

Filling the Resource Gap of Urban Regime Analysis (URA) to Make It Travel in Time and Space

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Dr. Sébastien Lambelet

Post-doctoral researcher

Institute for Environmental Governance

& Territorial Development

University of Geneva

sebastien.lambelet@unige.ch



**UNIVERSITÉ
DE GENÈVE**



What is an urban regime ?

- “[A]n informal yet relatively stable group *with access to institutional resources* that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decisions”

Clarence Stone (1989:3-4)

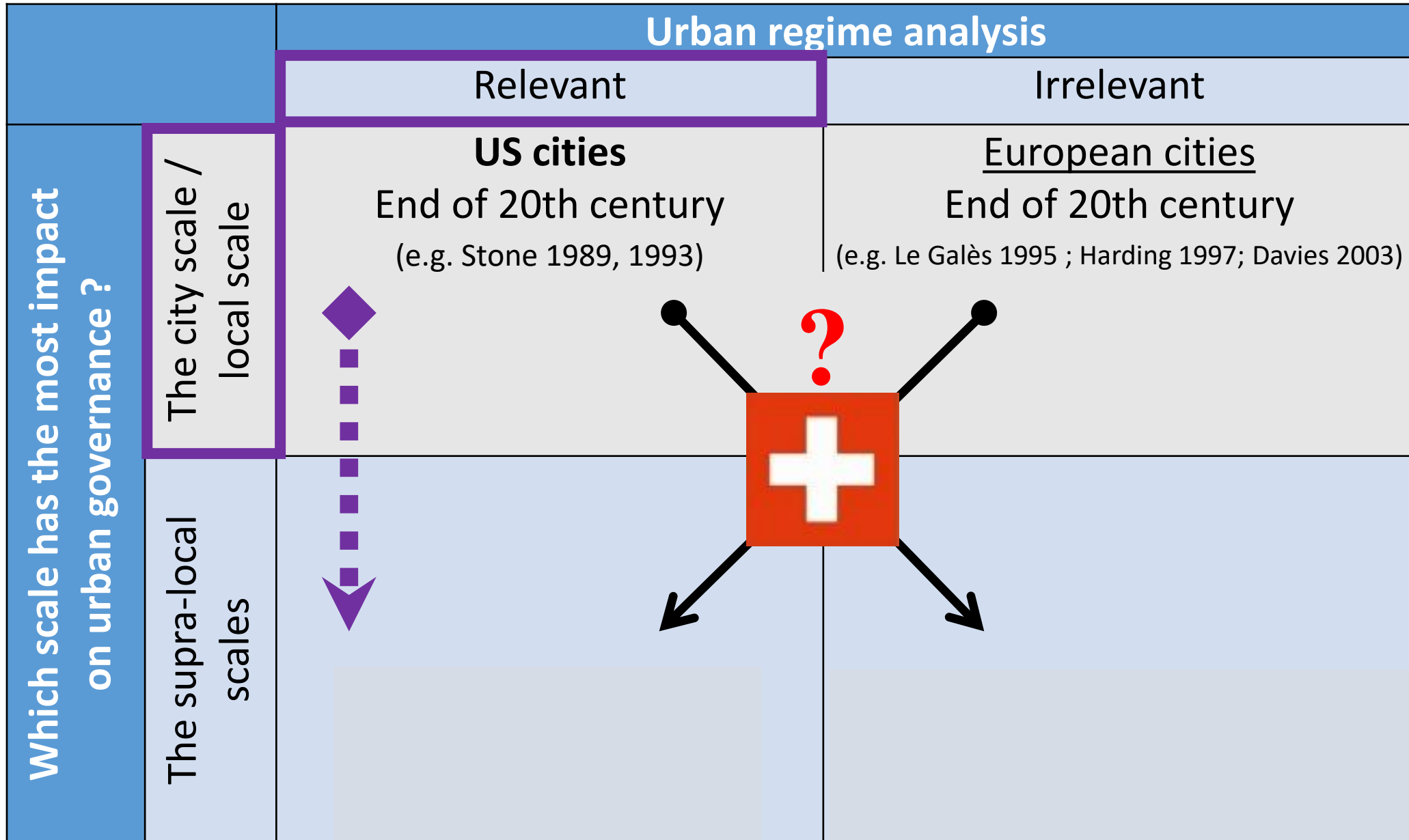
4 main criteria:

1. A governing coalition composed of public and private stakeholders. **Strong involvement of business actors is required.**
2. A common policy agenda established by coalition partners for the city’s future.
3. The capacity of coalition partners *to mobilize resources* to accomplish this agenda.
4. **A longstanding pattern of cooperation** rather than a temporary coalition

Drawn from Mossberger & Stoker (2001: 829) and Stone (2005: 329)

- **Which resources? : not specified → «resource gap of URA»**
- **Overlooked criteria (also by European scholars) → conceptual fuzziness**

Evolution of URA : the transatlantic paradox



? = initial research question of the PhD

◆ = *in fine*, main purpose of the PhD = reaffirm the relevance:
 - of the local scale
 - of URA

Zurich - Europallee



- 6'000 workplaces, 300 dwellings,
a high school

→ **1,5 billion CHF invested
by the SBB**

- 320'300m² gross floor area (GFA) (4,7 x
Prime-Tower)

→ **21% more than the maximum allowed
by Z7 of BZO**

A single land use plan approved by
municipal voters (65,5%) in Sept. 2006

Very fast planification: 2003-08

Slower construction (as planned): 2009-20

Other projects SBB - Municipality of Zurich:

- Zurich-Altstetten
- Zurich-Oerlikon
- Züri-West
- Zollstrasse
- Tiefenbrunnen (Hardfeld & Werkstadt)

→ **new real estate strategy for the SBB applied then in other Swiss cities**

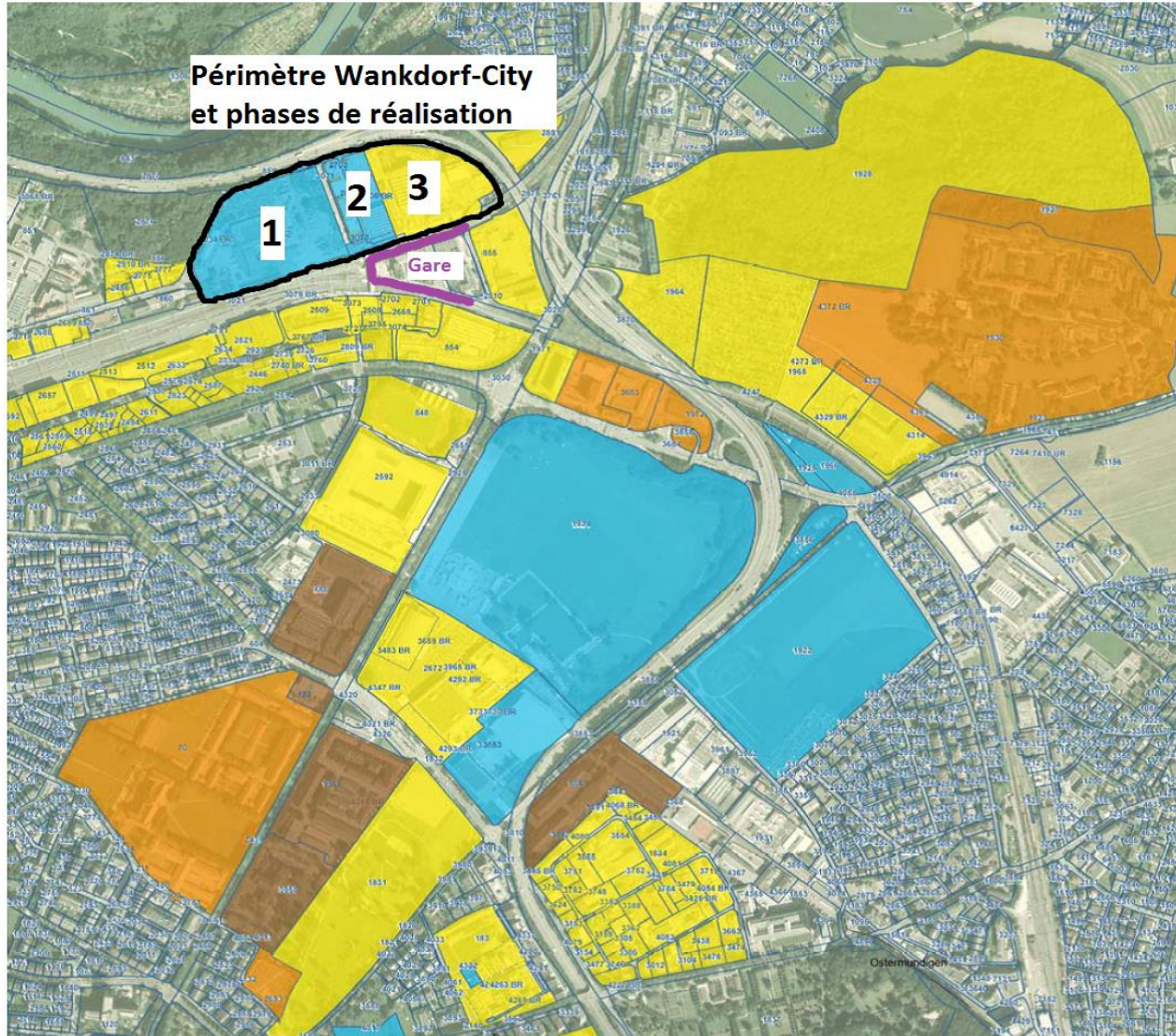
Zurich: Further SBB projects, similar scheme of cooperation

Table 1. Urban Renewal Projects Relying on a Cooperation SBB-Municipality of Zurich Since 2000.

Project's Location	City Center	Zurich-West	Zurich-South	Zurich-North	City Center
Project's name	<i>Europaallee</i>	<i>Altstetten: Westlink + Letzibach</i>	<i>Tiefenbrunnen: Vuelo</i>	<i>Oerlikon: Franklinturm + Andresturm</i>	<i>Zollstrasse</i>
Land use foreseen (gross floor area in m ²)	Office and commercial space for 6,000 workplaces, 300 dwellings, a high school, and other public utilities (322,300 m ²)	670 dwellings (33% affordable), office and commercial space (63,000 m ²)	Office space (4,000 m ²), retail and restaurant (2,500 m ²)	Office space (35,000 m ²), commercial space (1,500 m ²)	210 dwellings (33% affordable), office and commercial space (22,500 m ²)
Start of common planning	2003	2003	2008	2009	2010
Approval of the City Council	2006	2010	Unnecessary to deliver the building permit	Unnecessary to deliver the building permit	2014
Start of construction work	2009	2011	2017	2016	2017
End of construction work	Foreseen in 2020	Foreseen in 2021	Foreseen in 2019	Foreseen in 2020	Foreseen in 2020
Opposition against the project	Neighboring inhabitants launch a referendum and appeal to the Cantonal Court	City Council rejects a land exchange	Neighboring inhabitants submit a bill to the City Council and appeal to the Cantonal Court	A minority of the City Council demands a special land-use plan	None
Substantial change to the initial project due to opposition	None	Affordable housing included due to criticism to <i>Europaallee</i>	None	None	Participatory planning due to opposition to <i>Europaallee</i>

Source : Lambelet (2019:1413).

Bern – Wankdorf-City



Since 1989: bigger development pole (ESP) of the canton (36 ha)

2005: **New station** + slaughterhouse is closed.

Wankdorf-City:

7'000 workplaces & 150 dwellings
152'500m² of GFA (2,2 x Prime Tower)

HQ of SBB & Swiss Post → crucial to stay the «capital city»
+ HQ of Losinger-Marazzi & *Die Mobiliar*

Planning: 2002-2011

Construction: 2011-2020

Yellow : belongs to *Burgergemeinde Bern*. Blue: belongs to City of Bern;

Orange: belongs to Canton Bern; Braun belongs to Swiss Confederation (VBS).

Wankdorf-City: involved stakeholders by phases

Canton + City of BE
+ Ittigen &
Ostermundigen
+ *Burgergemeinde*
+ VBS + SBB

City of Bern

→ **Double game:**
“land” + “law”
→ **Temporary**
monopoly of resources

City of Bern + private partners

Entwicklungs-
-vertrag
Wankdorf-
City 1

Building rights
agreement
with SBB +
Losinger

Phases 3a-3b: 2000s-2010s

Entwicklungs-
-vertrag
Wankdorf-
City 2

Building rights
agreement
with SBB +
Die Mobiliar

Richtplan
Wankdorf

Phase 1
1990s

Zonenplan
& ÜeO

Masterplan

Phase 2
Early 2000s

Bern: Further projects, similar scheme of cooperation

Table 2. Bern: City Extension Projects Conducted in Public-Private Cooperation Since 2000.

Project's Location	Bern Wankdorf (North-East)	Bern Wankdorf (North-East)	Bern-West	Bern-North	Bern-East	Bern-South
Project's name	<i>Wankdorf-City</i>	<i>Wankdorf-City 2</i>	<i>Brünnen–Westside</i>	<i>Viererfeld–Mittelfeld</i>	<i>Weltpostpark–Murtfeld</i>	<i>Gaswerkareal</i>
Land use foreseen (gross floor area in m ²)	Office space for 5,000 workplaces (90,000 m ²)	Office space for 2,000 workplaces (49,200 m ²) and 150 dwellings (13,300 m ²)	A commercial center (141,500 m ²), 1,000 dwellings (mostly for families), and a public park.	1,100 dwellings (50% affordable) and a public park	Office space for 1,100 workplaces (26,000 m ²) and 175 dwellings (33% affordable)	300 dwellings, office and commercial space (10,000 m ²). Proportion of affordable housing still undefined
Main private partner(s)	SBB, Losinger-Marazzi, Swiss Post, Swiss Prime Site	SBB, Die Mobiliar, Losinger-Marazzi	Migros (the largest Swiss retailer)	Still unknown	Swiss Prime Site	Losinger-Marazzi
Start of planning	2000	2011	1995	2000	2014	2011
Voters approval (% of Yes votes)	Feb. and Nov. 2003 (86% and 91%), 2005 (88%) and 2010 (70%)	2016 (75%)	1999 (64%) and 2002 (76%)	2016 (53%)	2016 (81%)	Popular ballot will not take place before 2020
Start of construction work	2011	2017	2006	Foreseen in 2021	2017	Not before 2023
End of construction work	2016	Foreseen in 2019	2008, phased until 2018	Still undefined	Foreseen in 2019	Still undefined
Opposition against the project	A minority of the City Council demands housing and criticizes expensive public infrastructure costs	A minority of the City Council demands more dwellings	First project (housing for 6,000 inh.) perceived as too big and rejected by voters in 1984	First project rejected by voters in 2004 in the name of "Viererfeld stays green!" Neighboring inhabitants still opposed the second project.	No substantial opposition yet	City Council criticizes the early implication of Losinger-Marazzi in the planning
Substantial change to the initial project due to opposition	None	None	Before 1995 due to popular rejection and economic recession. None since 1995.	Participatory planning with local associations and affordable housing introduced after the popular rejection		The municipality buys the land and takes the lead in planning

Source. Messages addressed by the local government to the voters and field interviews.

Source : Lambelet (2019:1419).

5 key resources to form an urban regime

2 new types of urban regimes	PRIVATE > public regime	PUBLIC > private regime
City governed by this regime	Zurich	Bern
Exchange of resources		
<i>Activated by local authorities</i>	POLITICAL SUPPORT	LAND, POLITICAL SUPPORT, <u>law</u> & planning expertise
<i>Jointly mobilized</i>	<u>Law</u> & planning expertise	Money
<i>Activated by the private partner</i>	LAND, money & construction expertise	Construction expertise
Overcoming opposition	<i>Ex post</i>	<i>Ex ante</i>

Main differences:

- Who is landowner ?
- Attitude of local authorities:
 - sharing or not «law» & «planning expertise»
 - Investing in planning

Monopolies

- “Construction expertise” for private partners
- “Political support” for local authorities
 → **to use strategically**

CAPITAL LETTERS : most strategic resources ;
underlined: bridge resource between the most strategic resources

Conclusion

- The Municipality of Zurich has less capacity for action within the urban regime coalition than the Municipality of Bern
→ **market position does not explain everything**
- SBB real estate in a very different role in the two cities
→ **private stakeholders adapt their strategy to the local context**
- Even if:
 - Interurban competition is at stake (e.g. Federal Agglomeration Policy)
 - The role federal & cantonal authorities tends to increase (e.g. Spatial Planning Act of 2014; ESP program in BE)
- **local authorities still have a decisive role to play**
- **URA is still a relevant tool for studying power relations within cities**

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