein Gespür dafür gibt, wo... wo ehm die Leute Bedürfnisse haben” (Hans).

In this sense, for the architect Ramon working together with the population is a good corrective: “[...] ich finde, was so diese Mitwirkung vor allem bezweckt hat ist irgendwie ein extrem gutes Korrektiv” (Ramon).

Another positive aspect is that with **new ideas** from workshop participants, the **quality of a development** potentially increases. Amanda says: “Also man muss das so ein wenig wie als Ideengener-

ator auffassen [...]” (Amanda). And Olivier adds: “Und das heisst dann prinzipiell, dass wir einen unglaublich reichen Fundus an Ideen, Atmosphären, Nutzungsmöglichkeiten, räumlichen Vorstellungen und Bildern haben, wovon wir zehren können und mit denen wir arbeiten” (Olivier). For the participation expert Emilia it is clear that by collecting these ideas and requirements, planning results improve: “[...] wir sind der Überzeugung, also, dass schlussendlich, das Wissen von allen zu integrieren schon zu einem so frühen Zeitpunkt [...] ein viel besseres Produkt gibt” (Emilia). This is also true for the head of SBB real estate Timon who told me “[...] dass man über die Beteiligung und die Feedbacks natürlich tatsächlich die Qualität der Projekte verbessern kann. Das ist nicht zu unterschätzen, oder, was an Rückmeldungen so kommt” (Timon). And finally Hans from the city of Zurich adds: “[...] ich glaube, so das Grunddenken muss auch sein, dass es einfach besser wird” (Hans).



Figure 12: Scale model building during the second planning workshop in March 2017 (source: Schweizerische Bundesbahnen SBB Immobilien 2017b).

It is, however, never possible to integrate all ideas and requirements because the **extent of the participation process** is, although large, still restricted. SBB and the city of Zurich had defined the framing conditions before and these were not put up for discussion. Several planners brought this point up; Ramon for example states: *“Und gewisse Dinge diskutieren wir nicht, wie zum Beispiel diese 30 Prozent [Genossenschaften], das ist ein anderes Forum”* (Ramon). And Dan says: *“[...] gewisse Haltungen tut man ja dann auch wie... wie ausblenden weil es eben Themen sind, die dann übergeordnet diskutiert werden”* (Dan).

Moreover, a voluntary participation process is **never representative** for the whole population, or in Hans' words: *“[...] die Illusion, dass das irgendwie repräsentativ ist, das kann man vergessen [...]”* (Hans). Although the involvement of as many social groups as possible would be desirable, Brigitta realises that some groups – potentially those with little education and time – are excluded: *“Ich würde jetzt einmal sagen bildungsferne Gruppen. Ehm, ältere Personen [...] inklusive aller ehm... ehm auch Personen mit Migrationshintergrund und wenig Deutschkenntnissen [...], die eben nach einem 10 Stunden Arbeitstag nicht mehr... oder [mit] Kindern und ohne Betreuungshintergrund [...] nicht zu so einer Veranstaltung kommen können”* (Brigitta). In short, representativeness of voluntary participation is a methodological problem (Emilia, Hans). Therefore city representative Hans means that *“[d]ie Legitimation die kommt dann eigentlich über die formellen Prozesse, die wir [in der Stadtregierung] haben”* (Hans). The **political legitimisation** of a planning process has to be negotiated at the level of the city government and during formal participation (*formelle Mitwirkung*). As Brigitta puts it, formal participation completes political negotiations and legitimisation: *“Es [der Partizipationsprozess] ist jetzt nicht das einzige demokratische Verfahren, es ist wirklich eine Ergänzung zu unserem, wir haben ja noch ein normales Mitwirkungsverfahren, das ist ja quasi dann mit den gewählten Volksvertretern”* (Brigitta).

Even if a participation process is never representative and its extent is restricted, participation for Neugasse should encompass **more than solely commenting planners' work**. Brigitta says: *“Wir wollen nicht, dass es irgendwie ein Testplanungsverfahren gibt, wo wieder vier Teams eingesetzt werden, die dann irgendwie mit einer Horde von Experten begleitet werden und alle anderen werden eigentlich nur informiert”* (Brigitta). And Lea means: *“Du möchtest ja eigentlich nicht etwas, was vom Planerteam entwickelt wurde, sondern es soll ja von den Leuten eigentlich [entwickelt werden...]”* (Lea). In Olivier's words, planners created an urban development concept *together* with workshop participants because the process should not be a *“[...] Beteiligung im Sinne von, man zeigt ihnen bereits einen Entwurf und fragt: Wie findet ihr diesen Entwurf? Sondern man macht den Entwurf mit den Leuten”* (Olivier).

To to so, planners tested a form of participation where they **constructed scale models** together with the participants. During this second workshop – the centre piece of the participation process – planning became tangible and spatially imaginable (Amanda). Suddenly planners and people could lead a dialogue on a different, more material level (cf. figure 12):

“[...] um solch eine Beteiligung in dieser sehr verdichteten Zusammenarbeit mit Laien und Fachleuten [...] zu ermöglichen in dieser kurzen Zeit [...], haben wir ein Instrument aufge-

baut, das ist ein grosses Modell, ein 1:200 Modell, das heisst ein Werkzeug, das sozusagen ein Vokabular einerseits und eine Grammatik andererseits bietet, damit der Dialog sofort funktionieren kann. Und sofort auch Bilder generiert, die einen gewissen Charme haben. Also es ist 'imageable': Ich kann Dinge zusammenstellen, es sieht einmal nach etwas aus, die Leute können sich etwas darunter vorstellen. Und deswegen ist dieser Dialog nicht abstrakt geblieben, sondern er ist sehr rasch haptisch geworden. Man hat wirklich über Nutzungen nachgedacht, man hat über Räume nachgedacht... [...] Weil die Schwierigkeit in solch interdisziplinären oder transdisziplinären Prozessen ist immer, wie kann man überhaupt eine gemeinsame Sprache entwickeln?" (Olivier).

When constructing scale models, one has to engage more sensually and intensely with the characteristics and constraints of a given space (Amanda, Hans). Workshop participants realised how difficult it is to translate requirements, claims and crazy ideas into concrete urban structures, to pinpoint everything in material volumes.

5.3.2 Towards new ways of planning

The participation process based on scale model building is an exploration of new ways of planning in the face of complex circumstances. So why do *Neugasse* planners experiment with a new way of planning? In Ramon's eyes the project "[...] ist super, weil es tut eigentlich so wie so 'in a nutshell' fast eine Vision von einer Gesellschaft komprimieren" (Ramon). Timon from SBB thinks that this **vision** is inspired by the cooperative housing models discussed in chapter 5.2.3. He told me that, given SBB's ideas for further development, implementation and operation of the project with continuing participation, "[d]a sind wir nicht weit weg auch von Vorstellungen von, ich sage jetzt aus dem mehr genossenschaftlichen Denken" (Timon).

The vision of the *Neugasse* project is also to generate new discourses and practices for inner-city redevelopment and to produce place-specific solutions instead of implementing general schemes (Hans). Architect Olivier thinks that "[...] wir werden die innere Verdichtung, die alle wollen, nur leisten können, wenn wir da neue Fähigkeiten für den Diskurs generieren" (Olivier) and then continues: "Also Stadt ist ein riesen Palaver, und das muss so sein, oder. Und diesem Palaver Raum zu bieten und für dieses Palaver Bilder zu schaffen, das ist das, was wir machen müssen. [...] wir brauchen Laborsituationen, wir brauchen Diskursmöglichkeiten, Diskussionsplattformen, wo wir wirklich über die neuen Synergien und Möglichkeiten und Interaktionen nachdenken können" (ibid.). For the project leader Anna thinking and talking about new ways of planning "[...] bedeutet neue Chancen mit neuen Möglichkeiten zu entwickeln" (Anna). Planner Jeanne also sees the *Neugasse* project as an opportunity for place-specific redevelopment. In her view, in Switzerland "[...] die Gefahr ist, dass ehm... diese ortsspezifische Anwendung von Bauvolumen... also sei [es] rechteckig oder nicht rechteckig, zu wenig gefestigt ist in der Architekturkultur hier" (Jeanne).

Planning *Neugasse* is a container for testing new ideas and planning procedures needed to face the challenges of inner-city redevelopment (Brigitta). **On an operational level**, these ideas encom-

pass **three novelties**: the circular process organisation explained in chapter 3, the early participation, and the extent of the participation. Or in Lea's words: *[...] Partizipation ist ja nichts Neues, aber in dieser Art ist es neu, dass man es so früh macht und dass man es in diesem Ausmass macht*" (Lea). The project leader Anna observes: *"[...] also Beteiligung gibt es in anderen Projekten auch schon, sondern es ist eigentlich dieser Kreislauf zueinander, der neu ist, oder der es auch spannend dann macht"* (Anna). And Timon, head of SBB real estate, says that SBB wants the population to have the lead in planning Neugasse: *"Wir übergeben jetzt aber wie eine Art auch den Lead im Beteiligungsverfahren der Bevölkerung. Und dann gibt es daraus heraus hoffentlich einen fruchtbaren Dialog, respektive ein gutes Resultat, hinter dem beide wieder stehen können"* (Timon). For architects and planners this means that they have to hold back their own ideas, as Olivier observes:

"[...] es war kein Entwurfsprozess wo man eine leere Fläche vor sich hat und mit Ideen kommen muss, die man danach diskutiert und, wie soll ich sagen, wo auch eine sehr starke Grundhaltung wichtig ist. Sondern es ist eigentlich eher ein Aussieben, Kuratieren, Zusammenstellen, Klären; wo man eine klare Haltung über den Kontext entwickeln musste, wo aber sehr viel ausgewählt werden musste aus einem sehr reichen Wortschatz, sozusagen. Ehm, und das ist eigentlich der Grundunterschied zu anderen Planungsprozessen, wo man natürlich sehr viel mehr mit eigenen Ideen kommen muss [...]" (Olivier).

These operational novelties are closely linked to the planners' wish not to deploy a *Testplanung*, but to create a **scale model** and **urban development concept** in a close exchange with the population (cf. 5.3.1). Brigitta says that the question their planning office had in mind was *"[...] wie kommt man eigentlich zu einer vielfältigen, kleinteiligen Struktur, was für einen Prozess könnte man dafür aufziehen?"* (Brigitta). She adds that in the Neugasse case a *Testplanung* did not seem appropriate: *"Hier ist zwar das Thema komplex, aber eigentlich weiss man schon sehr viel und [...] relativ schnell geht es mehr darum, um konkrete Themen zu bearbeiten. Und ich finde, da braucht es nicht unbedingt eine Testplanung dazu"* (ibid.). As the questions were already quite concrete, but the topic complex, planners sought for a way of doing in which – unlike in a *Testplanung* – the teams comprising architects, urban planners, landscape architects and participation experts work multidisciplinary (Dan, Jeanne).

The architect Olivier adds that besides working more closely with other disciplines and the population, an important question is the one of bringing together planning actors with actors responsible for implementation so as not to lose the creative ideas that had been produced: *"[...] danach ist natürlich dann die Frage, wie kann ich sehr früh dann über die [architektonischen] Wettbewerbe, [...] wie kann ich sehr früh auch über die Ausführung nachdenken? Also damit früh auch Leute, die das tatsächlich dann bauen, im Boot sitzen"* (Olivier).

At the substantive level many planners mentioned that compared to standard planning procedures, Neugasse is planned differently. In table 4 I list and explain **twelve differences** I found and identify four broader themes into which they fall.

Table 4: The differences between Swiss standard planning procedures and planning Neugasse.

Theme	Difference	Explanation
Multidisciplinary planning	Multidisciplinary team & intense exchange	The planning team is multidisciplinary, planners from four offices work together in different constellations. Ramon says “[...] dass man in verschiedensten Konstellationen jedes Mal wieder irgendwie sagt, ok, wir machen das, ihr das, ihr das, ihr das. Das fand ich, ist super” (Ramon). And Dan adds “[...] es ist auch interessant, es gibt dann auch ein wenig einen Austausch mit den anderen Büros, wir waren ja dann viel bei denen auch und sehen dann vielleicht auch einmal, wie so andere Büros funktionieren, wie die an... an eine Aufgabe herangehen und so” (Dan). In Olivier’s eyes the process helps “[...] neue Fähigkeiten generieren [zu] können, wirklich Synergien auch zuzulassen” (Olivier).
	‘Swarm intelligence’	By working together, the teams create a common base of knowledge, or a ‘swarm intelligence’, which is bigger than the knowledge of single planning offices, or as Dan put it: “[...] das [...] ist mit der Zeit entstanden, diese Schwarmintelligenz. Aber wenn du den einzelnen Fisch fragen gehst, dann... dann ist er eben vielleicht nicht so intelligent, wie der ganze Schwarm. Das ist ja der Sinn von der Schwarmintelligenz” (Dan).
	Sharing of responsibility	Another aspect of being a team instead of lone fighters is that – except from the project leader – responsibility is shared. Dan says that “[...] was dann am Schluss rauskommt... dafür können wir uns nicht unbedingt auf die Schulter klopfen, aber wir können auch umgekehrt nicht dafür verantwortlich gemacht werden” (Dan). In his eyes this has also a positive aspect as planners feel less pressure to succeed: “[...] ich glaube, das hat uns noch gut getan, dass wir so ein wenig mit dieser... mit dieser Unbefangenheit auch ein wenig an das Ganze herangegangen sind” (ibid.).
Dialogue & consensus-oriented planning	Cooperation instead of competition	In the Neugasse project there are not various competing teams, but only one team with members from different planning offices. Instead of being lone fighters who compete with each other, different teams have to work together. Anna finds this positive and says: “Es ist natürlich auch immer ein Mehrwert oder ein Plus, wenn man sagt, man ist nicht Einzelkämpfer, sondern man hat eigentlich das Team” (Anna).
	Need for mutual agreement	The results of a plan established by several teams represent mutual agreements. For Dan this means that “[...] es gibt dann vielleicht eben auch einmal eine Ecke, wo man sagt, ja gut, ich merke jetzt, denen ist das wichtig, dass das so aussieht, und pff... ich kann mit dem auch leben, ich hätte es vielleicht anders gemacht. [...] und wenn es dein eigenes Projekt ist, dann tust ja du alles so machen, wie du möchtest” (Dan). The positive aspect of this is that “[...] man lernt auch recht viel von den anderen” (ibid.).

	Questioning of own ideas	The work and discussions in a large planning team entail that one has to question own ideas. Dan says “[i]ch habe nämlich ein paar Mal gedacht, ja, aber jetzt... hm... wieso machen sie das so? Und wenn ich dreimal darüber geschlafen hatte, hatte ich plötzlich das Gefühl, das war eigentlich noch ein super Ansatz” (Dan).
	Self-correction	During discussions among planners ideas were thought through and if necessary corrected, or in Dan’s words: “[...] wir haben uns ja dann wir immer selbst wieder irgendwie korrigiert und auf die richtige Bahn gebracht” (Dan).
Top-down vs. bottom-up planning	Centrality of debate & confrontation with other visions	Intense discussions were central not only within the planning team, but they continued during the participation process. Brigitta states: “[...] ich fand auch interessant, dass gerade die Bewohner selber und die Leute aus dem Quartier ihre Visionen eingebracht haben, die oft visionärer waren wie das, was die Architekten gemacht haben [...]. Ich glaube, da hat man wirklich eh, viel, musste man sich viel ernster mit den Dimensionen auseinandersetzen und [damit] was in diesen Workshops eingebracht worden ist” (Brigitta).
	Increased closeness to the events	Ramon means that through the involvement of planners and architects in the workshops, in planning Neugasse, “[... m]an ist viel näher an demjenigen, der nachher drin lebt. Wettbewerb ist eine gewisse Distanzierung. Und da haben wir in einem gewissen Sinne auch Distanz abgebrochen” (Ramon)
Planning step by step	Loss of knowledge is reduced	In standard planning procedures with competing teams, a pool of experts synthesises different project propositions – a process which goes along with the loss of knowledge. Ramon stated that in a Testplanung “[...] hat [man] so ein Expertengremium, die machen eine Synthese aus fünf Testplanungsprojekten. Und die machen dann die Synthese ohne dieses ganze Wissen, das wir ja als Entwerfer die ganze Zeit haben, was geht und was nicht” (Ramon).
	Integrative instead of extreme solutions	Ramon observes that “[...] in der Testplanung versucht man, diese Projekte extrem zuzuspitzen, so ‘Ok, ihr seid diejenigen, die einen See machen, ihr seid die, die Hochhäuser machen [...]’. [...] und Wettbewerb ist ja auch so, man muss immer so einen Weg gehen, man muss sich differenzieren von anderen. Das heisst man hat auch so einen Ansatz und den muss man wie ein wenig überhöhen, sonst ist man ja nicht sichtbar im Kontext von einer Auswahl” (Ramon). Opposed to this the Neugasse project does not produce extreme solutions, but rather tries to integrate as many different aspects as possible.
	Complexity instead of simplification	The observation that standard planning procedures tend to produce extreme solutions “[...] heisst auch, dass die Komplexität reduziert wird, oder. Weil man eher nicht ein kompliziertes, irgendwie [eine] Assemblage macht, sondern das ist eher etwas Einfaches, was die Jury versteht, was man in einem Tag jurieren kann und geil finden oder nicht geil” (Ramon). With no jury judging on different development concepts, in the Neugasse project there is a smaller chance to produce simplified solutions.

The differences, multidisciplinary team, swarm intelligence and sharing of responsibility, fall into the *first* theme: multidisciplinary. Cooperation, need for mutual agreement, questioning of own ideas and self-correction belong to the *second* theme, that is dialogue and consensus-oriented planning. The *third* theme, top-down versus bottom-up planning, encompasses centrality of debate and confrontation with other visions, and increased closeness to the events. *Fourth* and finally, reduced loss of knowledge, finding integrative solutions and keeping complexity belong to the theme planning step by step. Let me now describe these **four themes**.

In planning *Neugasse*, **multidisciplinary** is important. This is unusual because planners and architects rather work separately and not in big, multidisciplinary teams. Dan states that “[...] *normalerweise arbeiten wir nicht in solchen Konstellationen. Die Konstellation ist sonst entweder Konkurrenz oder, oder Team in dem Sinne dass die anderen Fachplaner andere Bereiche abdecken*” (Dan). But, as Ramon says, lacking exchange between disciplines poses problems: “*Und wenn du jetzt sagst, ok, einer macht einfach nur Aussenraumplanung und der zeichnet Häuser oder so, oder füllt Baufelder ab, dann passiert ja das, was in den meisten Planungen dummerweise schief läuft [...] und zwar, dass die Gebäude und die Aussenräume zusammen [k]ein Ganzes geben*” (Ramon). This is not to say that working in a multidisciplinary team is easy – on the contrary: “[...] *gleichzeitig ist es... extrem anspruchsvoll*” (ibid.).

As a part of the multidisciplinary approach, the *Neugasse* project works with pictures of different **spatial environments**, or as Ramon puts it: “*Wir haben auch gesagt, es gibt so fünf verschiedene Situationen und da ist es mehr laut und etc. Also Lebenswelten haben wir das genannt*” (ibid., Emmenegger & Langenegger 2017a). These *Lebenswelten* emphasise different qualities of a space. Their advantage is that – unless when working only with pictures and plans as planners and architects often do – they put forward spatial atmospheres (Brigitta). Brigitta says that “[...] *man [hat] einfach mal versucht, die verschiedenen Räume, die verschiedenen Lebenswelten einzuteilen und zu sagen, welche Qualitäten jede einzelne Lebenswelt hat. Und [man hat versucht] bewusst zu sagen, es gibt unterschiedliche Bereiche in diesem Areal und die haben unterschiedliche Qualitäten; wir [sprechen] damit vielleicht auch unterschiedliche Befürdnisse und Zielgruppen an*” (ibid.).

Put differently, the approach via spatial environments or *Lebenswelten* means to acknowledge that **place matters**. Timon from SBB observes that “[...] *w]enn ich jetzt irgend in Bühlach eine Wiese habe am Stadtrand, dann geht das in dieser Form nicht. Das heisst aber nicht, dass ich deswegen nicht irgendeine Partizipation oder eine Beteiligung mache. Aber ich muss sie anders strukturieren*” (Timon). Place matters means that the participation process needs to be tailored to local circumstances and also that place-specific solutions are needed. Jeanne says that “[...] *wir waren dann alle einig, dass die ortsspezifischere Variante mehr verspricht an diesem Standort*” (Jeanne).

Besides multidisciplinary, **dialogue and consensus-oriented planning** are central for the *Neugasse* project. Ramon states that “[e]s geht um Austausch von Perspektiven, um Empathie, um gegenseitiges Verständnis, um... um ehm... *Integration von anderen Meinungen*” (Ramon). One could say that, together with the public workshops, dialogue is what constitutes the planning process. In

Hans' eyes, planning and architectural design can be understood as a dialogue, or put differently: spatialisation of ideas is a discursive process:

"[...] das ist wirklich ein Gesprächsprozess. Das ist jetzt... die groben, die harten Geschichten, die hat man in dieser Strategie da genagelt, oder, wo sich beide [Stadt Zürich und SBB] darauf geeinigt haben, oder also... und jetzt ist man natürlich im Finden von guten räumlichen Lösungen und das ist... wie es immer ist bei diesen Entwurfsprozessen, das ist auch so ein wenig eine diskursive Geschichte, oder" (Hans).

Discussions are held within the planning team and periodically reflected by the monitoring team, and also the public workshops are mainly containers for debates. The latter are conducted not only by means of words but, as we have seen earlier, also with pictures and tangible, three-dimensional materials. Understanding the other parties is central (Anna) and in the workshops the aim was to find a consensus and solution which is supported by all participants. For the participation expert Emilia it is clear that *"[...] nur ehm... übereinstimmende Meinungen können wir anschliessend mitnehmen, und diese sind dann tragfähig, um dann daran weiterarbeiten zu können"* (Emilia). This is not always an easy task as one has to hold back personal opinions and confront them with others. Workshop participant Jörg observes that *"[...] man [hat] immer wieder neue Leute kennengelernt. Oder neue Interessen auch"* (Jörg).

If synthesis and not selection is the aim, a planner's work is different. Brigitta means that the novelty of planning Neugasse is *"[d]ass zwei eigentlich normalerweise konkurrierende Landschaftsarchitekturbüros und zwei normalerweise auch konkurrierende Städtebaubüros auf einmal zusammen in einem Team gefasst sind und [...] sich dazu verpflichten, eine Lösung am Ende zu bringen, die von allen getragen wird. Und das war, glaube ich, also das ist ein Novum dieses Prozesses"* (Brigitta). The focus on consensus might also lead to less crazy, but more integrative solutions, or in Ramon's words: *"[...] wenn man viele Laien sehr stark mit einbezieht, hat man, glaube ich, tendenziell eher eine konservative Lösung. Weil man hat viele Leute, man muss immer [einen] Konsens finden [...]"* (Ramon).

The centrality of dialogue and consensus includes a **partial breakup of top-down planning structures**. In the Neugasse project, the workshop participants produce ideas from the bottom up which then serve as a starting point. The planners' task it is to embed the ideas in the local context, to sharpen the picture and to put different parts of the puzzle together. The architect Olivier told me: *"[...] nun muss man das ein wenig vernünftig zusammensetzen, man muss es einbetten in einen grösseren Kontext, man muss Zusammenhänge herstellen zwischen den einzelnen Ideen"* (Olivier). For planners this is demanding, as it is crucial to ask the right questions and because they cannot give as much own input as they usually do (ibid.). We have to keep in mind, however, that the framing conditions had been set by SBB and the city in a top-down manner (Emilia). This means that the planning process still includes many top-down elements – the most obvious one is

the setting of framing conditions – but the attempt was made to let the people speak and to take their ideas to depart from.

Centrality of dialogue and bottom-up inputs entail a constant adjustment of the planning process. Thus the way of planning experimented with in the *Neugasse* project, could be named **planning step by step**. The planning process was established step by step by SBB and the planning team and later on with the local population. Project leader Anna specifies:

“[...] es sind ja nicht hintereinandergeschaltete Einzelorgane, die alle zu einem Zeitpunkt X ihren Input liefern, sondern [es ist] dieses integrative miteinander das Projekt entwickeln [...] Es ist nicht mehr ‘Wir arbeiten an einem städtebaulichen Konzept und nachher machen wir eine einmalige Präsentation und dann gibt es irgendwie einen Diskurs darüber’, sondern wir führen den Diskurs in der Entwicklung” (Anna).

For Brigitta this means that *“[...] man entwickelt es irgendwie auch immer weiter ein Stückchen”* (Brigitta), and Dan says that *“[...] der ganze Prozess musste eigentlich wie fortlaufend kreierte werden. Es war so ein Trial-and-Error-Prozess, auch für die Planer”* (Dan). There was no defined aim in the beginning as it was not clear what the outcomes of the participation process would be – these only crystallised during the process (ibid.). Or put differently: *“[...] der Prozess selbst ist Teil vom Prozess [...]”* (ibid.).

In this sense, the planning process progressively grew and adapted to new circumstances. The planner Ramon told me: *“[...] nach jedem von diesen Workshops sind wir neu zusammengesessen und haben gesagt, was machen wir bis zum nächsten? Und haben gesagt, ok, sie haben uns fünf Aufgaben gegeben, also lösen wir die jetzt nicht so, wie man es gemeint hat, sondern anders”* (Ramon). And Lea comments: *“Man musste einfach von Phase zu Phase wieder überlegen, ist das das richtige Vorgehen? Was machen wir als Nächstes? Es war nicht so... [...] es ist nicht irgendwo schon einmal ein Beispiel da, wo man schauen gehen konnte, wie sieht... auch wie sieht es am Schluss aus? Wie ist das Produkt? Es war jetzt alles ein Prozess”* (Lea). Planning *Neugasse* is a process, but *“[...] es] ist kein linearer Prozess, es ist kein vorgekauter Prozess, sondern es ist wirklich auch ein Prozess, der, der Ideen braucht”* (Anna), says the project leader. This is the case because planners had to judge the situation again and again and often things only became clear in the moment (ibid.) so that planners had to react – or to improvise – spontaneously. Hence planning step by step implies short-term changes of plans.

Planning step by step is a possibility to keep the process flexible and adaptable. At the same time the developer needs to allow detours and give planners enough time for that. Olivier observes *“[...] dass die [SBB] eben auch diese Wege zulässt, diese Findungsprozesse. Das ist ja ein Findungsprozess, der ja extrem komplex, aufwändig und nicht billig ist [...]”* (Olivier).

In the face of an uncertain future **flexibility and adaptability** become even more important. Ramon points to this when he says: *“Also einerseits ist es [Planen Schritt für Schritt] super mühsam...*

weil man natürlich immer wieder mit neuen Bedingungen konfrontiert ist. Aber das ist eben... so wird die Zukunft auch sein. Man muss hyper-anpassbar sein. Und man muss halt stabile Konzepte entwickeln, die so auf alles reagieren können" (Ramon). Planning step by step might become such a concept embracing flexibility and adaptability.

Planning step by step is an **experiment**, a **learning process** for SBB as well as for involved planners and city representatives. Amanda says "[e]s ist so ein wenig ein Experiment, ein Pilot[versuch...]" (Amanda) and Hans from the city adds: "[...] ich finde auch für uns, diese ganze Geschichte [...], das sind für mich so Lernmaschinen. Also das sind einfach Dinge, wo man sich ein wenig aus dem courant normal heraus begibt, oder." (Hans). By leaving the *courant normal*, a journey into the unknown starts: "[...] weil es ein offener Prozess ist, muss man auch so ein wenig ins Meer heraussegeln ohne zu wissen, wo Kuba ist" (Ramon).

5.3.3 Rules and law versus emergent planning

Travelling towards unknown land means that during the planning process new topics appear and new questions gain relevance. It is not foreseeable what these will be, or as Amanda says: "[...] das sind Dinge auch... die weiss man noch nicht ganz alle, das entwickelt sich auch im Prozess, oder. Es werden auch plötzlich Themen relevant – eben wie zum Beispiel Denkmalpflege" (Amanda). These circumstances demand planners to constantly adapt to the changing situation. Yet a rigid legal framework (cf. 5.1.3) seems opposed to approaching the future step by step, to allowing **emergence** in the planning process. Olivier asks:

"[...] wie kann ich die, diesen Wunsch nach Emergenz, den Wunsch nach einem vielfältigen Prozess, der jetzt schrittweise in die Zukunft geht, wie kann ich das so sichern, dass das einerseits ermöglicht wird mit der notwendigen Flexibilität, andererseits aber auch der Stadt eine Qualitätssicherung bietet? Also Flexibilität auf der einen Seite, Qualitätssicherung auf der anderen Seite, das ist die grosse Schwierigkeit" (Olivier).

Planners need to find a balance between staying open and fixing the regulatory framework. Ramon says: "[...] man muss aber auch in den richtigen Momenten versuchen, so wie Dinge festzusetzen, damit es nicht einfach irgendetwas wird. Es ist extrem schwierig, was setzt man fest und was lässt man offen?" (Ramon). Because not yet fully clarified, legal framing conditions were not too dominant during the participation phase (Ramon). Even though this left more space for creativity, planners were challenged with combining the ideas of workshop participants and the legal framework in the final phase (Hans), or as Ramon says: *"Wir haben so lange daran herumgeknorzt an diesen Bedingungen und so lange getestet und gemacht und getan, dass wir es eigentlich mit den... von uns aus gesehen mit den Anforderungen vereinen konnten"* (Ramon).

The questions that now emerge are: how can one maintain a broad scope of action, the ability to react to new circumstances? Is it possible to fix building law and plan step by step in a trial-and-error mode at the same time (Olivier)? And finally, what kind of built urban structure allows change and adaptability (Emmenegger & Langenegger 2017b)? According to Olivier, "[...] das

grösste Gut für die Zukunft [ist] Handlungsspielraum. Also die Fähigkeit, noch reagieren zu können" (Olivier). For Anna this means "[...] man muss einfach wirklich versuchen, zwar zielorientiert aber durchaus flexibel zu agieren" (Anna). The **process organisation** must stay flexible.

Referring to this, Olivier brings in the idea of the emergent city and relates it to planning Neugasse: "Stadt ist ja immer etwas Emergentes, oder. Stadt ist immer Emergenz, oder. Und wir versuchen, diesen Emergenz- und Prozessgedanken bereits in der Planung drin so anzulegen, damit man diese emergenten Möglichkeiten dann bis zum gebauten Projekt am Schluss mitziehen kann" (Olivier). He adds: "Also Emergenz, per Definition, heisst es gibt Überraschungen, das ist der Witz von Emergenz, oder" (ibid.). As emergent planning is insecure, it includes improvisation (cf. 5.3.4).

But even though the idea of emergent planning is charming, the **rigid legal framework** makes it difficult. With a slight tone of disillusion, Hans notices:

"Aber jetzt kommen Erschliessungsfragen, Denkmalschutz, jetzt kommen wir halt in dieses Regelwerk, das wir uns als Gesellschaft einmal gegeben haben. Und dann wird es komplex, oder. Und da ist man natürlich jetzt, genau in dem drin. Jetzt wird es langsam so... und dann gewisse Dinge funktionieren nicht, oder es geht einfach nicht, oder. Und das ist schon halt auch immer, also ich sage dem nicht eine Ernüchterung, das ist einfach dann (lacht), man muss dieses Zeug auf den Boden bringen" (Hans).

In the end, it is the legal framework which counts in political discussions deciding upon the authorisation of the project (Brigitta). This makes it difficult to experiment with new things. But the challenge of inner-city redevelopment and densification calls for new ideas and planning procedures (Brigitta).

It is not only rules and law which make implementation difficult. With the establishment of an urban development plan, ideas must be translated into the language of planning and architecture and are thus **simplified and reduced**. Planners need to integrate requirements collected during the workshops, which is not an easy task. Lea puts it like this: "Ja, ein schwieriger Prozess ist sicher, dass man die ganzen Sachen, die man jetzt da herausgefunden hat, die wir von den Leuten jetzt abholen konnten, was wichtig ist, dass man das irgendwo so festnageln kann, dass man das... beibehalten kann, bis es effektiv gebaut wird, oder dass es nicht irgendwann einfach... verpufft" (Lea). And Amanda adds: "Es [das Projekt Neugasse] soll keine Siedlung werden von einer bestimmten Art von Menschen und ehm... Lebens-, also Altersgruppen, Lebensentwurfgruppen. Und das weiss ich nicht, ob man das schafft" (Amanda).

5.3.4 Improvisation

Travelling towards unknown land has implications for the organisational structure which needs to balance rules and law versus emergent planning. In other words, there is a need for **improvisation**, for openly approaching the next step and to immediately integrate any unforeseen occurrence in the planning process. Thus, the Neugasse project is planned and improvised at the same time. Moments of improvisation are omnipresent.

As I shall explain, **two forms of improvisation** can be made out: *collaborative improvisation* belongs to the level of the planning context where it is important to leave room for detours and spontaneous changes while supporting teamwork. *Individual improvisation* is attributed to the level of individuals who need specific skills and competences to deal with unforeseen moments.

Starting with *collaborative improvisation*, I explain what improvisation means for **collaboration**. The basis for any collaboration is **trust**. Ramon expresses this when he says: “[...] *man muss Vertrauen... Vorschuss-Vertrauen haben. Und sonst geht es nicht, oder. Man muss eigentlich finden, alle Leute hier drin meinen es prinzipiell gut und wollen zusammen eine Stadt bauen*” (Ramon). Jörg, however, observes “[d]er SBB wird im Augenblick nicht getraut. Das ist einfach so ein wenig die Erfahrung der Europaallee” (Jörg). In the Neugasse project trust is sometimes missing. Especially the members of the association Noigass do not have any trust in SBB and therefore work against instead of with them. Joël, the president of the association, means: “[...] *sie [die SBB] wissen, dass hier in Zürich ihr Image nicht mehr gut ist, mit der Europaallee, oder. Die wollten das jetzt [mit dem Partizipation-sprozess] korrigieren*” (Joël).

Between the city of Zurich and SBB the relationship is less tense, as Anna expresses when she says “[...] *es ist natürlich eine, gemeinsam mit der Stadt eine Vertrauensbasis oder Grundlage, wo man sagt, dass es in die Richtung geht*” (Anna). Yet the goals of SBB and the city are still not always the same.

Inside the planning team the relations of trust are the strongest. The architect Olivier told me that “[...] *jeder einzelne Schritt ist in sich wieder ein Experiment gewesen, wo wir nicht genau wussten, was passieren wird, oder. Wo man aber immer das Vertrauen gehabt hat in die eigene und auch in die kollektive Fähigkeit, dass man schon irgendwie einen Weg finden wird*” (Olivier). Anna adds that “[...] *das [Projekt] beruht auf einem extrem guten und intensiven Teamgeist, dass wir das einfach machen. Jedem ist bewusst, das ist auch ein Stück weit ein Risiko, es, ehm... wir wissen auch immer nicht, wie der nächste Schritt aussieht*” (Anna). The planning team approached the unknown task relying on a **strong team spirit** nourished by mutual trust.

This strong team spirit is related to the **flat hierarchies** within the project organisation. In the beginning, the roles of every team member were not fixed, but each planner or architect had to find her or his place during the process. Ramon means that “[...] *offiziell... sind wir [...] eine grosse Planungsgemeinschaft. Die Rollenverteilung ist nicht so, dass sie klar definiert worden wäre am Anfang – also schon, aber... aber man hat gesagt, wir sind eine Planungsgruppe und wir schauen intern jeweils, wer was macht*” (Ramon). Hence new tasks were negotiated and distributed anew each time, or in Ramon's words: “[...] *wir haben eigentlich immer die Aufgaben neu verteilt*” (ibid.).

Many interviewees were very happy about the good teamwork within the planning team (Anna, Brigitta, Ramon, Dan). For Ramon planning Neugasse was not just another project, but an intense and fruitful exchange with other persons: “[...] *es war wie so ein gemeinsames Erlebnis [...] das auch weiter geht. Es ist auch so..., dass man so ein wenig eingeschweisst wird und miteinander auch Freundschaften knüpft und natürlich auch so kämpft, oder, das ist klar*” (Ramon).

Whether a project works out or not depends on teamwork which means that the **mutual dependency** is high, or as Emilia says: “*Die Leute prägen ja den Prozess ganz stark*” (Emilia). This is also

because each person has his or her own professional and personal **network** to rely on, that is to say his or her own social capital. In a way the planning team is an artificially created community because “[h]ier [in der Planung Neugasse] ist es so ein bisschen wie in der Familie, oder, man kann nicht unbedingt aussuchen, wo man reingeboren wird” (Anna). While the project leader is a key person who keeps control of the many strands that come together (Jeanne), planning Neugasse also depends on the skills of single actors. Especially for planning step by step, planners and architects need specific competences which are not necessarily attributed to their profession.

The planners’ **competences** needed in the Neugasse project lead us to *individual improvisation*. These competences are mostly social ones, the ones you acquire with the scouts, as Ramon says: “Das braucht auch so ein wenig Sozialarbeiter-Qualitäten, das ist ja klar also, Pfadi-Führer-Qualitäten” (Ramon). This means that planning step by step in a large team needs practice (ibid.). An important skill is the ability to **show empathy**, to **listen** and to **understand**. For Ramon in the planning process “[...] es geht um Austausch von Perspektiven, um Empathie, um gegenseitiges Verständnis, um... um ehm... Integration von anderen Meinungen” (ibid.). And Anna means that before taking decisions one should “[...] eben auch zuhören. Zuhören was einem mitgeteilt wird, wie es einem mitgeteilt wird [...]” (Anna). This includes engaging in new and unknown thoughts and activities (Timon).

A planning process like the Neugasse case needs competent persons who can rely on **professional experience and expertise**. Amanda told me that the planners are all persons with “[...] Erfahrung; auch Städteplaner, auch Leute, die in dem Massstab denken können” (Amanda). And Brigitta was happy with the teams competent work and says: “[...] ich finde, sie haben das extrem kompetent [...] gemacht” (Brigitta).

The planners’ wealth of experience also gives them **agility**, it allows them to react to unexpected events more calmly and at the same time sharpens their attention towards such events. Especially for the project leader this is an important skill because in her position “[...] dann muss man einfach sofort in dem Moment entscheiden ok, es ist glaubwürdig oder es ist nicht glaubwürdig [...]” (Anna). She continues that within the team “[...] wir haben einen sehr direkten Austausch miteinander, wir müssen schnell reagieren können und ehm... wir müssen auch Fehler machen können, oder” (ibid.). Another person who needs this skill is the participation expert Emilia who stated that “[...] man muss schon sehr wachsam sein, um zu merken, ah, jetzt brauchen die Leute doch noch irgendwie zehn Minuten länger, um die Arbeitsschritte besprechen zu können. [...] du merkst einfach gleich sofort, ob es funktioniert oder nicht” (Emilia).

The situations described by Anna and Emilia produce stress. **Tolerance of stress** is a prerequisite for coping with unexpected situations, because improvising is stressful, or as Anna puts it: “[...] klar, das ist dann in jedem Fall stressig, aber da muss man halt durch. Es ist immer, wenn was Unerwartetes kommt und man improvisiert, ist es ja unter einer Stresssituation” (Anna).

Anna mentions improvisation as something planners do in their daily practice and for which they need these competences and skills. When facing unforeseen situations, planners fall back on

their **experiences and routines**, like a teacher who has her or his repertoire. Interestingly, routines and experiences seem to facilitate improvisation. Timon means that he rarely does not know what to do because “[...] *da profitiere ich ein wenig von meiner Routine*” (Timon). And Olivier told me that he is mostly confident, knowing “[...] *ass wir auch so ähnliche Dinge schon einmal gemacht haben, auf Prinzipien wie Kreativität vertrauen [...]*”. He adds that his trust in creativity and “[...] *in die Intelligenz von einer Emergenz, das Vertrauen darin, ist schlussendlich auch das, was einem immer sagt: Ja nein, dann schiebst du halt ein wenig so und machst ein wenig das und so weiter und so fort*” (Olivier).

But trust in creativity does not replace planning. Emilia says that, on the contrary, “[...] *wichtig ist für mich, dass ich an solchen Veranstaltungen [Workshops] gut vorbereitet bin und eigentlich aus dem ‘Effe’ weiss, ehm, was machen wir hier, was sind, ja, wie läuft dieser Tag, wie läuft diese Veranstaltung ab. Also ich habe eigentlich die ganze Veranstaltung vor meinem inneren Auge schon alles durchgespielt*” (Emilia).

In a way it seems paradoxical that meticulous planning is a prerequisite for improvisation. But only the **openness towards the new and unexpected** – that is to say improvisation as a mindset – makes that improvisation can happen in a positive sense, or as a **positive chaos**. Dan means that in spite of planning step by step “[...] *ist [trotzdem] am Schluss ja irgendwie etwas Handfestes rausgekommen. Also das finde ich, das finde ich jetzt so im Nachhinein, wenn man so zurückblickt, finde ich das etwas echt Faszinierendes... wie aus dem Chaos heraus so etwas entstehen kann*” (Dan). Jeanne also mentions the positive chaos when she says: “[...] *da [in der Planung Neugasse] sind viele Players mit dabei und da gibt es ehm... ein positives Chaos unter den Playern. Also ich finde es ganz toll*” (Jeanne). She goes on, however, to point to the challenge of dealing with positive chaos within the given planning culture and says: “*Aber gleichzeitig gibt es die Erwartung, dass gemäss Zürcher Planungskultur alles wie fix ist*” (ibid.).

For Emilia dealing with chaotic situations is part of participation processes. In her eyes it is important not to fear this chaos, but to approach it with curiosity and openness: “*Ich glaube man darf wie nicht Angst haben davor, das hat wieder damit zu tun. [...] es ist wirklich, sich nicht zu verschliessen vor dem, was kommt. Sondern das wie zu nehmen [...]*” (Emilia).

In table 5 I summarise what has been said so far. I list the factors facilitating or challenging improvisation at three levels and attribute each of it to one form of improvisation.

Table 5: Summary of the two forms of improvisation, including facilitating and challenging factors.

Improvisation	Level	Facilitating improvisation	Challenging improvisation
collaborative	Organisational structure	Flexibility Adaptability Allowing mistakes and detours Flat hierarchies	Rules and laws Coordination and communication Rigid project time frames Unclear roles
	Collaboration	Relationships of trust Good teamwork Networks / social capital	Distrust Habit of monodisciplinarity Culture of competition
individual	Individual	Expertise Experience Listening Empathy Understanding Tolerance of stress Openness towards the new and unexpected Agility	Technocratic attitude and understanding of planning Arrogance Know-it-all attitude Falling back into old habits Anxiety Aversion against chaos Stubbornness

Improvisation is everywhere. Unforeseen situations are part of each planning process so that planning is inherently uncertain. Emilia observes that “[...] wir [sind] ja in einem Prozess [...], der grundsätzlich dynamisch ist, der geprägt ist von Unvorhergesehenem, eben, ehm... wo Leute beteiligt sind [...]” (ibid.). For her especially the involvement of many actors with their sometimes obscure thoughts and motivations increases uncertainty. Dan also mentions the human factor as an uncertainty (cf. 5.1.5) when he says that planners did not know where the journey went to, “[...] dadurch, dass so viele Unsicherheitsfaktoren in diesem Ganzen drin sind, also die Leute, die teilnehmen, ehm, die Rahmenbedingungen, ehm, der Prozess... das sind alles Unsicherheitsfaktoren” (Dan). And Hans means that unforeseen moments “[...] das ist ja glaube ich einfach normal” (Hans).

Thus, **planning is improvisation**. It is impossible to foresee and plan everything, or as Timon puts it: “[...] irgendetwas entgeht einem immer. [...] man kann noch so viel... wir probieren schon an viel zu denken, aber manchmal hat man halt etwas vergessen” (Timon). Moreover, future developments take unexpected directions. When referring to the future of the project, Ramon says: “Was dann [nach dem Bau] genau passiert, wissen wir nicht” (Ramon). This is why planners are improvisers.

And what is the planner's **understanding of improvisation**? The project leader says that in the planning process “[d]a kommt sicher einmal der eine oder andere Punkt, wo ich nicht so super vorbereitet bin, wo dann halt viel auch mit Improvisation zu tun hat (lacht), wo man einfach machen muss. Ehm, aber ja, man versucht einfach sein Möglichstes zu tun, vorbereitet zu sein” (Anna). Anna means that she improvises when she is insufficiently prepared. In these situations – which she considers being part of her job – she just has to do things.

In the *Neugasse* project, each step is an experiment with uncertain outcomes. Hans states that “[...] *das ist immer auch ein Experiment*” (Hans), and Olivier told me that, “[...] *jeder einzelne Schritt ist in sich wieder ein Experiment gewesen, wo wir nicht genau wussten, was passieren wird, oder. [...] Aber das ist immer, das ist immer... so ein wenig eine Fahrt ins Blaue, wo man nicht genau weiss, was passiert jetzt wirklich*” (Olivier). Hence the planners are – in the sense of planning step by step – constantly occupied with moderating the events: “*Ich glaube es ist ein konstantes Moderieren dessen, was im Raum geschieht*” (Emilia).

While doing so, there are also many changes in the last moment, and again and again planners have to find ways out of the impasse. Dan observes that for the organisation of the workshops “[...] *man hat im letzten Moment noch sehr, sehr viel auch noch herumgestapelt und noch einmal überlegt, ist das richtig? Ah! Man muss es noch einmal etwas anders machen*” (Dan). And Hans says that “[...] *das Gefühl manchmal, jetzt ist doch das alles zu viel, und kann man da überhaupt und so? Also das kommt, das kommt immer wieder, oder also*” (Hans).

Through constantly moderating the events, the contingencies of action are immediately integrated into the planning process. When I asked Emilia about unforeseen moments, she replied: “*Ja, die hat es gegeben aber das Lustige ist, diese integrieren wir sofort irgendwie in unseren Prozess*” (Emilia). This might also be the reason why it was difficult for interview partners to remember situations they had not planned or anticipated. Many times I was answered: “[...] *Ich erinnere mich nicht mehr. Ich weiss es nicht mehr*” (Amanda) or: “*Also ich fand keine, die jetzt so dominant waren, dass sie mir jetzt aufgefallen sind*” (Brigitta). Lea, on the contrary, means that in the whole planning process “[w]ir haben eigentlich nichts vorausgesehen” (Lea). Improvising is what planners do – not at single opportunities, but virtually all the time. Put differently, planning and (just) doing happen simultaneously: “*Eigentlich designen wir den nächsten Schritt wenn wir den gemacht haben. Oder also, wir haben vielleicht eine Idee, aber ganz konkret wird es erst nach dem Schritt*” (Anna).

5.3.5 Third zooming out

In this chapter I outlined how the *Neugasse* planning rationality is put into practice by following the question: *what moments of improvisation emerge in the planning process?* In the beginning I showed SBB's motivations for conducting a costly and time-consuming participation process as a means to achieve its goals. We have seen that besides fostering acceptance, there is the aspiration that participation should be more than solely commenting the planners' work: planners and workshop participants engaged in a creative material dialogue and constructed scale models together. I subsequently described the new ways of planning experimented with in the project. *Neugasse* involves three operational novelties: a circular process organisation, a broad involvement and an early beginning of the participation process. At the substantial level I identified twelve differences which distinguish *Neugasse* from Swiss standard planning procedures and categorised them into four broader themes: multidisciplinary, dialogue and consensus-oriented planning, top-down versus bottom-up planning, and planning step by step.

The latter led us towards the challenges of planning step by step – or emergent planning – inside a narrow legal framework. On the one hand the process organisation must stay flexible, but

on the other planners also need to fix things. From this resulted the observation that the *Neugasse* project was planned and improvised at the same time, it is planned improvisation (cf. figure 13). Therein I identified two forms of improvisation, one at the level of the planning context and one at the level of individuals. While *collaborative improvisation* is associated to operational structures and collaboration, *individual improvisation* belongs to single actions and is more difficult to grasp with retrospective interviews. Departing from this I explained how trust, team spirit, flat hierarchies and reliance on networks enable collaborative improvisation. Yet collaborative improvisation implies high mutual dependencies. I then identified empathy, listening and understanding, experience and expertise, openness, agility and tolerance of stress as *individual* improvisational skills needed in the *Neugasse* project. Finally I showed how improvisation is an integral part of a planner's daily work. For most planners in the *Neugasse* project improvisation seems to be a mindset, so that it becomes difficult to remember when exactly improvisation occurs. They rather integrate the moments of improvisation along with making plans for the next step to take. Hence I conclude that planners approach the complexity of an inner-city rail redevelopment through planning for improvisation.

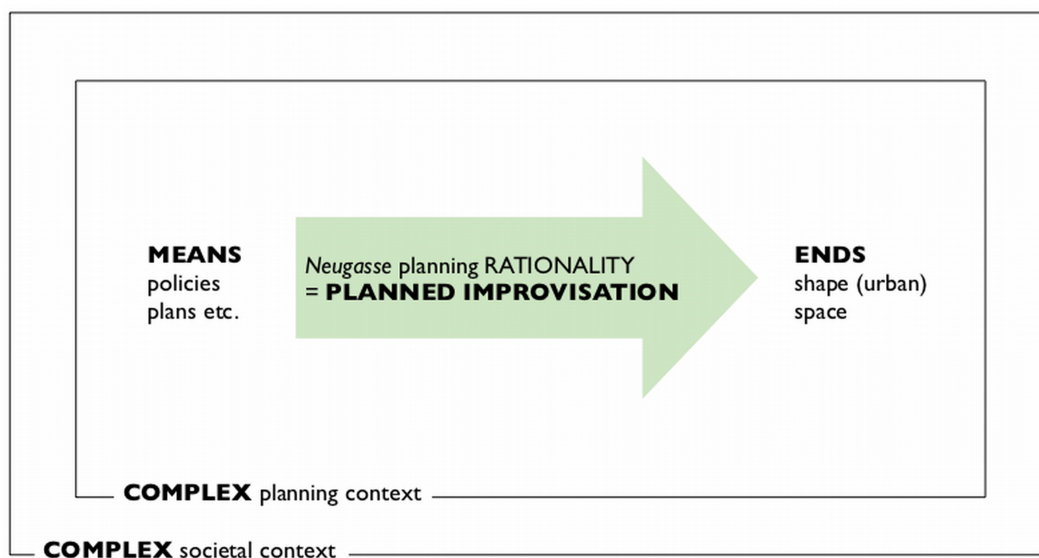


Figure 13: Planning is improvisation – a visual summary (source: author).

Results summarised, it is time to take a step back. I have shown how *Neugasse* tries new ways of planning. During fieldwork I could feel the planners' enthusiasm for the project and I got infected by it. I think that planners, and especially the project leader, showed initiative and courage for experimentation.

Yet **participation** is not new. Since the 1980s the awareness that affected people should have their say in planning is growing, and today participative processes are almost a standard (Hans). Experimentation with more interactive and tangible forms of participation, like scale model building, is not a novelty either. Participation experts know model building as a well-proved method (e.g.

Sanoff 2000, p. 82f., 115f.). In community planning, especially in projects which involve children, several examples of design workshops can be found, the renovation of a school yard together with children and parents in Hinwil, Switzerland (Sprenger & Sprenger 2018) being one of them. In his book *Community Participation Methods in Design and Planning*, Sanoff (2000) describes the development of a new campus children's centre with three-dimensional planning kits which facilitated analysing and apprehending the given space. In his eyes, scale model building is a *new channel of communication* (ibid., p.82f.) which enables active and constructive participation (ibid., p. 116).

But I have to add that these examples are – unlike the *Neugasse* project – not large urban developments. In this sense, *Neugasse* could perhaps show that not only small, but also large urban interventions can be planned interactively and closely together with the population? Furthermore, participation in *Neugasse* was not conducted after planners and architects had created an urban development concept, but such a concept resulted from participation. Therefore workshop participants have a central role in the process, while planners need to withhold their own ideas (Timon, Olivier). We have to keep in mind, however, that voluntary participation processes are never representative (Sanoff 2000, p. 23). The average workshop participant in *Neugasse* was age 40 or older (Emilia), interested in planning (Anna, Lea, Jörg) and most likely directly or indirectly affected by the project (Anna). Whether this leads to innovative and novel results or rather solidifies dominant ideas has still to be seen.

With the participation and planning experiment *Neugasse* we saw that planning and **improvisation** are two sides of one coin. I want to emphasise, however, that improvisation depends on organisational structures, collaboration and individual actors. Improvisation is skilful and **risky**; positive outcomes are as likely as negative ones (Müller forthcoming). It is important to acknowledge and enable improvisation because the need for flexible planning methods grows as it is getting increasingly difficult to adhere to long-term plans (Dell 2012). I agree with Dell (ibid.) and Soubeyran (2015, p. 166) who depict improvisation as a learnable competence and a technology for the constructive handling of chaos. At the same time prudence seems appropriate: this study is not a manifesto for the flexibilisation and neoliberalisation of urban development. But I argue for the profound rethinking of (urban) planning as such; for an understanding of planners as planner-improvisers. There we should keep in mind that improvisation needs planning – planning that allows for flexibility and adaptability – and competent actors (ibid., p. 178).

Improvised step-by-step planning is demanding. While planners were quite positive about the process, they also found challenges. One that kept reappearing during interviews was collaboration within flat hierarchies which made that sometimes roles were unclear and difficult. On the one hand, planners stand between their own ideas and ideals, the interests of the city, and the tasks they are given by SBB. The architect Ramon expresses his unease when he says that “[...] sie [die Stadt] hat eine schwierige Rolle. Mit dem müssen wir umgehen. Und dann natürlich auch noch... ehm... mit den Anforderungen der SBB” (ibid.). The city of Zurich, on the other hand, also had to find its role within the process. City representative Amanda states: “[...] wir haben uns gerade letzthin [fragen] müssen, was ist es eigentlich für eine Zusammenarbeit, oder was ist es für eine Rolle.

Es ist eine Zusammenarbeit mit verschiedenen Rollen, oder" (Amanda). As the process was new, responsibilities were sometimes unclear. Moreover, confusion emerged because among the workshop participants there were city representatives. Planner Dan for example asked: *"Was machen diese Stadsexponenten an diesen Tischen? Hören sie einfach zu, damit sie Inputs mitbekommen? Oder diskutieren sie wirklich mit?"* (Dan).

These and many other question marks remain. Planning *Neugasse* is fascinating. Yet the process goes on where this study stops. In order to draw conclusions on the effectiveness and outcomes of such a process design, a long-term study would be needed. What we can take with us so far on a theoretical level, is the subject of the next subchapter.



Figure 14: The final scale model as proposed by the project team by November 2017 (photo by the author).

5.4 From empirical observations back to theory

Before ending I would like to zoom out one more level and briefly turn back to theory: with three summarising hypotheses I shall relate the empirical results to the theoretical considerations discussed in chapter 2.

First a **complexity perspective** is useful for directing a researcher's and a planner's attention towards the connections between technical or tangible aspects and human, non-material factors: a relational view of the world stresses the interconnectedness of material urban environments with human experience and action. This includes increased sensitivity for social aspects in planning – something which is especially important in large urban developments (Swyngedouw et al. 2002, Dixon 2006, Raco & Henderson 2006). We have for example seen that in one planning workshop the *Neugasse* planners deployed scale model building which allowed a creative material dialogue between planners, neighbours and interested people. The material artefacts themselves acted as translators between expert knowledge and lay language. And, when looking at the broader picture, I identified the rail redevelopment *Neugasse* as a complex planning task because of the entanglement of the given legal framework with the materiality of urban space and social factors. Indeed, it is not only the 'hard factors' or technical and organisational challenges like the overlap of legal requirements and planning procedures which contribute to complexity, but most importantly also the incalculable 'human factor'. The latter encompasses changing societal opinions (de Roo et al. 2012, p. 1f.) and multiple interests and claims, also expressed with the politicisation of the *Neugasse* project.

A complexity perspective also raises awareness that processes are non-linear and never totally controllable, that if I plan one thing, something very different may result. In other words, this means to acknowledge emergence, or the fact that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. An inter-related, uncontrollable and emergent world is full of uncertainties and risks. Therefore planners must pay attention to changing circumstances while knowing that the project's continuing adaptation is necessary. Hence in the *Neugasse* case the idea of emergent planning, or planning step by step, was guiding.

This leads me to the *second* hypothesis, which proposes that, on a theoretical level, the concept of **improvisation** is useful for understanding how planners handle complexity. And on a practical level, (planned) improvisation can become a tool for facing seemingly unmanageable, contradictory or blocked situations (cf. Soubeyran 2015, p. 166).

Contrary to planning, which stresses aims and visions, improvisation emphasises practice and process (ibid. p. 162f.). As for the *Neugasse* case, the concept helped exploring *why* planners take certain actions: it pointed us towards the constituents of the *Neugasse* planning rationality like acknowledgement of subjectivity, complexity and uncertainty, or attention to the local context and to social implications.

Additionally, improvisation captures *how* planners deal with unforeseen moments and what skills and competences they need to successfully do so. We have seen that in the *Neugasse* case planners rely on their personal and professional networks, experience and expertise, but also on the ability to show empathy, to listen, to understand other people's concerns, to tolerate stress and finally to stay agile and open for new things. These skills are similar to the improvisational competences identified by Lévy (2016) that are listening, handling temporalities, perceiving, adapting and coordinating the rhythm of actions, and creativity.

The *third* hypothesis ties into the second and states that planning is always improvised and that improvisation must be planned. Planning and improvisation happen simultaneously. Even if not recognised as such, improvisation – spontaneous action out of the moment – always happens in planning (ibid., p. 178). From a complexity perspective emerges the acceptance of improvisation. This is a prerequisite for adapting organisational structures and eventually also the self-understanding of planners themselves as planner-improvisers (ibid., p. 162f., Lévy 2016). If improvisation should result in positive outcomes and not in disaster, it must, however, be planned. In a complex world, planning does not become redundant.

I have shown that the *Neugasse* case is planned improvisation. The project leader placed public workshops at the centre of the planning process. Planners were able to handle unforeseen moments inherent in those workshops because the latter did not lack planning. Together with a repertoire of knowledge and experience this gives the planners the ability to deal with contingencies. But planning needs to allow for keeping openness, adaptation and flexibility. When planners try to stick to rigid timelines and prescribed procedures – as it is for example the case when organising sporting mega-events – improvisation may easily end badly (Müller forthcoming). Openness, adaptation and flexibility are all qualities which, on the one hand side depend on project organisation, but also on collaboration, that is to say on the persons in charge.

6 Conclusion

In this thesis I traced the debates and practices in an early planning period of the **rail redevelopment Neugasse Zürich**. Unused rail areas are brownfields and thus a central pillar of inner-city redevelopment and densification. But rail redevelopments are to be planned in a messy world full of obscure interdependencies and uncertainty. I thus adopted a **complexity perspective** linked with the concept of **improvisation** as an analytical lens. I was interested in finding out how planners in the *Neugasse Zürich* project approach the complexity of an inner-city rail redevelopment. To do so I formulated three research questions, addressing the factors contributing to complexity, the rationalities at stake and the emerging moments of improvisation.

I found that the **factors contributing to complexity** in planning *Neugasse* are on the one hand fix and material and on the other fluid and social. I described the changing and unpredictable societal context which politicises the project, and the overlap of interests and claims. Besides these 'soft' factors there are 'hard' ones, namely legal requirements and planning procedures, which overlap and thus also increase uncertainty. This means that interdependencies and uncertainty grow, so that planners have the feeling of losing control.

One major source of uncertainty are competing **rationalities** expressed in four strands of debates: planning for profit or for people, Zurich city politics, housing cooperatives, and the *Neugasse* planning rationality. The first three debates are situated within the broader societal context. In them a value rationality intermingles and opposes to a market rationality because key actors – SBB and the city of Zurich – find themselves in a difficult situation between profit order, financial constraints and social concerns. The outcomes of emerging controversies are impossible to predict and make the project inherently uncertain. The *Neugasse* planning rationality, the debate taking place within the planning context, acknowledges this uncertainty and complexity. It is aware of a planners' subjectivity, attentive to the local context and social implications, and understands planning as a practice between bottom-up and top-down.

The practical implementation of this planning rationality reflects the search for new ways of planning. In a broad participation process which deployed scale model building, planners and workshop participants designed an urban development concept. I made out multidisciplinary, dialogue and consensus-oriented planning, top-down versus bottom-up planning and planning step by step as broader themes characteristic for planning *Neugasse*. Planning step by step – or emergent planning – means that planners have to improvise and plan simultaneously. *Neugasse* is planned improvisation. I identified **two forms of improvisation**, *collaborative improvisation* at the level of the planning context and *individual improvisation* at the level of single actions. Improvising is challenging and not only demands adaptations in organisational structures and collaboration, but also specific skills and competences. It resulted from the case study that improvisation is an integral part of planning, meaning that planners integrate moments of improvisation along with making plans for

the next steps. Hence they approach the complexity of an inner-city rail redevelopment through planning for improvisation.

What **perspectives** do I deduce from these results? To start with, I think there is a large potential for further exploring improvisation in planning. This touches the realm of planning practice, but also education and research. First of all, I propose to explore a variety of methods to research improvisation. Seizing the single moments of improvisation is the main challenge there. Another important question to investigate would be what modes of planning allow improvisation, providing sufficient legal protection and quality control at the same time. Equally relevant are the implications of improvisation for political power relations. It seems easy to attribute improvisation to neo-liberal ideals such as innovation and flexibilisation (Lévy 2016) – but is that really what we want? Or should improvisation not stand for values like solidarity and sensibility (ibid.)? Lastly, as improvisation is also a mindset – one that is not very common – taking the concept seriously means to profoundly rethink our current planning culture (Soubeyran 2015, p. 162f.). Does planning still entail the mastering of prediction? Is this possible at all in our messy world? Should not planners be trained to identify spectra of possibility instead of calculating target achievements?

A second path of future inquiries I see in the comparison of other planning experiments with the *Neugasse* case. It would be inspiring to look at housing cooperatives and private developers, at small-scale and large urban developments alike. The questions to ask would be: what are the parallels and differences? In what ways do the societal context and the planning context, including the organisational structure, differ? And what forms of improvisation can we find in other projects? Ultimately this would allow to draw more general conclusions on improvisation in planning, on its advantages and limits as well as on its outcomes.

In closing I would like to notice that the outcome of the *Neugasse* project too is still very uncertain. The project leader and planners endeavoured to do things differently, to try out new ways of planning. In the moment I am writing these sentences, however, elections are approaching and the association *Noigass* just launched an initiative for their claim. Politicisation might bring many more unexpected twists and turns to the *Neugasse* project.

7 Bibliography

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Appendix

Interview Guide

Datum: Juni 2017

Bemerkung: grün markiert sind später abgeänderte oder zusätzlich eingefügte Fragen.

I Einleitung

- Für die Mithilfe danken
- Thema der Arbeit erklären
- Ziel des Interview erklären
- Anonymisierung

2 Allgemeine Fragen

- *Wie sind Sie mit dem Projekt Neugasse in Verbindung gekommen?*
 - Mund zu Mund
 - Soziale Medien
 - Internet, Zeitung etc.
 - Berufliches Mandat
- *Was wissen Sie über das Projekt Neugasse?*
 - Worum geht es?
 - Wer ist involviert?
 - Was wird geplant?
 - Wie wird geplant?
 - Wer hat welche Mitwirkungsmöglichkeiten?
 - Welches ist der Zeithorizont der Planung?
 - Was ist umstritten?
- *Welches ist Ihre persönliche Meinung zum Projekt Neugasse?*
 - Zustimmung, Ablehnung, Kritik, Reflexion
- *Engagieren Sie sich persönlich im Zusammenhang mit dem Projekt Neugasse? Falls ja, in welcher Form?*
 - Beruflich
 - Politisch
 - In der Nachbarschaft
 - Teilnahme bei Workshops etc.
- *Gab es für Sie im Zusammenhang mit dem Projekt Neugasse positive oder auch negative Überraschungen? Falls ja, wie haben Sie darauf reagiert?*
 - Überrascht durch Bauvorhaben
 - Überrascht durch Reaktion der Bevölkerung etc.

3 Spezifische Fragen an verschiedene Interviewgruppen

3.1 Verwaltung

Inhaltliches Verständnis

- *Wer und welche Stellen sind beim Projekt Neugasse beteiligt?*
- *Welche Aufgaben übernehmen diese Stellen / Personen?*
- *Inwiefern können Sie von der Verwaltung auf das Projekt Neugasse Einfluss nehmen?*

Zur Forschungsfrage

- *Welches ist Ihre Rolle im Projekt Neugasse?*
 - *Welches sind Ihre Aufgaben?*
 - *Wie bringen Sie sich ein?*
 - *Auf welche Entscheidungen können Sie Einfluss nehmen und auf welche nicht?*
 - *Mit wem haben Sie im Zusammenhang mit dem Projekt zu tun?*
- *Welches denken Sie sind die grössten Herausforderungen und Probleme beim Projekt Neugasse?*
 - *Unterschiedliche Forderungen*
 - *Viele Parteien beteiligt*
 - *Unsicherheit*
 - *etc.*
- *Was sind wichtige soziale Fragen, die sich beim Projekt Neugasse stellen?*
 - *Gerechtigkeit, Gleichbehandlung*
 - *Chancengleichheit*
 - *Zugänglichkeit & Mobilität*
 - *soziale Vielfalt / Diversität*
 - *Partizipation der Bevölkerung*
 - *Prozessgestaltung*
 - *Kulturelles Erbe*
 - *etc. etc.*
- *Gibt es Konflikte? Wenn ja, welche?*
- *Wo erwarten Sie in Zukunft Konflikte?*
- *Wie gehen Sie mit diesen Herausforderungen und Konflikten um?*
 - *Strategie / Plan*
 - *Improvisation*
- *Wie entscheiden Sie, was zu tun ist?*
 - *Wer hat Entscheidungsbefugnisse?*
 - *Wer wird einbezogen*
 - *Was zählt für die Entscheidungsfindung?*
- *Was hat Sie im Zusammenhang mit dem Projekt Neugasse bisher **positiv oder auch negativ** überrascht? Was haben Sie nicht vorhergesehen?*
- *Welche Dinge, Situationen oder Momente haben Sie nicht vorhergesehen?*
- *Wie haben Sie auf diese Situation reagiert? Warum? (Beispiel)*
 - *Strategie / Plan*
 - *Improvisation*

- Gibt es in Ihren Augen etwas Wichtiges, was ich noch nicht gefragt habe?

3.2 Privatwirtschaft: SBB und PlanerInnen mit Mandat im Projekt Neugasse

Inhaltliches Verständnis

- Projektorganisation (Organigramm):
 - Wer und welche Stellen sind in den drei Projektteams– Projektteam Stadt, Raumplanung und Städtebauliches Entwicklungskonzept – beteiligt?
 - Welches sind die Aufgaben, welche den Projektteams zugeteilt werden?
 - Wie funktioniert die Zusammenarbeit zwischen den verschiedenen Projektteams?
 - Inwiefern ist die Stadt Zürich in der Planung involviert?
- Wie und unter Beteiligung welcher Akteure wurden die Rahmenbedingungen für das Projekt Neugasse ausgehandelt?
- Zeitplan / Projektplan:
 - Welches sind die Projektphasen?
 - Wie sieht der Zeithorizont der Planung aus?
- Die Projektorganisation ist darauf angelegt, möglichst flexibel zu sein und offen zu bleiben für alles, was kommt. Wie kann diese Offenheit auch in Zukunft bewahrt werden, wenn der gesetzliche Rahmen einmal steht?
- Aus welchen Gründen / Überlegungen haben sich die SBB dazu entschieden für die Planung der Neugasse ein Partizipationsverfahren mit der Öffentlichkeit durchzuführen?
- Hat die Stadt Zürich einen Auftrag gegeben, dass die Planung der Neugasse partizipativ geschehen muss?
- Wie wurden die AnwohnerInnen und Interessierte über das Projekt und die Partizipationsmöglichkeit informiert? Hat man gesamtschädtisch informiert oder nur im betroffenen Kreis?
- Wie sieht das Kommunikationskonzept aus? Wie wird laufend über das Projekt informiert?

Zur Forschungsfrage

- Welches ist Ihre Rolle/die Rolle Ihres Büros im Projekt Neugasse?
 - Welches sind Ihre Aufgaben?
 - Wie bringen Sie sich ein?
 - Auf welche Entscheidungen können Sie Einfluss nehmen und auf welche nicht?
 - Mit wem haben Sie im Zusammenhang mit dem Projekt zu tun?
 - Wie funktioniert die Zusammenarbeit mit den anderen Projektteams?
- Welches denken Sie sind die grössten Herausforderungen und Probleme beim Projekt Neugasse?
 - Grosses Projekt
 - Zeitdruck
 - Umstritten in der Öffentlichkeit
 - Viele involvierte Akteure
 - Unsicherheiten
- Was sind wichtige soziale Fragen, die sich beim Projekt Neugasse stellen?
 - Gerechtigkeit, Gleichbehandlung
 - Chancengleichheit

- Zugänglichkeit & Mobilität
- soziale Vielfalt / Diversität
- Partizipation der Bevölkerung
- Prozessgestaltung
- Kulturelles Erbe
- Gibt es Konflikte? Wenn ja, welche?
- Wo erwarten Sie in Zukunft Konflikte?
- Wie gehen Sie mit diesen Herausforderungen und Konflikten um?
 - Strategie / Plan
 - Improvisation
- Wie entscheiden Sie, was zu tun ist?
 - Wer hat Entscheidungsbefugnisse?
 - Wer wird einbezogen?
 - Was zählt für die Entscheidungsfindung?
- Was hat Sie im Zusammenhang mit dem Projekt Neugasse bisher *positiv oder auch negativ* überrascht? Was haben Sie nicht vorhergesehen?
- Welche Dinge, Situationen oder Momente haben Sie nicht vorhergesehen?
- Wie haben Sie auf diese Situation reagiert? Warum? (Beispiel)
 - Strategie / Plan
 - Improvisation
- Gibt es in Ihren Augen etwas Wichtiges, was ich noch nicht gefragt habe?

3.3 Öffentlichkeit

Zur Forschungsfrage

- Welches denken Sie sind die grössten Herausforderungen und Probleme beim Projekt Neugasse?
 - Partizipation
 - Allen Anforderungen gerecht werden
 - Integration in Nachbarschaft / Stadt
 - etc. etc.
- Was sind wichtige soziale Fragen, die sich beim Projekt Neugasse stellen?
 - Gerechtigkeit, Gleichbehandlung
 - Chancengleichheit
 - Zugänglichkeit & Mobilität
 - soziale Vielfalt / Diversität
 - Partizipation der Bevölkerung
 - Prozessgestaltung
 - Kulturelles Erbe
- Gibt es Konflikte? Wenn ja, welche?
- Wo erwarten Sie in Zukunft Konflikte?
- Gibt es etwas, was Sie im Zusammenhang mit dem Projekt Neugasse *positiv oder auch negativ* überrascht hat?
- Welche Dinge, Situationen oder Momente haben Sie nicht vorhergesehen?
- Wie haben Sie darauf reagiert? Warum? (Beispiel)
 - Strategie / Plan

- Improvisation
- Gibt es in Ihren Augen etwas Wichtiges, was ich noch nicht gefragt habe?

Fragen an Genossenschaft Dreispitz

- *Wie haben die GenossenschaftlerInnen von der Planung der SBB und der Mitwirkungsmöglichkeit erfahren?*
- *Wie ist in der Genossenschaft das Interesse am Projekt?*
- *Wie bringt man sich bei der Planung ein?*
- *Welches sind die Punkte, welche man in die Planung einbringen möchte?*
- *Was ist umstritten?*
- *Was ist euch am wichtigsten?*
- *Was haltet ihr von dem partizipativen Verfahren mit den Workshops?*
- *Habt ihr das Gefühl, dass eure Anregungen und Ideen in dem Verfahren ernst genommen werden?*
- *Was weißt Du von dem Verein, der 100% gemeinnütziges Wohnen fordert?*
- *Gibt es weitere Organisationen, Vereine etc., die sich mit dem Projekt Neugasse beschäftigen?*
 - Wenn ja welche?
 - Was fordern diese?
 - Kontaktpersonen?

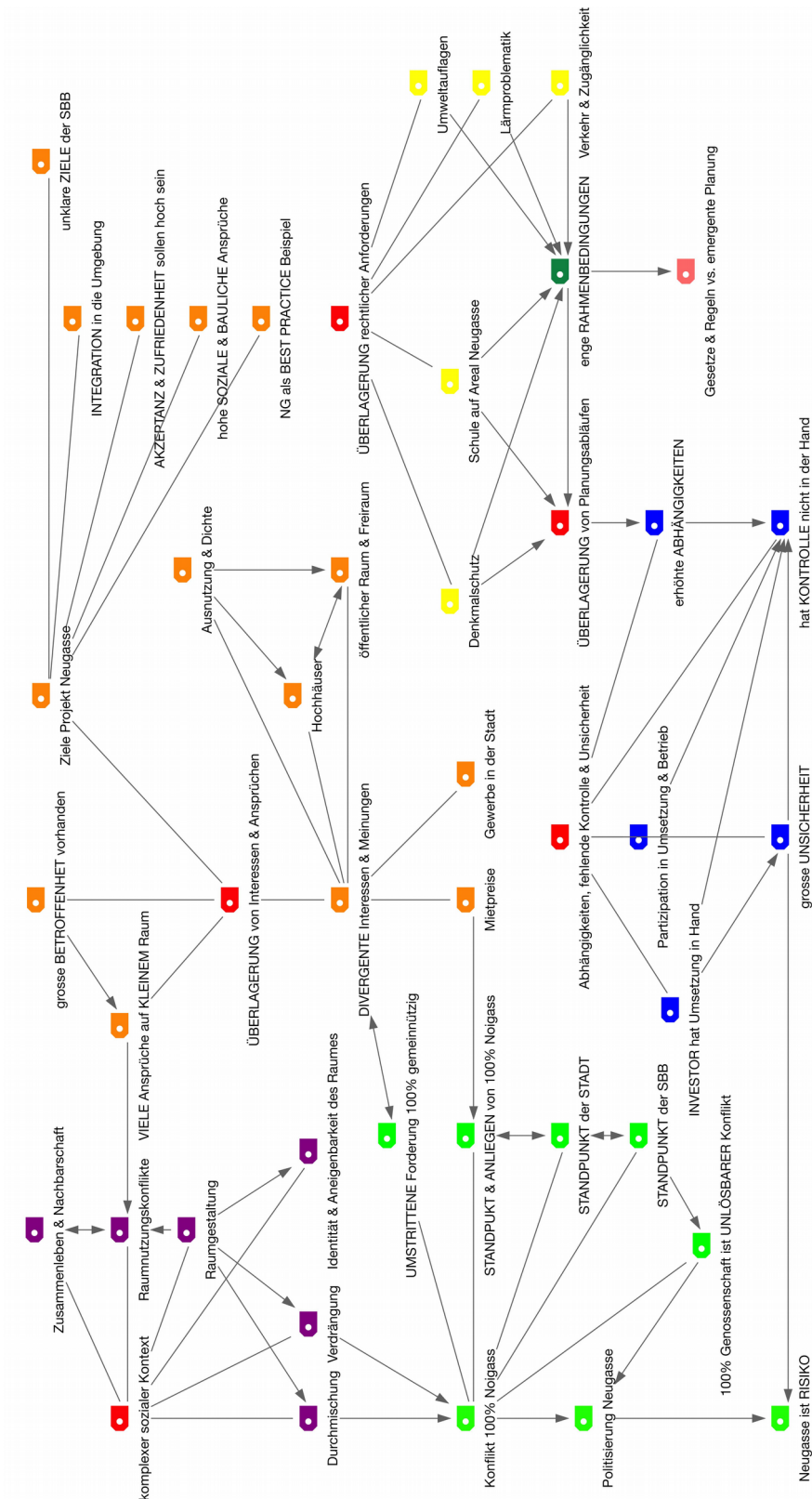
4 Kurzfragebogen

- Alter...
- Geschlecht...
- Beruf...
- Aktuelle Tätigkeit...
- Arbeitsort...
- Wohnort...
- Dort wohnhaft seit...

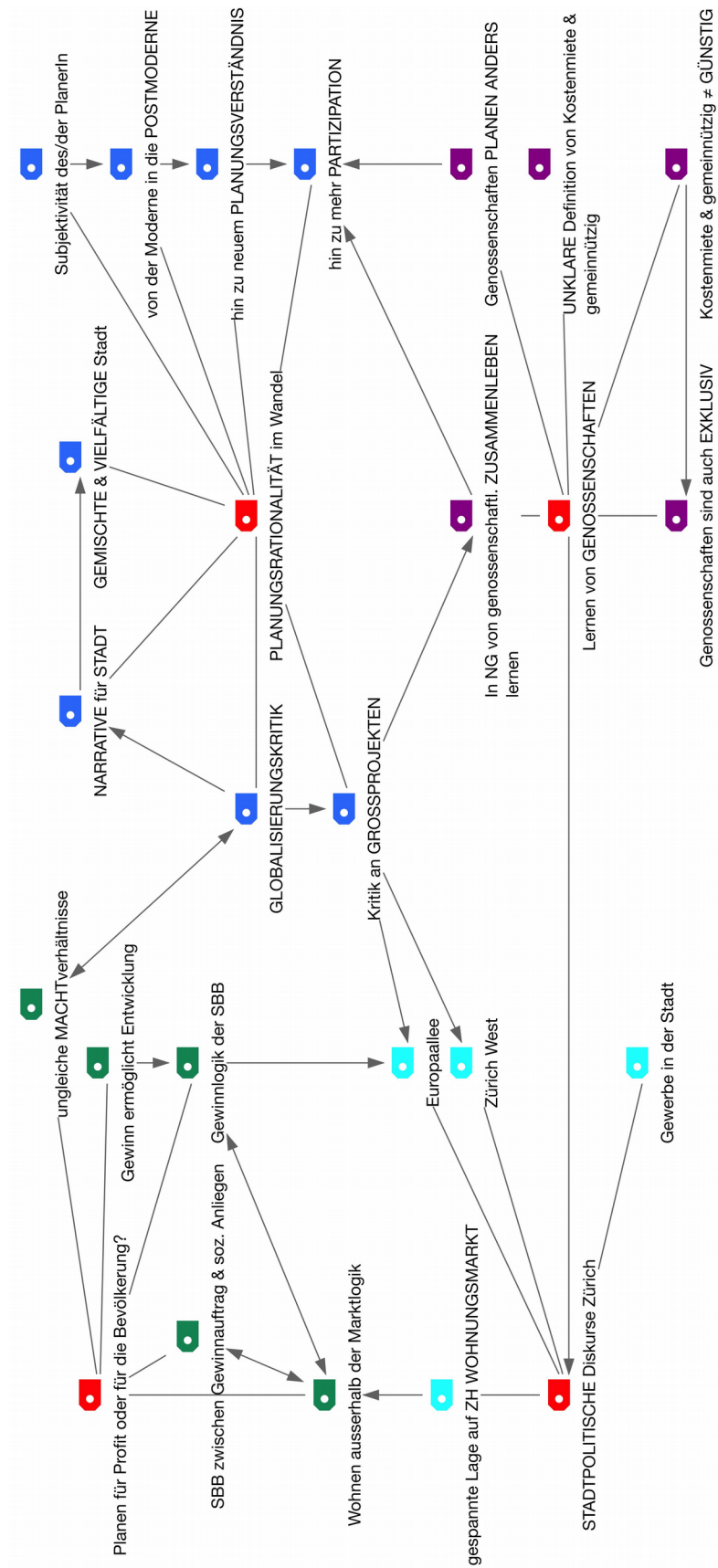
5 Postskriptum

Data analysis: relations among categories

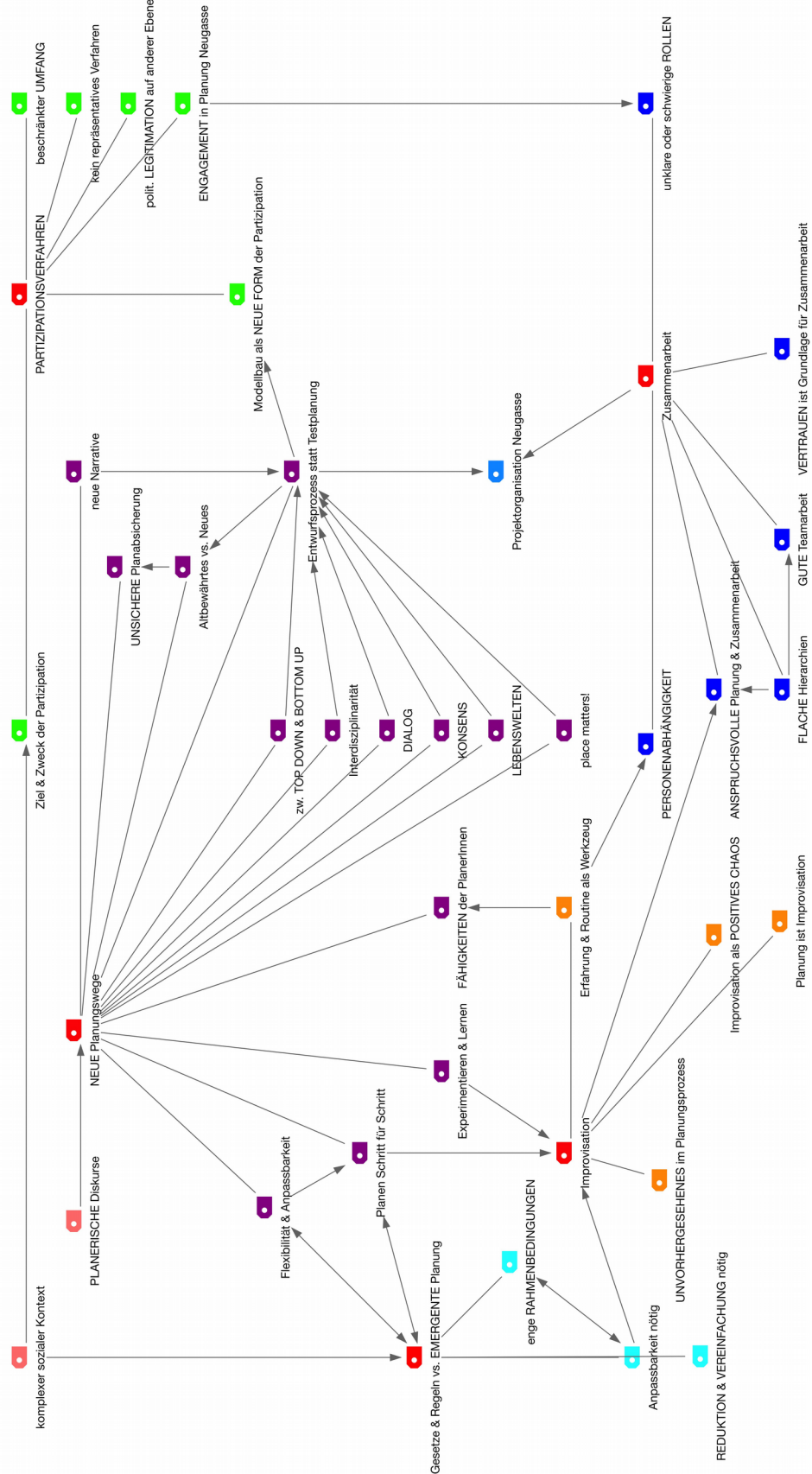
Research question I



Research question II



Research question III



Personal Declaration

I hereby declare that the submitted thesis is the result of my own independent work. All external sources are explicitly acknowledged in the thesis.

Zürich, in April 2018

Miriam Dorothea Hug