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**POLITICAL DRIVING FORCES OF URBAN CHANGE IN THE
REGION AGGLOMERATION OBERSEE**

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*A Nicola,
Antonio e Bruna*

*per avermi saputo infondere
...una forza trainante...*

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Summary

Urbanisation has been considered one of the main processes influencing land-use and land-cover change. Recent urbanisation has been characterised by urban sprawl, specifically built-up area expansion and low-density development. Scientists and policy makers often consider the lack of proper policy measures as the main cause of this phenomenon. Therefore understanding the causes of land change in urban areas, (urban change) is necessary to facilitate the implementation of effective land-use policies. This study aimed to explore the link between planning policy, actors and urban change for four Swiss municipalities: Rapperswil (SG), Jona (SG), Freienbach (SZ) and Rüti (ZH). An interdisciplinary method, which combines spatially explicit analysis with policy analysis, was chosen. The two approaches were integrated into a research model based on the concept of driving forces of land change. These driving forces were defined as the underlying causes of land change. Political driving forces (laws and measures) were distinguished from external driving forces (socio-economical, technological, cultural and natural causes), which form part of the context.

In the first part of this study, a spatially explicit analysis was performed in order to understand how land-use plans (Zonenpläne) act as a political driving force for urban change. For all four municipalities, the development of the built-up area and building density within and outside the building zones was measured for the time period 1970-2000. Two main effects of land-use plans on the expansion of the built-up area were identified: 1) in all four municipalities the land-use plan was able to channel built-up area expansion into the building zones, but 2) it was not able to completely stop built-up area expansion outside the building zones. The effects of land-use plan on the building densities were: 3) in all municipalities the land-use plan was able to increase building density within the building zones but not 4) outside the building zones, where a low-density development was observed. Land-use plans were evaluated as successful in channelling built-up area expansion and increasing building density within the building zones, but unsuccessful in being able to prevent built-up area expansion outside the building zones and to increase high-density development outside the building zones.

What seems to hinder the implementation of the land-use plans is a major goal conflict in the Swiss federal law on spatial planning. On the one hand, the law aims to preserve agricultural areas from built-up area expansion. On the other hand, the same law fosters the economic development of agriculture by supporting the construction of new buildings outside the building zones. New instruments, which reflect more specifically these goals, should be developed for improving urban management outside of the building zones.

In the second part of this research, policy was analysed to understand the mechanisms of decision-making processes leading to the development of new political driving forces and to the approval of construction projects between 1970 and 2008 in Rapperswil, Jona and Freienbach. For this, the Advocacy Coalition Framework developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) was used, and documents were analysed and decision-makers interviewed. Local actors appeared to have most influence on urban management decision and on the acceptance of construction projects. Specifically, those with most influence were members of the political parties (the Social Democratic Party, the Liberal Party, and the Christian Democratic Party), coalitions between parties and private organisations, nature protection organisations and large landowners such as the “Korporation” in Freienbach. Among the resources that actors used to influence decision-making, owning land and having formal legal authority (i.e. being a member of the municipal council) were the most important. Between 1970 and 2008, three major policy changes were observed in the three municipalities. 1) In the 1980s in order to increase its effect in municipal, urban management became more regulative: land-use plans became detailed, land-use intensity values (*Ausnutzungsziffer*) were increased to promote infill development, and building-zones extents were managed more strictly. 2) During the same period, protecting nature and the environment was introduced as an additional goal in municipal urban management. 3) In the 1990s, the three municipalities began to coordinate urban management policies with neighbouring municipalities. These three general shifts were observed in all municipalities and were caused by a general change in public opinion arising from new scientific findings and from policy-makers experiences with implementing policy measures. However, major policy changes were implemented rather differently as urban management measures in the three municipalities. Because actors relied on different resources to increase the dominance of their belief systems (the

way they explained the world and the strategies they planned to use to solve problems) and to translate their belief systems into policy measures.

From this research it can be concluded that: 1) land-use plans act as political driving forces of urban change; 2) changes in public opinion are important external driving forces, directly influencing policy making and indirectly urban change; 3) local private and public actors are responsible for developing urban management policies (political driving forces); 4) land as a resource and land-owners as actors play a role in urban management decision-making; and 5) both general changes in national public opinion and local features (actors, resources distribution, territory characteristics) are necessary to explain: a) municipal features of urban management, and consequently b) urban change at the municipal level.

This research clearly identifies the importance of new scientific findings for “policy learning” and policy change in urban management. Therefore, the dialogue between scientists and policy-makers at different institutional levels should be further fostered to take into account their different experience in implementing policy.

Sintesi

L'urbanizzazione, l'intensificazione agricola e la deforestificazione sono ritenuti i processi che maggiormente influenzano il cambiamento della copertura e dell'utilizzo del territorio. Negli ultimi decenni l'urbanizzazione è stata caratterizzata da una dispersione crescente degli insediamenti le cui componenti più importanti sono l'espansione delle aree costruite e lo sviluppo a bassa densità edificatoria. Secondo la comunità scientifica ed il mondo politico la dispersione degli insediamenti pregiudica la sostenibilità dello sviluppo urbano ed è spesso causata dalla mancanza di misure politiche adeguate. È quindi necessario capire i fattori che determinano il cambiamento urbanistico, al fine di facilitare l'applicazione efficiente di misure politiche volte a mitigare l'impatto negativo delle attività umane e a promuovere uno sviluppo sostenibile. Scopo di questo studio era chiarire il collegamento tra gestione del territorio urbano, attori e cambiamento urbanistico nell'area di studio composta da Rapperswil (SG), Jona (SG), Freienbach (SZ) e Rüti (ZH). Per questo studio è stato scelto un metodo interdisciplinare che combina l'analisi geografica del territorio e l'analisi politica. Si sono integrati i due approcci a formare un modello teorico basato sul concetto di forze trainanti (driving forces) del cambiamento del territorio. In questo lavoro si sono definite quali forze trainanti le cause fondamentali (underlying causes) del cambiamento territoriale, che sono state divise in forze trainanti politiche (leggi e misure politiche) e forze trainanti esterne (socio-economiche, tecnologiche, culturali e naturali), le quali costituiscono le componenti del contesto in cui i cambiamenti avvengono.

Nella prima parte di questa tesi si è compiuta un'analisi geografica al fine di capire come i piani regolatori comunali agiscono quali forze trainanti politica sul cambiamento urbanistico. Per i quattro comuni si è eseguito un confronto tra l'espansione delle zone costruite e lo sviluppo della densità edificatoria avvenuti all'interno e all'esterno delle zone edificabili tra il 1970 ed il 2000. Gli effetti del piano regolatore sull'espansione dell'area edificata rilevati sono: 1) in tutti e quattro i comuni, il piano regolatore ha permesso di indirizzare effettivamente lo sviluppo urbanistico (espansione dell'area costruita) all'interno della zona edificabile, 2) ma non ha saputo arginare completamente

lo sviluppo urbanistico al di fuori delle zone edificabili. Gli effetti del piano regolatore sullo sviluppo delle densità edificatorie rilevati sono: 3) in tutti i comuni considerati, il piano regolatore ha saputo stimolare l'aumento della densità edificatoria all'interno delle zone edificabili ma 4) non all'esterno delle zone edificabili dove è stata registrata una diminuzione della densità edificatoria. Il piano regolatore è stato ritenuto efficiente per la capacità di indirizzare lo sviluppo urbanistico all'interno delle zone edificabili e di stimolare la crescita delle densità edificatorie nelle stesse zone. Al contrario esso è stato ritenuto inefficiente per la sua incapacità di arginare lo sviluppo urbanistico e di stimolare l'aumento delle densità edificatorie al di fuori delle zone edificabili. Nel lavoro si identifica un conflitto all'interno degli scopi formulati dalla Legge Federale sulla Pianificazione del Territorio, che ostacola l'applicazione della stessa: da una parte la legge mira a preservare lo spazio agricolo dallo sviluppo urbanistico, dall'altra essa stimola lo sviluppo delle attività agricole promuovendo la costruzione di nuovi edifici nello spazio agricolo.

Nella seconda parte della tesi è stata eseguita un'analisi politica al fine di far luce sui meccanismi che influenzano i processi decisionali che determinano lo sviluppo di nuove forze trainanti politiche e la realizzazione di progetti edificatori tra il 1970 ed il 2008 nei comuni di Rapperswil, Jona e Freienbach. Analisi di documenti ed interviste ad esperti sono state realizzate secondo i principi dell'Advocacy Coalition Framework proposto da Sabatier e Jenkins-Smith (1993). I risultati mostrano che gli attori politici attivi a livello comunale sono responsabili delle decisioni concernenti la gestione del territorio urbano. Gli attori compartecipi delle decisioni sono i partiti politici (Partito Liberale, Partito Socialista e Partito Popolare Democratico), coalizioni formate da partiti ed organizzazioni private, organizzazioni che tutelano la protezione della natura e proprietari terrieri quali la "Corporazione" di Freienbach. Proprietà terriere e autorità legale (far parte del Municipio) sono le risorse maggiormente usate da parte degli attori per influenzare le decisioni politiche. Tra il 1970 ad il 2008 si sono osservati nei tre comuni considerati tre cambiamenti politici maggiori (major policy changes) nella gestione del territorio urbano. 1) Negli anni 80 la gestione del territorio urbano aumenta il suo potere regolatorio al fine di mitigare il veloce cambiamento urbano registrato in quegli anni che le misure politiche esistenti erano incapaci di controllare: i piani regolatori divengono più

dettagliati, gli indici di sfruttamento del suolo vengono aumentati per favorire la densificazione e l'estensione delle zone edificabili limitata. 2) Per la prima volta la gestione del territorio urbano si fa carico della protezione dell'ambiente. 3) Negli anni 90 i tre comuni introducono il principio della coordinazione della gestione del territorio urbano con i comuni limitrofi. Questi mutamenti generali osservati nei tre comuni sono stati causati dal cambiamento generale delle idee condivise dall'opinione pubblica dovuto alla diffusione di nuovo sapere scientifico e alle nuove esperienze compiute dagli attori politici nell'applicazione delle misure politiche nell'ambito della gestione del territorio. Nonostante ciò, questi mutamenti generali della gestione del territorio sono stati tradotti in misure concrete in modi diversi nei tre comuni. Le risorse utilizzate dagli attori politici per tradurre le proprie convinzioni (belief system) in misure politiche concrete spiegano le differenze della gestione del territorio urbano adottate.

Questo lavoro permette di concludere che: 1) il piano regolatore agisce sul cambiamento urbanistico quale forza trainante di tipo politico, 2) il mutamento delle idee condivise dall'opinione pubblica costituisce un'importante forza trainante che influenza il processo decisionale ed indirettamente il cambiamento urbanistico, 3) gli attori privati e pubblici attivi a livello locale sono i responsabili delle decisioni concernenti la gestione del territorio urbano, 4) sia i mutamenti generali delle idee condivise dall'opinione pubblica (a livello svizzero) sia le peculiarità locali (attori, risorse, caratteristiche del territorio), sono elementi necessari per spiegare a) le peculiarità della gestione del territorio urbano adottata nei diversi comuni e b) il cambiamento del territorio urbano.

In questo lavoro si sottolinea l'importanza delle nuove conoscenze scientifiche quali cause di cambiamenti politici. Occorre quindi rafforzare il dialogo esistente fra scienza e politica, coinvolgendo attori politici attivi a tutti i livelli poiché essi provengono da esperienze diverse.

Glossary

English	Deutsch	Italiano
Building zone	Bauzone	Zona edificabile
Infill development	Verdichtung	Densificazione
Institutional amalgamation	Gemeindefusion	Fusione di comuni
Land-use plan	Zonenplan	Piano regolatore
Land-use intensity value	Ausnutzungsziffer	Indice di sfruttamento
Municipal council	Gemeinderat	Municipio
General concept	Sachplan	Piano settoriale
Structural Plan	Richtplan	Piano direttore
Swiss federal law on spatial planning	Raumplanungsgesetz	Legge Federale sulla Pianificazione del territorio
Urban change	Veränderung des urbanen Raumes	Cambiamento dello spazio urbano
Urban management	Siedlungsentwicklungsmanagement	Gestione del territorio sviluppo urbano

1 Introduction

1.1. Urbanisation research as part of land-change science

Urbanisation has been considered one of the main processes influencing land-use and land-cover change beside agricultural intensification and deforestation (Lambin et al. 2003, Antrop 2004). In the 1970s the concern grew about the interaction of the processes involved in changing land use and land cover, as well as climate and the global environmental change, was paralleled by the debate about sustainability (Lambin et al. 2003). Since the importance of the land-use processes for climate change was first recognised, scientists have begun to reconstruct land-use histories in order to understand their impact on climate change (Lambin et al. 2003, Bürgi et al. 2004). Additionally, research focussing on understanding and explaining the processes and mechanisms of land-use and land-cover transformation has developed into an important field study (Thiha et al. 2007). The processes studied are bio-physical processes as well as socio-economical and political processes (Lambin et al. 2003, Bürgi et al. 2004). Improved understanding of spatial and temporal land-use and land-cover change facilitates the effective implementation of land-use policy, helping to mitigate the negative impacts of human activities and promoting the sustainable development (Thiha et al. 2007). Recently, these different concerns and approaches have been brought together in a more comprehensive and interdisciplinary way in so-called land-change science (Rindfuss 2004). Here the aim is to understand the bio-physical and human causes (driving forces) of land-use and land-cover change, and the land-use and land-cover patterns and dynamics affecting the structure and function of the earth system (Rindfuss, 2004).

Urbanisation has become one of the main processes studied to better understand land-use and land-cover changes. Urbanisation means change in the way people use land. The proportion of people living in cities worldwide grew from 15% at the beginning of the 20th century to 50% today (Geist et al. 2006), reaching in most European countries around 80% (Antrop 2004). People moving to cities transform their life-styles from rural

to urban and this changes their concepts and visions about their environment, traditions, values and goals (Antrop 2000). These changes lead to changes in the way people use land and consequently to changes in structure and functioning of the landscapes (Antrop 2000). Furthermore, urbanisation has an impact on other land uses. The diffusion of urban land use has been recognised as a process in human history at least since the 18th century, which has accelerated since the beginning of the 20th (Antrop 2004). Due to this acceleration, urban diffusion has been one of the main causes of a marked reduction in the area of agricultural land (Antrop 2004, Hersperger and Bürgi 2007) and of deforestation (Geist et al. 2006).

Generally, four historical urbanisation stages have been identified in the literature. Urbanisation stages are defined according to the growth and decline of the urban centre (core city of the agglomeration) and the urban fringe area (Geyer and Kontuly 1993, Lichtenberger 1998, Antrop 2004). The first phase is called “urbanisation” and consists of a concentration of the population in the urban centre due to migration of people from the fringe. Urbanisation is historically linked to industrialisation and economic growth (Antrop 2004). The second stage is called “suburbanisation” where the population of the urban agglomeration as a whole grows (urban centre and fringe), but the urban centre loses population while the urban fringe zone grows rapidly (Antrop 2004). The third stage called “counter-urbanisation” consists of the beginning of the decline of the urban population due to people leaving both the urban centre and the fringe (Antrop 2004). The fourth stage is called “re-urbanisation” where the population starts to recover in the urban centre and later in the fringe zone (Antrop 2004). The 1970s have been recognised as a turning point characterised by the counter-urbanisation of many highly-urbanised places in Europe (Antrop 2004). Although the four phases form a chronological chain, some authors have proposed the concept of differential urbanisation. To describe the phases of concentration and de-concentration of populations in urban areas, where a process of diffusion occurs that first affects the major cities and then smaller towns (Geyer and Kontuly 1993). An important aspect of this diffusion is that not only the population increases but so too does the spatial diffusion of an urban life-style with consequent changes in land use and land cover (Antrop 2000).

Urbanisation has been characterised recently as having several major traits. Urban sprawl is considered the most important trend in landscape change in recent decades throughout the world (Geist et al. 2006, Antrop 2004), and in Europe and Switzerland (Hersperger and Bürgi 2007, Schneeberger et al. 2007, Schulz and Dosch 2005). Urban sprawl is characterised first by a low-density expansion of the urban area. Low density refers to buildings as well as people (Siedentop 2005, Jäger 2007). This also means, secondly that built-up areas expand over-proportionately relatively to population growth (Schulz and Dosch 2005). A decoupling of these two processes has been observed in many European cities and in Switzerland (Schulz et al. 2003, Kasanko et al. 2005). The second important characteristic of urban sprawl is the de-concentration of urban functions like providing residential and commercial structures and the development of discontinuous polycentric structures (Siedentop 2005, Jäger 2007), which has also been called functional differentiation (Antrop 2004, Siedentop 2005). Due to high individual mobility, urban areas tend to be differentiated into urban microcosms where centralising work, shopping and leisure activities are concentrated so that the residential function moves to the urban fringe or rural areas (Kaufmann and Sager 2006).

Scientists and policy makers believe these characteristics of recent urbanisation affect sustainable development. Therefore, it is necessary to understand their causes in order to develop policies to provide new effective measures. Urban sprawl, low density development and spatial differentiation lead to a the loss in quality of life because commuter traffic tends to increase (Kaufmann and Sager 2006), agricultural land is lost and infrastructural costs spiral as the urban area becomes more dispersed (Schulz and Dosch 2005). For these reasons, the interactions between these spatial processes and the socio-economic and political context are now being widely studied (e.g. Koomen et al. 2008, Kasanko et al. 2006).

Causes of land change in urban landscapes (urban change) have been used to investigate the different approaches. A first group of studies, because of the high complexity of urban processes, used a comprehensive approach in order to include in the analysis the

interaction of different factors causing urbanisation (Herperger and Bürgi 2007, Schneeberger et al. 2007, Schulz et al. 2003). Geist et al. (2006) claim that land-cover change is caused by physical actions on land cover such as agriculture, forestry and construction activities. These activities are called proximate causes and are driven by underlying forces (driving forces) that operate diffusely and are formed by a complex of social, political, economic, demographic, technological, cultural and biophysical variables that constitute a systemic condition in human-environment relations (Geist et al. 2006, Bürgi et al. 2004). A second group of studies focus primarily on the effect of specific policies on urban change over time. Most of these studies are policy evaluations and aim to understand the intended and unintended impacts and outcome of a specific policy (for example Bürgi and Schuler 2003, Weber 2003, Bengston and Youn 2006, Tang et al. 2007, Weitz and Moore 1998). A third group uses policy process analyses to understand how decisions are taken, i.e. which actors take decisions and how power is distributed among them (Ruegg 1996, Andersen and Plong 2007, Pütz 2007). All three approaches showed that policy measures, actors and decision-making are important factors influencing urban change.

Existing studies recognise the role of policy-making and policy measures in the urbanisation trends observed. Generally, lack of proper planning policies has been seen as the main cause of urban sprawl (Brueckner 2000, Schulz and Dosch 2005, Siedentop 2005). Therefore, the question whether and how far urbanisation has been channelled by planning measures needs to be answered (Herperger and Bürgi 2007) to develop future planning policy.

1.2.Motivation

Although policy measures have been widely recognised as playing an important role as driving forces of urbanisation and landscape change, there is a great need for studies explaining the link between actors, decision making and physical change in landscape (Schneeberger et al. 2007, Thiha et al. 2007). Changes in land use are the result of

choices made by individuals, corporations, non-governmental organisations and governments (Thiha et al. 2007). Therefore, decision-making processes should be studied to understand how actors at different institutional levels take decisions, how public and private actors interact when taking decisions and which factors and resources influence their decisions and the impact of these decisions (Pütz 2007, Lambin et al. 2003). However, there is a lack of studies that analyse policy decision processes in depth by considering all institutional levels and by focussing on local spatial impact. On the one hand, quantitative and spatially explicit studies on driving forces generally either aggregate actors for each institutional level, thus missing the variation between local and regional actors (e.g. Schneeberger et al. 2007) or focus on the actors' level where actors are deciding directly about land-use change for single parcels (Thiha et al. 2007, Lambin et al. 2003), without investigating how the existing laws were developed. On the other hand, many policy analyses (e.g. Ruegg 1996, Pütz 2004) do not consider the spatial dimension of policy outcome. Therefore, a more adequate interdisciplinary framework needs to be developed and to be applied to local case studies (Thiha et al. 2007), permitting a study of how single actors from different administrative levels interact in decision-making and analysis of the spatially explicit effects of the decisions. The framework proposed in this study constitutes a bridge between the studies on the spatially explicit effect of policies (the second group of studies mentioned above) and the policy analyses (the third group of studies mentioned above) by using the driving forces approach.

Switzerland constitutes an interesting case study for understanding the political driving forces of urbanisation. After more than 25 years of the application of the Swiss federal law on spatial planning (1979), the question of the success of planning is being widely discussed in Switzerland (Lendi 2007) because unsustainable development trends like urban sprawl have occurred despite a well-organised planning apparatus (Hersperger and Bürgi 2007). Due to the federal system, municipalities have considerable autonomy in urban management. Therefore, municipal urban management has been recognised as a relevant driving force for urban change (Hersperger and Bürgi 2007). As a consequence, it is appropriate to focus on Swiss municipalities for studying the decision-making

processes that lead to new planning measures with a spatial effect at the municipal level, which are here called “urban management”. A trans-boundary comparison about the decision-making of urban management measures includes in the analysis the interaction of actors from the different levels as well as the decisions generated from all these levels. Because the most important instrument for urban management (land-use plan) has been applied in most of the Swiss municipalities since the 1970s and urban growth generally accelerated after the 1960s, this study considers the period from 1970 up until today.

This project aims to understand the link between planning policy, actors and urban change in a case study of four Swiss municipalities by integrating an analysis of policy processes in the analysis of spatial development. The focus of this project is on the planning policy measures, which have a spatial effect on urban change on a local scale. Such measures have been summarised have in the concept of “urban management”.

1.3. Project framework

This project was part of the WSL- program called “Land Resources Management in Peri-Urban Environments”. The program aimed to understand the causes of landscape change in peri-urban regions, and the needs of the people living there and to explore strategies for ensuring sustainable development in these areas where land-use conflicts often occur. This project is a contribution to the module “studying the driving forces of landscape changes”. (further details can be found under http://www.wsl.ch/forschung/forschungsprogramme/ballungsraum/uebersicht/index_EN?C=&).

1.4. Goals and research questions

The first part of the project explores links between urban change and urban management. Specific goals were: 1) to identify and characterise urban change over the past 35 years in

four Swiss different municipalities and 2), to evaluate the effects and success of the land-use plans on urban change as the main instrument of planning policy. The three main research questions were:

- How can urban change that occurred in the four municipalities from 1970 until today be best characterised?
- How did the land-use plans affect urban change?
- Were the land-use plans successful?

The aim of the second part of the study was to find out how and why urban management measures that influence urban change at the municipal level were decided and implemented. Specific goals were to understand which factors and interactions lead to policy decisions. The questions addressed were:

- Which actors have influenced the policy agenda of urban management in the four municipalities over the past 35 years?
- What kind of beliefs guided the actors?
- What resources did the actors use to influence the policy agenda?
- How did actors interact to take the final decision?

Together these two approaches should provide insights into the interaction of actors, rules, measures, laws and urban change and thus contribute to answering the question of how political driving forces influence urban change.

2 Conceptual background

2.1. Driving forces of land change

Although no precise and commonly accepted definition of driving forces exists, some general considerations emerge from the literature. The study of the causes of land change addresses the question of the impact of the interaction between human action and the bio-physical environment on land-use and land-cover change. Generally, authors distinguish between proximate and underlying causes (Figure 1). Land change (3) is the result of proximate causes (2), which are defined as the physical actions on land such as agriculture, forestry and construction (Geist et al. 2006). The alteration of proximate causes results from the action of underlying causes, which are called driving forces (1). Driving forces operate more diffusely because they are formed by a complex of social, political, economic, technological, cultural and biophysical variables. These constitute the initial conditions in the relationship between humans and the environment, and act by altering one or more proximate causes (Geist et al. 2006).

Driving forces have been categorised as bio-physical and socio-economic driving forces (Briassoulis 2000). Bio-physical driving forces include the characteristics and processes of the natural environment, such as weather and climate variation, landform, topography, and geomorphic processes, volcanic eruptions, plant succession, soil types and processes, drainage patterns and the availability of natural resources. The socio-economic or human driving forces comprise demographic, social, economic, political and institutional factors and processes such as population and population change, industrial structure and change, technology and technological change, markets, policies and rules, values, community organisation and norms and property regimes (Moser 1996, Briassoulis 2000). Bürgi et al. (2004) propose dividing human driving forces into more specific categories because of their great importance and complexity. The same authors consider socio-economic driving forces to be specific category of human driving forces, which include the demographic structure and dynamics, and economic structures and dynamics.

Technological driving forces are, e.g., the construction of new railways and road-networks while cultural driving forces include life style. Political driving forces are also defined explicitly as separate driving force, from the existing laws and policy programmes (Bürgi et al. 2004).

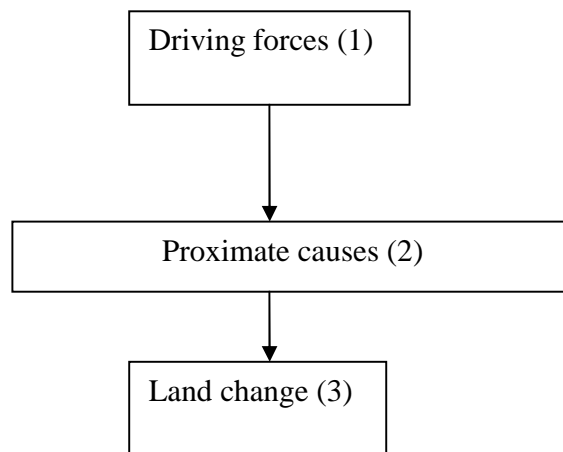


Figure 1: General framework for analysing the causes of land change

In order to define and study the political driving forces of urban change, two aspects in the literature are particularly relevant for this project. The first is the relationship between decision-making, and proximate and underlying causes. The socio-economic, political and geographical context influences decision-making, which can generate driving forces either (Schneeberger et al. 2007, Lambin et al. 2003) or human activities or actors that constitute proximate causes (Lambin et al. 2003). Therefore, studying the driving forces and proximate causes of urban change generally requires the inclusion of the decision-makers (the actors) in the system (Bürgi et al. 2004). The second aspect is that comprehensive definitions of driving forces often attempt to keep into account complexity (Schneeberger et al. 2007) by including both structural elements or states and processes, which are dynamic. For example, organisational structures and laws can be viewed as structural elements and population dynamic and technological change as processes (Bürgi et al. 2004, Brissoulis 2000). Bürgi et al. (2004) defined driving forces

as the forces that cause observed landscape change, thus including also processes that influence the evolutionary trajectory of the landscape. However, focusing on one single type of driving force requires a more specific conceptualisation and detailed definition of the multiple relationships between actors, urban change and its causes.

Explaining the causalities between the elements involved in urban change (Turner et al. 2007, Bürgi et al. 2004) means depicting political driving forces clearly. Here political driving forces are defined as those laws, instruments, measures or agreements that are the result of decision-making processes. The actor's interaction in decision-making can have two different results. One result can be the development of new political driving forces or change in existing political driving forces, and the second can be the decision to change urban land use. In practice, for constructing buildings, private need permissions from the authority.

The research model used in this work (Figure 2) includes a policy-decision subsystem (a). The "policy-decision subsystem" comprises the "policy subsystem" and the "resources of the actors", which is defined in the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) (section 6.2). ACF aims to study policy processes from the time when the problem is first perceived until policy is implemented. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) include in the policy-subsystem actors influencing the decision-making and their belief systems and interactions between actors (conflicts or negotiations) (see section 6.2). Resources are instruments used by actors to influence decision-making (Sabatier and Weible 2007). In the research model used here, the policy-decision subsystem also includes interactions between resources and the actors. The advantage of including both the policy subsystem and resources in the policy-decision subsystem as elements in the research model is that it helps to reduce complexity. Considering the policy subsystem and resources as a single element in the research model would mean having to define all interactions between them and all other elements the research model, which would complicate the operationalisation of the model in the case studies.

The research model (Figure 2) illustrates the chain of states and processes leading to urban land change. First, the external driving forces (f), which can be socio-economic, technological or natural (Bürgi et al. 2004), and urban change (e) influence the policy-decision subsystem (a). Actors perceive urban change and organise the causes of this change (external driving forces) in their belief systems (how they explain the world) to formulate adequate measures for solving problems. Additionally, actors are influenced by culture. In the policy-decision subsystem (a) actors interact (interactions can be conflicts or negotiations) and take decisions using their resources. The outputs of the subsystem are political driving forces (b), accepted construction projects (c) and feedback to the external driving forces (f). In practice, new policy measures can lead to cultural change (for example, a change in the public's perception of the problem). Political driving forces influence decisions about accepting of construction projects because laws and regulations provide the framework for making such decisions. Accepted construction projects (c) will directly lead to actions on land (proximate causes, d). Proximate causes can also be influenced directly by external driving forces, and themselves lead to urban change (e). Urban change is defined as the physical characteristics of urbanisation, which are mainly urban expansion and change in building density. Urban change can feedback to the policy-decision subsystem if the urban change is perceived as requiring new measures.

It is important to note that only the chain leading from the creation of political driving forces, to their action and resulting urban change is defined specifically. External driving forces include all context elements and processes, which act directly on proximate causes and bring about either urban change or an interaction with the policy-decision subsystem.

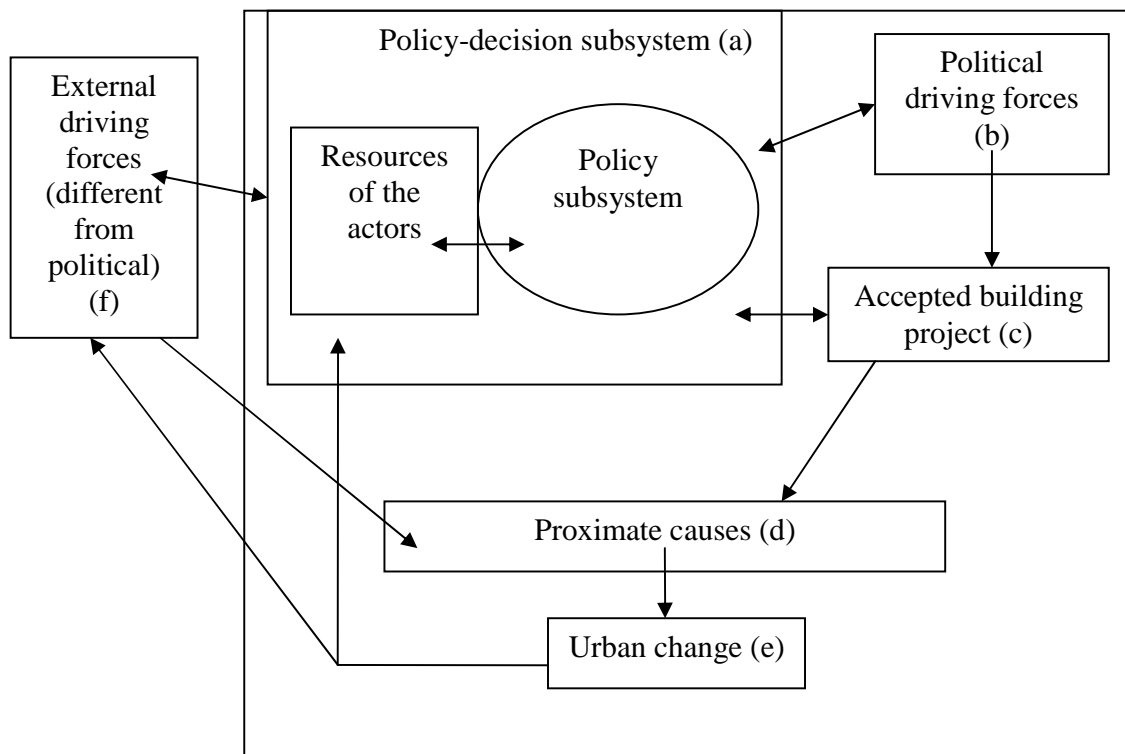


Figure 2: Theoretical research model: linking the policy-decision subsystem, land-use plans and urban change

The findings of studies of the causes of land change are always specific to the context and scale. Therefore, it is problematic to extrapolate from them to general conclusions (Bürge et al. 2004). Although our study has produced specific results and conclusions only for four municipalities studied, the comparative approach does permit generalisations. It allows us to understand how different conditions (actors, resources) in the four municipalities generate driving forces, which are then expressed in urban change (Di Gaetano, 1997). This study does, therefore, contribute to a more general understanding of the causes of urban change.

2.2.State of the art of studies on political driving forces

Some comprehensive studies on driving forces of urban change have identified specific policies or measures as major political driving forces. Generally, planning policy (Briassoulis 2008, Geist et al. 2006), transportation and infrastructure policies (Herperger and Bürgi, 2007) have been recognised as main political driving forces of urban change. For Switzerland, the most relevant political driving forces originate mainly at the cantonal level (transportation policy) and the municipal level (land-use plan) (Schneeberger et al. 2007, Hersperger and Bürgi 2007). For other countries the measures developed at the municipal level have also been recognised as the most relevant political driving forces for urban change (Koomen et al. 2008).

Many studies have tried to understand the impact of these laws and measures on urban change. For this purpose, both modelling approach and descriptive-qualitative approaches have been used. Mostly, these studies have found that the urban management measures had a limiting effect on urban expansion and fostered infill development (Koomen et al. 2008, Wassmer 2006, Couch and Karecha 2006). However, some studies claimed that the limiting effect on urban expansion does not correspond completely to the goals of the policy, especially in agricultural areas (Koomen et al. 2008, Couch and Karecha 2006, ARE 2003, ARE 2005). External driving forces or other policies interfere with the effect of the policy measures, leading to the intended effect of the measures but also to unintended effects or only the partial fulfilment of the intended effects on urban change (Antrop 1998). However, isolating the effect of policy measures on urban change from the effect of external driving forces is a challenging task (Koomen 2008). This is why some studies combine quantitative and qualitative approaches linking policy decisions to their spatial-explicit effects (Thiha 2007, Schneeberger et al. 2007). However, generally these studies neglect analysing policies analysis and therefore fail to understand the relevant elements for explaining decision-making such as power distributions and actors' motivations.

Local actors have been recognised in many policy analyses as the most relevant actors for municipal urban management. Political parties, economic actors (e.g. private enterprises), building cooperatives, planning agencies and governmental institutions have been identified as the main actors taking part in the decision-making processes. These actors contribute to creating new urban management measures, changing the existing ones or making decisions about new land use (Andersen and Pløng 2007, Poppelaars 2007, Ruegg 1996). Sellers (2002) observed that in local studies, it is easy to neglect the influence of actors from higher levels like regional, national and international even if they play a major role in deciding on the laws that regulate decisions at the municipal level. However, for Switzerland it has been recognised that federalism, means that the actors at the municipal level play a dominant role in decisions about urban management (Hersperger and Bürgi 2007).

3. Procedure

In this section, the research steps taken to address the research questions are presented. Detailed descriptions of the methods are given in separate sections (section 5.1. and 6). To explore the interaction of the elements defined in the research model (Figure 3), three research steps were defined.

3.1. Step 1: Linking urban change to urban management

Linking urban change to urban management is like an arrow going from political driving forces (b) directly to urban change (e) (Figure 3). Municipal land-use plans were chosen for the case studies because they are widely recognised in the literature as important political driving forces (Herperger and Bürgi, 2007). First of all, urban change has to be defined as the land-change due to urbanisation. Two variables were chosen to describe urban change: built-up area expansion and building density. The variables were calculated for each municipality with a time resolution of 10 years and aggregated in one value for inside the building zone and one value for outside the building zone (see section 5.1.). Second, the effects of land-use plans on urban change were described. By comparing the urban change within the building zones with those outside the building zones and with the variation in building zones expansion defined in the land-use plans (see section 5.1.).

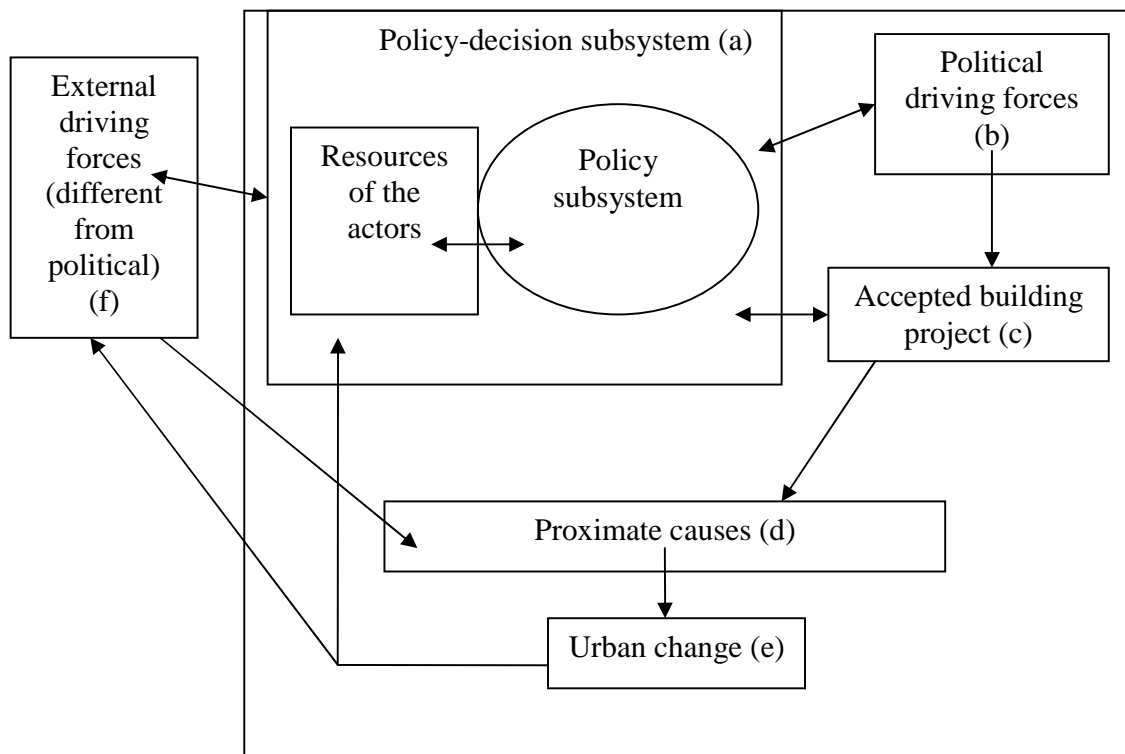


Figure 3: Theoretical research model: linking the policy-decision subsystem, land-use plans and urban change

3.2. Step 2: Understanding the policy subsystem

The aim here was to understand the functioning of the policy-decision subsystem (a) and the influence of external driving forces (f) on the policy-decision subsystem. Specific goals were to identify the actors, who influence decision-making, what beliefs they have, which resources they use to influence policy-making and how they interact to take final decisions (outputs of the policy subsystem b and c). Policy process was analysed using the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) (section 6).

The planning policy with explicit spatial effect on urban change at the municipal level was chosen as the policy domain to be analysed and called “urban management”. ACF was used to take into account the specific goals of the study. The external driving forces

(f) were defined as part of the relatively stable parameters and external variable contained in the ACF (6.2.).

3.3. Step 3: Understanding the political driving forces of urban change

The aim of the third was to synthesise the results of the previous steps. A comprehensive understanding of the functioning of the whole research mode is obtained by integrating the results explaining the functioning of the policy subsystem (a), the interaction between the subsystem and external driving forces (f), the political driving forces (b) and the accepted construction projects (c) with the description of the effect of one political driving force on urban change.

4. Study area

4.1. Geographical context

The Region Agglomeration Obersee (Figure 3) was chosen as the study area. This Region is part of the metropolitan area of Zurich and consists of four municipalities (Rüti, Jona, Rapperswil and Freienbach) located at the southeastern extremity of the lake of Zurich. In the year 2002, 49'700 people lived in this agglomeration, which covers a surface area of 53 km² (EBP 2004).

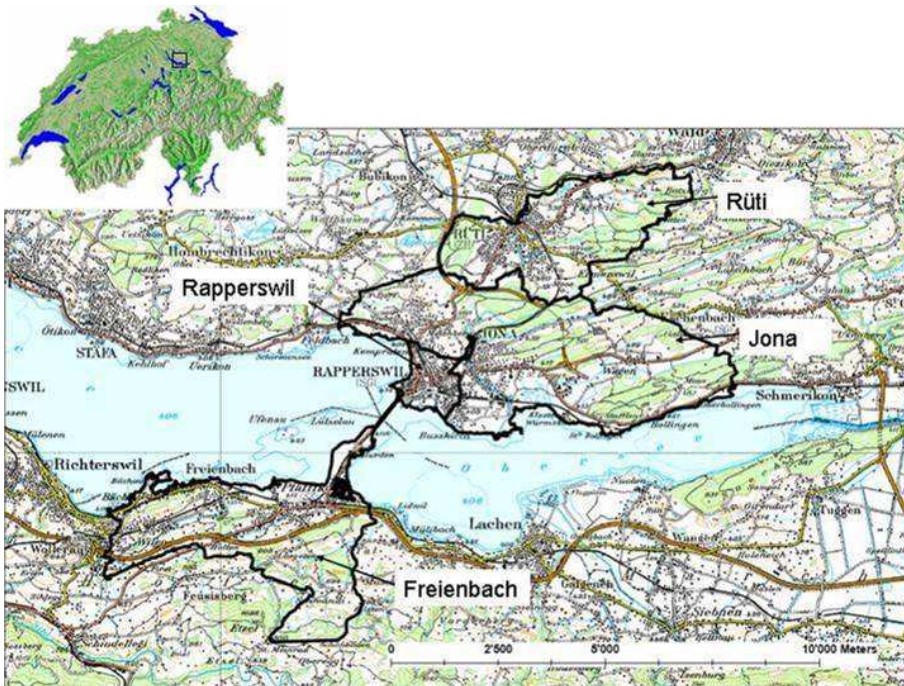


Figure 4: Study area; Source: SWISSTOPO, Bundesamt für Landestopographie

The Region Agglomeration Obersee was chosen as the study area because it provides a good example for understanding urban change. The Region Obersee is an example of a

transboundary situation, where it is possible to do a comparative analysis of the implications for land use of differing policies (Geist et al. 2006). One set of variables can be kept constant and the effects on land change of the combination of the different variables, can be compared.

The constant variables, or what all four municipalities have in common, are: 1) they are part of the metropolitan area of Zurich, 2) they experienced rapid urbanisation between 1960 and 2000, 3) they are geographically located on a traffic transit corridor between the Bodensee, Eastern and Central Switzerland. Traffic is mostly intense crossing the Zurich lake over the dam, affecting mostly Rapperswil, Jona and Freienbach. On average 22'000 vehicles per day cross the dam. At the dam long-distance traffic mixes with the local traffic. The intense level of traffic is partly due to commuters and partly to people using the leisure and shopping facilities in the region. (EBP, 2004).

Variables differing between the four municipalities are political boundaries, population development and territorial area. The four municipalities belong to three different cantons. Jona and Rapperswil are part of Canton St. Gallen; Rüti belongs to Canton Zurich and Freienbach to Canton Schwyz. Second, the four municipalities have experienced a different population development (Figure 4). In Jona the population grew constantly between 1960 and 2000, changing it from a rural village of 6'000 inhabitants to an urbanised municipality of 17'000. Similarly, Freienbach (Canton Schwyz, 20.3 km²) changed from a rural village of 6'000 inhabitants (1960) to an urban municipality of 13'000 (2000). In 1960, Rüti (Canton Zurich) was a regional industrial centre despite its rural character with 8'000 inhabitants. After a smooth growth to 9'500 (1970), the population remained stable until 1980 because industrial activity stagned. From 1980 to 2000, the population increased to 11'000 inhabitants and Rüti developed an urban character. In Rapperswil the population increased between 1960 and 1970 from 7'500 to 9'000 inhabitants and then slowly decreased to 7'000 inhabitants in 2000. Third, the territorial area is very different in the four municipalities. Jona has an area of 20.7 km², which includes a large agricultural area, and Freienbach 20.3 km², also with a large agricultural area. Rüti is smaller, covering only 10.2 km², with a smaller agricultural area. These three municipalities differ considerably from Rapperswil. Rapperswil consists of

only 1.7 km² and since the 1960s has contained no agricultural areas. The territory is limited by the lake and by the boundary with Jona (EBP 2004).

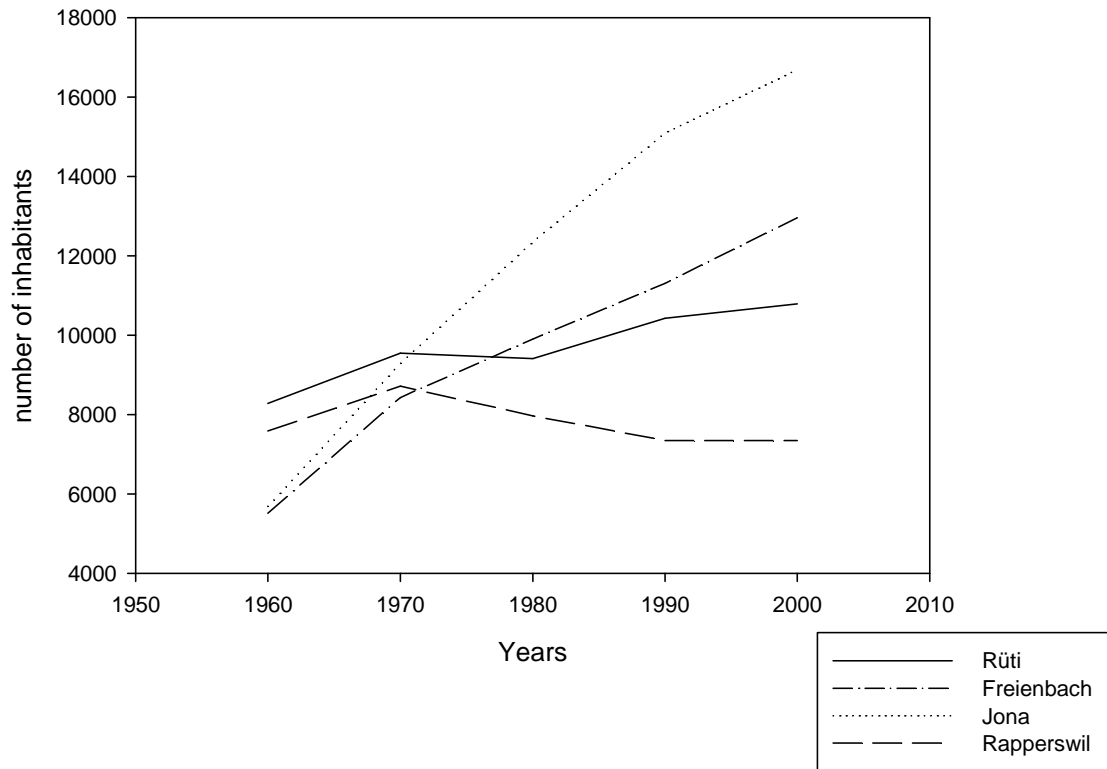


Figure 5: Development of population in the study area between 1960 and 2000

The four municipalities have been described by the Swiss federal office of statistics (Bundesamt für Statistik). Freienbach is described as a “municipality with employment function belonging to a metropolitan area”. This means that the municipality is part of a metropolitan area, namely Zurich, and has an high number of jobs relative to the number of inhabitants. Freienbach has in fact developed as a regional education centre with the creation of professional schools, as a centre for sport and leisure with the creation of facilities such as the Alpamare aquatic park, as a regional shopping-centre because of the presence of the Seedamm shopping-centre, and as an economic centre because of the many businesses of regional importance. Rapperswil has been characterised as a “centre of peripheric regions”. In practice, Rapperswil is an old historical centre with a castle,

and has the character of a regional shopping, leisure and cultural centre. Additionally, due to the presence of the technical school, Rapperswil has developed as regional education centre. Jona has been characterised as a “municipality belonging to a metropolitan area”, but has primarily developed as a residential area without the creation of many job opportunities. Similarly to Freienbach, Rüti has been characterised as “municipality with employment function belonging to a metropolitan area”, but is largely a residential municipality and a medium-sized centre for shopping, but not as a regional centre (Schuler and Joye 2008, EBP 2004).

The current agglomeration policy of the Swiss federal office on spatial planning aims to foster horizontal cooperation in agglomerations to enable a more efficient urban planning. Therefore, the office encourages and financially supports planning projects developed jointly by municipalities to form an agglomeration or to plan forming an agglomeration. The municipalities Rapperswil, Jona, Freienach and Rüti decided to develop a project to apply for funding to the Swiss federal office on spatial planning. It was submitted in 2003 and approved. Since then the region has been known as the Agglomeration Obersee. In 2007 seven more municipalities joined the project: Altendorf, Feusisberg, Lachen and Wollerau (Canton Schwyz), Eschenbach and Schmerikon (Canton St. Gallen), Bubikon and Dürnten (Canton Zurich). (EBP 2004)

4.2. Political context

For the analysis, it is necessary to describe the design of the policies relevant for urban management. Here the focus is on the decision-making leading to urban management measures with spatial effect at the municipal level, namely planning policy and housing policy. The policy design includes the goals of a policy, the operative elements of the policy (instruments or measures) and the distribution of responsibilities (Knoepfel et al., 1997). Swiss federal law on spatial planning (Raumplanungsgesetz, 1979) established the general goals of planning policy and coordinated its application for the whole of

Switzerland. Similarly, the law for the promotion of building of flats and property (Wohnbau- und Eigentumsförderungsgesetz 1974) specifies the general goals of housing policy and coordinates its application throughout Switzerland. Both policies distribute responsibilities at the national, cantonal and municipal level.

4.2.1. Goals of Swiss federal planning policy

The goals of Swiss planning policy are defined by paragraph 4 of the Swiss federal constitution (Artikel über Umwelt- und Raumplanung, 1969), the Swiss federal law on spatial planning (1979), the Swiss federal ordinance about spatial planning (Raumplanungsverordnung, 2000) and the document specifying the general frames for spatial development in Switzerland (Grundzüge der Raumordnung Schweiz, 1996). Further laws and instrument regulating planning policy are cantonal laws on spatial planning, various cantonal decrees, municipal land-use plans and building regulations and municipal decrees.

The overall goals of Swiss planning policy are the economical use of land and an orderly settlement development that serves the needs of the population. The national, cantonal and municipal authorities need to formulate measures to accomplish the following functions (Raumplanungsgesetz, 1979):

- a) **Conserving the landscape.** This means maintaining enough areas for agriculture, arranging settlements, buildings and infrastructure optimally in the landscape, keeping lakeshores free and accessible for the public, allocating space for recreation and conserving forest. (Raumplanungsgesetz Art. 1, Bundesverfassung Art. 75)

- b) **Allocating settlement according to the needs of the population and limiting settlement expansion.** This means that residential areas and working areas should be appropriately allocated and accessible by public transport, residential areas should be

protected from the influence of dangerous substances or noise, bike and pedestrian paths should be created, good conditions for the supply of goods and services should be provided and green areas in the settlement should be maintained. (Raumplanungsgesetz Art. 1)

- c) **Identifying the appropriate location for public buildings, infrastructure and buildings used by the public.** This involves identifying regional needs and reducing inadequate inequalities. Additionally, schools and infrastructure for recreation should be easily accessible. (Raumplanungsgesetz Art. 1)

4.2.2. Operative elements of Swiss federal planning policy

Operative elements of a policy are the instruments and measures necessary to achieve the goals formulated in the policy (Knoepfel et al. 1997). The instruments of Swiss planning policy are “federal general concepts”, “cantonal structural plans” and “municipal land-use plans”.

Federal general concepts (Konzepte und Sachpläne) concern specific topics relevant for the spatial and environmental development that affect various policy domains like spatial planning, the agricultural economy and nature protection, and which are therefore difficult to coordinate. They enable coordination between the different authorities and provide general rules and strategies to follow without being binding for individual. (Raumplanungsgesetz 1979, Art. 13, Raumplanungsverordnung Art. 22)

In the structural plans (Kantonale Richtpläne), cantonal authorities shall set-up the framework for the favoured spatial development of territory in canton. This induces identifying which areas are appropriate for agriculture, which for recreation and which should be protected. Additionally, structural plans contain the information about the present state of spatial development and the goals for the development of each specific

type of land use (built-up areas, road networks and public buildings). For the formulation of these goals, cantonal authorities need to take into account other federal instruments (general concepts), the structural plans of neighbouring cantons and regional development concepts. Structural plans are binding on the local authorities (cantonal and municipal). Structural plans need to be changed if new spatial trends and functions have to be considered or if specific strategies need to be re-defined. Structural plans should be revised every 10 years (Raumplanungsgesetz 1979, Art.6).

Municipal land-use plans (Zonenpläne) aim to define building zones (Bauzonen), agricultural zones (non-building-zones) and protection zones (Schutzzonen), and to define zones for every specific land-use within the municipal territory. Building zones consist of areas appropriate for building, which can be either already partially built-up or requiring to be made accessible in the next 15 years. Land is considered accessible if it is connected to the road network, has adequate access to water, energy and sewage for the designated use. The municipal authority needs to set-up a program to make the entire building zone accessible. An agricultural zone has the functions: a) providing long-term food security, b) conserving the landscape and recreation areas, and c) providing ecological compensation. These functions need to be protected from building activities by separating agricultural areas from building zones. Buildings related to agriculture can be built in agricultural zones. The local authorities permit buildings involved in non-agricultural economic activities in the agricultural zones only if the farm cannot survive without additional income. Protection zones include rivers, lakes and their coasts, attractive landscapes and landscapes of historical or cultural importance, or providing habitats for protected animals. The land-use plans are binding for everyone. The municipal authorities can change the land-use plans if conditions change. Construction of new buildings or change of already existing buildings is only possible with the permission of the municipal authority. Permits are given only if the buildings fit the use defined in the zone and if the land is accessible. Other conditions for permits are formulated in the relevant federal and cantonal laws. Exceptions within the building zones are regulated by the cantonal law on spatial planning. Land-use plans are binding for every person. Generally, municipal accessibility plans are also developed for

municipal land. Accessibility plans should ensure access to public buildings, access to building zones and fix the time steps for the construction of accessibility infrastructure (Raumplanungsgesetz 1979, Art. 15-19).

4.2.3. Distribution of responsibilities for Swiss federal planning policy

Responsibility for planning policy may be on the federal, cantonal or municipal level. Federal authorities define the general goals of planning policies in the Swiss federal law on spatial planning, coordinate the actions of cantons and are responsible for the approval of cantonal structural plans. Additionally, the federal council define the type of objects to be checked by the cantonal authorities for environmental sustainability. The federal department specialized in spatial planning is the federal office for spatial development. (Raumplanungsgesetz 1979, VLP 2008)

Cantonal authorities develop the implementation laws for the Swiss federal law on spatial planning (cantonal law on spatial planning). Cantons are responsible for the distribution of responsibilities between the cantonal and municipal levels and for defining procedures. The competent cantonal authority decides about all construction projects in the non-building-zone, whether they conform to the defined use and if an exceptional permit can be granted. The cantonal authorities evaluate conformity between cantonal structural plan and municipal land-use plans and approves land-use plan revisions. Additionally, the cantonal authorities are responsible for the approval of individual building projects and should assess environmental sustainability before issuing permits. The cantonal authorities designate a department for spatial planning (Cantonal office for spatial planning) (Raumplanungsgesetz 1979 Art.7, 9, 10, 11, VLP 2008).

The cantonal laws on spatial planning can be rather different. This is because the single cantonal laws also regulate the domains that are not regulated at federal level. Therefore, some concepts can be defined differently in neighbouring cantons. Generally, cantons

delegate responsibility for developing municipal land-use plans, municipal accessibility plans and municipal building regulations to the municipalities. The building regulations specify all rules for building new objects or changing existing objects. The municipalities are responsible for informing the public about the planning steps and for providing the basis for public participation in the planning processes. Cantonal law also regulates the decisional procedure. The differences between each canton considered in this study are presented in a separate section (4.2.4) (Raumplanungsgesetz, VLP 2008).

4.2.4. Major steps in the history of Swiss federal planning policy

The history of Swiss planning can be divided into three phases according to Wegelin (1996). The first phase began in the 1950s and lasted until 1976. This phase is characterised by the setting up of the planning system. First, in 1969 planning was added as a goal in the Swiss constitution and consequently the first proposal for a Swiss law on spatial planning was developed. The Swiss electorate rejected it in 1976. The second phase began with the elaboration of a new proposal and concluded with its acceptance by the Swiss electorate as the Swiss federal law on spatial planning in 1979. During the third phase, the federal, cantonal and municipal authorities began to apply the new laws and develop further steps to ameliorate planning. In the first report on spatial planning in 1987, proposals for a new approach to urban planning were formulated with the aim to establish the main guiding principles for spatial planning. These included coordinating traffic management and built-up area expansion management, the participation of locals in planning process, and the planning between different municipalities.

4.2.5. Cantonal laws for implementing spatial planning policy

The cantonal laws on spatial planning of the three cantons considered in this study (Schwyz, St. Gallen and Zurich) contain some similarities. All cantons delegate

responsibility to municipalities for developing land-use plans, accessibility plans and local building regulations. This means that the municipalities studied have a great autonomy in urban management (Planungs- und Baugesetz des Kantons Schwyz 1987, Gesetz über die Raumplanung und das öffentliche Baurecht (Baugesetz) des Kantons St. Gallen 1972, Gesetz über die Raumplanung und das öffentliche Baurecht (Planungs- und Baugesetz) des Kantons Zürich 1975).

However, the laws of the three cantons also contain some concepts and some procedural steps have been defined differently. Building-zone are divided slightly differently in the three cantons (Table 2), although, all three cantons define residential zones, industrial and commercial zones, zones for public buildings and green zones (see Table 1). Depending on the specific functions of the cantonal land, special zones for sport infrastructure like the ski zone in St. Gallen or for intensively used leisure areas like in St. Gallen and Zurich are designed. Agricultural zones generally consist of areas appropriate for agriculture. In Canton St. Gallen hamlets to be protected are included in the agricultural zones to maintain the historical settlements. Zones for hamlets are allowed only if they are foreseen by the general spatial plan for St. Gallen.

Another relevant difference between the three cantons is in the procedure specifying the decisional steps for the approval of land use and accessibility plans. In both Canton Schwyz and Canton Zurich these plans are first presented to the public, which can then submit complaints to the municipality (Table 1). In a second step, the municipal assembly can vote on approving the plans once they have eventually been modified according to the complaints. Finally, the cantonal government has to approve them. In Canton St. Gallen, those responsible for the approval of the plans together with the cantonal government are not the municipal assemblies but the municipal councils. Members of the public have may try to launch referendum for plans. (Planungs- und Baugesetz des Kantons Schwyz 1987, Gesetz über die Raumplanung und das öffentliche Baurecht (Baugesetz) des Kantons St. Gallen 1972, Gesetz über die Raumplanung und das öffentliche Baurecht (Planungs- und Baugesetz) des Kantons Zürich 1975).

Domain	Common planning features in all three cantons
Building zones	Residential zones, core zones, commercial zones, industrial zones, zones for public buildings, green zones
Agricultural areas	Areas appropriate for agriculture, areas that should be used for agriculture to achieve general goals Extension of residential buildings is possible to support generational continuity
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The municipal council presents the goals of land use and accessibility plans to the public 2) The municipal council considers public propositions and objections and develops concepts, plans and regulations 3) The municipal council presents the concepts, plans and regulations and public can bring objection within 30 days 4) The municipal council decides whether if to take into account the objections and elaborates the definitive plans and regulations 5) The municipal council presents the plans and regulations to the municipal assembly, which then decides whether to accept or reject the proposed changes 6) The cantonal government decides whether to approve plans and regulations

Table 1: Common planning definitions and procedural steps defined in the cantonal Laws on spatial planning of the cantons Schwyz, St. Gallen and Zurich

Canton	Building zones	Agricultural zones	Procedure
Schwyz	Green zones for conservation Green areas within the settlements Zones for recreation	-	-
St. Gallen	Zone for leisure Zone for skiing Zone for health facilities Reserve zones	Includes zone for hamlets	Land-use plans and regulations are not responsibility of the municipal assembly, but it is still possible to hold a referendum.
Zurich	Zones for protecting residential areas (quarters) Reserve zones	-	-

Table 2: Differences in the definitions and procedural steps defined in the cantonal laws on spatial planning of the Cantons Schwyz, St. Gallen and Zurich

4.2.6. Design of Swiss federal housing policy

Housing policies are regulated by the law to promote the building of flats and property (Wohnbau- und Eigentumsförderungsgesetz vom 4. Oktober 1974 (WEG)). The goals of the Swiss federal housing policy are to foster the provision of access infrastructure for land for flat development, promote the construction of itself and ensure that rent and property prices remain reasonable.

Various instruments and measures are needed to accomplish the goals of housing policy, e.g. subsidies for building access infrastructure. Credits are provided for public bodies or

private actors to fulfil people's needs for residential buildings and for the acquisition of flats or houses for their own use. Additionally, the federal authorities financially support low-rent housing so long as certain criteria are fulfilled.

The federal authorities work jointly with organisations to accomplish the tasks foreseen by the law. Cantons are responsible for the development of cantonal implementation laws together with the formulation of measures to complement laws for the promoting the building of flats and other property (Wohnbau- und Eigentumsförderungsgesetz vom 4. Oktober 1974 (WEG)).

Two measures directly affect municipal land. First, the federal authorities at the beginning of the 1970s assessed the property market and decide to intervene with a decree to re-balance the market at the municipal level. The decree passed in 1973 blocked for some months the construction of new public buildings in the municipalities. The aim of the decree was for construction activities to focus on building new flats in order to respond partially to the great demand of accommodation. The decree was applied in all three municipalities considered in this study (Beschluss vom 23. August 1973 über Maßnahmen zur Stabilisierung des Baumarktes). Second, building cooperatives operating in the single municipalities could benefit from federal and cantonal subsidies promoting the construction of cheap flats.

5. Linking urban change to urban management

5.1. Containing urban sprawl – Evaluating effectiveness of urban growth boundaries set by the Swiss land-use plan

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5.1.1. Abstract

Urban containment strategies are one of the best-known planning instruments for managing urban sprawl. The two main types of such strategies are greenbelts and urban growth boundaries. The boundaries set by the Land-use plan in Switzerland have been applied since 1970. We evaluate the effect and success of this strategy by analysing expansion of developed land, change in number of buildings, and building density within and outside building zones in four Swiss municipalities 1970–2000. Our results show that the boundary restricted most development to building zones and promoted increased building density. Generally, building density increased in the building zones but decreased outside of building zones. For more efficiency and success, the political institutions should specify explicit goals for development inside and outside of building zones, and develop new instruments for guiding development outside of building zones.

5.1.2. Introduction

Urban sprawl and expansion of urban areas are phenomena in Europe and all over the world (Antrop, 1998; Hammer et al., 2004; Schulz and Dosch, 2005; Siedentop, 2005). The development of strategies to manage sprawl is a serious challenge. Urban containment strategies, the local imposition of urban containment policies to restrict or prohibit urban settlement beyond a certain line, are well known land-use planning instruments (Wassmer, 2006). The two main types of urban containment strategies are greenbelts and urban growth boundaries (UGBs). Greenbelts are a physical area of open space that surrounds a city and acts as a barrier to urban growth (Bengston and Youn, 2006). UGBs are not a physical space, but a dividing line drawn around an urban area on a map to separate the urban area from surrounding rural areas. Areas outside the boundary are zoned for rural use while areas inside are zoned for development (building zone). UGBs and greenbelts are not intended to be static but are adjusted according to

new needs; in most cases that means every 10–20 years (Bengston et al., 2004). In Europe, other well-known urban growth management policies are “master plans” and open space preservation policies (e.g. Green Heart in the Netherlands, Koomen et al., 2008). Since the Green Heart should provide the rural counterpart of the metropolitan area, the building of new dwellings is strongly regulated in the areas of the Green Heart (Van der Valk and Faludi, 1997). However, we do not consider these strategies in the paper, because they are not comparable with the main types of urban containment strategies.

The scientific community recognises the importance of systematic evaluation of the effect and success of growth management strategies. Modelling studies (Jun, 2004; Wassmer, 2006) and process analyses (Weitz and Moore, 1998; Carruthers, 2002; Couch and Karecha, 2006; Tang et al., 2007; Koomen et al., 2008) have detected common trends in the built-up area development. The majority of built-up area expansion and most new housing units are found in urban areas designated by UGBs and greenbelts (Weitz and Moore, 1998; Cox, 2001; Couch and Karecha, 2006). Further, building density in the affected urban areas has increased (Hammer et al., 2004; Brown et al., 2005). However, in many cases, low density development occurred beyond the boundary (Weber and Puissant, 2003; Tang et al., 2007). Most studies have found that UGBs and greenbelts slowed but not stopped the built-up area expansion in non-building zones (Weitz and Moore, 1998, Bengston and Youn, 2006). Similarly, the Green Heart strategy in the Netherlands (Dieleman et al., 1999) retarded but did not eliminate urban sprawl. As result, the open spaces were not optimally preserved (Kruythoff and Teule, 1997; Van der Valk and Faludi, 1997; Koomen et al., 2008).

The evaluation of the success of urban growth management strategies is challenging because most policy strategies lack an explicit goal (Bengston et al., 2004; Koomen et al., 2008). Although smart growths, as well as the conservation of agricultural land and open space, are common general goals (Cox, 2001; Talen and Knaap, 2003; Von Haaren and Nadin, 2003), they are not sufficient to derive explicit evaluation criteria.

The international comparison of urban growth management strategies is especially difficult because researchers find different data in different countries and even between cities within the same country. Consequently, many different data-driven methods exist for measuring urbanisation trends.

Most studies analyse developed land (Kasanko et al., 2006; Millward, 2006; Wassmer, 2006), number of buildings (Weitz and Moore, 1998) or number of building permits (Tang et al., 2007; Nelson and Moore, 1993) for evaluating UGBs and greenbelts. Some studies compare countries where such strategies are applied with countries where they are not applied. Von Haaren and Nadin (2003) conclude that the greenbelt strategy in England partially explains the much lower extent of developed land per person in England compared to Germany, where no such strategy was applied. Only a few studies have systematically characterised built-up areas by comparing aspects of areas inside and outside UGBs. Kasanko et al. (2005) characterised development in built-up and non-built-up areas, residential land-use expansion, land consumption for urban expansion, and population density change for 15 European Cities from the mid-1950s till the late 1990s. However, this study did not compare development inside and outside of building zones.

Although long-time periods are necessary for the evaluation of urban containment strategies, few studies consider trends over more than 20 years. A notable exception is Jun (2004) who analysed the effects of Portland's UGB on urban development between 1960 and 2000. Extended time periods are crucial because of the considerable time lag between application of policy strategies and manifestation of their expected effect (Bengston et al., 2004).

Land-use plans in Switzerland, similar to UGBs, set boundaries dividing building zones from non-building zones. These boundaries constitute case studies for evaluating the success of urban growth management strategies because these measures have been in place in many towns since the 1960s. So far effects of these boundaries have not been evaluated systematically and comprehensively. The 2005 Swiss Report on Spatial Planning (ARE, 2005) evaluated the Swiss Planning Policy – in which the Land-use plan

plays an important role – for the period 1980–2000. The report points out the explosion of the built-up area, the loss of agricultural areas, and intense construction activity in the non-building zone. However, the report relies on aggregated data, preventing a specific analysis of boundaries and their local effects.

We present a process analysis of built-up area expansion to contribute to the ongoing political and scientific discussion of the success of the Land-use plan (ARE, 2003, 2005; Hornung et al., 2005; Schulz and Dosch, 2005) in Switzerland and of urban containment strategies in an international context. The goal of this paper is the evaluation of the effect and the success of the Swiss Land-use plan in promoting the economical use of the scarce land resources in Switzerland. We are interested in (1) the ability of the Land-use plan to restrict the built-up area expansion to the building zones, and (2) the ability of the Land-use plan to foster compact urban development.

The following questions were investigated in order to understand the development of the past 30 years:

- (1) How did the building zone change?
- (2) How did the extent of the developed land and the number of buildings change inside and outside the building zone?
- (3) How did the compactness of buildings on the developed land change inside and outside the building zone?
- (4) How did the population density on the developed land change?

Based on the answers for these questions, we present requirements for measuring the success of UGBs and we discuss whether the boundaries set by the Land-use plan were successful.

Swiss planning system

The Swiss Land-use plan is mandated by the Federal Law on Spatial Planning and it arguably is the most important instrument of the Swiss multilevel planning system. The Federal Law on Spatial Planning states that the primary goal of spatial planning must be the economical use of the scarce land area. Cantons are responsible for the actual spatial planning. They develop procedures and regulations for spatial planning as well as for the construction of buildings and roads. Furthermore, the Cantons design a structure plan (*Richtplan*) that covers their entire area and visualizes the desired future spatial development. This structure plan is subject to approval by the Federal Council. Although a certain standardisation of the Cantonal laws is granted, the cantonal structure plans differ considerably. Land-use plans (*Nutzungspläne*) lay down binding provision on how land can be used in practice. In most of the Cantons, this is the task of the municipalities (*Gemeinde*, lowest administrative unit). Land-use plans set the boundary between building zones and non-building zones (Art. 15 Raumplanungsgesetz). The boundaries between building and non-building zones are regularly adjusted for new needs and undergo a general revision every 10–15 years. Non-building zones are designated as agriculture zones with only certain types of buildings allowed, such as buildings related to agricultural activities and infrastructure services. Some scattered settlements have traditionally been part of the cultural landscape and are often found in the non-building zones (Haller and Karlen, 1999; Petitpierre, 1999).

5.1.3. Methods

Study area

The study area (Figure 1) is part of the metropolitan area of Zurich and consists of four municipalities (Rüti, Jona, Rapperswil and Freienbach) located at the south-eastern

extremity of the lake of Zurich. In the year 2002, 49,700 people lived in this agglomeration on a surface area of 53km².

The four municipalities differ in their past urban development. However, they represent a range of development found elsewhere in Swiss agglomerations. The study area was chosen because it experienced rapid urbanisation between 1960 and 2000 that transformed the four municipalities into an agglomeration of four similar urbanised municipalities.

Jona in Canton St. Gallen has a surface of 20.7 km² and experienced rapid but constant population growth between 1960 and 2000, changing from a rural village of 6000 inhabitants to an urbanised municipality of 17,000 inhabitants. Similarly Freienbach (Canton Schwyz, 20.3km²) changed from a rural village of 6000 inhabitants (1960) to an urban municipality of 13,000 inhabitants (2000). In 1960 Rüti (Canton Zurich) was a regional industrial centre despite its rural character with 8000 inhabitants. After a smooth growth to 9500 inhabitant (1970), the population remained stable until 1980 due to a stagnation of industrial activity. From 1980 to 2000 the population increased to 11,000 inhabitants and Rüti developed an urban character. Rapperswil (Canton St. Gallen) is a town with an old centre and castle with an almost totally built up municipal territory since the 1960s. The population increased between 1960 and 1970 from 7500 to 9000 inhabitants and then slowly decreased to 7000 inhabitants in 2000.

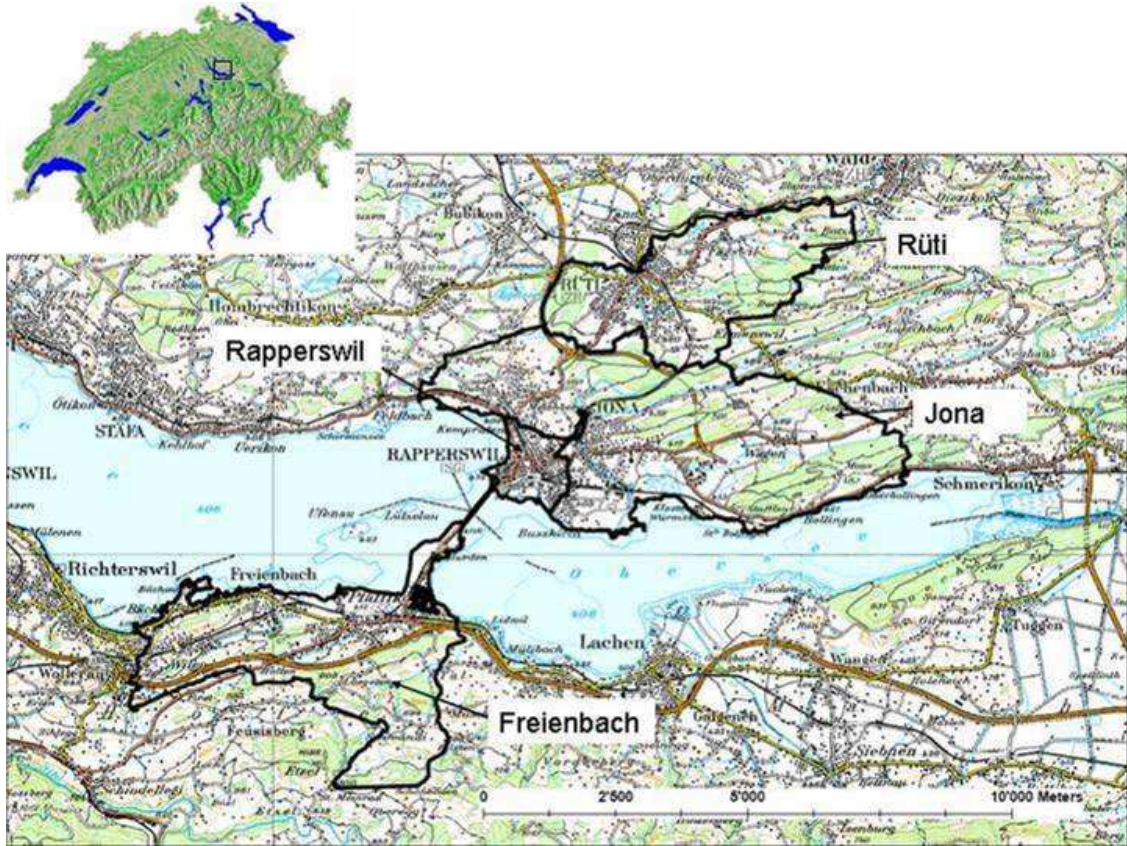


Figure 1. Study area. Source: SWISSTOPO (Bundesamt für Landestopographie), Landeskarte der Schweiz.

Building zone

The building zone boundaries of each municipality were digitized in a GIS. We considered the first Land-use plans and the ones after the general revisions. From these layers, the building zone extents were calculated for each Land-use plan and each municipality. Sources for this information were the Land Use Maps (1:5000 or 1:10,000) of every municipality.

Built-up area

The built-up area expansion was measured by (1) the expansion of developed land and by (2) the number of new buildings. In both approaches we distinguished between expansion

within and outside of the building zone. We used the topographic maps 1:25,000 of the Swiss Federal Office for Topography for determining the expansion of the developed land. We used the maps that were dated closest to the years 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 or 2000 and determined the expansion for the periods after the application of the first Land-use plan for each municipality. For that we digitized the boundaries of the built-up areas in a GIS. We considered as developed land the area where buildings, roads, and parks were continuous (less than 70m distance). All types of buildings were considered (residential, commercial, industrial and infrastructure buildings). We defined a group with a minimum of three continuous buildings as built-up area. These GIS-layers were intersected with the boundaries separating building and non-building zones in the Land-use plan to calculate the extent of the developed area within and outside of the building zone.

We used the Swiss national building database (BFS, Eidg. Gebäude- und Wohnregister (GWR)) for determining the number of new buildings. This database contains the coordinates of all buildings and information about construction date and use-type. We intersected in the GIS the buildings-layer with the building zone boundaries to quantify the number of buildings located in- and outside the building zone for each municipality for the years 1960, 1970, 1990 and 2000. The GWR is complete only for residential buildings. We used the Swiss topographical maps 1:25,000 to complement this information with data on industrial, commercial and infrastructural buildings.¹

Compactness

We calculated the compactness by dividing the number of buildings in a municipality by the area of the developed land for the years 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000. There is one tricky issue when one calculates compactness by dividing the number of buildings by the developed area. Since developed area was defined as the area covered by a group of

¹ Sources: SWISSTOPO (Bundesamt für Landestopographie), Landeskarte der Schweiz: Blatt 1112 (1972/1978/1991/2002), Blatt 1113 (1972/1978/1990/2002), Blatt 1132 (1971/1983/1989/2002); BFS (Bundesamt für Statistik), Eidg. Gebäude und Wohnregister; BFS (Bundesamt für Statistik), GEOSTAT, Neuchâtel; Zonenplan, Gemeinde Freienbach, 1972/1982; Zonenplan, Gemeinde Jona, 1968/1984/1991; Zonenplan, Gemeinde Rapperswil, 1954/1979/1997; Zonenplan, Gemeinde Rüti, 1967/1976/1997.

at least three buildings at a maximal distance of 70 m, isolated buildings or clusters of two buildings counted as buildings but did not generate developed land. This means that the building density calculated for the areas outside of the building zone is slightly higher than it should be. We estimated this effect at maximally 1%.

Population density

We calculated the population density on developed land in the years 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000 by dividing the number of inhabitants registered in the municipalities by the developed land extent within and outside the buildings zone. The source for the population data was the Swiss population census (BFS, GEOSTAT, Volkszählung).

5.1.4. Results

Building zone

The building zone extent changed only slightly for Jona, Rüti, and Freienbach (Figure 2). In all three municipalities the building zone was progressively developed. In Jona the built portion increased over time from 48% to 75%, in Rüti from 59% to 75% and in Freienbach from 61% to 73%. Clearly, the building zone always provided enough room for an expansion of the built-up area.

Building zones experienced extensions as well as reductions in these three municipalities during the study period. Jona progressively extended its building zone whereas Freienbach and Rüti extended their zone in some periods and reduced it in others (Figure 2). Some built-up areas originally located in the non-building zones were designated building zone in 1982 (Freienbach) and in 1984 (Jona). Rapperswil always was different because the entire municipal territory has been designated as building zone and largely

been built-up since 1960. Indeed, 98% of Rapperswil's building zone has been built-up in 1960 and since 1990 the building zone is entirely built-up.

Built-up area

The built-up area, measured by the extent of the developed land and the number of buildings, grew considerably inside as well as outside of the building zone from 1970 to 2000 (Figure 2). In all periods and in all the municipalities more than 70% of the total expansion of developed land and total increase in number of buildings occurred within the building zones. Consequently, during the entire study period, the vast majority of developed land and buildings have been located in the building zones. For Jona, Rüti and Freienbach the proportion of all developed land that was located in the building zone generally increased or remained stable. The same is true for the number of buildings. More specifically, in Jona the ratio of developed land inside the building zone to outside the building zone went from 4:1 (1970) to 6:1 (2000). This trend was even more pronounced for the number of buildings. In 1970 the ratio was 3:1 and in 2000 it was almost 8:1. For Rüti the ratio of developed land inside the building zone to outside the building zone remained stable at 10:1. The ratio of the number of buildings inside the building zone to outside the building zone increased however from 10:1 (1970) to 12:1 (2000). For Freienbach the ratio of developed land inside the building zone to outside the building zone remained rather constant at 7:1. For the number of buildings this ratio increased from 7:1 (1980) to 9:1 (2000).

Generally, in the building zone, higher growth rates were observed for number of buildings whereas outside the building zone higher growth rates were observed for developed land. These rates varied for the different periods. For Jona, the growth rate of developed land varied from 25% (1990–2000) to 35% (1980–1990) (inside) and –10% (1970–1980) to 10% (1990–2000) (outside). For the number of buildings we registered a growth rate of 20% (1990–2000) to 52% (1970–1980) (inside) and 1% (1980–1990) to 23% (1970–1980) (outside). For Rüti the growth rate of developed land varied between 0% (1970–1980) to 22% (1980–1990) (inside) and of 0% (1970) to 91% (1980–1990)

(outside). For the number of buildings, we observed growth rates of 14% (1990–2000) to 24% (1980–1990) (inside) and of 3% (1970–1980) to 26% (1980–1990) (outside). For Freienbach the growth rate of developed land varied from 2% (1990–2000) to 10% (1980–1990) (inside) and –2% (1990–2000) to 27% (1980–1990) (outside). The number of buildings increased at rates of 8% (1990–2000) to 24% (1980–1990) (inside) and –2% (1990–2000) to 13% (1980–1990) (outside).

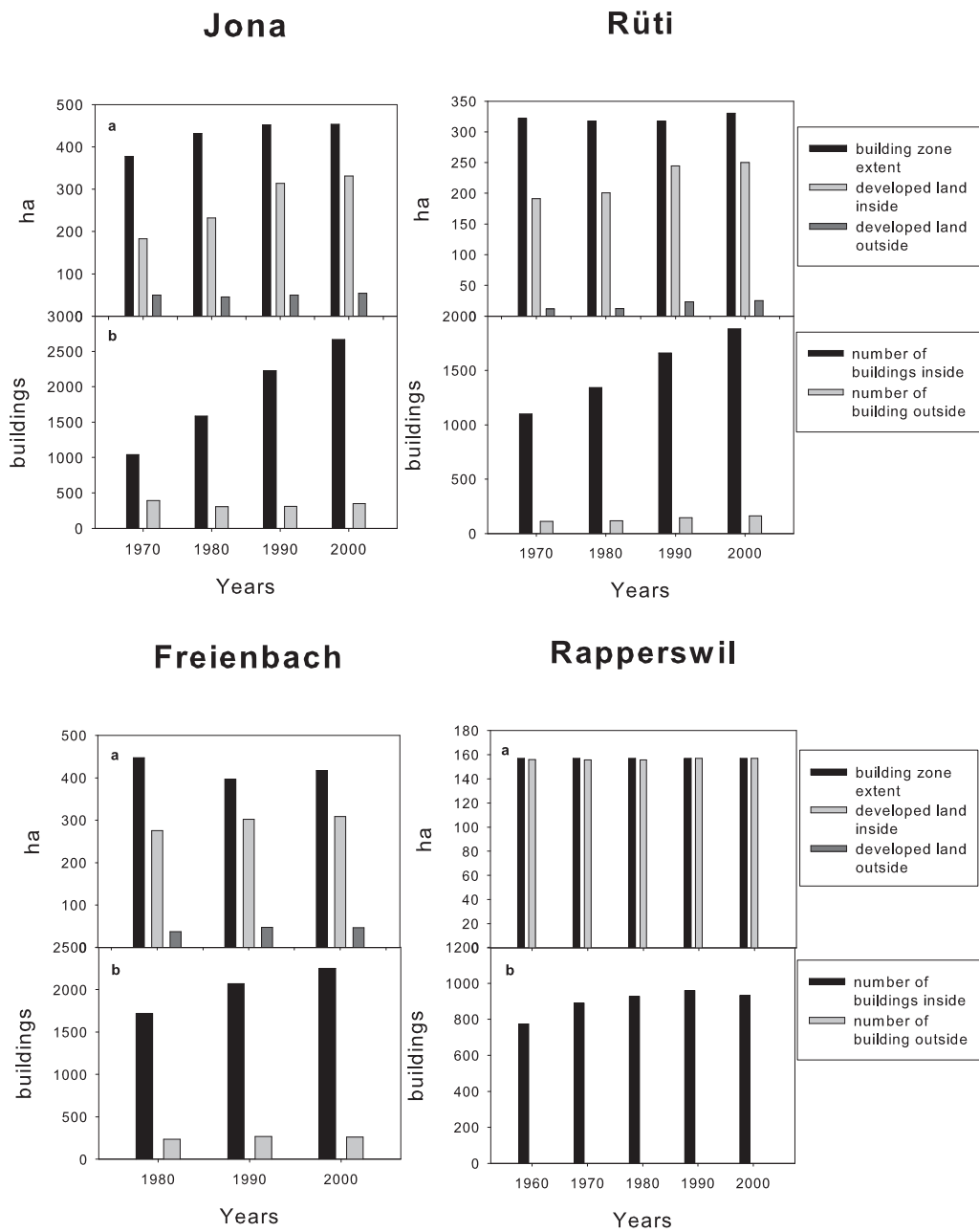


Figure 2. For the four municipalities the upper part of the graphs (a) illustrates the change in building zone extent, in the developed land extent inside of the building zones and outside of the buildings zones between 1970 and 2000, and the lower part of the graphs (b) illustrates the changes in the number of buildings inside and outside of the building zones between 1970 and 2000.

Compactness

In Jona, Rüti, and Freienbach the number of buildings per ha developed land changed in the same manner (Figure 3). In all three municipalities at the beginning of the study period, the compactness was higher outside than inside the building zone. In 2000, the opposite was true in all three municipalities.

Within the building zone, the compactness increased constantly during the study period in all municipalities. Both Jona and Rüti showed a great compactness increase in the periods 1970–1980 and 1990–2000. In Freienbach the compactness increased with the same intensity from 1980 to 2000. In Rapperswil compactness increased greatly between 1960 and 1970, slightly increased during the period 1970–1980, and slightly decreased during the period 1990–2000.

In all three municipalities the compactness outside the building zone decreased between 1970 (1980 for Freienbach) and 2000. However, only in Freienbach the compactness constantly decreased during the entire period. In Rüti we observed a slight decrease in the first period, a drop in the second period from 9.5 to 6.2 buildings/ha and a slight increase between 1990 and 2000. In Jona we registered a drop from 7.8 to 6.1 buildings/ha between 1970 and 1980 and an increase between 1980 and 2000.

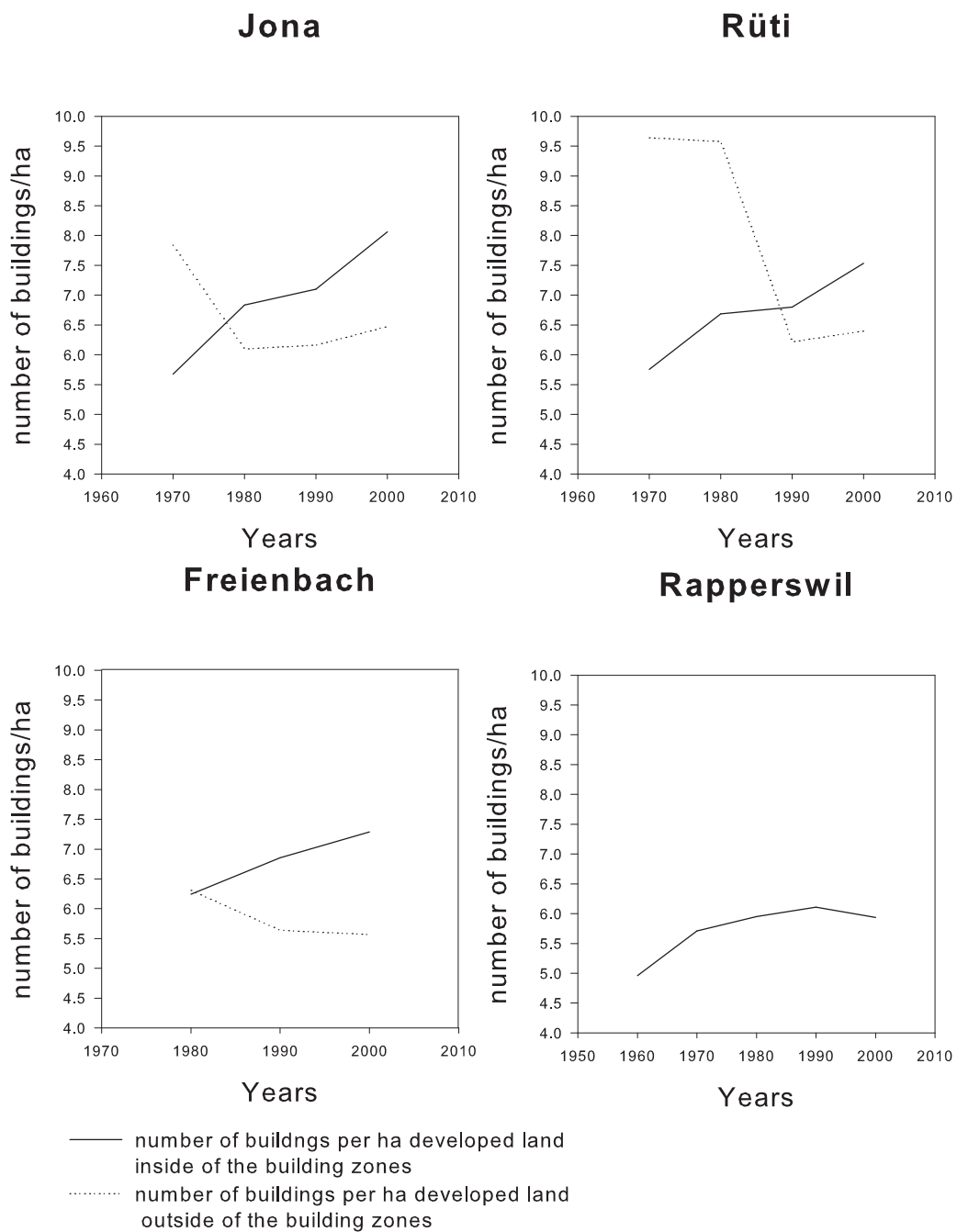


Figure 3. Change in the building density within and outside the building zone in Jona, Rüti, Freienbach and Rapperswil between 1960 and 2000.

Population density

The development of population density per ha developed land showed two trends. In Rapperswil and Rüti, population density decreased whereas it increased in Freienbach and Jona (Figure 4). Rapperswil experienced the greatest change. The number of people per ha developed land dropped from 62 to 45. Interestingly, the population density became more homogeneous among the four municipalities over the course of the study period. In 1970 the values ranged from 65 to 39 and in 2000 they ranged from 45 to 36.

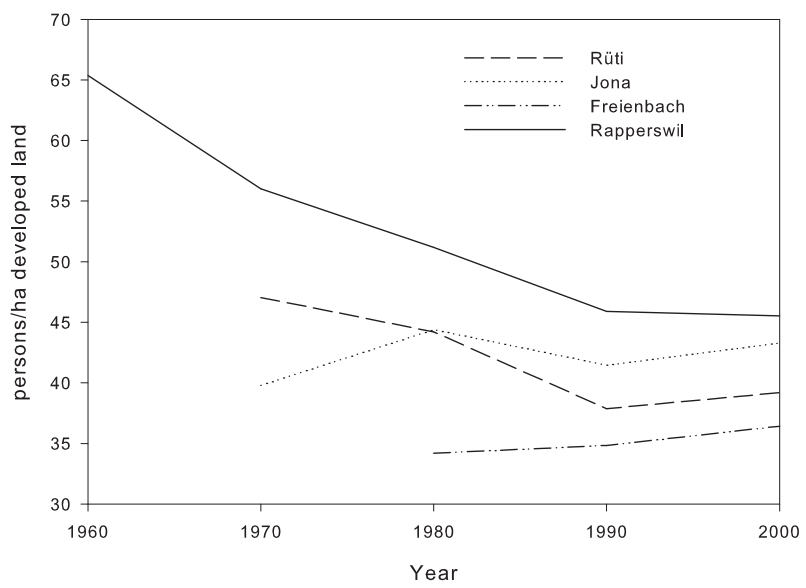


Figure 4. Change in the population density in Rüti, Jona, Freienbach and Rapperswil between 1960 and 2000.

5.1.5. Discussion

Building zone

Although during the study period the building zones were progressively built-up, in 2000 in Rüti, Jona and Freienbach 25% of building zone extent was still available for further development (Figure 2). Obviously, the building zones originally instituted in the 1960s were extremely large. Such large initial building zones are not unique to the study area but are common in other Swiss municipalities (ARE, 2003). Overly optimistic political reasons were likely the primary causes. Unfortunately, overly large buildings zones are not very effective growth management tools because they allow the low-density developments (Millward, 2006).

A few times we observed the reduction of the building zone. In Rüti between 1970 and 1980 and Freienbach between 1980 and 1990 some land was converted from building zone to non-building zone (Figure 2). The same phenomenon was observed by Couch and Karecha (2006) for the greenbelt in the North West Region of England between 1997 and 2003 where the greenbelt was expanded of 2% at the expense of the building zone. In Switzerland, this phenomenon is rare because in most cases, the municipality is required to pay the landowners for lost opportunity.

The boundary set by the Land-use plan in Rüti, Jona and Freienbach was redefined every 10–15 years. This is in compliance with the Swiss Law that requires a general adjustment every 15 years. In an international comparison this adjustment interval could be classified as a short-time horizon. Millward (2006) classifies the boundaries adjusted every 5–15 years, like the boundaries used in Britain and Japan, as boundaries with short-time horizons that extremely ration land supply for future development. Long-time population projections and horizons plans are used in Canada and outline land-supply for the next 40 years.

Built-up area

The boundary set by the Land-use plan was generally able to keep most growth within building zones. An increasing proportion of developed land and buildings became concentrated within the boundary (Figure 2). In terms of new buildings, building activity outside of the building zone slowed more than in comparable international studies. In Freienbach, Rüti and Jona, 92–100% of the new buildings have been built in the building zone and only 0–8% outside. Jun (2004) found for Portland (USA, OR), 25–40% of new housing units built outside of the UGB 1960–2000 and Couch and Karecha (2006) observed up to 15% of new dwellings in the greenbelt in northern England during 1980–2001.

The trends in development activities outside of the building zone changed over time. In Freienbach the number of the new buildings and developed land outside of the building zone decreased over time. In Rüti and Jona, however, the portion of new buildings and newly developed land outside the building zone increased over time, indicating a diminishing effect of the boundary set by the Land-use plan and an increasing pressure on agricultural land.

In Rapperswil the lack of vacant land left little room for expansion of the built-up area. However, infill development allowed the construction of new buildings. Indeed, 1960–1990, 180 new buildings were built in the already urbanised area. Between 1990 and 2000 the total number of buildings decreased because a number of small houses were replaced by a few large new apartment buildings. Although the land-use remained residential, the zoning changed from single houses to multi family housing. Couch and Karecha (2006) observed in some areas of the Northern Region of England an increase in the number of buildings because of industrial buildings were substituted by residential buildings, following industrial decline and a zoning change from industrial to residential.

The boundary set by the Land-use plan might not have been the only factor that helped to concentrate the growth in the building zone. For example, the UGB had only little

influence on the location of new housing in one county in the Portland (Oregon) area (Jun, 2004). The author of this study suggested that new housing might be more likely to be built inside the existing urbanised area. The existing spatial configuration has been recognised as an important driver of urbanisation in Switzerland as well (Hersperger and Bürgi, 2007).

Compactness

Within the building zone, the boundary promoted infill development. From a low-density built-up area in the four municipalities, dense urban cores developed due to infill development. Infill development in already built-up areas is the expected effect of UGBs and has been observed by many other studies (Weitz and Moore, 1998; Cox, 2001; Hammer et al., 2004; Jun, 2004; Brown et al., 2005; Couch and Karecha, 2006).

Before sprawl, the agricultural landscape was characterised by low densities of rural towns, hamlets of higher density and individual farms with one or two buildings (Hornung et al., 2005). Our research supports this observation insofar that in 1970, at the beginning of the urbanisation process, in Rüti, Jona and Freienbach the built-up area was more compact outside of the building zone than inside (Figure 3). One reason for the initially low density in rural towns is that previous growth had frequently occurred along connecting roads. An alternative partial explanation for the higher densities of hamlets could be the slight overestimation of the density due to the method (see Method section).

Interestingly, the proportion of new buildings built outside of the building zone always equalled or was greater than the proportion of newly developed land in the same area. This means that the new buildings outside of the buildings zone generated more developed land than the new buildings in the building zone.

This decrease of density outside of the building zone in the three municipalities might have been caused by agricultural structural change (Hornung et al., 2005). The structural change of farming is characterized by a reduction of the people employed in agriculture.

Furthermore, the remaining farmers often engage in an additional economical activity because of the low income provided by agriculture. The Swiss Federal Law for Spatial Planning always has allowed the construction of selected buildings not related with agriculture outside of the building zone. Consequently, scattered new buildings for auxiliary economical activities and for residential use were built next to the traditional compact agricultural hamlets and farms. Other studies also show that rural development policies can lead to a low-density built-up area expansion in the non-building zone. For example, outside of Liverpool, the conversion of farm buildings to residential building led to the expansion of residential area in the greenbelt (Couch and Karecha, 2006). Furthermore, Tang et al. (2007) explained the built-up area expansion in the greenbelt zone in Hong Kong as consistent with the intention of the government to promote the building of small houses as development options for the rural population.

However, also the shift of the urban growth boundary can explain the trend towards lower density outside of the building zone. In Jona, the re-zoning of a high-density built-up area to building zone contributed to the strong compactness decrease between 1970 and 1980 outside of the building zone.

Population density

Contrasting trends have been observed concerning the development of population density on developed land. A decrease of population density is rather common and has been recognised as one of the most important threats to sustainability (Schulz and Dosch, 2005). However, Kasanko et al. (2006) analysed the development of 15 European cities 1950–2000 and found a population density increase in two cities (Bilbao and Munich). In Switzerland population density increases have been observed in peri-urban centres that have experienced rapid urbanisation during the last decades, such as Jona and Freienbach. Density decreases were found in city centres (Schulz et al., 2003) such as in land-locked Rapperswil. The population density decrease in Rüti might be related to local industrialization that was very strong in the 1950s but severely slowed down after the 1960s.

How to measure the success of UGBs

UGBs have multiple effects on the urban development, all of which should be considered with an evaluation. Most of the existing literature, however, focuses on selected aspects of built-up area expansion. Many studies use developed land expansion (Wassmer, 2006; Millward, 2006 and Saizen et al., 2006) or change of the number of housing units or dwellings (Weitz and Moore, 1998; Jun, 2004; Couch and Karecha, 2006) as an index for the effect of the urban containment strategy. Other studies combine these indexes to calculate housing density (Carrhuters, 2002, Millward, 2006). Expansion of developed land is an appropriate index if one is interested in the footprint of urban uses (Millward, 2006). The number of housing units or dwellings measures the intensity of residential use. However, this index focuses on residential development and neglects, for example, commercial developments.

We suggest measuring the success of UGBs with three variables, all measured inside and outside UGBs or building zones: (1) developed land extent, (2) number of buildings, and (3) building density. Clearly, the analysis should not be restricted to residential buildings but consider all types of buildings (residential, industrial, agricultural, and public). This holds especially true for Switzerland because the goals of the Land-use plan encompass all building types. These three variables not only provide three types of information but the comparison of the values for the three variables providing additional insight.

Additional variables could enhance evaluation of the success of the boundary set by the Land-use plan. For example, the volume of the buildings would provide amore precise measure of land-use intensity. Detailed information about the building type (residential, industrial, agricultural and public) could differentiate among distinct urbanization processes. In this study it was impossible to collect this information within the study duration.

Evaluation of the success of the boundary set by Land-use plan

Four aspects are useful for the evaluation of success. The low number of new buildings built outside of the building zones, the increase in density within the building zones, the concentration of the built-up area in the building zones and the strict management of the boundary all indicate that the boundary set by the Land-use plan was successful.

The first indication of success is the number of new buildings that were constructed outside of buildings zones. Without an exact indication of the maximum that can be built outside of the building zone, a proper evaluation is difficult. Weitz and Moore (1998) propose that with 70% of new dwellings built in the urban core (within the UGB) urban development can be considered compact, and be judged positively. In Swiss urban centres 2% and in Swiss rural municipalities 28% of the new buildings have been built in the non-building zones; the Swiss average amounts to 10% (Hornung et al., 2005). Because the strong reduction of agricultural land during the last 20 years was mainly due to expansion of built-up areas, the Swiss Federal Office for Spatial Planning concluded that the building activity outside of the building zone was excessive, especially in the rural municipalities (BRP, 1998). Such rural municipalities are found predominately in the Alps. The municipalities of the study area are somewhat between urban centres and rural municipalities. Therefore the building activity in the study area is best compared with the Swiss average of 10%. In the study area, in each 10-year period and each municipality, between 0% and 7% of the new buildings have been built in the non-building zones. That is considerably less than 10%. Therefore, the boundary set by the Land-use plan was rather successful. One reason for the success might be the availability of enough space for expansion within the building zones throughout the study period.

The second indication of success is given by the ability of the boundary in promoting high-density development within the building zone and in directing built-up area expansion pressure to the building zones. The considerable infill development in all four municipalities clearly indicates that the boundary was successful.

Some studies consider the frequency of the boundary expansions as criterion for the strictness and success of the boundary management (Dawkins and Nelson, 2002; Millward, 2006). Revisions occurring every 15 years, as in the study area, are considered an indication for a strict management of the urban containment strategy (Millward, 2006). Furthermore, a reduction of the built-up area extent, as observed in Rüti 1970–1980 and Freienbach 1980–1990, is generally an indication of strict boundary management.

However, the boundaries set under the Land-use plan were not able to control all aspects of urban sprawl. The boundaries were not able to stop the declining population density in Rüti and Rapperswil. A similar trend has been considered a consequence of too much space available for built-up area expansion due to a non optimal boundary management (Wassmer, 2006). However, in our study area we interpret this trend as a decoupling of population growth and built-up area expansion due to increasing wealth. Not surprisingly, the boundary was not able to affect the low density of the development outside the building zone. Excluding Rapperswil, on average during a 10-year period 4% of the new buildings and 13% of the developed land expansion occurred outside of the building zone (Figure 2). This is an unfortunate development that calls for new specific planning instruments.

One difficulty for the evaluation arise from the conflicting goals and regulations about (1) agricultural land conservation and economical use of land formulated in the Swiss federal law on spatial planning and (2) the building activities outside of the building zones for agricultural purposes formulated by the Swiss Federal and Cantonal Laws on Spatial Planning. Considering exclusively the general goals expressed in the Federal Law (1) the low-density development outside of the building zone is rather discouraging. However, the building activity due to economical structural change in the agricultural areas is allowed by Federal and Cantonal Laws on Spatial Planning (2). The conflict caused by these regulations is an issue of current political debates.

5.1.6. Conclusions

For a political evaluation of the achievement of the general goals contained in the Laws, political institutions should on one hand express some target values or trends about how the building activity within and outside of the building zone should take place. On the other hand explicit goals regarding adequate and realistic compactness of built-up areas should be expressed. These explicit targets would allow implementation of the Land-use plan and regulation of building activity outside of the building zone to be better coordinated. In order to better understand the effect and success of the boundary set by the Land-use plan, future studies should investigate how a) the implementation of the Land-use plan and b) the spatial characteristics drive the built-up area expansion inside and outside of the building zones. Furthermore, future studies should identify and quantify the function of the buildings outside of the building zone.

5.1.7. Acknowledgements

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5.2. Building activity outside the building zones

5.2.1. Introduction

The results presented in the section 5.1 show the absolute evolution of the number of buildings outside the building zone. Specific information on the building activity outside the building zones can help to specifically characterise urban change outside the building zones and evaluate the land-use plan better.

5.2.2. Methods

The data used for the analyses presented in 5.1 were complemented with the digitization in a GIS of new buildings built in each 10-years period outside the building zones, which had still not been registered in the GWR (Gebäude- und Wohnregister, mostly only for residential buildings).

From the information contained in the GWR it was possible to divide, in a first step, the buildings into two categories: residential and non-residential buildings. Fieldwork was used to classify non-residential buildings in Jona and Freienbach. All buildings were put in one of the following categories: buildings for agricultural use or forestry, buildings for industrial or commercial use, infrastructure, residential buildings and other buildings. In Jona and Freienbach the new buildings in each of these categories built every 10 years were calculated.

5.2.3. Results and Discussion

Considering the development of the building activity outside the building zones, the three municipalities show very different trends. In Jona and Rüti, the total number of buildings built outside of the building zone constantly decreased from 1970 to 2000 (figure 6). By contrast, this number increased for Freienbach (figure 6). Jona shows the strongest building activity outside the building zone, with a maximum between 1970 and 1980 where extreme values were registered.

The extremely high building activity registered in Jona between 1970 and 1980 might be an overestimation due to land-use plan revisions in 1978. Most of the new buildings were built in the hamlets Curtiberg and Wagen, which were converted into building zones in a land-use plan revision in 1978. The data available do not indicate whether the new buildings were built in these hamlets in the periods 1970-1978 or 1978-1980. Some buildings were probably built after the revision and therefore were not built outside the building zones. On first sight, the development in Freienbach described in 5.1 and 5.2 appears contradictory. There was an overall increase in building activity in Freienbach (5.2) but a decrease in new buildings outside the building zones (5.1). The difference can be explained by the fact that in 5.1. the absolute change in buildings outside the building zones was calculated, while in 5.2. the values refer specifically to the new buildings built. In Jona and Freienbach an approximately equal number of new residential and non-residential buildings were built outside the building zones (see figure 7). Only in Rüti was the number of new residential buildings outside the building zone constantly higher than the number of non-residential buildings. This means that, for Jona and Freienbach, the extension of residential-use was a relevant proximate cause leading to urban change in the agricultural zones.

However, it is not possible to estimate how strong this residential-use is linked with the development of agricultural activities. The Swiss federal law on spatial planning supports agricultural activity and permits new buildings so long as they are connected with

agriculture. To evaluate the implementation of this law, it would be useful necessary to know how closely the new residential buildings in agriculture areas are actually related to agriculture. Unfortunately, fieldwork could not throw much light on this.

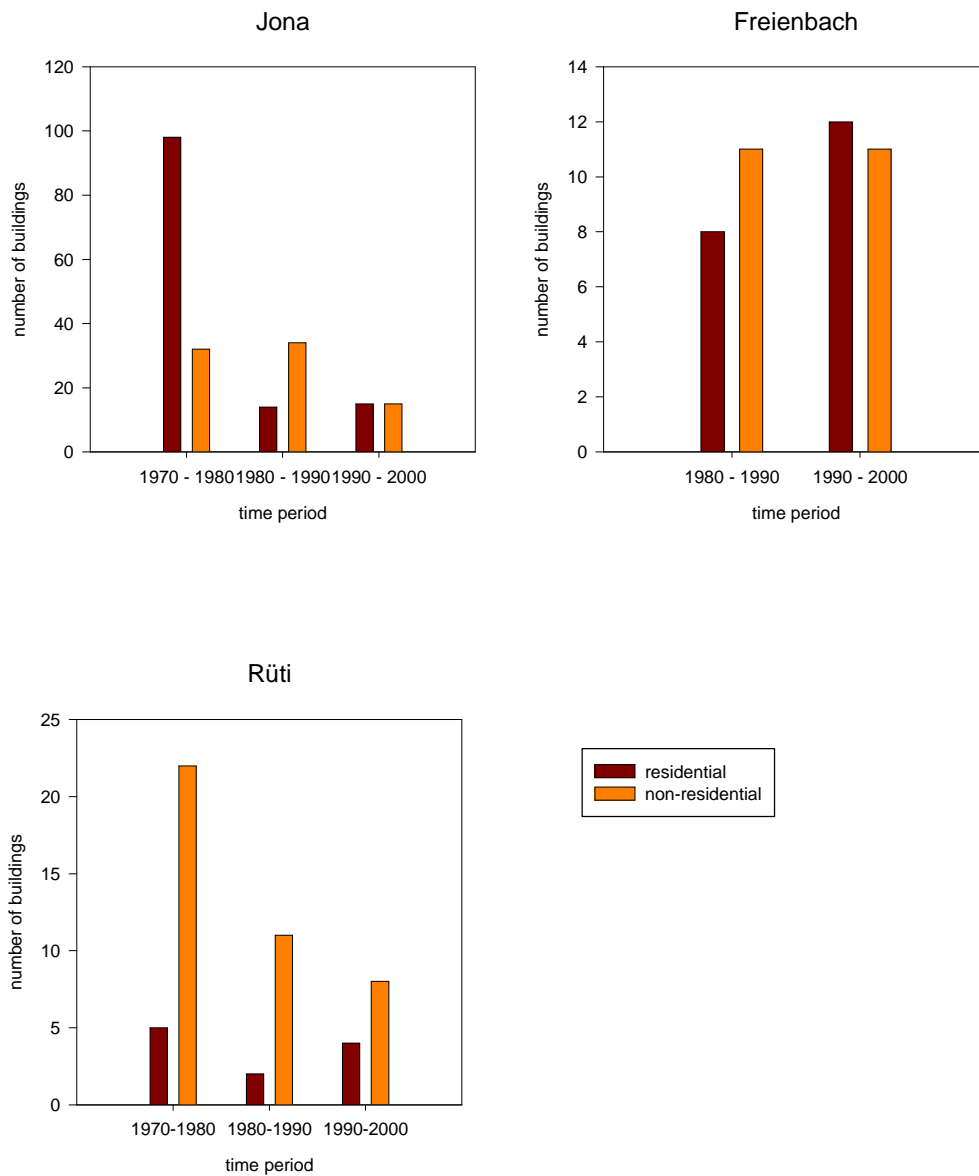


Figure 6: New residential and non-residential buildings built outside the building zones between 1970 and 2000 in Jona, Freienbach and Rüti

Most of the non-residential buildings were agricultural buildings (see figure 7). In Jona and in Freienbach, buildings needed for agricultural and forestry activities constitute the

most important category of non-residential buildings built outside the buildings zone in the period considered. Other new buildings were industrial and commercial buildings, probably for auxiliary economic activities, infrastructure and sport activities.

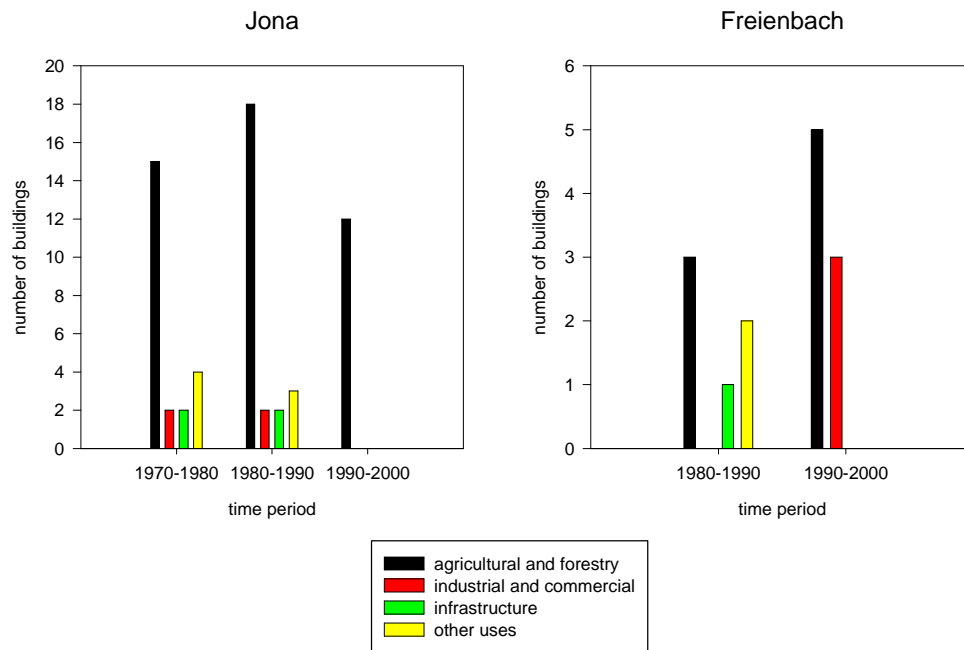


Figure 7: Categories of the non-residential buildings built outside of building zones between 1970 and 2000 in Jona and Freienbach

Although the categorisation of non-residential buildings shows that Swiss federal planning law was effectively supporting the development of agricultural activities, evaluating the implementation of this law remains a challenge. One reason is that it is often difficult to find out what the exact purpose of new residential buildings is. The second reason is that the lack of specific goals for the spatial development of the agricultural zones means it is not possible to evaluate whether the number of new buildings outside the building zone is sufficient to achieve the goal of preserving agricultural areas.

6. Understanding urban management policy at the municipal level

6.1. Introduction

The aim of this section was to analyse and explain policy change in the policy domain “urban management” at municipal level using the Advocacy Coalition Framework as approach (see section 3). Specifically, the following questions were discussed: a) Which actors and coalitions did influence decision processes about “urban management” at municipal level? b) By which belief systems were these actors and coalitions characterised? c) Which resources did actors and coalition use to influence decision-making? d) Which were the constraints hindering actors and coalitions to influence decision making? e) Which were the main issues discussed in the decision making processes about “urban management” at municipal level? f) Which were the main conflicts between actors and their belief systems? g) Which factors led to policy changes? These questions were first discussed for the individual municipalities analysed; i.e. Rapperswil, Jona and Freienbach. In a further section, the three case studies were discussed in a broader scientific context, in order to find general characteristics and differences in the elements of the subsystem, trends of policy changes and the factors generating policy changes. Finally, in the last section the three case studies were compared in order to understand if different configurations of local subsystems might explain differences in policies.

6.2. Methodological approach

6.2.1. Advocacy Coalition Framework as an approach

To understand decision-making process in urban management, an innovative framework was chosen: the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). ACF is based on premises, which are particularly adequate for this study:

- theories of the policy process or policy change need to address the role played in the process by technical information concerning the magnitude of the problem, its causes, and the probable impact of various solutions
- understanding the process of policy change require a time perspective of a decade or more for detecting the complete cycle of policy formulation, implementation and reformulation
- the most useful unit of analysis for understanding policy change in modern industrial societies is not a specific organisation or program, but a policy subsystem
- also journalists and researchers and actors at all levels of governmental institutions should be included within the subsystem
- public policies and programmes incorporate implicit theories about how to achieve their objectives and thus can be conceptualised in belief systems

As a casual model, ACF assumes that policy change is a result of processes within the subsystem considered, which are influenced by relatively stable parameters and external system events. As casual model, ACF is easily integrable in the research model presented in this study (2.1.). In the research model used in this study, the policy-decision subsystem includes both policy-subsystem and resources defined by ACF. ACF defines the subsystem as all actors interacting in the decision processes. Policy-decision subsystem in the research model includes as outputs new or changed policy measures or decisions concerning the implementation of the measures (acceptance of projects) and

interacts with external driving forces. Similarly, outside the policy subsystem considered, the ACF distinguishes between stable and dynamic external factors. The combination of the two factors affects constraints and resources of the actors. The relative stable parameters include the basic constitutional structure, socio-cultural values, natural resources and geographical characteristics of the territory and basic structure of the political system. These parameters are extremely difficult to change and they are seldom the subject of coalition strategies but clearly affect behaviour. The dynamic factors include major socio-economic change, change in public opinion, changes in the systemic governing coalition and policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems (Sabatier 1998, Elliot and Schläpfer 2001). The dynamic external system events and relatively stable parameters include the external driving forces defined in the research model used in this study.

The central role of the belief system for the framework allows a better understanding of the influence of the external driving forces on the subsystem. The belief systems are organised into a hierarchical structure. At the highest level of the belief system, the deep core includes basic ontological and normative beliefs, such as the relative valuation of individual freedom versus social equity, which operate across all policy domains. At the next level are the policy core beliefs, which represent a coalition's basic normative commitments and causal perceptions across an entire policy domain or subsystem. They include fundamental value priorities, the perceptions concerning the general seriousness of the problem and its principal causes, the strategies for realizing the core values within the subsystem and the basic policy instruments to be used. The secondary aspects of a coalition's belief system comprise a large set of narrower beliefs concerning policy preferences regarding desirable regulations or design of specific institutions (Sabatier 1998). The understanding of how actors and coalitions perceive the world, problems and causalities permits to link external driving forces of land-change with the decision-making (Briassolis 2008, Lambin et al. 2003). In practice, policy measures are responses formulated by actors according to how they interpret the world to the effect of the external driving forces on urban change. Additionally, the study of belief system during more than

a decade permits to detect the influence of new scientific/technical information on policy change.

The ACF permits a better understanding of the policy-process in urban management and to link the spatially-explicit analysis with the policy-analysis. If the aim is to understand the mechanisms leading to the decisions having a spatially-explicit effect at municipal level, it is necessary to include local actors as well as the interactions between actors at different levels (Schneeberger et al. 2007, Herperger and Bürgi 2007). The ACF postulates that the optimal unit of analysis is the 'policy subsystem', rather than individual government institutions. This means that the policy subsystems will normally involve actors from a variety of levels of government, as well as from business and civil society (Sabatier 1998, Elliot and Schläpfer 2001).

With the ACF it is possible to better understand the mechanisms linking political driving forces and proximate causes. The reason is that ACF seeks to understand the policy change taking a perspective of a decade or more and considering all elements of the policy process from problem perceptions until the policy implementation including possible feedbacks (Sabatier 1998). This is particularly important for urban planning because the decision-making leading to the revision of existing measures and the formulation of new measures is often deeply overlapped with decisions concerning single projects. With the comprehensive approach, ACF permits to analyse the complex link between actors, decisions leading to political driving forces (new measures) and those leading to decisions about construction projects immediately originating proximate causes and urban change.

Additionally, ACF is particularly adequate for focussing on the policy domain urban management. The reason is that conflicting belief system is central for explaining decisions and policy change. Conflicts are particularly pronounced in urban management due to the limited land resource (ARE 2005).

Figure 8 presents the ACF. In the ACF, policy change is viewed as a result of processes within the subsystem in question influenced by relatively stable parameters and external system events. A subsystem is defined as the group of actors interacting with some regularity in a functional policy area (policy domain). At the level of individual policy subsystems, advocacy coalitions interact and seek to influence the decisions of government institutions. These coalitions consist of actors in a subsystem who share basic policy beliefs and who collaborate over time. Within subsystems, policy-orientated learning occurs. Policy oriented learning is an enduring alteration of thought or behavioural intentions resulting from experience or new information. Coalitions will seek to 'out-learn' each other and to use various strategies to seek to have their belief systems translated into public policies. However, the ACF assumes that, although policy-orientated learning can contribute to policy change, major shifts in the distribution of political resources leading to modification of the core aspects of a governmental policy or programme are usually the result of perturbations external to the subsystem. The result of policy change is one or more changed or new governmental programmes, which produce outputs and impacts at the operational level. Advocacy coalitions seek to translate their beliefs into policy using various strategies and instruments, such as litigation, lobbying elected officials, commissioning research, influencing public opinion, etc. It is assumed that belief systems are hierarchical, meaning that abstract core beliefs are more resistant to change than specific secondary ones (Sabatier 1998, Elliot and Schläpfer 2001).

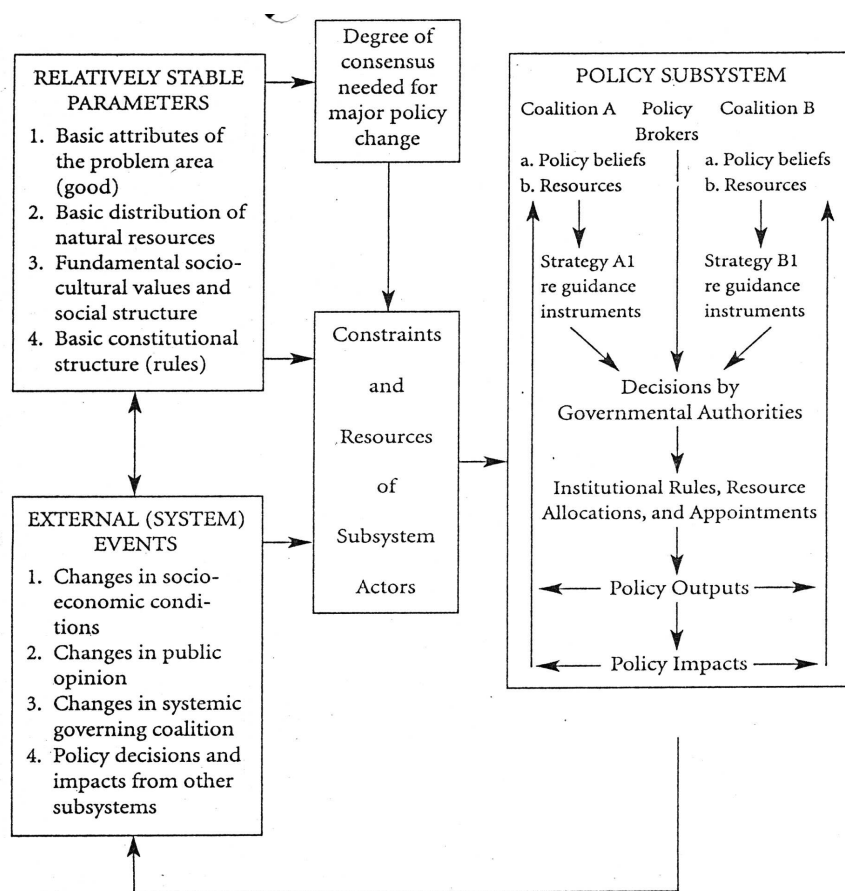


Figure 8: The Advocacy Coalition Framework by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993)

6.2.2. Method

To answer the research questions, comparative case studies were performed (Yin 2003). ACF was used as theoretical framework for each case study. A comparative approach allows understanding if different conditions in the single cases studies caused different policy changes (Di Gaetano 1997). As case studies, the municipalities Rapperswil, Jona, and Freienbach were chosen. The choice of these three municipalities allows a better control of the independent variables (territorial extent and characteristics, population development and Canton), which could explain possible differences in urban

management. First, with this choice only two cantons were considered: two municipalities (Rapperswil and Jona) belong to Canton St. Gallen and Freienbach belongs to Canton Schwyz. Second, the three municipalities, due to their geographical position, shared the same problem of extremely high traffic intensity coming from the dam. Because of the high number of possible variables explaining the differences in the urban management of the municipalities, this reduction of complexity is particularly important in order to facilitate the comparative approach.

Data for the policy analysis were collected through document search and experts interviews with guidelines. First, articles concerning political discussions about urban management were identified in local newspaper published between 1965 and 2008. These articles were used to select experts for the interviews and to formulate precise questions in the interviews. Second, interviews with experts were performed. Such interviews are an adequate procedure in order to reconstruct causalities in a policy process in a given domain (Meuser and Nagel, 1991).

As interview partners, people active in the communal planning or representatives of actors group were chosen. This choice agrees with the definition of expert given by Meuser and Nagel (1991). An expert is considered as a person who carried responsibilities during the policy process, e.g. for the formulation of concepts, the proposition of new or modified measures or strategies or for the implementation of measures. Experts can also be persons that have a privileged access to information about the policy process studied (Meuser and Nagel, 1991).

The role of the experts selected for the interviews is summarised in Table 3. Generally, the first interview was performed with a technical employee of the municipal planning department, active there since decades. These experts are easily identified and generally dispose of an overview of the subsystem and steps of decision-making because of their technical function by the municipalities. With a cascade-approach, from these first interviews further experts were selected. If the existence of a coalition was detected with more interviews or with previously document analysis, interviews were limited to one

single representative of the coalition. Interviews performed gave indications of new experts to interview. Generally, the experts chosen were active in the municipal policy during many years. For Rapperswil four interviews were performed, for Jona five and for Freienbach six. It is important to notice that, since the “Ortsgemeinde Rapperswil” was detected as actor in both Rapperswil and Jona, only one interview was performed. Given the existence of good sources documenting the activity of the “Verband zum Schutz des Landschaftsbildes am Zürichsee VSLZ”, no interview was performed with actors representing nature protection organisations.

Actor/Coalition	Rapperswil	Jona	Freienbach
House owners organisation	1 Member of the House owners organisation and previous LP-deputy in the city council		
LP		1 Previous LP-deputy in the municipal council	1 Previous LP-deputy in the municipal council
Social Democratic Party	1 President of the SDP	1 Previous president of the SDP Jona	1 Previous SDP-deputy in the municipal council
Christian Democratic Party	1 CDP-deputy in the city council and employee by the municipal Planning Department	1 Active member of the CDP at municipal level and CDP-deputy in the cantonal parliament	

Actor/Coalition	Rapperswil	Jona	Freienbach
Building cooperatives		1 President of a building cooperative	
Great Land-owners	1 Previous president of the “Ortsgemeinde”		2 1 Member of the “Korporation” 1 Previous responsible for the monastery property in Freienbach
Group in opposition to the “Korporation”			1 President of the “Citizens Forum” and member of the “Korporation”
Nature protection organisations	-	-	-
Municipal Employee in Planning Department		1 Head of the municipal planning department	1 Previous employee by the municipal planning department

Table 3: Role of the experts chosen for the interviews

Interviews guidelines (Leitfaden) were used to give the possibility for open answer and also to guarantee an adequate basis for the comparison of interviews. The questions were formulated to reconstruct the elements and interactions defined by the ACF. The first group of questions aimed to understand the most important issues discussed during policy

processes, the second aimed to understand which actors were involved in the decision-making, the third aimed to reconstruct the belief systems, and the fourth aimed to reconstruct the interactions and conflicts among actors.

Interviews were analysed using qualitative content analysis (Inhaltsanalyse). Interviews were recorded on a dictaphone and transcribed to text. Content categories were derived from the ACF, which constitutes the theoretical framework and defines the variables to study. Information was extracted from each interview and ordered to the categories. This procedure aims to orient and understand complex information (Gläser, Laudel 2004). These two steps were part of the interpretation and therefore may have been influenced by the subjectivity of the researcher. However, the repetition of the procedure with more interviews and the consideration of complementary information from secondary literature reinforced the objectivity of the classification and reconstruction of causalities. As complementary information reports about projects and decisions-protocols were used (Flick 2003).

6.3. Case Study Rapperswil

6.3.1. Context: power of parties in city council

The number of deputies of the different parties changed during the study period. In the period between 1969 and 1976 the city council was composed by one deputy for the Christian Democratic Party (CDP), three deputies for the Liberal Party (LP) and one deputy for the Social Democratic Party (SDP). During the period, 1977-1996, in the city council were present two CDP-deputies, two LP-deputies and two SDP-deputies. Between 1997 and 2004, the city council was composed by two CDP-deputies, three LP-deputies and one SDP-deputy. In 2005, one deputy of the Green-Party entered the city council. The council was additionally composed by two CDP-deputies, two LP deputies

and two SDP-deputies. In 2008, a unique city council Rapperswil-Jona was formed because of the institutional amalgamation between the two Municipalities.

6.3.2. Actors, coalitions and belief systems

6.3.2.1. SDP: Social Democratic Party and social democratic coalition

According to the president of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the discussions and ideas of the party were only partially influenced by the discussions going on at national and cantonal level within the party. The goals and strategies of the SDP were specific to the problems of Rapperswil until the decision of institutional amalgamation with Jona (2008) and specific to the problems of Rapperswil and Jona after 2008. The revision agenda of land-use plan and building regulations defined the time frame for political discussions at municipal level.

“Wenn es eine eidgenössische Abstimmung gibt von der SP oder so, es ist immer ein Thema gewesen aber es ist immer eine Frage vom Zeitpunkt. Wenn eine Initiative gekommen ist auf gesamtschweizerische Ebene und aber die konkrete Fragen der Ortsplanung erst 5 Jahre später aktuell worden sind...in der Regeln sind es schon die gleiche Stossrichtungen, die man auch auf schweizerische Ebene gehabt hat aber zeitlich ist in der Regel nicht zusammengegangen. Klar, man hat die Stellungnahme abgegeben bei der Mietschutzinitiative und ähnliche Sachen aber es war losgekoppelt von der Prozessesse welche auf lokalen Ebenen passiert sind.“²

The goals of the SDP in Rapperswil were the improvement of life quality, the maintenance of the historical character of the historic centre and the socio-economic development of Rapperswil.

² Interview with the president of the Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

The “loss of life quality” concept summarises the problems perceived by SDP during the entire period, even if the relative importance of the perceived problems changed. In the period 1960-80, the loss of life quality in the historic centre was considered one of the major problems. First, traffic was intense and large public and private areas were occupied by parking-places³. This traffic situation did not encourage people to live in the historic centre⁴. The result was that commercial use was dominating in the historic centre and residential use was dislocated out of the city centre. A further priority problem perceived in the 60es-1970s was the lack of affordable housing. The party identified as cause for this situation speculation activities by building industry and landowners. The prices increased and consequently families with low incomes did not have access on affordable flats. An additional problem in that period was the limited possibility for urban development. The territory of Rapperswil was almost completely built-up since many decades. The population of Rapperswil was decreasing. The low offer of housing forced new families to move to Jona and to pay taxes there. This phenomenon was perceived as a problem for the finances of Rapperswil⁵.

From the mid-1980s SDP, still perceived the lack of affordable housing for families as a problem, but other topics gained importance. The traffic in the entire city area and the high building density became the new major problems. The city council elaborated many propositions since the 1970s to reduce the traffic intensity. The most important measure proposed was the tunnel building for shifting the traffic under ground. SDP considered the tunnel as a part of the problem, because additional roads would have brought more traffic⁶. The SDP of Rapperswil identified high buildings density as a cause of life quality decrease, including loss of the traditional character of quarters, loss of green-areas and increasing traffic. The city council, during the previous period, encouraged building-density increase to foster the development of the city. Furthermore, SDP perceived this measure also as a strategy of the House Owner Society to increase gains coming from

³ Interview with the president of the Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona and with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil

⁴ Interview with the president of the Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona and with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil

⁵ Interview with the president of the Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

⁶ Interview with the president of the Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

building activities. From the mid-1980s, for SDP the importance of the problem of the limited development of the city decreased. The building activity of the previous decades and the increase of the density of building enhanced the problem of the reduction of life-quality. In the 1990s, the lack of coordination between spatial planning of Rapperswil and of Jona was perceived as problematic for a sustainable development of traffic and settlements⁷.

The strategies elaborated by SDP to solve the perceived problems aimed to increase public control and steering power of urbanisation processes. The policy instruments proposed were a parking concept (Parking-Konzept) to regulate the number of parking-places in the city, a list of accompanying measures in case of tunnel building, new steering mechanisms beside the “land-use intensity value” (Ausnutzungsziffer) to regulate land-use intensity and protect green areas, new regulations to protect nature (initiative for plants protection, Baumschutzinitiative), and the definition of a value that set a minimal proportion of flats in mixed zone where commercial use dominated. SDP developed the idea of new steering mechanisms because of dissatisfaction with old mechanisms like land-use intensity value.

„Das hatten wir im Rahmen von der Zonenplansrevision, hat man versucht neueres Steuerungskonzept anzuschauen. [...] Wir waren mit der Ausnutzungsziffer nicht mehr ganz Zufrieden und man hat das Gefühl gehabt, das ist nicht die wichtige Sache dass geschützt wird und da haben wir noch eine Alternative und das war Grünflächenziffer oder Baumassenziffer [...].“⁸

Additional proposed strategies were the creation of a building cooperative and the encouragement of the city to sell land for lower prices for affordable flats. Generally, land acquisition by the municipality was considered the best strategy to make the municipality steer the urbanisation, because public land ownership allows the municipality to set priorities and choose development patterns and time table.

⁷ Interview with the president of the Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

⁸ Interview with the president of the Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

Furthermore, SDP considered institutional amalgamation of Rapperswil with Jona as a strategy to ameliorate urban management⁹.

SDP formed a coalition with two actors during the study period. First, the topic of life-quality protection in the historic centre was introduced in the SDP from a students group of the Technical University in Rapperswil in the 1970s. The group was called “Our City, the City for us” and the majority of the members were also active in the SDP. The belief system of this group was the same as that of the SDP and the groups were strong interconnected. This means, that in the 1970s the SDP and the group “Our City, the City for us” formed a coalition¹⁰. Second, a group of railway employees, which were SDP members, created the “railway employees building cooperative”. The idea was to build affordable housing. In the 60es and 1970s, this group were strong interconnected with the SDP and introduced the topic of affordable housing into the party discussions. The belief system of SDP and “railway employ building cooperative” were identical but the only policy measures adopted by the “railway employees building cooperative” were affordable housing. This means that the cooperative and SDP were building a coalition until the end of 1970s¹¹. We call this coalition social democratic coalition.

⁹ Interview with the president of the Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

¹⁰ Interview with the president of the Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona and Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil

¹¹ Interview with the president of the Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona, Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil and Interview with the previous president of the „Ortsgemeinde“

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	<p>The amelioration of life quality in Rapperswil.</p> <p>Maintenance of the historical character of Rapperswil.</p> <p>Development of Rapperswil.</p> <p>Life quality more important than municipal finances.</p>
	Problem definition	<p>Traffic in the historic centre and in the whole territory</p> <p>Loss of nature in quarters.</p> <p>Lack of affordable flats offer.</p> <p>In the historic centre commercial-use of buildings dominate.</p> <p>Development of Rapperswil can not be always the priority.</p> <p>Loss of traditional characters of quarters.</p>
	Causes of the problem	<p>Speculation on land let the prices increase.</p> <p>Settlement is excessively dense; this causes loss of life quality, loss of green areas and traffic.</p> <p>Traffic in the city causes loss of life quality in the historical centre.</p> <p>Tunnel building will not necessary be the solution of the traffic problems.</p>
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	<p>Change of land-use plan and Building Regulations.</p> <p>Planning of parking and traffic.</p> <p>Sustaining the foundation of building cooperatives.</p> <p>Proposing new steering instruments for the land use intensity and mixed use.</p> <p>Formulation of a parking concept.</p> <p>Accompanying measures for tunnel-building.</p> <p>Building of affordable housing.</p> <p>Acquiring land for steering development.</p>

		Municipality should do an active land policy: buying land and giving land for affordable housing.
Secondary aspects	Market and State	Municipality should steer and regulate the market, avoid speculations and increase the availability of affordable housing for families with lower income. Municipality should steer the intensity of land use and mix of uses.

Table 4: Belief system of the Social Democratic Party

6.3.2.2. House Owner Association and the liberal coalition

The House Owner Association formed a coalition with other actors during the entire study period. Interviewees argued that priorities and strategies of the House Owner Association of Rapperswil were identical with those of the Liberal Party and of the Trade and Craft Association. These three actors tried to influence decisions in a coordinate strategy¹². These three actors formed the liberal coalition.

„Die Gruppierung die sich zusammengesetzt hat, die aus vier Vereine bestand. Das war der HEV, der war der Initialmotor, der hat eigentlich das ganze bewegt und dann war noch dabei die FDP, es war dabei das Einkaufziel-Rapperswil und die HGV dabei. Diese vier Gruppierungen, die haben sich im Baumschutz dagegen gewehrt und die haben das Baureglement dann bekämpft. Das waren eigentlich immer die gleiche Akteure und diese vier Vereine, die haben mich eigentlich auch in der Exekutive hinein manövriert“¹³.

¹² Interview with the president of the Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona, Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil and Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council

¹³ Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council

Goals and priorities of the liberal coalition were the increase in life-quality and the encouragement of property-acquisition by individuals¹⁴. The liberal coalition aimed to protect and encourage ownership and to guarantee freedom of choice for land or house owners. This coalition considered ownership as the main element of the life quality and driver of urban and economic development of Rapperswil. The choice-freedom of owners creates the possibility of income and thus encourages owners to invest money in building-activity. An additional goal of the liberal coalition was the protection of the historical character of Rapperswil, which is an element of life quality¹⁵.

The liberal coalition, during the study period, perceived as problems the limitation of choice-freedom for owners and the limited development possibility for Rapperswil. According to the liberal coalition, the decree for the historic centre protection and the building regulation set excessively strict rules and hinder the action of owners. The land and house owners should have the possibility to choose how to build. This would motivate them to invest in buildings and enhance the market for people who want to settle in Rapperswil. The economical development of Rapperswil would benefit from a population increase because of higher taxes income. Finally, all these phenomena would increase the life quality. A further problem linked with life quality decrease was the intensive traffic. Conflicting land-uses on a limited territory were also cause of life quality decrease.¹⁶

The strategies of the liberal coalition for achieving its goals were to limit control and planning by the municipality. The intention of the coalition was to relax the rules set by the land-use plan and building regulation. The function of the municipality is to set the frames for development (e.g. defining coherent quarters-design and land-use priorities and, protecting the historical character of the city) but such regulations should not limit the activity of landowners. Concretely, the liberal coalition aimed to relax the regulations in the historic centre and increase land-use values. In general, the liberal coalition was

¹⁴ Die Linth Zeitung. Wachstumsquote bei Bau und Wohnungen. 19.5.1990, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council

¹⁵ Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council

¹⁶ Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the previous president of the „Ortsgemeinde“

also sceptical about interventions of the public in the land market (e.g. selling land at lower prices to building cooperatives) because such interventions would affect the whole market stability. The liberal coalition judged the building of a tunnel as a necessary intervention for solving the traffic problem¹⁷. An additional strategy for reducing commuter traffic was to foster the creation of new jobs by promoting the settlement of new enterprises in Rapperswil. The liberal coalition sustained the strategy of institutional amalgamation with Jona in order to develop a coordinated urban management for the entire territory¹⁸.

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	Protect and encourage property by individual. Freedom of owners to build. Spatial and economical development of Rapperswil. Protect the historical character of Rapperswil. Increase life quality. Have enough rents from land. Economic development of Rapperswil.
	Problem definition	Parking in the historic centre are necessary, enterprises would loose clients with less parking. Building regulations for owners in the old centres are too strict. Overall life-quality loss. Not enough land available to buy or build a house. Population decrease, less taxes for the Municipality. House owners outside of the historic centre have to strict rules; land use intensity value is too low.

¹⁷ Die Linth Zeitung. FDP Rapperswil mit klaren Zielen. 13.1.1984, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council

¹⁸ Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council

		Excessively intense traffic.
	Causes of the problem	<p>The Law on heritage set to strict rules in the historic centre and hinders the market.</p> <p>Building regulation is too strict in the historic centre and outside of the historic centre.</p> <p>Intensive Traffic compromises quality of life.</p> <p>Land use intensity values are too low and compromises freedom of house owners.</p>
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	<p>Changing land-use plan and building regulations.</p> <p>Release building regulations.</p> <p>Increase land use intensity values.</p> <p>Building the tunnel.</p> <p>Make the institutional amalgamation with Jona.</p> <p>Encouraging new employments for reducing traffic of the people living in Rapperswil.</p> <p>Planning the urban development design and setting priorities.</p>
Secondary Aspects	Market and state	<p>Municipality should regulate the spatial development with plans that define quarter's units.</p> <p>Quarters should have a stile and not be a set of many individual stiles. But house owner should be allowed to build what he plans. Regulations should not be too strict and heritage should not hinder the building intention of owner. Market should define the price of land.</p>

Table 5: Belief system of the House Owner Association

6.3.2.3.Christian Democratic Party

The goals formulated by the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) were increase in life quality, promotion of the development of Rapperswil and protection of the historical character of the city. According to the CDP, life quality could be increased by promoting the presence in Rapperswil of inhabitants characterised by different socio-economic conditions, by protecting residential space and green areas, and by promoting multifunctionality of the city. The Party considered the promotion of mixed zones as strategy to have a multifunctional city. The CDP formulated as goal also the maintenance of control of the urbanisation process by the city council¹⁹.

CDP perceived the population moving to Jona as a core problem, which can be only partially solved. According to the CDP, this trend caused a loss of financial resources for the city and a reduced presence of young families in Rapperswil. The drivers of this trend were for the CDP the lack of land reserves in Rapperswil and the consequent tight market. The CDP intended to formulate strategies for solving this problem, however, measures should not be excessive. CDP sought to avoid an over-increase in the land-use intensity values because this would have over-charged the infrastructure and the green areas would have been lost. Population increase could anyway be enough for financing infrastructure amelioration. As consequence of this chain of phenomena, the great building activity was perceived as problem:

„Kann es das höchste aller Ziele sein Steuereinzahler anzulockern? Auch der Zusammenhang zwischen Infrastrukturausbauten und Steuernzahler, mehr Leute haben dann brauchen wir mehr Infrastruktur und Schulen und so weiter und eben wo ...geht das nicht auf, die neue Steuermitteln können in der Regel nicht die Infrastrukturen finanzieren. Auch diese Zusammenhänge haben uns dazu bewogen zu sagen, wir wollen ein bisschen dämpfen diese Entwicklung, diese Bauerei.“²⁰

¹⁹ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil

²⁰ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil

CDP perceived further problems linked with the high building activity. First, apartment buildings displaced single-family houses. Apartment buildings should constitute only a part of flats and families should have the possibility to live in single houses. The construction of a mix of residential types (apartment buildings, single-family houses) should be fostered. Second, commercial use dominated in mixed zones reducing proportion of residential flats and the possibility to live. CDP also perceived the intense traffic and the uncoordinated planning for Rapperswil and for Jona as additional problems²¹.

Beside the lack of land reserves, CDP identified instruments as a cause of the identified problems. The Party considered the land-use plan effective until 1984 as one of the cause for the dominance of block of flats. This land-use plan allowed high-density development in the whole territory of Rapperswil without differentiating between different types of residential zones.²²

CDP formulated as a main strategy the active planning and intervention by the Municipality for steering the urban development. In particular, city council should be able to plan and protect residential use of the territory. For the CDP the role of the city council is to generate detailed development concepts and land-use plans designing different residential-zones types.²³

The CDP agreed with most propositions of the SDP and many elements of the belief system were similar. However, there is no evidence of a strict cooperation during the decision process probably because the CDP had some different currents differing from the official one²⁴. For this reason, the CDP did not build any coalition.

²¹ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil and Die Linth. Ortsplanung Rapperswil steht zur Diskussion.14.6.1990

²² Die Linth. CSP zur Ortsplanung Rapperswil. 13.9.1978 and Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil

²³ Die Linth. CSP zur Ortsplanung Rapperswil. 13.9.1978 and Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil

²⁴ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil

<p>Policy Core</p>	<p>Relative priority of various values</p>	<p>Increase life quality in Rapperswil. Encourage the mix of inhabitants with different socioeconomic conditions. Enhance mixed residential-commercial use. Urban development of Rapperswil. Protect the residential space. Maintain the urbanisation control by the city council. Protect the historical character of Rapperswil. Nature protection. Optimal administration.</p>
	<p>Problem definition</p>	<p>People move to Jona because of lack of flats. Land for building is not enough, market is tight. To encourage people to live in Rapperswil cannot be the first priority, building with an excessive density causes loss of life quality. Infrastructure is not enough for high-density development. Apartment buildings are not good in an urbanistic and socioeconomic point of view. Commercial use is dominating in the centre and residential use is decreasing. Loss of nature. Traffic is excessively intense. Parking is not enough. Planning for two Municipalities is not efficient.</p>
	<p>Causes of the problem</p>	<p>Territory is too little for having development reserves. Apartment buildings displace single houses. Old land-use plan (operative from 1954 until 1980) allows urbanisation of whole territory. Dense development overcharges the infrastructure,</p>

		<p>affect life quality of residents and cause loss of nature.</p> <p>Land prices in the historic centre are excessively high for living. Commercial activity is predominating in the old centre and displaces residential use.</p> <p>Two administrative units for a territory with common problems like traffic and life quality do not allow an optimal problem solving.</p>
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	<p>Limiting the high-density development by change of land-use plan and building Regulations.</p> <p>Planning of parking by the city council.</p> <p>Enhancing the municipal control for steering urban development.</p>
Secondary Aspects	Market and state	<p>Important role of public. The municipality and public should maintain the control for management.</p>

Table 6: Belief system of the Christian Democratic Party

6.3.2.4. The „Ortsgemeinde“

Overall goal of the „Ortsgemeinde“ Rapperswil was of administrative nature and concerned only indirectly spatial development. The function of the “Ortsgemeinde” was to administrate its property in order to survive financially. Part of the administrative function was also the conservation of the property for the next generations. The most important good for the spatial development was the large owned area. This land should contribute to cover the needs for the next generation for living in Rapperswil²⁵.

²⁵ Interview with the previous president of the „Ortsgemeinde“

The function of the “Ortsgemeinde” was quite different from that of political parties or coalitions. The administrative function of land, forest and other property was a consequence of the historical role of the „Ortsgemeinde“. In the 1800, this institution was designated to manage the finance and the new created municipality had only police functions. Even if the role and function of municipality evolved, the „Ortsgemeinde“ maintained its mere administrative role as the previous president stated:

“Die „Ortsgemeinde“ ist eigentlich die Fortsetzung des alten Regimes vor 1800, vor der Kantonsgründung und damals wurde es so geregelt dass die „Ortsgemeinde“ den finanziellen Bereich übernahm und diese neu gegründete politische Gemeinde der Napoleon vorgeschlagen hat, die polizeilichen. Und für lange Zeit waren die gleiche Leute für beide verantwortlich und sie haben nicht gewusst für welche Institution im Moment sprechen und diese Trennung geschah erst um 1930, in der 30er Jahren mit der Kantonsverfassung.“²⁶

The main problems perceived by the “Ortsgemeinde” were the lack of land reserves for new generations and conflicting land-uses. Because of lack of reserves for living, young families migrated from Rapperswil to Jona and the possibility for new generations to settle up in Rapperswil was not guaranteed. Linked with lack of land were also conflicting land-use interests of the “Ortsgemeinde”. For example, in proximity of the technical school, land of the “Ortsgemeinde” was needed for a future expansion of the school. However, this land would also be necessary for building new housing and therefore increase the income of the “Ortsgemeinde”. The “Ortsgemeinde” was convinced that the high pressure on the rare land still available was increased by land speculators.²⁷

Since the “Ortsgemeinde” is not a party and did not formulate broad political priorities, its strategies were to sell land or to sell building-rights. By selling building rights, which has been the dominant strategy since the 1980s, the „Ortsgemeinde“ could maintain the property of land, avoiding speculation. Building rights were sold to building societies for

²⁶ Interview with the previous president of the „Ortsgemeinde“

²⁷ Interview with the previous president of the „Ortsgemeinde“

building flats. Furthermore, the “Ortsgemeinde” built some flats for increasing direct incomes from the rents. Land was sold at lower prices or donated for school buildings or affordable housing.²⁸.

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	<p>Managing the property: castle, the home for aged, the monastery, the forest and the agricultural land and forest.</p> <p>Survive financially and beware goods for the next generations.</p> <p>Consider public and private needs for the development of Rapperswil.</p> <p>Improve the life quality.</p>
	Problem definition	<p>Migration of people from Rapperswil to Jona.</p> <p>No possibility to live in Rapperswil for the new generations.</p> <p>The same land was needed for the technical school but also for new housing.</p> <p>The „Ortsgemeinde“ aimed on one hand to help the public, on the other hand to have income for accomplishing the administrative goals.</p> <p>Loss of land reserve caused by speculation.</p>
	Causes of the problem	<p>Lacking reserve for development.</p> <p>Speculation with land.</p>
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	<p>Donation of land for public construction projects or for affordable housing.</p> <p>Selling land for gaining money, selling building rights for gaining money.</p> <p>Maintain the reserve and sell only the right to build</p>

²⁸ Interview with the previous president of the „Ortsgemeinde“

		protect from speculation. Encourage the building of housing.
Secondary Aspects	Market and state	The municipality and „Ortsgemeinde“ should maintain the control on land and protect land from speculation for the next generations.

Table 7: Belief system of the “Ortsgemeinde”

6.3.3. Decision-making

Actors tried to translate their belief in actual policy. This means that the coalitions and actors formulated propositions or expressed their positions in the decision-making process during the entire study period (Sabatier and Weibele 2007). The problems that actors sought to solve (section 6.1.2.) can be summarised under the following topics: traffic management, revision of land-use plan, building regulation and housing policy. The next section describes the decision-making processes for these three main topics. The discussion on decision-making processes concerning urban management itself is summarised in a further section.

6.3.3.1. Traffic management

Concerning the traffic problem, the actors had to decide how to manage the traffic in the historic centre and to find solution for the intensive transit traffic. The propositions and positions about the regulation of traffic in the historic centre are summarised in Table 6. The elements of decision making concerning the tunnel are presented in Table 7.

The issue concerning parking and traffic regulation in the historic centre was introduced by the group “Our City, the City for us”, which was part of the social democratic

coalition. This was composed of students from the technical school, which developed an ecological sensibility for the historic centre. The social democratic, during the 1970s, coalition translated the strategy to increase public control with a proposition for creating a traffic-free zone and for removing all parking-places in the historic centre²⁹.

In two steps, the social democratic coalition increased its resources and progressively obtained a dominant position during the decision-making. At first, the social democratic coalition addressed the proposition and acquired the support of the population. The “technical information” obtained from the technical school can be considered as a resource that social democratic coalition used for influencing decision-making (Sabatier and Weible 2007). With scientific-founded information, this group could convince public opinion, which can be considered as the second resource explaining the dominance of the social democratic coalition (Sabatier and Weible 2007). Additionally, the public opinion in Rapperswil was influenced by a general development of more ecological feeling in Switzerland and Europe. This trend represents a change in a stable external parameter (Sabatier and Weible 2007). The interview partners argued that this group contributed to the development of the “life-quality loss” problem perceived by the population. The previous City-Major argued:

„Das hat sehr viel gebraucht und gebracht. Diese Denkweise zu ändern haben vor allem, das war vor allem der Stadtrat. Es hat sich in der Bevölkerung, der Anschluss der Fachhochschule, vom Technikum, das war auch sehr stark. Da hatte man eine Abteilung Landschaftsplanung und Siedlungsplanung und viele Studenten haben in der Altstadt gewohnt, da war es billiger Wohnraum und da hat sich eine Gruppe gebildet, heute haben sie ein grosses Büro asa, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Siedlungsentwicklung und Architektur. Die haben damals in Rapperswil gewohnt, ein WG gehabt und sie haben sich auch sehr stark engagiert. Sie haben eine dritte Gruppe, das war mehr kulturelle Entwicklung von jungen Leuten die auch gefunden haben, wir müssen diese Altstadt von Autos befreien. Es hat sehr vieles bewirkt diese jungen Leute waren die Studierenden, die haben auch völlig neue Ideen gebracht.“³⁰

²⁹ Interview with the president of Social Democratic Party

³⁰ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil

The first responses to the propositions of the social democratic coalition were different. The liberal coalition compactly rejected the removal of all parking from the historic centre and the closeness of roads to traffic. This coalition argued that for the development of the commercial activity in the centre, roads are necessary since they allow the access to shops and services. The removal of parking-places would have a negative economic consequence. CDP was divided into two groups, one supporting the city council intervention for increasing life-quality for residents in the historic centre, and one supporting the presence of parking-places in the old city. However, at the beginning of 1970s the CDP deputy officially supported the proposition of the social democratic coalition. Therefore, three deputies in the city council sustained the proposition and three deputies of the liberal coalition rejected it³¹.

At this moment, a discrepancy between the social democratic coalition, CDP, the population and the liberal coalition existed³². The result of this first step was the formulation by the city council of the “Resolution for Parking Planning” in 1975. This resolution defined general goals of parking planning³³.

During the second step, the social democratic coalition acquired the resource “formal legal authority to make policy decision” for its proposition (Sabatier and Weible 2007). The reason of the shift of the resource “formal legal authority” was the substitution of one deputy of the Liberal Party with one CDP deputy. The discrepancy between liberal coalition and population was responsible for this shift and allowed the proposition of the social democratic coalition to get dominant. In this context, detailed measures as following of the “resolution for parking planning” were formulated. Considering the conflicts between coalitions and actors, the city council formulated a compromised strategy to keep in the historic centre “as many as needed, and as less as possible”. The concrete measure contained in the Parking Concept of 1987 was the substitution of the parking over ground with parking under ground. In 1992, a parking house under ground

³¹ Interview with the president of Social Democratic Party, Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council

³² Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil

³³ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the president of Social Democratic Party Rapperswil-Jona

was built below the Fischmarktplatz and most parking-places over ground were removed. Motorised traffic on the Fischmarktplatz was completely forbidden and the place was declared as traffic free³⁴.

Proposition	Social democratic coalition: remove all parking from the historic centre and keep the historic centre traffic-free.	1970s
Initial Position of social democratic coalition	-	
Initial Position of liberal coalition	Against the proposition.	1970s
Initial Position of CDP	Different positions.	1970s
Initial Position of “Ortsgemeinde”	-	
Initial Position of Federal authority	-	
Decisions	Resolution for parking planning	1975
	Parking concept	1987
Implementation of decision	Building of the under ground Parking-structure on “Fischmarktplatz”	1992
	Removal of all the parking over ground in the centre, the Fischmarktplatz was defined as traffic free	1992

Table 8: Decision-making about regulation of traffic in the historic centre

The proposition of the tunnel-solution for the problem represented by the regional transit-traffic coincided with the choice of the cantonal parliament (St. Gallen). The search for a

³⁴ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the president of Social Democratic Party Rapperswil-Jona

solution for the transit-traffic problem in Rapperswil and surrounding area had already began at end of the 60es. The actors taking part to the discussion were the social democratic coalition, the green party, the liberal coalition, CDP, the „Ortsgemeinde“, different municipalities of the region (e.g. Jona, Rüti, Uznach, Schmerikon and Freienbach) the Cantons Zurich, Schwyz and St. Gallen and the federal authority. All actors agreed in perceiving the intense transit traffic in Rapperswil as problem. Different solutions were proposed to the cantonal parliament of St. Gallen like over ground bypassing roads, or different variants of tunnels. The main problems in finding a solution were the missing coordination between all actors and the high costs of all possible the solutions. However, all actors agreed that a bypassing road would only shift the traffic and not solve the problem. The only practicable solution proposed by the different actors was a tunnel under Rapperswil and Jona with different accesses³⁵.

This proposition caused reactions driving in different directions. First, to guarantee the funding for the tunnel construction the Canton St. Gallen proposed to class the dam as a national road because of its national importance. The federal authority decided ,however, not to support this measure because of the financial situation of the responsible department. This decision, which was possible of the resource “formal legal authority”, involved meant the lack of financial support at federal level and consequently an increased financial pressure on cantons and municipalities. This important decision was possible because. Second, the social democratic coalition and the small Green Party assumed a sceptical position with the argument that new roads would increase traffic. Their final position was to support the project, only if the city council would formulate accompanying measures, like the extension of pedestrian zones and new steering interdictions. Third, liberal coalition sustained the building of a tunnel³⁶.

Although the position of the cantonal parliament and the proposition of the social democratic coalition dominated, these decisions could not be implemented. First, the

³⁵ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the president of Social Democratic Party Rapperswil-Jona

³⁶ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the previous president of the „Ortsgemeinde“, Interview with the president of Social Democratic Party Rapperswil-Jona

Cantonal parliament based on its authority, decided to add the building of the tunnel to the “road-building program” for the years 2004-2008, even without federal financial support. Second, given the “formal legal authority to make policy decisions” of the social democratic coalition sustained by CDC between 1977 and 1996, the cantonal parliament mandated to Rapperswil and Jona the formulation of a general traffic concept. This concept should have included the accompanying measures. However, the missing coordination between all actors - including the adjacent municipalities - retarded the proposition of a realisable project. In 2008, the new municipality of Rapperswil-Jona decided to propose a more concrete program for the tunnel realisation³⁷.

Proposition: Canton	Building of a tunnel	1970s
Initial Position of social democratic coalition	Sceptical position.	
Initial Position of liberal coalition	Sustain the proposition.	1970s
Initial Position of CDP	Sustain the proposition.	1970s
Initial Position of “Ortsgemeinde”	-	
Initial Position of Federal authority	Rejection to financially support the project.	
Decisions	Decision to add the building of the tunnel to the “cantonal road construction program” 2004-2008	1998
	General traffic concept Rapperswil-Jona	2003

Table 9: Decision-making about deviation of transit traffic

³⁷ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the President of Social Democratic Party Rapperswil-Jona

6.3.3.2. Revision of land-use plans and building regulations

In Rapperswil two revisions of land-use plan and building regulation occurred, one in 1984 and one in 1992. Furthermore, the decision-making process that leads to the revisions can be divided in different steps.

The non-acceptance of the status-quo coincided with the start of the decision-making process concerning the revision of the land-use plan and building regulation at the end of the 1970s. The parties represented in the city council recognised that the old plan and regulation - effective since 1954 - were not more able to accomplish their planning goals. This means that the policy instruments were not able to have the expected impact and outcomes. For this reason, all actors sustained the proposition of CDP and started the discussions for the formulation of a new concept for the spatial development of Rapperswil³⁸. This general shift in beliefs can be characterised as policy learning. Sabatier (1998) defines policy learning as relatively enduring alteration of thought or behavioural intentions which result from experience and/or information and which are concerned with the attainment or revision of policy objectives. This definition corresponds to what occurred in Rapperswil. Actors learned from experience that urban management should have been more regulatory.

Although belief systems were conflicting during the process of the formulation of a spatial development concept for Rapperswil, any concrete solution was found during this step. On one hand, the social democratic coalition set its priority to develop concrete measures to protect the historic centre and limiting the displacement of flats by offices. Therefore, the social democratic coalition sustained the proposition of CDP to create also mere residential zones where residential use was guaranteed and industrial zones in order to protect life-quality in quarters. The liberal coalition fought the idea to create strict rules to protect the historic centre, because interpreted this as excessive freedom limitation for

³⁸ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the President of Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

the landowners. Furthermore, it proposed to increase land-use intensity values in the centre and in the outer quarters to foster population and economic development of Rapperswil. For the liberal coalition high land-use intensity values would have permitted a more efficient use of land would have given the possibility to build new houses and flats and to settle of new commercial activities in the mixed-zones like the city-centre. As described in section 6.1.2 population increase has been interpreted as resource for the municipal finances. The proposition to increase land-use intensity values was sustained by all actors, since all of them perceived the limited territory as cause for missing development. This can be defined as external stable factor (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993). Therefore, conflicts remained around the issues of the definition of the zones and of the old-city protection. As first result of this decision-making, the goals expressed by all actors were formulated broadly in the concept for the spatial development of Rapperswil and as consequence, the solution of conflicts was shifted to the next step³⁹.

The goals formulated in the concept for spatial development of Rapperswil constituted the basis for generating concrete measures. First, the concept defined the existing conditions and recognised the importance of the history and culture of Rapperswil, the particular situation of territorial limitation and the strategically geographical positions in of the city due to the good access with the railway and the road-network. Second, the concept defined the goals of urban planning in Rapperswil. The city council expressed the goal to offer space for living, for working and for recreation. The second goal formulated was the protection of the historic centre. The third goal was to retard the replacement of residential use by commercial use in mixed-zones and to obtain a reasonable proportion between population and number and jobs. The fourth goal was to give the possibility for the population for shopping, to benefit of services, recreational and cultural activities. The formulation of these goals set the frames for the development of concrete measures⁴⁰.

³⁹ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the President of Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

⁴⁰ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the President of Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

The first result of the decision-making saw the dominance of the social democratic coalition that formulated concrete measures for the protection of the historic centre. Although the liberal coalition was constantly against the formulation of stricter rules for the historic centre, this idea could be implemented because social democratic coalition could control an important resource. CDP and SDP sustained the idea of the old-city protection. That is that the majority of the city council sustained the measure (“formal legal authority to make policy decisions” between 1977 and 1996). The support by the federal and cantonal offices for Heritage amplified their formal legal authority. As consequence, in 1979 a decree for the historic centre protection was formulated. The decree defined special rules for changing elements like roads, buildings and green spaces in the historic centre and defined the perimeter for its application. After the application of the decree, the liberal coalition considered the excessively strict rules in historic centre a problem for the development of Rapperswil.⁴¹

The second result of decision-making was the creation of a core zone. This decision constituted the optimal compromise between the goals and strategies of all actors. The compromise was possible first because all actors shared the belief that the land-use plan should have need a more detailed definition to accomplish the planning goals. Second, all actors sustained the proposition of the liberal coalition to increase land-use intensity values. Therefore, a wide core zone was defined where land-use intensity values were increased. As a compromise, the application of the decree for the historic centre protection was restricted only to a part of the core zone and the core zone was defined as mixed-zone like heavily aimed by the liberal coalition. The solution was the definition of a core zone with three levels. In the first level (KA) the decree for historic centre protection was applied. The council decided to change a mixed zone to core zone defining a second level. The difference was that in the second level (KB) mixed use at higher land-use intensity was possible under the application of strict rules but without the application of the decree for historic centre protection. A second part of the previous mixed zone in the centre was redefined as core zone of third level (KC) with the definition a maximal land-use value.

⁴¹ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous LP member of the city council, Interview with The previous president of the „Ortsgemeinde“, Interview with The President of Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

This means that the city council decided first to increase possible land-use intensity in the core zone and second adopt more protection measures. The conclusion of this decision-making can be classified as “negotiated agreement”, where beliefs of an actor or coalition do not dominate. Sabatier and Weibele (2007) stated that such way to policy change is caused by the rejection by all parties of the continuation of the status-quo.⁴² This phenomenon can also be characterised as policy learning.

The third result of the decision-making can also be interpreted as “negotiated agreement”. In practice, similar compromises were found for the outer quarters. Since all actors sought to change the existing regulations, the city council was stimulated to find a compromise between the different strategies proposed. The result was a better definition of the land-use types. Since the proposition of the liberal coalition to increase mixed zones was implemented with the creation of wider core zones, the council converted some of the existing mixed zone to commercial-industrial zones or to mere residential zones as proposed by CDP and the social democratic coalition. This means that the council better defined the territorial functions first to guarantee the space for jobs and second to protect the residential function and third to reserve some space for public buildings. Furthermore, the council decided to increase the land-use intensity value in some residential zones to create favourable conditions for development.⁴³

⁴² Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the President of Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

⁴³ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the President of Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

Propositions:	<p>Social democratic coalition: Protect the historic centre with special regulations.</p> <p>Liberal coalition: Increase land-use intensity values in the centre and outer quarters to sustain the population and economical development.</p> <p>CDP: Create mere residential zones for limiting the city building. Create mere industrial zone to protect life-quality in residential zones. Develop a settlement concept.</p>	1979-1984
Initial Position of social democratic coalition	<p>Sustain of the formulation of a concept. Sustain of the increase land-use intensity values in the centre and outer quarters to sustain the population development. Sustain the definition of mere residential zones. Sustain the definition of mere industrial zones.</p>	1979-1984
Initial Position of liberal coalition	<p>Against the set of strict rules in the old-city. Create mixed zones for sustaining the settlement of new commercial activities. Sustain of the formulation of a Concept.</p>	1979-1984
Initial Position of CDP	<p>Sustain of the old-city protection.</p>	1979-1984
Initial Position of “Ortsgemeinde”	<p>Sustain of the increase in land-use intensity values. Sell of building-rights for the development of technical school.</p>	1979-1984

Initial Position of Cantonal and Federal authority	Sustain of the protection of the old-city.	1979-1984
Decisions	<p>Concept for the spatial development of Rapperswil</p> <p>Content:</p> <p>Definition of the existing conditions:</p> <p>Rapperswil has a long history and is historically and culturally important;</p> <p>Rapperswil has small reserves for development and is one of the place with higher building density in Switzerland;</p> <p>Rapperswil is located in the centre of road and railway-network;</p> <p>Formulation of overall goals:</p> <p>Rapperswil should offer space to live, to work and for recreation;</p> <p>The historical character of the historic centre and of the quarters out of the centre should be protected;</p> <p>Beside an are under protection a buffer-zone between the historic centre and the outer quarters should be defined;</p> <p>The city-buildings should be retarded;</p> <p>A reasonable proportion between jobs and resident population should be reached;</p> <p>The mixed uses should be fostered;</p> <p>In the city-perimeter areas for recreation should be offered to the population (green areas, promenade, accessible lake coast);</p> <p>For the population possibilities to shopping, for</p>	1979

	cultural activities and services.	
	<p>Decree for the historic centre protection (Altstadtschutzverordnung)</p> <p>Content:</p> <p>The decree aim to protect the historic centre as historical and cultural place.</p> <p>The objects protected are buildings, roads, green areas and the image of the historic centre as a whole.</p> <p>The rules to change buildings are stricter then in the other zones and require permits.</p> <p>The perimeter where the decree is effective is defined.</p>	1979
	<p>Planning of a core zone</p> <p>Content:</p> <p>Extension of the core zone. Definition of three level of core zone: KA where the protection decree is effective, KB where regulation are strict but the protection decree is not effective and KC where the regulation is stricter then in other zone but less then in the rest of the core zone and where maximal land-use value are defined.</p>	1984
	<p>Change of land-use plan, redefinition of zones</p> <p>Content</p> <p>In Rapperswil the previous zones were redefined with a greater differentiation.</p> <p>Some W2 ½ (2,5 stories residential zone) were redefined as W2.</p> <p>Other W2 ½ were redefined as W3.</p>	1984

	<p>Some mixed residential-commercial zones (WG) have been redefined as industrial-commercial zones and to mere residential zones (W3).</p> <p>Some areas were defined as zone for public buildings.</p>	
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Table 10: Decision making about the first revision of land-use plan

The policy learning by social democratic coalition and CDP and the disaffection by the liberal coalition were the starting point of the new revisions and lead to the proposition of new measures and instruments in 1992. Both actors believed that the outputs of the instrument and measures applied in 1984 were negative for the life-quality. CDP also shared this perception. The two actors learned that to foster actively population development with the increase of land-use intensity values lead on one side to partially financial benefits but on the other side to life-quality decrease due to the loss of green spaces and displacement of single houses. Additionally, CDP argued that the infrastructures in Rapperswil were not able to carry an excessive increase in population and that population increase would not have been able to finance new infrastructures. Therefore, due to this policy learning, the social democratic coalition and CDP changed their priorities. For the two actors to foster population development became a secondary priority. This can be interpreted as change of the policy core. Indeed, secondary aspects changed because the social democratic coalition decided to maintain land-use intensity values unchanged and CDP to increase only part of land-use intensity values in residential zones. As consequence, the social democratic coalition developed new measures to steer urban development and proposed them to the city council. Liberal coalition formulated the aim to intensify the old strategies and increase land-use intensity values. Furthermore, the Liberal Party formulated newly the disaffection with the strict rules in the old-city. This belief was confirmed by the observation of the impact of these strict rules. The liberal coalition argued that the decree for the old-city protection

hindered excessively the market, because owners were discouraged to invest money in change of existing building or new buildings.⁴⁴

The new planning instruments proposed by the social democratic coalition were sustained partially by CDP and rejected by the liberal coalition. The new measures proposed by the social democratic coalition were first, the introduction of green area values in the outer quarters and second, the formulation of the plant protection initiative and third, the definition of values for minimal residential use in mixed-zone. Green values should have defined a minimal surface for a given parcel as green area. The measure formulated in the plant protection initiative was the necessity of permission by the municipal council for the removal of plants. Values of minimal proportion of residential use in the mixed zone sought to protect residential use from displacement by commercial activities. CDP sustained green values and plant protection initiative because aimed to increase life-quality for families. CDP stated the values defining minimal residential use were difficultly applicable in the core zone and expressed sceptical position. Liberal coalition rejected all these propositions because of the limitation of private property.⁴⁵

The city council did not implement the originally proposed planning instruments. However, some measures derived from these propositions were formulated in the new building regulation. The reason of the non-dominance of belief system of the social democratic was the loss of its “formal legal authority to make policy decisions”. First, CDP was only partially sustaining its propositions. Second, the election of a new deputy of the liberal party in the city council reinforced the link with the House Owner Association and Trade and Craft Association. This increased the influence of the liberal coalition on the CDP and population. The strong increased influence of the liberal coalition on the public opinion leads to the rejection by population of the plant protection initiative. This coincided with a shift in the resources lead to a “negotiated compromise”.

⁴⁴ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the president of Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

⁴⁵ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the president of Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

As result, green area values and proportion values for mixed-zone were not introduced but a list of protected plant and cultural objects was introduced in the Building Regulation. The removal or change of these objects requested a special agreement between city council and owner for the determination future protection measures.⁴⁶

The shift of the resources distribution drove also the decision-making concerning the propositions of the Liberal Party. Social democratic coalition rejected the proposition to increase land-use intensity values in the outer quarters and the proposition to release the strict rules in the old-city. CDP proposed as response to increase the insitensity values only in given residential areas to separate city-style residential areas from single houses residential areas. The “negotiated agreement” comprehended first the maintenance of the decree to protect the historic centre. Second, land-use intensity values in residential quarters were not increased but in some zones the use of attic was allowed (W2 to W2b). For a major control green areas were redefined as intensive-use recreational areas, where a detailed project had to be request fro giving building permits.⁴⁷

A further change in the land-use plan was caused by the influence of the “Ortsgemeinde”. The “Ortsgemeinde” donated a terrain for the building of the new technical school in the 1970s. Conflicts about land-use on the terrain close the technical school arisen from the collision of different goals of the „Ortsgemeinde“. In the first land-use plan, revision the decision about the land-use in this area was still open. However, in 1984 the “Ortsgemeinde” planned concretely to build housing. Some years later, the city council and canton St. Gallen could convince the „Ortsgemeinde“ to sell building rights to the canton and the area was reserved for the expansion of the Technical School. As consequence city council re-defined this terrain as zone for public building. The

⁴⁶ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the President of Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

⁴⁷ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the President of Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

“Ortsgemeinde” was able to cause this change because of its ownership. Land property can be considered as resource for influencing decision-making.⁴⁸

<p>Propositions:</p>	<p>Social democratic coalition:</p> <p>Introduction in the building regulation of the green area value.</p> <p>Introduction in the building regulation of values for minimal percentage of flats in mixed commercial-residential-use in the historic centre.</p> <p>Initiative for plants protection.</p> <p>Liberal coalition:</p> <p>Increase in land-use values in the outer quarters (W2 to W3).</p> <p>Release of the strict building rules in the historic centre.</p> <p>CDP:</p> <p>Introduction of different land-use values out of the historic centre. The Plan should preview zones with urban-residential style with higher land-use values and zones with a rural-residential style with lower land use values.</p>	<p>1992</p>
<p>Initial Position of social democratic coalition</p>	<p>Against the land-use intensity increase in residential zones (W2 to W3).</p> <p>Against the release of building rules in the historic centre.</p>	<p>1992</p>

⁴⁸ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, interview with the President of Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

Initial Position of liberal coalition	Against the introduction of green area values. Against the introduction of values for minimal percentage of flats in mixed zones. Against the initiative for plant protection.	1992
Initial Position of CDP	Sustain of the green area values. Sustain of the plant protection initiative. Sceptical position for the values defining minimal percentage of flats in mixed-zones. Against the release of the strict protection rules for the historic centre.	1992
Initial Position of “Ortsgemeinde”	-	
Initial Position of Cantonal and Federal authority	-	
Decisions	Change of land-use plan Contents: Some zones have been redefined. The 2-stories residential zone is differentiated in W2a and W2b, the zone W2b preview an intensive use. Some W3 zone has been redefined as W2b, the maximal land-use intensity has not changed but the stories allowed are reduced to 2. Intensive-used recreational area has been defined and replaced some green-zone areas For buildings in the intensive-use recreational area a project-design plan is requested.	1992
	List of plants to protect	1992

	<p>Contents:</p> <p>In the new building regulation a list of plants to protect is added.</p> <p>If new project are planned the city council should find an agreement with the landowner about how to protect the plant.</p>	
	<p>List of objects to protect</p> <p>Contents:</p> <p>In the building regulation a list of cultural objects under protection is added. For every change of these objects, a permit is requested and the municipality should an agreement with the landowner about how to protect these objects.</p>	1992
	<p>Land close to the Technical School was designated as zone for public buildings</p> <p>The land-use of the area close to the Technical School is defined as open in the land-use plan of 1984 (residential zone or zone for public buildings) and as for public building designated to the expansion of the Technical School in 1992</p>	1992

Table 11: Decision making about the second revision of land-use plan

6.3.3.3. Housing policy

The need of an active municipal housing policy was caused by the shared perception in the 1970s by all actors that development of Rapperswil should have been fostered. The frames for the municipal housing policy were set at federal level with the formulation of the Swiss federal law for the promotion of building of flats and property in 1973 followed by a cantonal law. At municipal level, the increase in land-use values in 1984 allowed the more intensive use of land and partial compensation of the limited territory as hindering factor for development.⁴⁹

The shared belief of the need to increase the offer of housing in Rapperswil led to a consensus in the housing policy. First, liberal coalition proposed to foster the building of new housing. Since the “Ortsgemeinde” owned the last reserves in Rapperswil, all actors aimed to collaborate with it. Therefore, the city council included the “Ortsgemeinde” in the decision processes, although the goals of the “Ortsgemeinde” concerned only indirectly spatial development (section 5.2.1.). The “Ortsgemeinde” decided to build housing on its property and sell the building rights of some areas to building societies. The greatest project that actively fostered the development was the construction of a housing complex on 37'000 m² of land between Rapperswil and Jona. Furthermore, “Ortsgemeinde” sold in 1992 building rights for the construction of 200 flats in the “Hanfländer”⁵⁰ and in the 1998 in the “Gutenberg”⁵¹ for building 60 flats. This active housing policy was possible first, because of the shared belief between actors and second because of the agreement of the “Ortsgemeinde” with the intention to build new housing. Because this goal coincided with the intention of the “Ortsgemeinde” to give the possibility to new generation to live in Rapperswil and to create new income, the “Ortsgemeinde” decided to make its land resources available for the municipal goals. Second, the social democratic coalition proposed the creation of building cooperatives

⁴⁹ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, Interview with the President of Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

⁵⁰ “Hanfländer” is a land collocated at the boarder between Rapperswil and Jona

⁵¹ “Gutenberg” is a land collocated at the boarder between Rapperswil and Jona, near to “Hanfländer”

that would have been responsible for building affordable flats. For the social democratic coalition sustained by the CDP the lack of affordable housing for young families was one of the core problems of the housing-issue. The social democratic coalition created building cooperatives that according the Swiss Federal Law for the promotion of building of flats and property could benefit of federal, cantonal and municipal subsidies. Social democratic coalition additionally proposed that the municipality should have sold at lower price land to such cooperatives. All actors sustained this proposition, although the Liberal Party adopted first a sceptical position. Additionally, also the “Ortsgemeinde” made its resource “land” available for affordable housing.⁵²

A further federal intervention in the municipal housing policy was the application in Rapperswil of the resolution of 23. August 1973 based on the resolution about building activity of 1971 for stabilising the building market. With this resolution, the construction of defined type of buildings and the removal of all the buildings were suspended for three months. As consequence, the “craft for building” were kept free for building new flats.

Proposition	Social democratic coalition: Creation of building cooperatives. Sell by the municipality of land at lower prices for affordable housing. liberal coalition: Building of new housing.	1970- 2000
Initial Position of social democratic coalition	Sustain the building of new housing.	1970- 2000
Initial Position of liberal coalition	Sustain the sell of land at lower price.	1970- 2000

⁵² Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil, Interview with a previous deputy for the Liberal Party in the city council, interview with the President of Social Democratic Party of Rapperswil-Jona

Initial Position of CDP	Sustain the sell of land at lower price. Sustain the creation of cooperatives. Sustain the building of new housing.	1970- 2000
Initial Position of “Ortsgemeinde”	Sustain the encouragement of building affordable housing with the sell of owned land at lower prices. Sustain the building of new housing with sell of land.	1970- 2000
Initial Position of Federal authority	-	
Decisions	Swiss Federal Resolution for the regulation of building market and Cantonal Law Contents: Formulation of the resolution of 23. August 1973 based on the resolution about building activity of 1971 for stabilising the building market: application to Rapperswil. The construction of defined type of buildings and the removal of all the buildings were suspended for three months.	1973
	Formulation of the Swiss federal law for the promotion of building of flats and property in 1973 Contents: Federal, cantonal and municipal authorities sustain with subsidies the building of affordable flats and acquisition of property.	1973
	“Ortsgemeinde” give building rights for the pedagogical school and primary school in the	1980s

	“Burgerau”	
	“Ortsgemeinde” sold of building rights of 37000 m2 land in Rapperswil and Jona for housing settlement and single houses: 200 flats	1983
	“Ortsgemeinde” built 54 flats in the Burgerau	1983
	City council gave affordable land for affordable housing	1990
	“Ortsgemeinde” sold building rights for 200 flats in Hanfländer	1992
	“Ortsgemeinde” sold of building rights for 60 flats in Gutenberg	1998

Table 12: Decision making about the housing policy

6.3.3.4. About decision-making

First, the policy learning of all the actors led to the acceptance of the institutional changes. All actors identified as gap for efficient planning the insufficient regional coordination. This argument contributed to the decision of an institutional amalgamation between Rapperswil and Jona. This change can be considered as external shock, since institutional structure is considered an external stable parameter (Sabatier and Weible, 2007).

This external shock allowed a more efficient urban management. All actors agreed that the amalgamation was positive for planning, because the pressure for development on Rapperswil diminished. The actors attributed to Rapperswil historical, cultural and schooling functions and to Jona the function of development.

During the decision-making processes, actors prefer to avoid conflicts and tend to express their positions and propositions for solving short-term problems. In practice, the interviewees sustained that all the parties and political actors at municipal level lacked of long-term strategies. As consequence, political actors acted to solve single problems but did not follow a long-term project for spatial development. The previous president of Rapperswil stated:

„Vielleicht eine generelle Vorbemerkung, etwas das ich seit Jahren bemängele: die Parteien befassen sich zu wenig mit strategischen Fragen auf unsere Ebene. Man sieht das jedes Jahr, wenn man die Investitionsprogramme der nächsten Jahren veröffentlicht, das Budget des nächsten Jahres ist interessant aber den Investitionsprogramm für die nächste fünf Jahre das wird nicht angeschaut und das ist ein Mangel.“⁵³

6.3.4. Characterisation of conflicts

In a policy subsystem, conflicts are generated by coalitions or actors with differing belief systems. The conflicts develop when these coalitions take part to decision processes and aim to solve a problem. The conflicts found in Rapperswil between 1970 and the present can be summarised in three categories: (a) stronger public control on urbanisation vs. less public control, (b) intensive use of land vs. less intensive use of land and (c) conflicts about land-uses.

6.3.4.1. Intensity of intervention of the city authorities

The conflicts concerning the intensity of public intervention in planning the urban process show the same pattern for the entire study-period. The main actors of these conflicts were on one hand the social democratic coalition and on the other hand the

⁵³ Interview with a CDP-deputy in the city council of Rapperswil

liberal coalition. Both coalitions identified life quality increase as goal for the urban management. The social democratic coalition identified the strong control and regulation by the municipality as strategy for achieving this goal. The social democratic coalition thought that market is not able to satisfy the population needs. For the liberal coalition, the municipality should set general rules but guarantee freedom to the land- and house-owners to choose how to build. Choice-freedom would increase automatically life quality, because it would increase investments and private property and as consequence the quality of the projects and offer. As consequence, conflicts are generated from the differences in how coalitions explain the word.

The differences between the two coalitions were expressed also in the problem perceptions. On one hand, the social democratic coalition identified as major problems the loss of life quality due to the presence of traffic in the historic centre in the 1970s and 1980s and due to the transit traffic during the entire period. Additionally the social democratic coalition defined as problems in 1980s and 1990s the loss of green areas given by building density increase and in the 1990s the displacement of residential use by commercial use in the mixed zones. During the whole study period, but particularly between 1970 and 80, the lack of affordable flats was perceived by the social democratic coalition as problem affecting life quality for the low-income-families. On the other hand, the liberal coalition perceived the excessive intervention of the municipality with the building regulation as main problem beside transit traffic and lacking possibility for development.

Generally, the CDP conflicts officially sustained the social democratic coalition. The CDP claimed that the municipality should intervene with stronger instrument in urban management. For this reason, CDP agreed to introduce new instruments like protection of plants, management of parking and traffic in the historic centre and sell of land at lower costs for affordable flats. The CDP proposed in 1978 the formulation of a development concept as complement for urban planning. The „Ortsgemeinde“ and other actors were not part of the conflict.

The conflicts about the intensity of public intervention in planning concerned different issues during the study period. On one hand, the conflicts in the 1970s and 1980s concerned specifically the quality of life in the historic centre and the lack of flats; on the other hand, in the 1990s the conflicts concerned more the intensity of residential zones and use-type in mixed zone. Furthermore, in the 1990s the social democratic coalition was more active in proposing new instruments for increasing the public control of urbanisation.

For more public control	For less public control	Years
The social democratic coalition aimed to reduce the parking in the historic centre. The social democratic coalition and CDP claimed that the municipality should intervene to increase life quality in the historic centre.	The liberal coalition claimed that shops and other commercial activity in the historic centre needs parking and that some parking were necessary not to loose clients.	1970s
The social democratic coalitions, the CDP and the federal and Cantonal office for heritage aimed to protect the historic centre with special rules und take the historic centre under protection.	The liberal coalition was against excessive rules for individuals that would like to build or change their buildings. Preserving the character of the historic centre was considered important but the rules should not obstacle the market and obstacle private investment in buildings.	1970s-1980s
The social democratic coalitions and CDP stated that the affordable flats were not enough and the public hand should intervene to change this situation. The social democratic coalitions created building	The liberal coalition was convinced that selling land for lower prices than the market prices would distort the market. The market is able to supply enough affordable flats without intervention from the public. The	1970s-2000

<p>cooperative. The social democratic coalition and the CDP sustained the building of affordable flats and agreed that the municipality should provide affordable land for that.</p>	<p>liberal coalition sustained in exceptions-cases the sell of land at lower prices.</p>	
<p>The social democratic coalition and the CDP sustained the plant protection initiative with the aim to protect plants from removal and maintain the character of quarters.</p>	<p>The liberal coalition was against the intervention of the municipality with new rules because the owners should be free in deciding how to build. The choice-freedom would regulate the market and increase life quality. The role of municipality is to plan quarter's designs but not to limit property.</p>	1992
<p>The social democratic coalition stated that the land-use intensity values should be maintained at the same level. Due to the increase in the land-use value of the last years, the social democratic coalition was convinced that the traditional land-use values were not the right instrument to steer urbanisation. The coalition proposed the green areas values as new value.</p>	<p>The liberal coalition stated that the land-use intensity values should be increased to better use land and to allow a greater development of Rapperswil. More housing would bring more people living in Rapperswil and more income from the taxation. The liberal coalition thought that green areas values would be an excessive limitation for land and house owners.</p>	1992
<p>The social democratic coalition thought that the displacement of residential use from the historic centre by commercial use should be limited by the municipality. The social democratic coalition proposes</p>	<p>The liberal coalition stated that the market should regulate the proportion between commercial and residential use. More commercial use in the centre creates more jobs and reduces the traffic generated by workers.</p>	1992

to fix a minimal value of residential use in the building regulation.		
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Table 13: Conflicts about the intensity of the regulation by the municipality

6.3.4.2.Land-use intensity

The conflicts about land-use intensity were strongly related with the conflict about the intervention of public hand. The social democratic coalition perceived excessive increase in land-use intensity as problem affecting life-quality. For this reason, in the 1970s and 1980s, the social democratic coalition agreed with the increase of land-use intensity values in some areas, but when the building density strongly increased because of high building activity, the social democratic coalition proposed to stop the increase in land-use intensity values and to introduce new limits. The liberal coalition perceived the limited development of Rapperswil due to the limited territory available as problem and excessive limitation for house- and land-owners. The measure proposed was a new increase in land-use intensity values.

The conflict about land-use intensity contained as component a second conflict. Two functions of the municipalities were conflicting. On the one hand, the municipality aimed to steer the urbanisation and protect life quality, landscape and the character of the historical of Rapperswil. On the other hand, the municipality aimed to manage the municipal finance and promote economic and population development. Both coalitions agreed that these functions were important. However, the priorities of the coalitions were differing. For the social democratic coalition, the planning and protection function was the first priority. For the liberal coalition, the economic and population development was the first priority.

In the majority of cases, the CDP sustained officially the propositions and position of the social democratic coalitions. However, CDP expressed in some cases more moderate positions because the whole party did not agree with the positions of the social democratic coalition.

Less intensive Land Use	More intensive Land Use	Years
The social democratic coalition aimed to protect the historic centre from excessively intensive use and proposed to put the historic centre under protection.	The liberal coalition aimed to protect the freedom of house- and land-owners. The owners should have the possibility to invest money to develop the historic centre. The land-use intensity should not be excessively limited.	1970s
The social democratic coalition aimed to protect the historical character of the outer quarters. The land-use intensity should not be increased and new instrument should contribute protecting the green areas and life quality of residents. The development of Rapperswil cannot be the first priority. The initiative for plant protection and the introduction of green areas values were proposed.	The liberal coalition aimed to give the possibility to the house- and land-owners the freedom to invest money for new buildings. For these reason because of the lack of reserves the land-use intensity values should be increased in the outer quarters in order to allow the development of Rapperswil. More people and families living in Rapperswil would also create benefits for the Municipality finances. The initiative for plant protection and introduction of green area values were judged contra productive.	1992

Table 14: Conflicts about land-use intensity

6.3.4.3. Conflict about land-use

Two land-use conflicts were identified. The two conflicts showed different structures. The conflict between commercial and residential use was generated by the different belief systems of the two coalitions. The conflict concerning the use of land belonging to the “Ortsgemeinde” developed from the differing goals of the city council and the “Ortsgemeinde” itself. The city council and canton contributed to convince the “Ortsgemeinde” to sustain the technical school.

Land Use	Land Use	Years
The „Ortsgemeinde“ conserved some land close to the Technical School for housing construction. The Ortsgemeinde aimed to promote the development of Rapperswil allowing to new generations to live in Rapperswil. The housing would also generate income for the „Ortsgemeinde“.	The municipality and the canton thought that the land close to the Technical School should be conserved for expansion needs of the School. The school is an important regional centre.	1970s-1980s
The social democratic coalition aimed to protect the residential function of the mixed zones. The life quality should be guaranteed for living and the shops and commercial activities should not dislocate residential use. The social democratic coalition proposed to fix a minimal value for the number of flats in the centre.	The liberal coalition aimed to maintain life quality in the old centre but not to set limits for the economical activity. The market should regulate the proportion between commercial and residential use. Residential use is important but commercial use creates jobs and contributes to decrease traffic.	1970-1992

Table 15: Conflicts about the land-use type

6.3.5. Conclusion

The social democratic coalition, liberal coalition, Christian Democratic Party and “Ortsgemeinde” were the actors, which influenced decision making in urban management between 1970 and today were.

Between 1970 and 1990, the social democratic coalition was dominating and could translate its belief into policy. This was possible because the coalition disposed of the sustain by the majority in the city council (formal legal authority) and of the support of the public opinion.

In the 1990s some changes happened. First, since the early 1990s a shift in the resources distribution happened because of the reinforcement of the presence of the liberal coalition in the city council, with a new deputy coming from the House Owners Association. Second, the social democratic coalition changed its priorities because of policy learning. The consequences were that on the one side the intensification of the conflicts coalitions about public intervention and land-use intensity between the two and second the elaboration of negotiated agreements. These changes coincided with the end of the dominant role of the social democratic coalition.

6.4. Case Study, Jona

6.4.1. Context: power of parties in the municipal council

The composition of the municipal council changed many times during the study period. During the first period - between 1969 and 1974 - the municipal council was composed by three deputies for the Liberal Party (LP), two deputies for the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) and one deputy for the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and one deputy for the “Landesring der Unabhängige” until 1972 and two SDP-deputies since 1972. During the next period, (1977-1984) four deputies represented LP, two deputies represented CDP and one represented SDP. In 1985 a further shift occurred. In the period 1985-1992, the municipal council was composed by three LP-deputies, three CDP-deputies and one SDP-deputy. For the first time between 1993 and 1996, SDP increase the number of deputies to three and LP decreased its number of deputies to two. In the next period, (1997-2003) three deputies represented LP, three deputies represented CDP and one represented SDP. In 2003, one CDP-deputy left the municipal council and a further LP-deputy was elected, increasing the number of LP-deputies to four.

6.4.2. Actors, coalitions and belief systems

6.4.2.1. SDP: Social Democratic Party and social democratic coalition

The priority for Social Democratic Party (SDP) was the increase of the life-quality and the satisfaction of the needs of population. As strategies, the socioeconomic development of Jona should have been fostered with the creation of structures meeting the needs of population. Second, the offer of affordable housing should have been increased. Third,

for increasing the life-quality public access to the lake coast should be protected. Firth, goal of the urban management was also to maintain the democratic control of development⁵⁴.

During the entire study period, SDP perceived as main problem the uncontrolled development of Jona and interpreted this phenomenon as the inability to satisfy central population needs. Rapperswil was developing as residential place without becoming a city because of the fast urban development. The SDP perceived as one of the main problems between 1970 and the 1990s the lack of meeting spaces for population such as rooms for cultural activities or sport facilities. In the 1980s the population voted for deciding whether to pay a credit for the building of centre infrastructure. However, the municipal council did not present any detail of the project to be financed by this credit. Although SDP sustained the idea of a centre, the party perceived this process like undemocratic. For SDP this procedure did not give guarantee that the population needs were satisfied by the project with the creation public spaces. Additionally, a conspicuous part of the centre had to be funded by private enterprises what weaken the public control of the project. The lack of sport facilities lead to the choice of an adequate space for building these facilities. The challenge was to preserve agricultural land even with this project. An additional need to be met was the access to lake coasts. SDP identified as problem the fact that public access to the lake was often not possible because most of the land at the lake was private property. The protection of private property was considered as the first priority in the municipal council. Instead, for the SDP the first priority should have been the public interest. Linked with the problem of public access to the lakeshore was the project to build-up the “Gubel”⁵⁵-area with a great housing complex. For SDP this project would have hindered public access to public spaces and would have affected nature in the lakeshore-area. An additional cause of the decrease of the life-quality for the SDP was the excessively fast and uncontrolled built-up area expansion in Jona and the consequent loss of nature and green areas, particularly in the centre. Furthermore, lack of affordable housing was identified as problem during the entire study period. Additionally,

⁵⁴ Interview with the previous president of the Social Democratic Party in Jona

⁵⁵ The “Gubel”-area is at the Zurich lake, the Lakeshore there are considered from the Canton an area to be protected.

SDP considered excessive traffic intensity as problem between 1970 and nowadays and bypassing tunnel building as probably contra productive.⁵⁶

SDP identified speculations on the land-market and the loose intervention of the municipality for steering the development as main causes for the problems. For the SPD land speculations in the past decades did not allow a democratic control of development. The reason was that private investors decided about the exact use of land and the detail of the projects without taking into account the needs of the population. SDP considered speculations as the causes of the land-prices increase. The prices increase itself reduced the offer of affordable housing for low-income families. SDP identified the excessively low land-use intensity values as further cause for prices increase because they did not allow an optimal use of land. In general, the excessively weak intervention by the municipality for steering the urban development was considered as the underlying cause of the rapid built-up area expansion. An important change in the “belief systems” of the SDP was the consciousness since the early 1980s of the causal link between built-up area expansion and traffic intensity.⁵⁷

For SDP the main strategy for solving the problems was the intensification of municipal intervention. On the one hand, SDP proposed to limit the permits accorded for different projects for stopping the uncontrolled increase in built-up areas. On the other hand, the party proposed to create a city-centre for shaping Jona as a city and not exclusively as residential place. Additionally, the party proposed to reinforce the democratic control of development. A further strategy was to sustain the building of affordable housing by helping the creation of building cooperatives and proposing to the municipal council to sell at lower prices land for this goal. In order to solve the problem of traffic, the strategy formulated was the spatial separation of industries with many employments from the residential areas with the land-use plan and the rejection of large shopping centres in Jona.

⁵⁶ Interview with the previous president of the Social Democratic Party in Jona, Die Linth. Nein-Parole der SP-Jona zum Kreuz-Zentrum, 09.6.1975, Die Linth. Stellungnahme zu umstrittenen Fragen. 22.6.1984

⁵⁷ Interview with the previous president of the Social Democratic Party in Jona, Die Linth. Bodenpreise und Spekulation. 07.2.1973

As intervention to limit the loss of green areas in the outer areas, SDP sustained the increase in land-use intensity values primarily in the centre.⁵⁸

The SDP built a coalition with some building cooperatives principally in the period 1970-80. Some members of SDP created in the 1970s some building cooperatives, which aimed to create affordable housing. Even if the goal only refers to one aspect of the belief system of the SDP, the party and the building cooperatives can be considered as a coalition. Interviewees considered the activities of these cooperatives more independent from the party since the 1990s. We call this coalition social democratic coalition.⁵⁹

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	Socioeconomic development of Jona. Creation of structures for the need of inhabitants. Democratic control of development. Increase in life quality. Increase in the offer of affordable housing. Nature and lake coast protection. Public access to lake coast. Ordered and reasonable development.
	Problem definition	Lack of meeting spaces for the populations. Voting only for the credit did not give any guarantee regarding the green areas in the centre and facilities for society. Lack of sport facilities. New sport facilities should cause minimal loss of agricultural land. Lack of affordable housing. Land and housing prices were excessively high.

⁵⁸ Interview with the previous president of the Social Democratic Party in Jona, Die Linth. Wohnen muss billiger werden. 03.03.1972.

⁵⁹ Interview with the previous president of the Social Democratic Party in Jona

		<p>The development of Jona should not be uncontrolled.</p> <p>Intensive traffic.</p> <p>Building the tunnel could cause more traffic.</p> <p>The area “Gubel” should not be built-up because the lake coast was protected.</p> <p>Public access to lake coasts were not enough considered. Private property should not be the priority. Public interests should have priority.</p>
	Causes of the problem	<p>New sport facilities should be allocated where infrastructure still existed. Such area was present in Jona but farmers in that area did not agree.</p> <p>Speculation and excessively low land use intensity values were the causes for price increases for housing and land.</p> <p>Rapid, uncontrolled urban development.</p>
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	<p>Creation of building cooperatives for offering new affordable housing.</p> <p>Municipality should support the building of affordable housing.</p> <p>Separation of industry and residential areas. Not allow the building of shopping centres.</p> <p>Revisions of land-use plan and building regulation.</p> <p>Increase in land-use intensity value.</p>
Secondary Aspects	Market and State	<p>Public should steer the development and correct the market. The market alone cannot satisfy the needs of population.</p>

Table 16: Belief system of the Social Democratic Party

6.4.2.2. Liberal Party

For the Liberal Party (LP) the protection and enhancement of private property played an important role for the increase in life-quality. On the one hand, LP formulated as goal the socioeconomic development of Jona and the protection of private property from the excessive intervention by the municipal council. On the other hand, LP claimed that the role of the municipal council was to regulate development by fostering an ordered spatial development, by planning the optimally use land and by protecting agricultural land.⁶⁰

LP perceived as main problems the phenomena linked with the rapid development and the non-optimal planning by the municipality. To the problems perceived by LP belong the lack of adequate infrastructure for the rapidly growing population. In the 1980s, LP claimed that in Jona a centre for shopping, cultural activities and spaces for recreation like sport facilities were missing. To the non-optimal planning by the municipality belongs the excessively large building areas defined in Jona. However, the party was sceptical with re-conversion to agricultural zones. Such re-conversion would have meant the limitation of private property due to decreasing land values. The rapid expansion of built-up areas was interpreted as non-optimal use of land. In the 1980s and 1990s, people living in the hamlet “Bollingen”⁶¹ asked for land for urban development. The LP considered the co-existence of conflicting interests as problem. First, accordingly to LP the inhabitants of “Bollingen” should have the possibility to invest for development; however, the access by public transportation network was not enough to absorb new development. Especially since the 1980s, the traffic in the residential quarters was perceived as great problem y and the building of a bypassing tunnel was considered as potentially contra productive. As causes of the mentioned problems LP recognised first the rapid development of Jona since the 1950es and second the partial lack of proper measures and regulation to steer development in the wished direction like the excessively

⁶⁰ Interview with a previous LP-deputy of the municipal council

⁶¹ “Bollingen” is a hamlet at the Lakeshore, which was zoned outside of the building zone since the last revision

low land-use intensity values. Since the 1980s, LP also recognised the existing link between built-up area expansion and increase in traffic intensity.⁶²

LP combined the strategies for changing and intensifying the steering power of planning with the strategies to foster private property and to support activities of private enterprises. First, LP proposed to reinforce the planning of urban development in the territory of Jona. Although the building zones available for built-up area expansion were large, the municipality should have fostered more intensive land-use, should have allocated a multifunctional centre and leisure facilities. Second, the strategy formulated was not to limit private property with excessive permits limitations or measures like re-conversion of land to agricultural zones. To avoid an exaggerated intervention by the municipality, the cooperation between public and private was considered by LP the adequate strategy. The municipal council could have set the goals and market regulated the quality of the product.⁶³

⁶² Interview with a previous LP-deputy of the municipal council municipal council, Interview with the head of the municipal building department, Die Linth. Einsprachen gegen Gubeldorf in Jona. 17.6.1983

⁶³ Interview with a previous LP-deputy of the municipal council , Interview with the head of the municipal building department

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	Socioeconomic development of Jona. Increase in life-quality. Ordered and optimal use of territory. Protection of agricultural land. Protection and enhancement of private property.
	Problem definition	Lack of a centre with shopping possibility. Lack of sport facilities. Excessively intensive traffic in quarters. Land was not optimally used. Building zones were excessively large. Property cannot be excessively limited. For the creation of a building zone in “Bollingen”, accessibility was not optimal. Sceptical for the tunnel-building. Rapid, uncontrolled development.
	Causes of the problem	Land-use intensity values were excessively high.
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	Revision of land-use plan and building regulations. Increase in land-use values. Municipality should collaborate with private enterprises. Municipality should not limit private property. Separation of great industries from residential places. Creation of employments in the centre.
Secondary Aspects	Market and State	Market should regulate the development. Municipality should only set the frames. Private property is the core element of this system.

Table 17: Belief system of the Liberal Party

6.4.2.3.Christian Democratic Party

For the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) the main goal of urban management was the increase of life-quality of young families. CDP aimed to increase attractiveness of Jona as residential place for young families. This meant for CDP first to reduce land and housing prices. Second, increasing life-quality principally in the quarters coincided for CDP with the reduction of traffic intensity and the preservation of the agricultural areas and the landscape. All these aspects would have contributed to the general goal of an equilibrated development of Jona.⁶⁴

As main problems during the study period CDP identified on the one side, the lack of appropriate infrastructure for demographic development and on the other side, the inappropriate conditions for encouraging young families to settle in Jona. First, CDP stated that in Jona infrastructures such as a proper centre, sport facilities, meeting places and homes for aged were missing. This factors together with the excessively high prices of land and flats hid the equilibrated development of Jona by retarding the settlement of young families in Jona and by enhancing anonymisation in the population. Furthermore, the excessive loss of agricultural land and intense traffic were identified as problems affecting life-quality. For the CDP one additional problem, driving the loss of agricultural land was the exaggerated extent of building zones. CDP also deplored the weak coordination between the traffic planning in Jona and Rapperswil. The extremely rapid and uncontrolled development of Jona and the overestimation of such development by defining the building zones extent were for CDP the causes of the problems.⁶⁵

First, CDP supported the strategy to define a more detailed land-use planning. Additionally, CDP proposed to adopt a policy, which would encourage the acquisition of ownership and sustain the building of affordable flats. The creation of employments in

⁶⁴ Interview with an active member of the Christian Democratic Party at municipal and cantonal level (parliament)

⁶⁵ Interview with an active member of the Christian Democratic Party at municipal and cantonal level (parliament)

Jona was a further strategy proposed in order to reduce commuter traffic. However, CDP suggested the separation of jobs from residential places to better guarantee life-quality in quarters. These strategies were supported by the belief developed in the 1980s that built-up area expansion and traffic intensity were correlated.⁶⁶

CDP sustained and proposed concrete measures to foster the equilibrated development in Jona. First, in 1984 CDP supported the conversion of the “Grünfeld”⁶⁷ area to the building zones for allocating new sport facilities. With the revision of the land-use plan and of the building regulation in 1992, CDP proposed to create new residential zones with higher land-use intensity values, to create mixed core zones and reserve areas adjacent to the still existing “Buech” industry. These changes would have allowed the separation of residential and working areas and would have fostered the settlement of new enterprises. In the 1970s in order to sustain young families, CDP created building cooperatives, which aimed to build affordable housing. Additionally, CDP suggested that the municipality should have subsidised affordable housing or the acquisition of property-houses. Furthermore, in the 1990s CDP proposed the creation of new homes for the aged. Since the “Gubel” area was designated as building zones, CDP suggested the acceptance of the “Gubeldorf”⁶⁸ project in 1984. This position was supported by the fact that the municipality should have played an excessive compensation for re-conversion of the area to agricultural zone. After the project rejection by the canton, CDP sustained the re-conversion to agricultural zone aiming the better landscape and nature conservation. For solving the traffic problem, the party sustained the tunnel building and proposed a broader cooperation with Rapperswil and later the fusion of the two municipalities.⁶⁹

Although CDP contributed to create building cooperatives, their activities were not coordinated. For these reason we could not consider CDP and the cooperatives as coalition.

⁶⁶ Interview with an active member of the Christian Democratic Party at municipal and cantonal level (parliament)

⁶⁷ “Grünfeld” is located in the south-eastern part of Jona-territory.

⁶⁸ “Gubeldorf” refers to the housing-complex project proposed for the area “Gubel”

⁶⁹ Interview with an active member of the Christian Democratic Party at municipal and cantonal level (parliament), interview with the previous president of the Social Democratic Party in Jona, Die Linth. CVP Jona für Landschaftsschutz im Gubel. 13.6.1984

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	<p>Increase in life-quality.</p> <p>Protection of area for agriculture and landscape.</p> <p>Increase attractiveness of Jona as residential place for young families.</p> <p>Decreasing housing prices.</p> <p>Reduce traffic intensity.</p> <p>Development of Jona.</p>
	Problem definition	<p>Rent for flats were excessively high.</p> <p>For young families the land and flat prices were not attractive.</p> <p>Lack of sport facilities.</p> <p>Excessive loss of agricultural land.</p> <p>Building zones were excessively large.</p> <p>Lack of a centre. Jona developed as a residential area.</p> <p>Lack of proper infrastructure and social disequilibrium.</p> <p>Decreasing life-quality.</p> <p>Excessively intense traffic.</p> <p>Lack of homes for the aged.</p> <p>Lack of coordination of traffic planning in Rapperswil and Jona.</p>
	Causes of the problem	<p>For new sport facilities appropriate places with still existing infrastructure were present.</p> <p>Landowner opposed because of loss of agricultural area.</p> <p>Development of Jona was over estimated in the 60es and 1970s.</p> <p>Development of Jona was fast and uncontrolled.</p>
	Priority accorded to the	Foster ownership.

	various instruments	policy Steer development with a more targeted planning. Propositions for modifying land-use plan and building regulation. Creation of employments. Increasing the land-use intensity.
Secondary Aspects	Market and state	For strong public intervention for regulating the market.

Table 18: Belief system of the Christian Democratic Party

6.4.2.4. Building cooperatives

The only goal of building cooperatives was to increase the offer of affordable flats as help for young families. The perceived causes of the problems were land speculation in the land and housing market and the dominance of private actors in the housing market. The building enterprises offered excessively expensive housing for low-income families. The building cooperatives built affordable housing benefiting from public subsidies in order to offer opportunities for young families to live in Jona. The creation of some of these cooperatives was initiated and funded by political parties. However, the activities of the cooperatives were independent from the parties. One of the largest building cooperative in Jona was the “building cooperative Speer”. This cooperative built more than 100 flats between 1970 and today benefiting from subsidies and land at lower prices from the Municipality and “Ortsgemeinde Rapperswil”.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Interview with the president of the building cooperative „Speer“, Interview with the previous president of the Social Democratic Party in Jona, Interview with a previous LP-deputy of the municipal council, Interview with an active member of the Christian Democratic Party at municipal and cantonal level (parliament).

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	Creation of affordable housing for low-income families and families with many children.
	Problem definition	Lack of affordable housing for new generations.
	Causes of the problem	Building enterprises built expensive flats and houses and land prices were high. Land market was tight.
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	Benefiting from federal, cantonal and municipal subsidies. Subsidies were guaranteed by the Swiss Federal Law for the promotion of building of flats and property in 1973 (WEG, Wohnbau- und Eigentumsförderungsgesetz).
Secondary Aspects	Market and state	State and public institutions should regulate the housing market. Without public intervention flats for young families would not be enough offered in the market even with a strong request.

Table 19: Belief system of the building cooperatives

6.4.2.5. Organisation for the protection of the Zurich lakes' landscape

The Belief system of the organisation for the protection of the Zurich lakes' landscape (VSLZ) referred only to nature and landscape protection. Although the Organisation was constantly active in the Zurich lake region, for Jona the main problem perceived was the exaggerated building activity adjacent to the lakeshores. According to the VSLZ, this large activity damaged the habitat for plants and animals at the coast and landscape image. One specific case where VSLZ identified the immanence of this problem was the proposed "Gubeldorf"-project in 1983. The project planned the building of a great housing complex with port facilities. For VSLZ this problem generated from the

designation of the “Gubel”-area as building zone in the land-use plan of 1968. In the 1970s, the cantonal authority and VSLZ proposed to convert this area and other areas like “Höcklistein” and “Fuchsberg”⁷¹ into protected areas; however, the municipal council did not change the plan. Strategies proposed by the organisation were the municipal and cantonal intervention to designate wide protection areas. These strategies aimed to limit the effect of built-up area expansion on landscape at lakeshores. Against the “Gubeldorf”-project the VSLZ formulated an objection based on the expected damage on nature and landscape caused by the project realisation. As next step, the organisation proposed the re-conversion of the entire “Gubel”-area to non-building zones such as nature protection and agricultural zones.⁷²

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	Nature and landscape protection. Protection of lake coasts.
	Problem definition	The building-zone in the “Gubel”-area was an inappropriate area. This area is located at the lake coast adjacent to a very nature-sensitive protected area. The building of the “Gubeldorf”-project would damage the delicate water-equilibrium between lake and soil, disturb species living in the coast, damage the landscape-image. Excessively intensive building activity damage nature and landscape.
	Causes of the problem	“Gubel”- area was beginning of the 1980s still designed as building-zones, although the cantonal authority of St. Gallen proposed to at the end of the 1970s to re-convert the area to agricultural-zone and to protect it.
	Priority accorded to the	Creation of more protected areas with the land-use

⁷¹ “Höcklistein” and “Fuchsberg” are located in the western part of the Jona-territory.

⁷² Rebsamen (2002), Die Linth. Ja zu Grünzone Gubel und Krone. 13.6.1984, Die Linth. Kritik am Gubeldörfli in Jona. 02.10.1982

	various instruments	policy plan. Limitation of fast built-up area expansion.
Secondary Aspects	Market and state	Public should set fix limits for built-up area expansion.

Table 20: Belief system of the organisation for the protection of landscape at the Zurich lake

6.4.2.6. The “Ortsgemeinde” Rapperswil

Although the migration of young families from Rapperswil to Jona was considered as problem (section 6.1.2.4.), the “Ortsgemeinde” stimulated actively the building of housing in Jona. The “Ortsgemeinde” owned land in Jona and for this reason exerted its influence also in this municipality. The goals of the “Ortsgemeinde” were the offer increase in flats and affordable housing for the territory adjacent to Rapperswil and the increase of the income possibility for a better administration of the rest of the goods. The “Ortsgemeinde” sold building rights in 1983 for building the large housing complex between Rapperswil and Jona in the “Burgerau” and “Bildau” area and sold building rights at a lower price for buildings cooperatives in Jona.⁷³

6.4.2.7. Landowners

Although landowners were not a political organised group, they influenced the policy process even with punctual intervention in the discussions by defending their private interests. The goals of landowners could be summarised with the protection of productive

⁷³ Interview with the previous president of the “Ortsgemeinde”, Interview with the head of the municipal building department

agricultural land and the support of the development of hamlets. On the one hand, during the 1970s, landowners living in the hamlets of “Wagen” and “Curtiberg”⁷⁴ perceived the inexistence of building zones in those areas as limitation for the socio-economic development. During the entire study period, landowners living in “Bollingen” expressed to the municipal council the same problem by asking for the conversion of a defined area adjacent to “Bollingen” for development. On the other hand, landowners living more close to the building zones deplored the proposition to convert the “Grünfeld” area to building zone, interpreting this as progressive loss of productive agricultural land. Landowners considered the application of the constitution article about moor landscape protection an excessive limiting intervention by the state. For farmers the article introduced in 1987 restricted too strongly their private property and their production. Similarly, the re-conversion of building zones to agricultural zones in 1984 and 1999 was considered an excessive limitation of private property.⁷⁵

In general, landowners expected from the municipality the protection of their interests as part of the population. First, for the landowners the municipal council should have designated building zones for permitting the population of the hamlets to develop. Second, landowners thought that productive agricultural land should have been protected and private property not limited.⁷⁶

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	Protection of agricultural land. Development of the hamlets.
	Problem definition	Population of "Wagen", "Curtiberg" and "Bollingen" had no possibility to develop. Loss of agricultural land to cultivate.
	Causes of the problem	Lack of building zones adjacent to the hamlets. Intension to convert agricultural area to building

⁷⁴ “Wagen” and “Curtiberg” are hamlets located in the eastern part of Jona-territory.

⁷⁵ Interview with the head of the municipal building department, Interview with a previous LP-deputy of the municipal council

⁷⁶ Interview with a previous LP-deputy of the municipal council

		zones. “Rothenthurm Initiative” limiting the activities of farmers.
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	Define building zones adjacent to hamlet. Protection of productive agricultural land. Protection of land property.
Secondary Aspects	Market and state	Public should protect landowners.

Table 21: Belief system of the landowners

6.4.2.8. Canton St. Gallen

Main goal of the cantonal office for spatial development (OSD) was the implementation of the Swiss federal law on spatial planning. OSD sought to protect agricultural areas, landscape and nature from the excessive built-up area expansion and urban sprawl. Furthermore, life-quality increase meant for OSD the limitation of traffic intensity and to guarantee access to lake coasts.⁷⁷

For the OSD the extension of building zones represented the main problem for the spatial development in Jona. First, in the 1976 the cantonal office considered exaggerated the proposition of the municipal council to convert a wide agricultural area to building zone. The area proposed for the conversion was too large for the OSD, because not justified by a real need for expansion. Furthermore, the conversion would have driven to the loss of useful agricultural land and to the damage of landscape. OSD estimated the consequent building-up of the area under “Curtiberg” as particularly damaging for landscape because of the hilly morphology. Second, OSD considered the “Gubeldorf”-project and the designation of the “Gubel”-area as building zone as potential causes for loss of nature and

⁷⁷ Die Linth. Nein zum Gubeldörfli-Projekt. 18.6.1983.

life quality. In the 1980s, OSD claimed that the great extent of building zones in Jona was fostering rapid built-up expansion and loss of nature and green areas.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Die Linth. Nein zum Gubeldörfli-Projekt. 18.6.1983, Die Linth. Genehmigung des Teilzonenplanes Wagen-Jona. 14.4.1976

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	<p>Protection of agricultural area.</p> <p>Landscape and nature protection.</p> <p>Protection of lake coasts.</p> <p>Implementation of the Swiss federal law on spatial planning.</p> <p>Limitation of urban sprawl.</p> <p>Limitation of traffic intensity.</p> <p>Increase in life-quality.</p>
	Problem definition	<p>The conversion of agricultural zones to building zone in “Wagen” and “Curtiberg” would lead to a loss of useful agricultural land and damage the landscape.</p> <p>The realisation of the “Gubeldorf”-project would damage nature and landscape. The “Gubel”-area should be protected.</p> <p>Buildings zones of Jona were excessively large and this stimulated built-up area expansion.</p> <p>Traffic transit in Jona was excessive.</p>
	Causes of the problem	<p>Buildings zones were excessively large.</p> <p>“Gubel”-area was designed as building zone.</p>
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	<p>More intensive planning regulation.</p> <p>Limitation of building zones.</p>
Secondary Aspects	Market and state	Public should regulate disequibred market.

Table 22: Belief system of the cantonal authorities of canton St. Gallen

6.4.3. Decision-making

Actors tried to translate their belief into policy measures. Concrete measures and propositions concerning different issues were formulated. These different issues can be summarised in: revisions of land-use plans, revision of building regulations, housing policy and road-infrastructures.

6.4.3.1. Revisions of land-use plan and building regulations

Although the interests of landowners had a dominant position in the municipal decision-making, the cantonal authority could set limits to the realisation of their projects. Landowners provoked the first relevant decision regarding building zone extent in 1976. The rapid development in peri-urban area influenced by the proximity of Zurich was already started. The municipal authority and population expected a great population increase for Jona. Owners of agricultural land located in the hamlets were influenced by this context and perceived the development possibility of their economic activities and for the population in the hamlets. Although the existing building zone had already a great extent, any building zone was designated in the adjacent area of these hamlets. Landowners proposed to the municipal council to designate a wide building zone between the hamlet of “Wagen” and the hamlet of “Curtiberg”. From the municipal council any great objection arisen. The head of the municipal building department explained the lack of a strong position by the municipal council with the weakness of this institution until 1976. According to him, in the domain of urban management, the whole municipal council was missing the resource “formal legal authority to make policy decisions” because of its weakness. Therefore, other interest groups could prevail this authority.

„Die Einzonungen da draussen waren ein Thema! Also die waren planerisch völlig daneben, was da oben gelaufen ist. Klar ist die Hanglage für landwirtschaftliche Bewirtschaftung ungeeignet, aber das ist ein so starker Solitär. Das war davon abhängig, dass da ein kranker Landwirt wohnte, der die Liegenschaft eigentlich veräussern musste oder wollte. Und dann natürlich die Idee, das könnte man doch zu Bauland machen. Und da bestand auch einmal die Idee, alles einzuzonen. Also ganz schlimm. Der [Kanton] hat gebremst. Es war ja so, anfangs der 70er Jahre war die Gemeinde eher führungsschwach. Der damalige Gemeindepräsident liess sich zu stark von Interessengruppen leiten.“⁷⁹

However, OSP could make its rejecting position dominant because of its “formal legal authority”. In practice, OSP rejected this proposition partially, because the request did not correspond to any concrete need. OSP stated that rapid uncontrolled development should not have been stimulated and the hilly landscape close to “Curtiberg” should not have been damaged. Finally, between 1976 and 1978 the municipal council converted to building zones some areas in the zone adjacent to the hamlets.⁸⁰

Proposition	Landowners: Convert to building zones wider areas adjacent to “Wagen” and “Curtiberg”	1976
Initial Position of social democratic coalition	-	
Initial Position of Liberal Party	-	
Initial Position of CDP	-	
Initial Position of “Ortsgemeinde”	-	
Initial Position of land owners	-	

⁷⁹ Interview with the head of the municipal building department

⁸⁰ Interview with the head of the municipal building department , with the previous president of the Social Democratic Party in Jona

Initial Position of building cooperatives	-	
Initial Position of nature protection organisations	-	
Initial Position of Cantonal authority	Rejection of part the proposition.	1976
Decisions	Conversion of part of the areas proposed to building zones.	1976-1978

Table 23: Decision making about the conversions to the building zone

The revision of the land-use plan and the building regulation of 1984 was influenced by a policy learning processes occurred internally to all parties. All the parties and coalitions realised that the past development had caused some problems. First, Jona was evolving to a residential place without giving the possibility to the population to work or to do shopping and cultural activities. Second, all actors developed the belief that built-up area expansion was one of the causes of the increase traffic intensity. The learning of these facts arose from the observation of the outputs generated by the past land-use plan and building regulations. As consequence, all the actors contributed to formulate a better planning strategy. Since no actors were accepting the status quo, they could find a “negotiated agreement” (Sabatier and Weible 2007).

First, the conversion of agricultural area to building zone for the creation of sport facilities could be implemented because of the authority of all the parties present in the municipal council and their influence on public opinion. The issue was to create adequate infrastructures and facilities for stimulating the development of Jona as a city and not only as residential place. The proposition of the LP was to convert the “Grünfeld”-area to building zones for new sport facilities. All the parties and coalition represented in the municipal council sustained this proposition, because the “Grünfeld”-area was adjacent to the building zones and all necessary infrastructures were still present. However, people

owning the land adjacent to these areas rejected this proposition and collected signatures for a referendum. Finally, all the parties could use the resource “information” and explain to the population that the consequences of choosing an external place would have been the need of new infrastructures and the increase in traffics. As consequence, the parties could acquire the resource “public opinion”. The final decision of the municipal assembly was to accept the conversion of “Grünfeld” to building zone.

Due to the policy learning, all the actors found a consensus first, for the allocation of new industrial zones and second, for the development of a long-term strategy. The long-term strategy was the separation of industrial zones from residential zones, in order to protect life-quality of residents and limit the traffic intensity in residential areas. The proposition of the LP was to buy agricultural land from the monastery Würmsbach to allocate a great industry out of the residential zones. The industry addressed its request to settle in Jona because of the favourable geographical position. All the parties agreed with the settlement of this industry, because a great industry would have brought benefits for Jona with the creation of new employments. However, the intension of the council was to separate the residential zones from this great industry. As result, the municipal council bought the land from the monastery and designated a great industry zone. Finally, the industry could settle. Part of the long term was the rejection of all requests for the allocation of large shopping centres in the agricultural zone. The reason was the non-optimal accessibility by the public transportation network of the areas.

An other issue was the creation of a more detailed land-use plan for the better steering of the future development. For this purpose, CDP proposed to convert mixed-zones to mere residential zones. The intension was to protect life-quality in the quarters by avoiding the intensification of traffic due to commercial activities. The social democratic coalition sustained this proposition, while Liberal Party rejected it. The motivation of the rejection was the belief that mixed-zones stimulate the market and the allocation of new commercial activities and consequently new jobs. The result of the “negotiated agreement” was on one side, the creation of a single-houses-zone from the conversion of a zone for single and semi-detached houses. The advantage of this measure was the style

uniformation and decrease of land-use intensity values of the residential areas designated to families. This meant life-quality increase. On the other side, land-use-intensity value in some existing mixed-zones was increased. The advantage of this measure was the stimulation of new jobs creation. These two measures contributed define more in detail the future development. Additionally, a small area was re-converted to agricultural area.

Proposition	<p>Liberal Party:</p> <p>Convert the “Grünfeld”-area for new sport facilities. Separation of industrial zones from residential zones. Buy of the “Buech”-area from the Monastery for the settlement of a new industry. Rejection of all requests for building shopping centres in the agricultural areas.</p> <p>Christian Democratic Party:</p> <p>Conversion of mixed-zones to residential zones.</p>	1984
Initial Position of social democratic coalition	<p>Sustain of the “Grünfeld”-area conversion. Sustain of the separation between industrial zones and residential zones. Sustain of the buy of the “Buech”-land. Rejection of all requests for building shopping centres in the agricultural areas.</p>	1984
Initial Position of Liberal Party	<p>Against the conversion of mixed-zones to residential zones.</p>	1984
Initial Position of CDP	<p>Sustain of the “Grünfeld”-area conversion. Sustain of the separation between industrial zones and residential zones. Sustain of the buy of the “Buech”-land. Rejection of all requests for building shopping centres in the agricultural areas.</p>	1984
Initial Position of	-	

“Ortsgemeinde”		
Initial Position of land owners	People owning land adjacent to the “Grünfeld”-area rejected the conversion.	1984
Initial Position of building cooperatives	-	
Initial Position of nature protection organisations	-	
Initial Position of Cantonal authority	-	
Decisions	<p>Revision of the land-use plan and building regulation</p> <p>Contents:</p> <p>Conversion of the agricultural area “Grünfeld” to building zone as new sport complex</p> <p>Conversion of the agricultural area “Buech” to industrial zone</p> <p>Creation of a zone for single houses (WL) from zones for single and semi-detached houses (WE)</p> <p>Creation of two stories mixed residential-commercial zones (WG2) from three stories mixed zones (WG3)</p> <p>Conversion of some building zones to agricultural zones (Joner Allmeid)</p>	1984

Table 24: Decision making about the first revision of land-use plan

The submission of the “Gubeldorf”-project to the municipal council the beginning of the 1980s caused deep conflicts between the actors. One problem recognised by all parties present in the municipal council was the possible damage of this delicate area. The “Gubel”-area is located at the lakeshore and at the border with protected areas. However,

the “Gubel” was designated as building zone since the 1968 and during the previous land-use plan revision the municipal council did not follow the advice of OSD. OSD proposed to convert this building zone to agricultural zone or to nature protection area. This context was one of the reasons of the reaction of LP. For the re-conversion of that area the municipality should have paid an excessively high compensation to the landowner. Therefore, the LP proposed to accept the project. An additional reason for the acceptance of the project was the possibility to maintain the public access to the lakeshores, even if the land was owned by private. CDP sustained the LP-position because the party was sceptical to re-conversions. The social democratic coalition supported the main opponent of the project: VSLZ. The reason was the promotion of nature protection and the decision to stop the trend of the municipal council to give too many building permits causing non-ordered development. VSLZ applied an objection to the cantonal authority and proposed to reject the project and to re-convert the entire area to agricultural zone. The reason of this proposition was the belief that this zone was likely to be protected from building-up because of its delicate natural equilibrium.⁸¹

The position of VSLZ could dominate because of the acquisition of different resources. First, VSLZ could convince OSD to reject the project with the argument that OSD itself still have proposed the re-conversion of that area during the last land-use plan revision. This resource can be called “information”. Second, in the 1980s, the “ecological-issue” was entering into the discourses of the public opinion and the nature protection or ecological movements increased their political power. This change of the external events influenced also VSLZ by increasing the sensitivity of OSD towards the “ecological-issue”. By influencing the decision of OSD, VSLZ could steer the “formal authority to make policy decisions” at cantonal level, although at municipal level LP had this authority of (four LP-deputies in the municipal council out of seven deputies). As first consequence, OSD rejected the project. As second consequence, VSLZ proposed the re-conversion to agricultural zones of the entire “Gubel”-area.⁸²

⁸¹ All Interviews, Frei (2004).

⁸² All Interviews, Frei (2004), Die Linth. Kritik am Gubeldörfli in Jona. 02.10.1982.

The OSD-decision changed the initial context but did not change the dominant position of LP at municipal level. The reaction to the second VSLZ proposition was generally positive. The social democratic coalition and CDP sustained this proposition, in order to protect important natural objects. LP supported only part of the proposition and proposed to convert only part of the “Gubel”-area. Because of the presence of four LP-deputies in the council, the party could exert its “formal authority to make policy decisions”. Finally, municipal council decided to re-convert only part of the area and to transform part of the area in zone for single houses. OSP accepted this compromise.⁸³

Proposition	Liberal Party: Sustain the realisation of the “Gubeldorf”-project. VSLZ and social democratic coalition: Re-conversion of the “Gubel”-area into agricultural zone.	1984
Initial Position of social democratic coalition	Rejection of the “Gubeldorf”-project.	1984
Initial Position of Liberal Party	Sustain the partial re-conversion of the “Gubel”-area to agricultural zone.	1984
Initial Position of CDP	Sustain the realisation of the “Gubeldorf”-project. Sustain of the re-conversion of the “Gubel”-area to agricultural zone.	1984
Initial Position of “Ortsgemeinde”	-	
Initial Position of land owners	-	
Initial Position of building cooperatives	-	
Initial Position of	Objection against the realisation of the “Gubeldorf”-	1984

⁸³ Interview with the previous president of the Social Democratic Party in Jona, Die Linth. Kritik am Gubeldörfli in Jona. 02.10.1982.

nature protection organisations	project.	
Initial Position of Cantonal authority	Rejection of the “Gubeldorf”-project.	1984
Decisions	Rejection of the “Gubeldorf”-project.	1984
	Partial re-conversion of the “Gubel”-area to agricultural zone. Partial conversion to single-houses zone.	1984

Table 25: Decision making about the conversion of “Gubel”-area

Also the second revision of the land-use plan and the building regulation was a “negotiated agreement” caused by the non-acceptance of the status-quo by all the actors. First, OSD and the municipal council realised that the building zone extent in Jona was excessively large and that this was stimulating urban sprawl and the consequent loss of green areas. This can also be seen as policy learning about the consequence of the previous policy measures. OSD mandated to the municipal council to reduce the building zone and advised to avoid the new conversions. All the actors reacted with an agreement of this mandate. However, LP was sceptical against re-conversions. Because of the policy learning of all actors and “legal authority” of the OSD, the municipal council formulated new strategies into a spatial development concept; which previewed a moderate population growth of 1-2%. Consequently, the strategy of infill development was formulated for the purpose to protect nature and the strategy to ensure the access to lakeshores and to create of new reserve for new public buildings for the purpose to absorb the expected population increase.

Concretely, the propositions from different actors were joined in the formulation of the new land-use plan and building regulation. First, despite to the learning about the causes of urban sprawl, LP was sceptical against re-conversion because it was considered as private property limitation. However, like all the other parties LP choose urban management as first priority. The municipal council decided to re-convert the

“Höcklistein” and “Fuchsberg”-areas to agricultural zones and decided to adopt the long-term strategy of infill development to create possibility for a limited population increase. Second, CDP proposed to create a more defined structure for the territory in order to stop the non-ordered urban development. The social democratic coalition and LP sustained this proposition. This strategy jointly with the idea to promote infill development, were implemented with the creation of high land-use intensity core zones in the quarters “Kempraten”, “Lenggis”, “Südquartier” and “Wagen” to steer decentralised settlement. Furthermore, a new “village core zone” protected important building and cultural objects. Additionally, in order to permit development, the municipal council increased the land-use intensity values also in some still existing core zones and in some residential areas, created reserve zones adjacent to the quarters and created new zones for public buildings. The only complaint against these measures was formulated by the social democratic and concerned the lack of protection for green areas coalition. However, any concrete proposition could be transformed because of the weak presence of that party in the municipal council. As compensation for the creation of core-zones, the municipal council converted other still existing mixed zones to mere residential zones. For future industrial development, some land close to “Buech” was designed as reserve for industrial buildings. Additionally, because of the increased influence of VSLZ and of the “ecological”-sensitivity of OSD, green zones and intensive-use recreational areas were created in order to guarantee public access to the lakeshores.

Because of the influence of the public opinion, the municipal council decided to create a core zone also in “Bollingen”. Since the beginning of the 1980s, the landowner living in the hamlet “Bollingen” repeatedly asked the municipal council to define building zones to permit the population and economical development. Until 1990, the municipal council decided not to accept this proposition. The reason of that was the lack of an appropriate access to this area with public transportation. In the revision of 1994, the municipal council decided to convert a reserve zone adjacent to “Wagen”, for compensating the lack of building-zones in “Bollingen”. During the revision-process, the population of “Bollingen” could convince the municipal council to allocate a core-zone in “Bollingen”

similarly to the other quarters, which also aimed to conserve the “village-structures” of the ancient hamlet.

Proposition	OSD: Reduce building zones. Liberal Party: Increase land-use intensity values for encouraging infill development and decentralised settlement. Christian Democratic Party: More detailed land-use plan.	1994
Initial Position of social democratic coalition	Sustain the reduction of building zones. Sustain the increase in land-use intensity values, pointing out to protect green areas in the centres. Sustain a more detailed land-use plan.	1994
Initial Position of Liberal Party	Sustain the reduction of building zones with a sceptical position concerning limitation of private property. Sustain a more detailed land-use plan.	1994
Initial Position of CDP	Sustain the reduction of building zones. Sustain the increase in land-use intensity values.	1994
Initial Position of “Ortsgemeinde”	-	
Initial Position of land owners	Against re-conversion of building zones to agricultural zones.	1994
Initial Position of building cooperatives	-	
Initial Position of nature protection organisations	-	
Initial Position of	-	

Cantonal authority		
Decisions	<p>Formulation of a development Concept</p> <p>Contents:</p> <p>Goals for the spatial development in Jona are:</p> <p>To offer more residential space to cover the need of a 1-2% population increase; residential space should be created by increasing density close to the public transportation network</p> <p>To reduce commuter traffic; the strategy formulated were the creation of jobs and necessary infrastructure for the settlement of new industries</p> <p>To foster the decentralised settlement and protect green areas in quarters;</p> <p>To preserve zones for public buildings due because of the previewed population increase;</p> <p>Discharge of traffic in the quarters by amplification of public transport network.</p> <p>To preserve landscape and recreational areas and guarantee the public access to the lake rivers.</p>	1994
	<p>Revision of land-use plan and building regulation</p> <p>Contents:</p> <p>General increase in land-use intensity values and possibility to develop the entire attic.</p> <p>Differentiated planning of the core zone: creation of more core zones types (K3-K5) with three levels of land-use values. Creation of core zones in the quarters “Kempraten”, “Lenggis” and “Südquartier”,</p>	1999

	<p>“Wagen” and “Bollingen”.</p> <p>Creation of the “village-core zone” with protection measure for historically und culturally important buildings.</p> <p>Additionally, creation of a list of cultural objects and nature elements to protect.</p> <p>Addition of intensive-use recreational area.</p> <p>Creation of new reserves for industries adjacent to Buech, adjacent to Wagen of for the development Bollingen and for public buildings adjacent to the existing schools.</p> <p>Creation of mere residential zones (W) from residential-commercial zones (WG).</p> <p>Conversion to agricultural zone of a building zone (Höcklistein, Fuchsberg).</p> <p>Creation of green zones and intensive-use recreation areas at the lake rivers for guarantee public access.</p>	
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Table 27: Decision making about the second revision of the land-use plan

The social democratic coalition could hinder thank to the support of the population the LP-project that aimed to create a centre building complex. Together with the land-use plan revision in 1984, a project for a building-complex with centre-functions was discussed. As part of the policy learning process, all the actors recognised the lack of infrastructure and facilities for stimulating cultural activities, shopping activities and meeting for population. As response, a project was proposed by LP. The project previewed a public-private partnership in funding and for the allocation of activities. The municipality should have allocated the spaces for cultural activities and should have created a under ground gallery for the commercial activities. The private investors should have allocated the commercial activities. For LP this partnership was the optimal mechanism to enhance the creation of activities for transforming Jona to a city and

stimulating the market to offer these possibilities. In 1983, LP proposed to the municipal assembly a credit for the realisation of this project. The social democratic coalition sustained heavily the creation of a central building-complex with meeting possibilities for the population. However, this coalition rejected the credit. The reason was that no detail about the project was presented with the credit. Additionally, the strong private participation to the project would not have allowed a democratic control of the project realisation. Once the project was financed, the private investors would have not needed to satisfy the population needs. Although the social democratic coalition was weakly represented in the municipal council with only one deputy, the coalition could convince the public opinion with its arguments. With the acquisition of the public opinion as resource by this coalition, the municipal assembly sustained the social democratic coalition and rejected the credit. At the end of the 1980s, a new project for a building-complex for the centre was proposed and accepted. The new “Kreuz”-centre-infrastructure comprised buildings with commercial activities, a restaurant and a multi-functional room for cultural activities.

Proposition	Liberal Party: Creation of a building-complex as centre-infrastructure. Liberal Party: Proposition of a credit for a public-private partnership for building the new centre-complex.	1970-1983
Initial Position of social democratic coalition	Sustain of the building-complex construction, only if population need were satisfied with meeting-infrastructures. Rejection of the credit.	1970-1983
Initial Position of Liberal Party	-	
Initial Position of CDP	-	
Initial Position of “Ortsgemeinde”	-	

Initial Position of land owners	-	
Initial Position of building cooperatives	-	
Initial Position of nature protection organisations	-	
Initial Position of Cantonal authority	-	
Decisions	Rejection of the credit by population.	1983
	Creation of the new centre-complex “Kreuz”.	1980s

Table 28: Decision making regarding the creation of a building-complex in the centre

6.4.3.2.Housing-policy

Like for Rapperswil, the frames for the housing policy were created in the 1970s at federal level. First, due to a debate at federal level at the beginning of the 1970s about the disequilibrium of the housing and land market the law for the promotion of building of flats and property was applied at federal and cantonal level. Additionally, in 1973 also in Jona the construction and the removal of defined type of buildings were suspended for stabilising the building market.

At municipal level, a consensus about the public intervention could be reached because of the non-acceptance by all the actors of the disequibred market. First, as proposed form different parties some building cooperatives were created. These cooperatives could benefit from federal, cantonal and municipal subsidies. The municipal council and the “Ortsgemeinde” decided, as proposed by the social democratic coalition and Christian Democratic Party, to sell land at a lower price to the cooperatives for the building of affordable flats. As example, the building cooperative “Speer” created 36 affordable flats

in the “Eichfeld”⁸⁴ area in 1975 and 71 affordable flats in “Tödistrasse” in 1992. Second, the LP and CDP obtained the creation of boni for people who wished to acquire private property.

Proposition	Christian Democratic Party and social democratic coalition: Creation of building cooperatives. Municipality should have sold land at a lower price for affordable housing. Christian Democratic Party and Liberal Party: Subsidies for land or house property acquisition.	1970-2008
Initial Position of social democratic coalition	Sustain of the subsidies for land or house property acquisition.	1970-2008
Initial Position of Liberal Party	Sustain of the creation of building cooperatives. Sustain of the sell of land at cheaper prices.	1970-2008
Initial Position of CDP	-	
Initial Position of “Ortsgemeinde”	Sell of building rights at lower prices for building affordable housing.	1970-2008
Initial Position of land owners	-	
Initial Position of building cooperatives	-	
Initial Position of nature protection organisations	-	
Initial Position of Cantonal authority	-	
Decisions	Creation of building cooperatives.	

⁸⁴ “Eichfeld” is a quarter in Jona.

	Realisation of different cheap-housing complexes by building cooperatives.	1970-2008
	Sell of building rights of 37000 m ² land in Rapperswil and Jona for housing settlement and single houses: 200 flats	1983
	Creation of boni for acquisition of land or house property.	1980s

Table 29: Decision making about housing policy

6.4.3.3. Road-infrastructure

A collaboration between different municipalities and cantonal authorities lead to the partial solution of the transit traffic problems in Jona. The cantonal office for civil engineering aimed to decrease the traffic intensity in Jona. For this office, the intensive transit traffic in the residential quarters in Jona clearly affected the life quality. The office attributed to the traffic axes transiting in Jona a cantonal relevance and therefore decided to intervene for solving the problem. The cantonal parliament decided to sustain financially the construction of the bypassing highway and access road. The realisation of these projects (A8/T8) adjacent to Jona was completed in 2003.⁸⁵

6.4.3.4. About decision-making

First, the decision-making process in the 1980s was characterised by a stronger intervention of the public, partially due to the increasing influence of nature protection organisations. Simultaneously to the mandate by the OSD to reduce the building zones,

⁸⁵ Die Linth. T8/A8: Regierung prüft Etappierung. 01.5.1996.

the rejection of the “Gubeldorf”-project and the financing of the bypassing road, there was an additional public intervention in planning. The change of public opinion regarding the “ecological issue” leads to the formulation and acceptance of the “Initiative Rothenthurm” by the population. As consequence, an article about the moor landscape protection was added in the Swiss constitution. Despite to its sceptical position regarding private property limitation and its “formal authority” at municipal level, LP had to apply the new article and impose limitations to some farmers. The previous LP-deputy argued:

“Damals war ja das Waldsterben aktuell, in den 80er Jahren. Und dann wurde alles unter diesem Titel diskutiert. [...] Dann die Rotenturm-Initiative. Das musste dann auch umgesetzt werden. Es war ein ziemlich grosses Thema. Das waren dann grosse Diskussionen mit den Eigentümern, v. a. mit den Bauern. Die hatten natürlich dann gar keine Freude, wenn sie bestimmte Teile ihres Landes nicht mehr bewirtschaften durften. Das war eben das Gesetz. Da hatte man eigentlich politisch gar keinen Spielraum. Das musste man machen. Die Eigentümer haben sich natürlich gewehrt. Aber das war nicht mehr politisch. Das war Gesetz.”⁸⁶

The „Rothenthurm Initiative“ can be considered as impact from an other subsystem as changing external event leading to changes in the urban management at municipal level (Sabatier and Weible, 2007).

Second, a relatively stable parameter was identified as important driving force for decision-making in urban planning. The head of the municipal building department sustained that the particular functioning of planning in the canton S. Gallen hidden the democratic discussion.

“Ich weiss nicht, kennen Sie die Verhältnisse im Kanton St. Gallen. Die sind anders als z. B. im Kanton Zürich. Im Kanton St. Gallen kommt ein Teilzonenplan oder ein Zonenplan nicht vors Volk. Und damit ist die öffentliche Diskussion schon von Anfang an weniger stark als im Kanton Zürich, wo jede Gemeinde Beschluss fassen muss... auch der Richtplan kommt dort vor die Bürgerversammlung. Das ist hier nicht der Fall. Da ist das fakultative Referendum. Es ist die Auflage, wenn keine Einsprachen sind oder die Einsprachen erledigt sind, muss... nun sind es bei

⁸⁶ Interview with the previous LP-deputy

uns rund 800 Stimmberechtigte... müssen dann das Referendum ergreifen. Also es ist ein Aufwand damit verbunden. Und dann gibt es seine Abstimmung.“⁸⁷

Third, the lack of inter-communal or inter-cantonal collaboration in planning seems to be an additional constraint for developing adequate solutions to the urbanisation problems. Although some problems like traffic intensity asked an inter-communal or inter-cantonal coordination, all the interviewees considered the existing coordination unsatisfying. First, the problem identified was a lack of consciousness of the need of coordination; otherwise, sometimes the different municipalities had conflicting goals to achieve. Interviewees retained inter-cantonal co-operation as particularly difficult, because of the different laws applied. Different municipalities and cantons performed an effective collaboration for the realisation of the A8/T8. All the parties were conscious about the lacking collaboration between Rapperswil and Jona, which existed despite the share of the problems concerning traffic and built-up area expansion. All the actors sustained the institutional amalgamation of these two municipalities and considered its impact as very positive after the realisation.

6.4.4. Characterisation of conflicts

For Jona two main conflicts categories were identified: the conflicts about the intervention intensity by the municipality in the spatial development and the conflicts about the creation of new building zones. Other conflicts were the conflict about land-use intensity and conflict about land-use.

⁸⁷ Interview with the head of the municipal building department

6.4.4.1. Intensity of the intervention of the municipal authorities

In general, the social democratic coalition and the liberal party were opposed in the conflict about intensity of public intervention; however, for Jona this conflict did not show a clear structure. On one hand, the social democratic coalition, Liberal Party and Christian Democratic Party aimed to increase the live quality, to transform Jona from a residential town to a city, to limit the loss of green areas and to limit traffic intensity. Furthermore, all these actors realised since the 1980s that the built-up area expansion and traffic intensity increase were causally linked. On the other hand, the strategies of these actors for solving these problems were opposed. The social democratic coalition, VSLZ and OSD thought that the municipal council should have been able to intervene more strongly in spatial development. First, the municipal council should have re-converted the building-zones to agricultural zones in case of overestimation of population increase. Moreover, the public institutions should have fully maintained the control on development also in the cases of the project for the building-complex in the centre and for the access to the lakeshore in the “Gubel”-area. Although the public institutions should have stimulated the infill development, it should also have set limits for maintaining green areas in intensively used centre and control the development limiting building permits. The Christian Democratic Party expected from municipal council the designation of mere residential zones and of residential zones for single houses for protecting the life quality. On the opposite side, the Liberal Party and the land owners thought that the public institutions should have regulated but not affected private property for example with re-conversions. The liberal party proposed the strategy of private-public partnership for seeking the goals of spatial development. The role of the public would have been setting the rules for the development and allowing to the market to evolve. The public-private partnership would had allowed a satisfying solution for the public access to the lakeshore and the building of new port in the case of the the “Gubel”-area (1984) project and the building of a dynamic cultural-commercial complex in the centre of Jona. Despite of the different strategies proposed, the Liberal Party proposed and sustained the intervention intensification by the municipal council such as the separation of industry from residential zones, the non-settlement of large shopping centres, the re-conversion of

some building zones and the suggestion of the creation of a more detailed traffic planning in the 1990s. The social democratic party sustained the increase in land-use intensity values even if a major retardation of building activity by municipality was expected by the same party.⁸⁸

In some cases, in the implementation of the cantonal mandates and federal laws, the Liberal Party had to ante pone the cantonal or federal goals to its wish to avoid the limitation of private property. The implementation of the “Initiative Rothenthurm” was an example. In 1987 farmers, owning protected moorland had to limit the cultivation activity. The re-conversion of building-zone to agricultural zones in 1976 and 1999 constitute similar cases. Although in both cases the Liberal Party would have preferred to not to limit private property, the party had to apply the cantonal mandate and federal law.⁸⁹

For more public control	For less public control	Years
Cantonal office for spatial sevelopment and municipal council though that public authority should plan for the interest of the whole municipality. Since building zones were too large, public can intervene and limit private property with conversion.	Landowners though that building zones could not be re-converted to agricultural zones, this meaning an excessive limitation of private property.	1976
VSLZ and social democratic coalition though that pubic institution should protect landscape. Since Swiss population accepted this article, all coalitions and parties	Landowners and Liberal Party meant that private property should not be limited. Landowners were deplored the application of the new constituted article about moor landscape	1987

⁸⁸ All Interviews, Rebsamen, H. (2002)

⁸⁹ Interview with the head of the municipal building department, Interview with A previous LP-deputy of the municipal council

included the Liberal Party contributed to apply the article.	protection.	
Social democratic coalition sought the creation of a town centre with facilities for cultural activities and where population can meet. This coalition stated that the municipal council should not only have designated a core zone and propose the idea of the building-complex project, but also define the details and maintain the control of the use of the infrastructures in the centre. This for guarantee the democratic control of development.	Liberal Party proposed the creation of a centre for cultural and commercial activities. The liberal party though that municipal council should have designated a core zone and define the frame of the building-complex project. The liberal party proposed public-private collaboration for funding and settle commercial activities and supply of services.	1983
The social democratic coalition and VSLZ thought that public should be able to intervene and re-convert zones for guarantee nature protection and public access to lakeshore. The coalition and VSLZ rejected the proposition of the “Gubeldorf”-project and proposed to convert the area entirely into agricultural and nature protection zones.	The liberal party though that public should plan development but not limit excessively private property. Re-conversions had to be limited. Although, the “Gubel”-area should have been protected, the municipality was not able to pay any compensation for the re-conversion. Furthermore Liberal Party though that the “Gubeldorf”- project were an interesting public-private partnership for guaranteeing the public access to the lakeshore and the building of a new port.	1984 1999
The Christian Democratic Party thought that “working” and	Liberal Party thought that large industry should be isolated from	1984

<p>“residential” area had to be separated for guaranteeing live quality in the quarters and proposed the creations of mere residential zones. Furthermore, municipality should define zones for single-family houses.</p>	<p>residential place. However, municipal council should define mixed commercial-residential zones. This would stimulate the creation of new jobs by market regulation.</p>	
<p>The social democratic coalition sustained the idea of the planning of a core zone with higher land-use intensity values. Municipal council should foster infill development for limiting loss of green areas in the outer part of the town. However, the coalition thought that municipal council should protect green areas even in the centre.</p>	<p>The Liberal Party proposed the planning of a core zones with higher land-use intensity values. The regulation by municipal council would stimulate a more efficient use of the territory saving green areas in the outer part of the town. The market would regulate the land use in the centre.</p>	1999
<p>The social democratic coalition and cantonal office for spatial development argued that the municipal council should be more restrictive and limit the building permissions. Public should play a major role in retarding built-up area expansion.</p>	<p>Liberal Party argued that public should plan and set the frame for spatial development but that individual actors should be able to realise their construction projects.</p>	1970-2008

Table 30: Conflicts about the intensity of municipal intervention

6.4.4.2. Urban management sets up building zones

Regard to new building zones, at the level of policy core, the public actors having a wider planning perspective were opposed to private landowners with a private or community planning perspective. OSD and all the parties present in the municipal council aimed an efficient planning considering the spatial, socio-economic development of the entire municipality. For this reason, OSD rejected partially the proposition to convert a wide area to building zone in 1976. OSD and the municipal council sustained the creation of development possibility but OSD suggested limiting the extent of the available land for development. The building zones expansion should have corresponded to the expected population growth; however, the development should not have been forced by excessive available land. The consequences of this would have been the loss of landscape quality and urban sprawl. For the case of “Bollingen” the municipal council rejected every proposition to create building zones until the last revision because of the non-optimal accessibility with public transportation.⁹⁰

On the other hand, concretely in the implementation of the strategies more elements interacted changing partially the conflict characteristic. Although all parties aimed to protect the “Gubel”-area, the Liberal Party proposed a public-private partnership for achieving at least the goal of public access to lakeshores.⁹¹

Concerning the re-conversion of building zones to agricultural zones, the Liberal Party had a conflict within the policy core. The liberal party agreed with OSD claiming that the building zones were excessively large; however, one of the core beliefs of the party was the protection of private property. Re-conversions of building zones to agricultural zones, was considered by the Liberal Party as a limitation of the private property. Finally, the

⁹⁰ All Interviews

⁹¹ Interview with the head of the municipal building department, Rebsamen, H. (2002)

planning purposes prevailed and re-conversion of some areas in 1976 and 1999 was performed⁹²

For more public control	For less public control	Years
Landowners living in the hamlets though that municipal council should permit development. For this goal building zones should be designated in the areas adjacent to the hamlets “Wagen”, “Curtiberg” and “Bollingen”.	OSD expected a limitation of the building zones extent by the municipal council. Conversions to building zones should satisfy concrete needs but not foster urban sprawl.	1976- today
The municipal council designated large building zones for an expected population growth.	OSD mandated to reduce building zone for not stimulating urban sprawl.	1980

Table 31: Conflicts about the building zones

6.4.4.3.Land-use intensity

Although all the parties and coalitions agreed with the increase of the land-use intensity values in the core zone, the social democratic coalition proposed to protect the green areas in the centre. For the Liberal Party the preservation of green spaces in the outer areas was more important than the preservation of those in the centre, where land should have been used efficiently.⁹³

⁹² Interview with the head of the municipal building department, Interview with a previous LP-deputy of the municipal council

⁹³ Interview with the previous president of the Social Democratic Party in Jona

6.4.4.4. Conflict about land-use

The only conflict concerning land use regarded the mixed zone. The Liberal Party thought that mixed zones would have stimulated the creation of new jobs. The creation of new jobs would have led to the reduction of commuter traffic. The Christian Democratic Party aimed to protect life-quality of families and proposed the strategy to separate more “working” from “residential” spaces limiting mixed zones. Furthermore, the Christian Democratic Party proposed to create single houses zones. The low-use-intensity-residential-zone would have increased the life-quality of families.⁹⁴

6.4.4.5. Conclusion

The Liberal Party, social democratic coalition, building cooperatives, Christian Democratic Party, VSLZ, the cantonal office for spatial development and the landowners were the main actors influencing the decision-making in Jona since the 1970s.

Although the Liberal Party disposed of the majority in the municipal council, the decisions were mostly negotiated agreement. The reasons of this were primarily the policy learning processes concerning all the actors with the consequent non-acceptation of the status quo. Secondly, the cantonal office of spatial development was determinant in re-dimensioning the liberal policy decisions that was causing the expansion of the built-up area. The third reason was the important role played by VSLZ since the 1980s for defending nature protection. As consequence, the liberal policy on one side and conflicts on the other side were mitigated.

⁹⁴ Interview with an active member of the Christian Democratic Party at municipal and cantonal level (parliament)

6.5. Case Study, Freienbach

6.5.1. Context: power of parties in the municipal council

In the municipal council of Freienbach many changes happened between 1970 and today.

In a first phase between 1970 and 1978, only three parties were represented in the council. Between 1970 and 1974, four deputies of CDP, one for the LP and two for the SDP composed the council. Between 1974 and 1978, the CDP decreased its deputies to three and LP increased its representation with two deputies sitting in the council.

Since 1980, a new party entered the municipal council: Swiss People's Party (SPP). SPP was always represented with one deputy with exception of the period 1996-98. As consequence, between 1980 and 1984 SDP deputy's number decreased to one. Between 1986 and 1988, SDP re-increased the number of deputies to two and LP decreased to one.

Since the 1989, SDP was weakly represented in the municipal council. The SDP deputy in 1989 was only one and between 1990 and 1990, no deputy represented SDP in the municipal council. The SDP-deputy was substituted by a deputy not officially in the LP, but close to this party.

Since the 1996, other important changes happened. First, CDP-deputies decreased to two between 1996 and 2000, and then returned to be three. Second, LP-deputies number varied between three and one. Third, SDP member varied between one and zero. Since 1996, an independent deputy is present in the municipal council

6.5.2. Actors, coalitions and belief systems

6.5.2.1. “Korporation Pfäffikon”

The goals of the “Korporation” generated from its origin and changed over time. The “Korporation” is a group of seven ancient families, which have their origins in Pfäffikon. “Korporationen” were created in the middle age to help municipalities to manage the common goods and for managing some services like water supply. Due to this public functions the “Korporationen” were ruled by cantonal public right⁹⁵. Until the 1960s, the goal of the “Korporation” was first to manage and conserve the owned land and objects and second to conduct agricultural activities. At the end of the 1960s, a change in the goals happened. Since the 1970s, beside the intension to contribute to the development of Freienbach, the “Korporation” sough to increase its economical gains as a member of the “Korporation” stated:

„Die ganze Veränderung hatte ganz eindeutig wirtschaftlichen Charakter. Früher war die Ausrichtung ganz klar Land- und Forstwirtschaft. Der Übergang war ja auch nicht ganz so einfach, das können Sie sich vielleicht vorstellen, wenn da plötzlich jüngere Leute kommen und sagen so wirtschaften wir nicht weiter. Das war auf Personen bezogen.“⁹⁶

The goal to support the development of Freienbach was related to these goals.

The problem to assure long-term gains caused other space-related problems for the “Korporation”. In the 1960s, the “Korporation” tried to avoid an excessive loss of productive agricultural land due to the construction of the highway. After the socio-economical changes happened in the 1960es, the “Korporation” tried to elaborate a strategy in order to gain benefits from this economical increase in the agglomeration of Zurich and to convert most of the owned land in building zones. The new goal was the

⁹⁵ Greuter (2008)

⁹⁶ Interview with a member of the „Korporation“

consequence of the fast economical development at the end of the 1960s happening in the whole agglomeration of Zurich and the growth-opportunity brought by the building of the highway connecting the main city with Freienbach.⁹⁷

The strategies for achieving the goals concerned the management of the owned land. First, an important strategy since the 1970s was to exclusively sell the building-rights instead of selling the land. The reason of that was that with the sell of building rights control on land and powers were maintained. The second dominant strategy particularly used during the formulation of the first land-use plan was to designate most of the owned land to building zones.⁹⁸ The interviewed member of the “Korporation” stated:

„Der wesentliche Teil war, dass wir unseren Einfluss in der Gemeinde geltend gemacht haben in Bezug der Einzonung. Wir wollten unsere Gebiete eingezont haben. Damals war alles noch Landwirtschaft. Mit etlichen Sitzungen und Absprachen war das dann möglich. Wir mussten einfach die Erschliessung, Kanalisation und so, selber bezahlen. Und das haben wir problemlos übernommen. Das war eigentlich die grundsätzliche Entwicklung der Korporation. Das war in den 1960er, 1970er Jahre. Es geht in die 60er Jahre zurück.

Dann nachher in der eigenen Landpolitik wurden die Beschlüsse gefasst kein Land mehr zu verkaufen, alles nur noch im Baurecht abzugeben. Wir haben nur noch wenig an den Kanton oder die Gemeinde als Eigentum abgegeben, alles andere im Baurecht.“⁹⁹

Other secondary strategies used to increase the attractiveness and to sustain the development of Freienbach were the donation of land for public projects, the sell of building rights to economically interesting enterprises that wish to settle in Freienbach and the sustain of the project to build a school-centre in Freienbach.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Interview with a member of the “Korporation”, Interview with the president of the “Citizen Forum”, Hennigler (1958)

⁹⁸ Interview with a member of the “Korporation”, Interview with the president of the “Citizen Forum”, Interview with a previous employee by the municipal planning section

⁹⁹ Interview with a member of the „Korporation“

¹⁰⁰ Interview with a member of the “Korporation”, Interview with the president of the “Citizen Forum”, Interview with a previous employee by the municipal planning section

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	<p>Conservation of the owned objects and land.</p> <p>Agricultural activities.</p> <p>Economic gain.</p> <p>Economic development of Pfäffikon.</p>
	Problem definition	<p>To benefit of the economical development, land owned to the “Korporation” had to be converted in building zones.</p> <p>Ensure long-term gains.</p> <p>With the building of the highway not excessively productive agricultural land had to get lost.</p>
	Causes of the problem	<p>The agglomeration of Zurich developed and the building of the highway from Zurich to Pfäffikon drove economical development and increased attractiveness of Freienbach for living.</p>
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	<p>Sell the right of land for building-up.</p> <p>Maintain ownership for having power.</p> <p>Negotiate with municipal council for having land in the building zones.</p> <p>Donate land for public uses.</p> <p>Sustain of public projects.</p> <p>Pfäffikon should have become a school centre.</p> <p>Commercial activities had to be fostered.</p>
Secondary	Market and state	<p>Private should have had the freedom for</p>

aspects	economical activities.
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Table 32: Belief system of the “Korporation Pfäffikon”

6.5.2.2. Monastery Einsiedeln

Since the monastery of Einsiedeln owned much land overall in the Canton Schwyz included in Freienbach, its activities influenced the urban management of Freienbach. The main goal of the monastery was to assure the survival of the monastery by managing its own property. The monastery owned great areas of agricultural land, a farm (“Statthaltereii”), a wine production (“Leutschen”) and alp farm in Pfäffikon; therefore, one of the main goals was to have some gains with the agricultural activity. Since the 1990s, the goal was also to find possibility to do additional gains for compensating the costs of managing forest and historical buildings. Until the 1980s, nature protection was also an important goal for the monastery.¹⁰¹

From the main problem – that was to assure a survival for the monastery - arose spatially specific problems. The managing of forest and historical buildings caused costs that needed to be compensated with gains. As consequence, one of the spatially specific problems was to avoid the loss of productive agricultural land threatened by the construction of the highway in the 1960s. Until the 1980s, the nature damaged by excessively intense building activity was perceived as problem. Additionally, in the 1990s, the monastery perceived the low money amount coming from the activities and difficulty to find sources of income as problem.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Interview with the previous munch responsible for the monastery property in Freienbach

¹⁰² Interview with the president of the “Citizen Forum”, Interview with a previous municipal council municipal council-deputy of the liberal party and a previous social democratic deputy of the cantonal parliament

The strategies for guaranteeing the survival of the monastery and for increasing the income were principally property-management strategies. Until the 1980s, the monastery sold building rights and great land areas. Since the 1980s, the monastery tried to maintain land ownership selling only building rights. Since the 1990s, the strategy was to manage the property more professionally. Therefore, the monastery delegated to a property agency service the management of the property and consulted prominent experts for increasing the income. The long-term strategy was to bargain with the municipality for designating land in the building zones. Until the 1980s, for fostering nature protection the VSLZ in its activities were sustained.¹⁰³

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	Agriculture. Maintaining the monastery. Maintaining and managing the property of the Monastery. Nature protection. Economic gains.
	Problem definition	Assure long-term survival of the Monastery. Maintain property like forest and historical buildings needed to be compensated with gains. Increase the gains. Avoid loss of productive agricultural land. Built-up area increase damaged nature.
	Causes of the problem	-
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	Negotiate with municipal council for having land in the building zones. Sell of building rights.

¹⁰³ Rebsamen (2002)

		Sell of land. Professional management.
Secondary Aspects	Market and state	-

Table 33: Belief System of the monastery Einsiedeln

6.5.2.3. Building cooperatives

The goal of the building cooperatives was the creation of affordable housing for low-income families. Additionally, a purpose of the building cooperatives was to avoid social ghettos and to hinder the speculation of the flat market. The main problem perceived constantly between the 1970s and 2008 was the lack of affordable flats for low-income families. The cause of the problem was the speculation on land and flats market. For the building cooperatives, the great building enterprises were the major actor in the housing construction. Because their interest was economic gains, with speculations they let the prices increase. Strategy for solving this problem was the building of affordable flats by benefiting of federal, cantonal and municipality subsidies. Further strategy was the request of affordable land to the municipal council. The two major building cooperatives in Freienbach were called FAMILA and GEWOBA.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Höfner Anzeiger. 28.4.1972

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	Creation of affordable housing for low-income families. Avoid social ghettos. Destruction of the flat speculation.
	Problem definition	Lack of affordable flats. The costs of most of the flats were excessively high for families or young people.
	Causes of the problem	Speculation led to constructions of expensive flats. Great building enterprises built most of the flats and houses.
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	Building of affordable flats. Building with high density. Municipality should give affordable land.
Secondary Aspects	Market and state	Public should have been regulating housing market.

Table 34: Belief System of the building cooperatives

6.5.2.4. Organisation for the protection of the Zurich lake's landscape

The general goals formulated by the organisation for the protection of the Zurich lake's landscape (VSLZ) were nature protection and particularly the protection of lakeshores and the preservation of nature as public good. More concretely, in Freienbach the specific goal of VSLZ was to protect the delicate "Frauenwinkel"¹⁰⁵-area.¹⁰⁶

The problems perceived by the VSLZ were principally linked with the damaging of the "Frauenwinkel"-area. First, since the 1970s, the VSLZ perceived a progressive loss of reeds-area and the consequent negative influence on the equilibrium constituted by lake and lakeshore. The second problem perceived was the loss of the value of the lakeshores as public good. In practice, in the entire lake region only 23-25% of the lakeshores had a public access. These problems existed despite of the application in 1927 of the decree for lakeshore protection at cantonal level. Additionally, according to the VSLZ, the land-use plans did not enough consider the nature protection.

Some perceived problems concerned concrete projects like the detritus deposited adjacent to the lake and in the lake at the beginning of the 1970s, the "Steinfabrik"-area project perceived as problem since the 1990s and the TELECOM¹⁰⁷ training-centre built in the 1990s. The detritus were deposited in the 1970s in the lakeshore adjacent to the land owned by the "Korporation". These deposits were considered by VSLZ negative for the "Frauenwinkel". In a terrain adjacent to the "Frauenwinkel" a project to build a great training-centre for TELECOM was applied. The planned use of the terrain was considered by VSLZ as excessively intense for that area, which was very close to the "Frauenwinkel". Additionally, the terrain where the "Steinfabrik"-factory was settled was converted to a mixed area and the intention to build housing complexes was formulated.

¹⁰⁵ "Frauenwinkel" area is a protected land particularly important because of the biodiversity due to the particular lakeshore-habitat.

¹⁰⁶ Rebsamen (2002)

¹⁰⁷ TELECOM was the Swiss public telephone enterprise.

VSLZ considered residential-commercial use not adequate for this area, because of the proximity of the “Frauenwinkel”. This use was considered as excessively intensive and eventual pets living in the flats would have been interacted negatively with the delicate equilibrium in the “Frauenwinkel”.¹⁰⁸

Generally, VSLZ considered private property, the insufficient power of the existing laws and the insufficient number of measure applied the primary causes of these problems. As direct causes for the loss of reeds, VSLZ identified the excessive expansion of built-up areas and agriculture intensification. Also the infill development caused for VSLZ the loss of landscape-quality. VSLZ considered as underlying cause private property. The private property protected the uses of land and hidden the application of existing laws, unable to set many limits. A second underlying cause was the neglecting of the nature protection in the formulation of land-use plans.¹⁰⁹

VSLZ adopted mixed strategies to increase the protection of the “Frauenwinkel”. The first important strategy to guarantee the protection was to buy land. Second, VSLZ was trying to influence decisions by addressing objections regarding some proposed projects to the cantonal office for spatial development and by fostering the right application of the existing laws. Additionally, VSLZ negotiated with the municipal council to obtain an increase of the number of measures for nature protections. Generally, the strategy adopted in the regional context was the regional coordination around the Zurich lake¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Rebsamen (2002)

¹⁰⁹ Rebsamen (2002)

¹¹⁰ Rebsamen (2002)

<p>Policy Core</p>	<p>Relative priority of various values</p>	<p>Nature protection. Protection of lakeshores. Protection of the public use of lakeshores.</p>
	<p>Problem definition</p>	<p>Lake and lakeshores built an ecological unit and were a public good. However, this unit was constantly damaged.</p> <p>Despite of the existence since 1927 of the lake shore protection decree, reed in the “Frauenwinkel”-area decreased.</p> <p>The cantonal law on water protection could have been extended to landscape protection at lakeshores.</p> <p>Only a little part of lakeshores was accessible for public: 23, 5% of the right lakeshore and 25, 9% of the left lakeshore.</p> <p>Deposit from the tunnel-buildings was in and adjacent to the lake. This damaged nature.</p> <p>Land-use plan did not consider nature protection.</p> <p>Housing complex in the “Steinfabrik”-area would have damaged lakeshores and the equilibrium of “Frauenwinkel”.</p> <p>Buy of the “Steinfabrik”-area by the “Korporation”.</p>

		The TELECOM Training-centre was previewed for the adjacent area to the protected “Frauenwinkel”-area. This would have been an excessive intensive use because of the closeness to the protected area.
	Causes of the problem	Expansion of the built-up area. Infill development adjacent to the lakeshore. Intensification of the agriculture. Excessive building zones extent defined in land-use plan. Private property of land to protect.
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	Buy of land to protect. Consider more nature protection in the land-use plan and planning processes. Exercise the still existing laws. Contrast projects with objections.
Secondary Aspects	Market and state	Public should have set limits to building market in order to protect nature.

Table 35: Belief system of the organisation for the protection of the Zurich lake’s landscape

6.5.2.5. Municipal council

The municipal council of Freienbach aimed a sustainable economic and demographic development in the municipality by implementing the urban management. The first goal of urban management was that the development should have been financially sustainable for the municipality. That is to avoid excessive investments for the infrastructure and to have an adequate income from taxes. The second goal was the protection of the agricultural area and of nature. The third goal was the formulation by the municipality of clear rules steering the urbanisation, but to let the possibility for private to build-up. The life-quality should have been increased by separating the perturbing industry from the residential areas. Additional important goals were also the creation of new employments and the equilibrate cooperation with public corporations, which owned a great portion of land in Freienbach.¹¹¹

The main problems perceived during the 1970s concerned the regulation of the urbanisation. In the cases where clear rules did not exist, the municipal council perceived the legal uncertainty as main problem. The lack of regulation for designating land-uses, the regulation of the responsibility for building the accessibility infrastructures caused land-use conflicts. The definition of land-uses asked coordination between political authority and public corporations such as the greatest landowners in the municipality. The lack of coordination would have potentially lead to great conflicts. Second, the lack of rules for setting-up the needed infrastructures would have fostered the non-ordered development. One problem formulated by the municipal council was that the municipality was not able to assume the costs of all accessibility infrastructures. This responsibility would have affected the financial sustainability of the development. At the end of the 1960es, the first proposition of the highway was considered excessively close to the core of the residential area. This variant would have caused an excessive loss of productive agricultural land. After the formulation of the first land-use plan in 1972, the

¹¹¹ Interview with the president of the “Citizen Forum”, Interview with a previous municipal council municipal council-deputy of the liberal party and a previous social democratic deputy of the cantonal parliament, Interview with a previous employee by the municipal planning section

municipal council identified as problem the private interests to convert to building zones the agricultural area above the highway. Since the 1970s, a great problem perceived was the challenge of the creation of the opportunity to absorb the expected population growth avoiding urban sprawl in agricultural and protected areas. A further perceived problem in the 1980s was the traffic caused by conversion from residential to commercial areas. During the entire study period, the excessive traffic and the lack of affordable flats for low-income families were also problems perceived by the municipal council.¹¹²

As main causes of the problems perceived, the municipal council identified the functioning of market and lack of adequate planning rules. For the municipal council the land speculation was the cause of the non-ordered development and of the high prices. The legal uncertainty due to the broad definition of land-uses also contributed to the non-ordered development. Additionally, the need of space increased more rapidly than the flat production. This was partially due to the economic self-regulation of market driven by the dominant role of private economy in the flat production. For the municipal council the dominance of the private actors owning land in the centre was the main cause of the difficulty to create a high-density core zone.¹¹³

For achieving these goals, the strategy adopted by the municipal council was to set up clear rules by negotiating with the most important landowners. However, the municipal council aimed also to give enough freedom to the private investors to build-up and to benefit from the opportunities offered by the actors intentioned to create new housing complexes or jobs. Additionally, the strategy chosen for absorbing the population growth was the creation of a core zone and the increase of land-use intensity values. In order to guarantee the financial sustainability of development, the municipal council decided to formulate clear rules for the building permits and for the responsibility of setting-up

¹¹² Interview with the president of the “Citizen Forum”, Interview with a previous municipal council municipal council-deputy of the liberal party and a previous social democratic deputy of the cantonal parliament, Interview with a previous employee by the municipal planning section

¹¹³ Interview with the president of the “Citizen Forum”, Interview with a previous municipal council municipal council-deputy of the liberal party and a previous social democratic deputy of the cantonal parliament, Interview with a previous employee by the municipal planning section

building infrastructures. For avoiding the northern variant for the highway, the municipal council put strong energy to negotiate for an alternative solution.¹¹⁴

<p>Policy Core</p>	<p>Relative priority of various values</p>	<p>Development of Freienbach. Financially sustainable development. Increase life-quality. Private property protection. Give the possibility to build. Protection of the agricultural area. Nature protection. Creation of employments. Separation of perturbing industry from residential areas. Cooperation with public corporations.</p>
	<p>Problem definition</p>	<p>Legal uncertainty about land-use. Commuter traffic excessively intense. Lack of coordination and rules for the built-up of accessibility infrastructures. Lack of affordable houses for low-income families. Non-ordered and financially not-sustainable development damaged landscape. The expected population increase should have been absorbed. Municipality cannot be responsible for setting-up accessibility infrastructure immediately. Highway should not have caused loss of</p>

¹¹⁴ Interview with a previous employee by the municipal planning section

		<p>productive agricultural land and caused life-quality decrease.</p> <p>The agricultural area above the highway should have been maintained.</p> <p>Consider the interest of great landowners for designating the building-zones.</p> <p>Protected areas should not have been built-up.</p> <p>Conversion from residential areas to commercial areas caused traffic.</p>
	Causes of the problem	<p>Land speculation caused un-ordered development and high land prices.</p> <p>Need of space increased more rapidly than flat production. Mostly flat production is dominated by economical actors.</p> <p>Excessively rapid urbanisation and excessively few rules and control led to not-ordered development.</p> <p>Difficult to create a core zone because private had to decide if to build or not.</p>
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	<p>Set clear planning rules but leave freedom for private.</p> <p>Creation of core zones.</p> <p>Increase in land-use values.</p> <p>Clear rules for building permits.</p>
Secondary Aspects	Market and State	<p>Public should set the rules and private and market should decide where and how to build-up.</p>

Table 36: Belief System of the municipal council

6.5.2.6. Canton Schwyz

The goal of the cantonal authorities was the application of federal and cantonal laws on spatial planning and the protection of nature. In the 1970s, the cantonal office for spatial development claimed that the definition of the “extension zones” in the land-use plan in Freienbach was not consistent with the federal law on spatial planning applied since end of 1970s. In the federal law, the category of “extension zones” was not defined. Reserve zones were not defined as building zones. The cantonal office for spatial development considered an overcharging the financing of the whole accessibility infrastructure by the municipal council. At the end of the 1960s despite of the acceptance of the federal law for national roads at national level, the cantonal office for civil engineering considered excessive the adjacency of the planned highway to the centre of Freienbach and the loss of productive agricultural land also as excessive for life-quality and economy. As strategy to solve these problems, the cantonal authority tried a negotiation for funding a more adequate variant for the highway and exerted its authority for applying the federal laws for spatial planning on municipal council.¹¹⁵

Policy Core	Relative priority of various values	Respect of the Federal law for spatial planning. Nature protection. Protection of cultural objects.
	Problem definition	“Extension zones” in Freienbach could not have been considered as building-zones. Reserve zones were defined by the federal law as non-building zones. Highway should not have been built excessively close to residential zones and excessive loss of

¹¹⁵ Interview with the president of the “Citizen Forum”, Interview with a previous municipal council municipal council-deputy of the liberal party and a previous social democratic deputy of the cantonal parliament, Interview with a previous employee by the municipal planning section

		agricultural areas should have been avoided. Municipality should not have been forced to set up accessibility infrastructures if the building-up of an area was not proprietary.
	Causes of the problem	Inconsistence of the land-use plan in Freienbach with the Federal Law on Spatial Planning.
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	Application of the federal law on spatial planning. Negotiating for a southern variant of the highway.
Secondary Aspects	Market and state	Public should have regulated rapid growth and corrected the market.

Table 37: Belief System of the cantonal authorities

6.5.2.7. Group in opposition to the “Korporation”

The group in opposition to the “Korporation” was not an official organised group. However, the opposition to the “Korporation” can be characterised with a proper belief system. This group comprehended members of all parties and people not active in parties as well. The group emerged after the change in the goals of the “Korporation” in the 1970s. The critics were intensified progressively until 2007, when the “Citizen Forum” was created.¹¹⁶

The overall goal of the group in opposition to the “Korporation” was to establish democracy in policy processes in order to better recognise and consider the population needs. That is that the basic human values should have played a major role in urban

¹¹⁶ Interview with the president of the „Citizens Forum“, Interview with a previous municipal council municipal council-deputy of the liberal party and a previous social democratic deputy of the cantonal parliament

planning. As consequence, one goal expressed by the group was to increase the rights and possibilities to have a voice for population in the policy processes.¹¹⁷

Since the 1970s and increasingly until today, the group in opposition to the “Korporation” perceived the power of the “Korporation” and monastery (defined big players) as the main problem for the urban development. For the opposition group this problem was correlated to the lack of democracy in the policy processes. On one hand, since the 1970s the group claimed that the population needs and interests were decreasingly considered in urban planning and the population lacked for possibilities to express its opinion. This problem was perceived until today and particularly during the decision process regarding the design of the “Steinfabrik”-area and regarding the formulation of a master plan for the entire region. Although in the land-use plan the need to protect the delicate “Frauenwinkel”-area was formulated, the municipal council first converted the “Steinfabrik” area in a residential-commercial area and planned the building of a housing-commercial complex and second. As a consequence, the “Korporation”-president bought the building rights of that area. The loss of life-quality due to the damage of landscape and the increase in traffic were not enough considered during the decision processes concerning large projects like the TELECOM-project adjacent to the “Frauenwinkel”-area or the construction of the shopping centre “Seedamm-Center” or aquatic park “Alpamare”. The interests of the “Korporation” that sold building rights for such projects were driving these decision processes. As a consequence of these decisions, the group in opposition to the “Korporation” perceived as problems the damage of landscape due to uncontrolled built-up and the removal for economical interest of historical buildings.¹¹⁸ Since a few years, the group in opposition to the “Korporation” perceived also the dominant role of the monastery as problem. In practice, the president of the “Citizen Forum” stated that the monastery changed its behaviour because of the need of income:

¹¹⁷ Interview with the president of the „Citizens Forum“, Interview with a previous municipal council municipal council-deputy of the liberal party and a previous social democratic deputy of the cantonal parliament

¹¹⁸ Interview with the president of the „Citizens Forum“, Interview with a previous municipal council municipal council-deputy of the liberal party and a previous social democratic deputy of the cantonal parliament

“Das Kloster hat verschiedene Güter jetzt, die mit einem neuen, und das ist hoch aktuell, Ziel plötzlich Geld bringen soll. Der See muss plötzlich Geld bringen und das Landwirtschaftsland das über Jahrhundert bewirtschaftet wurde, da sieht man plötzlich nun Anstrengungen im Hintergrund ziemlich verdeckt, dass das eingezont wurde das man massiv bauen kann, massiv Rendite herausholen kann. Und war früher in der Bewusstsein der Bevölkerung eine Garantie des Bestandes war und eine langfristige Denkweise, das wurde vor allem mit dem heutigen Abt ziemlich auf dem Kopf gestellt“¹¹⁹

According to the group in opposition to the „Korporation“ all these problems caused a sense of frustration in the population.

The group identified as main cause for the lack of democracy the power structure, which was dominated by big players and which was consequence of many underlying causes. Regarding the undemocratic system the president of the “Citizen Forum” stated:

„Was sich dann ereignet hat aufgrund dieses Machtgefüges, dass da eine Eigendynamik entwickelt ist der Staat im Staat. Einerseits so oberflächlich läuft alles wie geschmiert, ist alles unter dem Deckel gehalten, ein Vulkan im Unterteil der mottet aber und der macht die Leute sehr sehr politikverdrossen und unzufrieden. Es ist eine grosse Aggression hier gegenüber den Behörden.“¹²⁰

According of the belief of the group, political parties and authority were part of this undemocratic system because they were manipulated by the „Korporation“ and because of the strong interrelation between the groups.

The underlying causes of the power structure were first, the subordinated feeling that the population developed in the history because of the strong dominance of the monastery. Because of this feeling, the population could accept new dominants and renounce to find

¹¹⁹ Interview with the president of the „Citizens Forum“

¹²⁰ Interview with the president of the „Citizens Forum“

a possibility to influence the policy processes. The second underlying cause was the economical growth that induced the “Korporation” to change its goals and attitudes.¹²¹

The strategy for influencing the planning process and improving the democracy changed over time. Until the 1990s, the strategy of the group was not coordinated and consisted principally in the information of population and formulation of objections. Regarding the large projects such as the shopping centre “Seedamm” and the TELECOM-project, the group sustained the active action of the VSLZ. Since the 2007, the group formulated a coordinated strategy with the creation of the „Citizens Forum”. The strategies of the „Citizens Forum” did not concern only the urban management, but aimed to create a democratic culture in the population and formulate propositions for increasing democracy. The „Citizens Forum” can be considered as part of the group in opposition to the “Korporation”. In 2005, the “Initiative Steinfabrikareal” was formulated in order to convert the “Steinfabrik”-area to a park zone for public use.¹²²

¹²¹ Interview with the president of the „Citizens Forum”

¹²² Interview with the president of the “Citizen Forum”

<p>Policy Core</p>	<p>Relative priority of various values</p>	<p>Democracy in policy processes.</p> <p>Better recognise and consider population needs</p> <p>Increase the importance in planning of the basic human values.</p> <p>Increase the rights to have a voice for the population.</p>
	<p>Problem definition</p>	<p>Decrease of life-quality.</p> <p>Uncontrolled building activity and inconsiderately removal of houses.</p> <p>Land speculation led to uncontrolled building activity and uncontrolled stile.</p> <p>Population needs and interests were not enough considered in urban management.</p> <p>Lack of middle for population to express its opinion, also in the master plan process</p> <p>In the decision processes the private interest of the big players like the “Korporation” and Monastery were dominating and the public interests were not considered.</p>
	<p>Causes of the problem</p>	<p>The existent power structure, where big players dominated and public interest were not considered, were the primary cause of the problems.</p> <p>History of subordination of the population of Freienbach caused the subordination-behaviour respect to the big players and the municipal council.</p> <p>Due to the economical growth, parcels were sold to commercial enterprises and housing-complexes.</p>

		Parties and municipal council were part of this undemocratic system. “Korporation” and Monastery changed its goals.
	Priority accorded to the various policy instruments	Set the frames at Municipal level, where population can be informed and can express its voice in the Municipal policy processes. Formulation of the own needs to the municipal council. Collaboration in the planning commission.
Secondary Aspects	Market and state	Public institution should have set the rules and steered the market democratically.

Table 38: Belief System of the group in opposition to the “Korporation”

6.5.3. Decision-making

In Freienbach, the most important decision processes regarded three issues. First, the decision process caused by the federal decision to set-up a national road network was a central topic in the 1960s and 1970s. Second, the decision making about the land-use plan revisions constituted the core of the decision-making processes since the 1970s. Third, housing policy was also an important issue discussed.

6.5.3.1. Road network

The impact of the subsystem “national road policy” caused a change in the urban context and led to the policy learning of the “Korporation”. The idea of a national road network connecting together all the Swiss regions and neighbouring nations was developed at the end of the 1950s by the Automobile Club, which formulate an Initiative. The Swiss federal authority formulated a counter-proposition in order to regulate the construction and financing of national roads. Therefore, a concept of national road network was designed. It previewed a national road crossing Freienbach and the Canton of Schwyz. In 1958, the Canton of Schwyz was one of the cantons rejecting the proposition. However, the national result of the vote was the acceptance of that law proposition. As consequence, the responsible federal offices started to project concretely the road network included the road crossing Freienbach. The project proposed did not satisfy the local actors for many reasons. On one hand, the road would have been constructed excessively close to the core of Freienbach. This would have caused the decrease of life-quality. On the other hand, the road would have been constructed through the productive agricultural land. At the end of the 1950s, agriculture was a very important economic activity. These reasons provoked the protest of the Conservative Party, which included many farmers, from the “Korporation” and monastery, which owned most of the agricultural land and forest where the road would have passed. The municipal council defended the position of the local actors. All the local actors tried to influence Canton and Swiss federal authority to study a further southern variant, since the construction of a national road could not have been impeded. Finally, because of the influence of the public opinion and the coordination between the local actors a compromise of southern solution were proposed and realised. The owners of the land lost received compensation. The construction of that road was determinant first for the urbanisation of Freienbach and second increase of power of the “Korporation”, which earned money because of the compensation and change its goals and strategies.¹²³

¹²³ All Interviews

Proposition	Federal authority: construction of national road network. Construction of highway through Freienbach.	1950es
Initial Position of the municipal council	Sceptical position because of the loss of productive agricultural land.	1950es
Initial Position of the “Korporation”	Avoid the loss of productive agricultural land and closeness to the core of Freienbach.	1950es
Initial Position of the monastery “Einsiedeln”	Avoid the loss of productive agricultural land and closeness to the core of Freienbach.	1950es
Initial Position of the building cooperatives	-	
Initial Position of the “VSLZ”	Reject the construction.	1950es
Initial Position of Cantonal authority	Sustain the municipal council.	1950es
Initial Position of the Federal authority	-	
Initial Position of the group in opposition to the “Korporation”	-	
Conservative Party	Rejection of the construction because of the loss of productive agricultural land. Sustain of the municipal council.	1950es
Decisions	Bundesbeschluss Verbesserung von Strassennetztes Gegenvorschlag Bundesbeschluss über das Volksbegehren für die Verbesserung des Strassennetztes (Gegenvorschlag)	1958

	South variant highway	1950es
Implementation of decision	Construction highway	1963

Table 39: Decision-making about the construction of the highway

6.5.3.2. Revision of land-use plan and building regulations

The change in the urban context described above led the municipal council to the decision to formulate clear planning rules. The construction of the highway at the end of the 1960s provoked the settlement of new industries and commercial activities along the road and consequently benefits for the local economy. The urban development of the agglomeration of Zurich boomed. Due to this change, the municipal council recognised the need to set clear frames for development. The municipal council was supported by a professional study of the ETH (Swiss federal institute for technology). This study proposed to designate agricultural areas between the four villages, to define protected areas adjacent to the lakeshores and to define industrial areas adjacent to the highway.

The distribution of the resource “land” drove the decision process concerning the land-use definition. Because the “Korporation” and the monastery owned a large portion of land in Freienbach, the municipal council decided to include these actors in the decision process leading to the designating of the land-uses of the whole territory. The municipal council aimed to define enough building land for absorbing the expected population increase. However, the council also aimed to leave enough agricultural land for production and landscape protection. The position of the “Korporation” was to designate as more of the owned land as possible as building zone in order to be able to benefit of the economic boom. For the monastery “Einsiedeln” it was also important to obtain the designation of some of its land as building zone, but also to maintain agricultural land for

its activities and for the equilibrium of Freienbach. The VSZL aimed to protect the “Frauenwinkel”-area respecting the cantonal decree for the Zurich lake protection.

The resource distribution between actors was determinant for finding a compromise in the decision-making process. First, the power conferred by the land resources to the “Korporation” and the monastery was great. Additionally, the handling of the “Korporation” was ruled by public right because of its public functions. The “Korporation” had the task to manage water supply and other common goods. This “public function”-resource conferred to the “Korporation” further power. Second, the municipal council had the “formal legal authority to make policy decisions”. However, the municipal council knew that without an agreement with the “Korporation” and the monastery, conflicts would have arisen and the realisation of the decisions would have been impossible. The result of the negotiations was the definition of broad building zones. The “Korporation” obtained the definition of a great amount of the owned land as building zones. The monastery obtained the designation of little portions of the owned land into building zones and agreed to design the land between the four villages as agricultural area. As compromised solution, the municipal council defined some “extension zones”. The council defined these zones as potential building zones, where the permits would have been accorded only if the private would have funded the access roads. Additionally, the land-uses were defined negotiating with the actors and for mixed zones differentiated land-use intensity values were attributed. For the residential use, the values were lower than for commercial uses.

Because the municipal council knew about the power conferred by the land resource to the “Korporation”, it decided to define formally a more strictly procedure for giving building permits by limiting the financial role of the municipality. The building zones defined were very large and the municipal council knew the intension of the large landowners to built-up and knew the impossibility to decline many permits to these actors. The municipal council learned that the municipality itself could not have taken the responsibility to fund all infrastructures when the building request was formulated because the development would have been financially non-sustainable. As defence for the

municipal finances and for the population, the municipal council proposed to accord building permits by following the “principle of commensurability”. This meant that in the case that the land would not have been accessible for the provision of water, electricity and effluents, the municipality would have been responsible for the creation of the needed infrastructures, only if costs were not excessively high. Second, three categories of access roads were defined: private roads, public roads and public roads with private maintenance obligation. With these two measures, the municipal council aimed a financially sustainable development for Freienbach avoiding to burden population with higher taxation. The other actors accepted these compromises and perceived them as open opportunity for great building activity. One of the concrete consequences of that decision was the building of the shopping centre “Seedamm” with the building rights sold from the “Korporation” to the “Charles Vögele AG”. The access roads were partially privately financed.

Propositions:	<p>Municipal council:</p> <p>Create a land-use plan;</p> <p>Define the building zones;</p> <p>Separate industry from single and semi-detached houses;</p> <p>Strictly regulate funding of access roads: proposition to divide access roads in three categories. Public roads, private roads and public roads with private maintenance.</p> <p>Protect nature in the “Frauenwinkel”-area and adjacent areas.</p> <p>Strictly regulate assignation of building permits.</p>	1972
Initial Position of the municipal council	-	

Initial Position of the “Korporation”	Define the land of the “Korporation” as building zones. Support of the regulation of funding access roads and infrastructures.	1972
Initial Position of the Monastery “Einsiedeln”	Define some land of the monastery as building zones. Define some land of the monastery as agricultural land.	1972
Initial Position of the building cooperatives	-	
Initial Position of the “VSLZ”	Respect the cantonal decree for the protection of the Zurich lake.	1972
Initial Position of Cantonal authority	-	
Initial Position of the Federal authority	-	
Initial Position of the group in opposition to the “Korporation”	-	
Decisions	First land-use plan	1972
	Definition of the extent building zones.	1972
	Definition of differentiated land-use intensity values for mixed and core zones. Contents: Land-use intensity values for commercial uses were higher as land-use values for residential uses.	1972

	<p>Creation of “extension zones”.</p> <p>Content:</p> <p>Extension zones were considered as building zones, where building-up was only allowed in case of private funding of the accessibility infrastructures.</p>	1972
	<p>Three categories of access-roads</p> <p>Content:</p> <p>Municipal roads were defined as roads funded by Municipality.</p> <p>Private roads were defined as roads funded by privates.</p> <p>Public roads with private maintenance obligation are defined as roads with mixed founding.</p>	1972
	<p>Building permits were given following the “principle of commensurability”.</p> <p>Content:</p> <p>The municipal council gave building permits when the land was accessible with roads and for provision of water, electricity and effluents. If land is not accessible, Municipality was responsible for the creation of infrastructures,</p>	1972

	only if costs were not excessively high.	
	Building of the “Seedamm” shopping centre.	1974

Table 41: Decision making about the first land-use plan

The changes in the interest of the “Korporation” and the designation of the building zones in 1972 provoked the shift in the functioning of the decision processes. Even if the municipal council and the “Korporation” were deeply linked before 1980s, the informal contacts between these actors became clearer after the change in the interests of the “Korporation” at the end of the 1970s. The relationships between the actors in Freienbach were very complicated, because the informal contacts played a determinant role. Influential people of the “Korporation” were simultaneously deputies in the municipal council. Since the “Korporation” changed the goals and tried to increase the economic incomes by using its resource “land”, these deep contacts became more and more strategic for the “Korporation” for influencing decisions.¹²⁴ As consequence, the first critics from the group in opposition to the “Korporation” arose. All these changes were caused by the policy learning of the “Korporation”. Also the group in opposition to the “Korporation” learned and changed their goals and strategies.

In this context, during the revision of the land-use plan, the belief system of the municipal council and of the “Korporation” was dominating. Because of the intense interdependence of the municipal council and the “Korporation”, it is challenging to distinguish between propositions addressed by the “Korporation” and propositions addressed by the municipal council. According to the sources analysed, the municipal council proposed to create a “country house” zone for limiting the land-use intensity principally in the deposit-land owned by the “Korporation”. The type of substrate and the adjacency to the “Frauenwinkel”-area did not allow high land-use intensity. The municipal council proposed to define the “country house” zone as zone for single, semi-detached houses and holiday houses. Second, the municipal council proposed to increase

¹²⁴ Greuter (2008)

the land-use intensity values in the mixed zones. The idea was to stimulate the economic and demographical growth with infill development. The “Korporation” agreed with these propositions. The idea of the “country houses” zones corresponded to the plans that the “Korporation” had for the deposit-land. With the land-use intensity values increases the “Korporation” could increase the rent of the owned land. The group in opposition to the “Korporation” and the VSLZ expressed critics against the increase of the land-use intensity values, because they would have damaged the landscape especially if these areas were adjacent to the lakeshores. The same two actors sustain to not build-up the deposit area because of its closeness to the “Frauenwinkel”-area. Additionally, the “Korporation” proposed the conversion of some areas designated as residential zones to mixed zones. Because of their interconnection, because of the “formal legal authority for decision making” of the municipal council and the power of the “Korporation” given by the land resources, their ideas could dominate.

The “formal legal authority” of the federal and cantonal authorities led to policy change. The Federal law on spatial planning was applied at the end of the 1970s. The cantonal offices for spatial development were responsible for proofing the land-use plans and the building regulations. The cantonal office for spatial development of the Canton of Schwyz judged the “extension zones” as non-conform to the new federal law and mandated a re-definition of these areas as reserve zones. Reserve zones were defined as future building zones. Reserves should help to designate stepwise new building-zones following a planned project. The “extension zones” were defined before the application of the federal law on spatial planning and were defined as potential building-zones if access road would have private funded. Because of the “formal legal authority” of the federal and cantonal authority, the municipal council re-defined the zones without the opposition of the “Korporation”. Additionally, the municipal council impeded the realisation of the proposition of some landowners to convert agricultural land over the highway to building zones.

Propositions:	<p>Municipal council:</p> <p>Create a special zone (“country house”) for limiting the land-use intensity in the land created with deposits.</p> <p>Increase land-use intensity values.</p> <p>Cantonal Office for Special Planning:</p> <p>Convert “extension zones” to reserve zones.</p> <p>“Korporation”:</p> <p>Convert residential zones to mixed zones.</p>	1982
Initial Position of the municipal council	<p>Sustain the proposition to convert “extension zones” to reserve zones.</p> <p>Initially sceptical against the conversion of residential to mixed-zones.</p>	1982
Initial Position of the “Korporation”	<p>Sustain the proposition to convert “extension zones” to reserve zone.</p> <p>Sustain the proposition to create a “country house zone” for the deposit-area adjacent to the lakeshores.</p> <p>Sustain the land-use intensity values increase.</p>	1982
Initial Position of the	Sustain the proposition to convert “extension	1982

monastery “Einsiedeln”	zones” to reserve zone.	
Initial Position of the building cooperatives	-	
Initial Position of the “VSLZ”	Against the creation of a “country-house”-zone. Against the increase in land-use intensity values.	1982
Initial Position of the cantonal authority	-	
Initial Position of the federal authority	-	
Initial Position of the group in opposition to the “Korporation”	Against the creation of a “country-house”-zone. Against the increase in land-use intensity values.	1982
Decisions	Zones for “country houses”. Contents: Single-houses, semi-detached houses and holiday houses could be built in this zone. Two categories were defined: one zone for country houses at lake border and one in hinterland.	1982
	Conversion of some residential zones to mixed commercial-residential zones.	1982
	Differentiated land-use intensity values were unified and generally increased.	1982
	Conversion of the “extension zones” to reserve zones. Contents: Reserve zones were defined in the federal and	1982

	cantonal laws. Reserves were areas chosen for future conversions to building zones.	
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Table 42: Decision making about the first revision of the land-use plan

The case TELECOM caused an intensification of the opposition-action of the VSLZ as consequence of its policy learning. First, at the end of the 1980s the federal enterprise TELECOM proposed to settle a training-centre in Freienbach. The municipal council and the “Korporation” expressed their interest. For the municipal council this was the opportunity for creating new employments and for stimulating the economy. The “Korporation” owned the adequate land for the realisation of this project and therefore would have sold the building rights. Although this area was still designed as commercial zone, the VSLZ expressed its opposition. The reason of the opposition was that the projected centre would have meant an intensive land-use adjacent to the “Frauenwinkel”-protected area. Because of the “formal legal authority” of the municipal council and of the “Korporation” and because of the adequate land owned by the “Korporation”, the project was accepted and the permits given by the cantonal office for spatial development. Later on, before the realisation could start, the TELECOM changed its plans and the “Korporation” proposed to substitute the training-centre project with an “Hotel-project”. The “Hotel Seedamplaza” would have contained rooms for congresses and played an economic and cultural relevant role for Freienbach. Despite the opposition of the VSLZ and of the group in opposition to the “Korporation”, the permit was accorded very fast. From this event, VSLZ learned that the cantonal decree for the protection of the Zurich lake and the municipal measures for landscape protection were not enough to protect the delicate “Frauenwinkel”-area. From this policy learning, the VSLZ changed its strategy deciding to become more active by addressing concrete propositions. The group in opposition to the “Korporation” perceived stronger the danger of the power and dominance of the “Korporation” and its deep interconnection with the municipal council.

The VSZL tried to inform the population and to stimulate the public opinion to set-up new rules in order to stop the “Hotel”-project. First, the VSZL informed the population

and collected signatures supporting the Initiative for the conversion of the area between the “Frauenwinkel”-area, the highway and the main road of Freienbach (this area was called “Bermuda-triangle“) to agricultural land. Although with the help of the diffusion of the owned information the VSZL sensibilised the public opinion collecting fast the necessary signatures, only 40% of the population agreed with the “Initiative Frauenwinkel” in the vote. This means that the resource public opinion was dominated by the municipal council and the “Korporation” and allowed their intention to maintain the building zone to be protected. At national level, the general change of public opinion regarding the ecological topics led to the consequent amplification of the nature protection organisations and the acceptance of the “Initiative Rothenthurm” for moor protection in 1987. This can be considered a change in the external values. Due to these context changes, the VSLZ formulated an objection against the building-zone in the “Bermuda-triangle”, because the areas close to the location of the planned “Hotel” was classified as moor with national importance to be protected. The Swiss federal court decided to reject the objection. As consequence of the “formal legal authority” of the federal court, the Swiss authority re-defined the categories of “moor with national importance to protect”. The municipal council did not change the land-use plan and continued with the project realisation. However, due to the increasing influence of the VSLZ some little measures for protecting the “Frauenwinkel”-area from the intensive use of the “Hotel Seedamplaza”-area were undertaken. For example, a limit was set for the use of the park adjacent to the Hotel for persons and animals. Despite to these measures, in 2002 a Casino was built in that area.

Proposition	Municipal council: Build a training-centre for TELECOM. VSZL: Initiative “Frauenwinkel”: re-conversion to agricultural area for the area adjacent to the	1980s
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	protected “Frauenwinkel”-area.	
Initial Position of the municipal council	Against the initiative.	1980s
Initial Position of the “Korporation”	For the building of the TELECOM-centre on its land. Against the initiative.	1980s
Initial Position of the Monastery “Einsiedeln”	-	
Initial Position of the building cooperatives	-	
Initial Position of the “VSLZ”	Against the building of the TELECOM training-centre.	1980s
Decisions	Building of the Hotel Seedamplaza instead of the TELECOM training-centre.	1987
	Rejection of the “Initiative Frauenwinkel”	1987

Table 43: Decision-making regarding the land-use of the “TELECOM”-area

During the new revision of the land-use plan and the building regulations in 1993 the position of both municipal council and “Korporation” was dominating. However, some propositions of the VSLZ could be accepted and realised. The idea behind the revision was to set-up the frames for the new socio-economic development. For the municipal council, the population increase and the creation of new employments would have meant benefits for the financial situation and a concrete measure against commuter traffic that was steadily increasing. The municipal council proposed to create a centre zone for fostering the development, to convert some residential zones to mixed zone in order to foster the creation of commercial activities, to increase the land-use intensity values in the residential zone in order to be able to absorb the population growth. During the planning process the enterprise “Steinfarbik”-AG applied the request to convert the

“Steinfabrik”¹²⁵-area from industrial zone to mixed zone for changing the use. An opposition reaction came from the Social Democratic Party and VSLZ with the formulation of the “Initiative Steinfabrik”, which sought to avoid the conversion. The reason of the opposition was that the existing decree for the protection of the Zurich lake and the goals formulated in the building regulations should have impeded to use that area intensively. Even if the factory “Steinfabrik”-AG brought new employments, a new intensive use should have been impeded. However, the public opinion supported the municipal council and rejected the initiative. As next step, the VSLZ formulated some legal objections. The administration court rejected the objection. However, the court recognised that nature protection did not have been considered in the planning process of the “Steinfabrik”-area and mandated the municipal council to consider these aspects in the first planning steps creating a buffer zone as transition from the lakeshore to the intensively used area. This step gave some “formal legal authority” to the VSLZ. As consequence, despite the municipal council disposed of “formal legal authority” at municipal level and of the support of the public opinion, the purpose of the VSLZ and of the Social Democratic Party could influence the final decision. The result of that was that the “Steinfabrik”-area was converted to “port zone” with commercial and residential uses. Additionally, the municipal council formulated a detailed concept for the land use, bought the building-rights of the land-belt between the factory and the lakeshore and designated this as zone for public use. After the acquisition of some “formal legal authority”, the VSLZ tried to negotiate an adequate solution for the use of that area. The bought of the land by the “Korporation” changed the actors constellation involved in this decision process and as consequence the VSLZ lost power because of the dominance of “Korporation“ and of the municipal council. The other requests of VSLZ were the conversion of the “Bermuda-triangle” and the retardation of land-use intensity values. Because of the dominance of the “Korporation” and the municipal council, the “Bermuda-triangle” was not converted, the land-use intensity values were increased and some residential zones were converted to mixed zones. In the converted zones the land of the “Korporation” where the creation of the aquatic park “Alpamare” was projected was also

¹²⁵ The “Steinfabrik”-area is located in the northern part of the territory of Freienbach and is at the Zurich lake and close to the “Frauenwinkel”-area.

included. These conversions were criticized by the group in opposition to the “Korporation”. The group argued that the excessive mix of commercial and residential would have decreased the life-quality and increased traffic. Additionally, the municipal council created a new centre zone for the stimulation of the “city-building” with the settlement of commercial activities and services.

<p>Propositions:</p>	<p>“Steinfabrik”-AG:</p> <p>Convert the “Steinfabrik”-area from industrial to mixed-zone.</p> <p>Municipal council:</p> <p>Conversion of “Steinfabrik”-area from industrial zone to mixed zone and formulation of a concept.</p> <p>Creation of a centre zone.</p> <p>Conversion of some residential zones to mixed zone.</p> <p>Increase in land-use intensity values in residential zone.</p> <p>VSZL:</p> <p>Conversion of the “Bermuda-triangle” to agricultural zone.</p>	<p>1993</p>
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Initial Position of the municipal council	Reject the conversion of the “Bermuda-triangle” to agricultural zones.	1993
Initial Position of the “Korporation”	Reject the conversion of the “Bermuda-triangle” to agricultural zones.	1993
Initial Position of the monastery “Einsiedeln”	-	
Initial Position of the building cooperatives	-	
Initial Position of the “VSLZ”	Reject the conversion of the “Steinfabrik”-area to mixed zone.	1993
Decisions	<p>Creation of a port zone and zone for public buildings in the “Steinfabrik”-area. Definition general use-plan for this area.</p> <p>Contents:</p> <p>This area was designated for mixed commercial and residential uses.</p>	1993
	<p>Creation of a centre zone beside the core zones and cancellation of the maximal land-use intensity value.</p> <p>Content:</p> <p>Goal of core zones was to preserve the historical core of the municipality.</p> <p>Goal of core zones was to create new centres with facilities and services.</p>	1993
	Reintroduction of the land-use intensity values	1993

	<p>differentiation in mixed zones.</p> <p>Content:</p> <p>For commercial uses were the land-use intensity values higher.</p>	
	Conversion of some mixed zone to commercial zones.	1993
	Increase in the land-use intensity values for residential zones.	1993
	<p>Formulation of a more detailed use-plan for the “Steinfabrik”-area.</p> <p>Content:</p> <p>The area is adjacent to a protected area with national importance called “Frauenwinkel”. This closeness should be considered in the formulation of projects. Therefore a buffer of 5 m was kept free. Goal is to guarantee a soft transition between this area and the “Frauenwinkel”.</p>	1993
	Steinfabrik AG gave building rights to the Municipality for the land at the lake border.	1993
	“Steinfabrik”-area was sold to the “Korporation”.	1993
	Non conversion of the adjacent area to “Frauenwinkel” to agricultural zone.	1993
	Building of the “Alpamare”	1994

Table 44: Decision making about the second revision of the land-use plan

In the context of the new federal agglomeration-policy and of the policy learning of the cantonal office for spatial planning, the master plan was formulated. On one side, the federal office for spatial planning stimulated the municipalities to coordinate the urban planning with neighbour municipalities or to coordinate planning at regional level by creating a new collaborative culture and by financing “agglomeration projects”. Because of the intense traffic intensity, the region “Höfe” that included Freienbach was stimulated by the cantonal office for spatial planning to create a master plan containing regional planning steps, priorities and a list of measures. On the other side, the municipal council learned that not involving all actors in the planning process could have retarded the planning and the project realisation. Therefore, many actors were involved in the formulation of the master plan such as parties, the monastery, the “Korporation”, the farmers and the nature protection organisations. As a result, a negotiated agreement was reached. The most important agreements were the construction of a bypassing road, the decision not to create additional facilities with regional importance, the definition of different expansion steps for the building zones and the adoption of additional nature protection measures in the “Steinfabrik”-area and other areas. Although this decision process involved different actors, the group in opposition to the “Korporation” increased its protest.

After the decision process regarding the “Steinfabrik”-area and “Bermuda-triangle” and master plan, the group in opposition the “Korporation” changed its strategy because of its policy learning. The group considered these decision processes undemocratic because the population needs were not taken into account and the “Korporation” exerted its power influencing municipal council for meeting its own interests. This group learned that trying to influence the public opinion by punctual actions and by sustaining initiatives of other groups were not enough. Additionally, the group perceived the acceptance by VSZL of the solutions proposed by the municipality during the master plan development process as a sign of resignation. As a consequence of this learning, perceiving the increasing frustration of the population, the group adopted two new strategies guided by a leader. The leader created a new group called “Citizen Forum” in 2008, which sought to

create a democratic culture and propose solutions in order to increase the possibilities for the population for expressing its needs and opinions in every political domain. This long-term action aimed to change the functioning of the decision process in Freienbach by creating new measures and a new actor. Second, the leader formulated newly an “Initiative Steinfarbik-area” and aimed to convert that area to a zone for public use and to create a park. The motivations were on one side the nature and landscape protection and on the other side the fact that after many economic motivated projects like the “Hotel Seedammplaza”, “Seedamm-Center” and “Alpamare” the population would have needed public space. The mean to reach these goals was the acquisition of the public opinion as resource. The positive result of the vote concerning the “Initiative” demonstrated that the opposition group acquired this resource. The municipal council is nowadays charged to propose a solution and the “Korporation” announced that it is intentioned to avoid the conversion of the area. Additionally, the group in opposition to the “Korporation” perceived a change in the strategies of the monastery that newly sought to increase economic income and asked high taxes for using the access to the lakeshore. In practice, the monastery possessed a lake-portion as consequence of the past fishing activity. As result, the motivation to react to system judged undemocratic increased.

Propositions:	The municipal council and the cantonal office for spatial development: regional planning for coordinating space development and traffic management Group in opposition to the “Korporation”: “Initiative Steinfarbikareal” for converting the area to zone for public use.	2000s
Initial Position of the municipal council	-	
Initial Position of the “Korporation”	-	
Initial Position of the monastery “Einsiedeln”	-	

Initial Position of the building cooperatives	-	
Initial Position of the “VSLZ”	-	
Group in opposition to the “Korporation”	<p>Master plan is not democratic. Creation of alternatives.</p> <p>Creation of the “Citizen Forum”.</p>	2000s
Decisions	<p>Master plan “Höfe”</p> <p>Contents:</p> <p>Plan of an access road to the highway A3 in Wollerau.</p> <p>Plan of a bypassing road in Pfäffikon over ground with a trace under ground at the railway station. Transformation of the station-area and construction of a greater parking for the modal split.</p> <p>Wollerau and Freienbach renounced to settle new facilities that will cause a great public affluence and have an over-regional character.</p> <p>Potentiation of the public transportation network.</p> <p>The built-up area expansion has been planned in different steps. This meant a progressive</p>	2004

	<p>conversion of new building zones.</p> <p>Aspects of nature protection:</p> <p>A water-canal of 30 m was built between the “Steinfabrik” and lake shore to separate nature protection area and built-up area. A chain of single-hoses behind the water channel should absorb the emission coming from the rest of the building complex.</p> <p>Buffer zones were created between intensively cultivated agricultural areas and nature protection areas.</p>	
	<p>Acceptation of the “Initiative Steinfabrikareal”</p> <p>Content:</p> <p>The uses of the “Steinfabrik”-area should have been public because of its important position. The area should have been converted to zone for recreation and a public park should be created. The area should not have been excessively intensive.</p>	2007

Table 45: Decision-making regarding the coordinated planning

In the 1970s, a decision in the education policy domain also influenced the decision-making in urban planning. The reform of the school system was discussed and performed at cantonal level in the 1970s. The change of the law on cantonal schools had spatial influences. The cantonal parliament decided to build an additional cantonal school and

Freienbach was one of the candidates for locating the school. All actors of Freienbach sustained this idea and “Korporation” that donated the proper land for its construction.

6.5.3.3. Housing policy

The frames for housing policy were created in the 1970s at federal level. First, due to the debate at federal level about the disequilibrium of housing and land market at the beginning of the 1970s, the law for the promotion of building of flats and property was applied at federal level. This law was followed by the consequent cantonal law regulating the cantonal and municipal subsidies and by the municipal decrees on housing. Similarly, to the other municipalities, the building cooperatives GEWOBA and FAMILIA were created in the 1970s. Thank to subsidies these building cooperatives could built affordable flats like the “Eulen”-housing complex.

6.5.3.4. About decision-making

The main characteristic of the actor constellation and of the decision-making in the urban –planning domain in Freienbach was the dominance of the informal contacts. Although different political parties existed and were represented in the municipal council, the policy processes were not dominated by the conflicts between their belief systems. Although these conflicts existed, since the 1970s most of the policy-making processes were dominated by the conflict between the “Korporation” and an the opposition group which was transversal to parties.¹²⁶ The president of the “Citizen Forum”, a previous municipal council-deputy of the Liberal Party and a previous social democratic deputy of the cantonal parliament sustained that the “Korporation”, the municipal council and some

¹²⁶ Interview with the president of the “Citizen Forum”, interview with a previous municipal council deputy of the liberal party and interview with a previous social democratic deputy of the cantonal parliament. Greuter (2008)

members of the parties constituted a coalition and that single people formed the opposition group. The interviewees stated that people in the municipal council were informal influenced by the “Korporation” and sustained therefore its interest in the formal policy. The distribution of the resource “land” and the development of prices was the cause of this actor constellation and of the secondary importance of the “classical” conflicts between parties concerning such as the intensity of public intervention.¹²⁷

„Es ist ja so, die Parteien waren an und für sich immer sekundär. Bei uns hatten also das Kloster und die Korporation das grosse Sagen. Und die waren natürlich zwangsläufig... Das Kloster war CVP-mässig... dazumal. Das ist heute auch nicht mehr so eindeutig. Die FDP war eher vom Gewerbe her. Und die SP war eher von der Arbeiterschaft her. Aber das ganze Problem ist ja eigentlich, dass bei uns der Boden so teuer geworden ist, dass eigentlich eine ganz andere Mentalität entstanden ist. Das hat nichts mehr mit Parteien zu tun. Man müsste sagen Bodenbesitzer und andere... Gut, ich bin auch Besitzer von Boden. Aber es gibt hier einfach Gruppierungen, die kennen nur noch rein materialistische Ziele. Und wenn Sie Pfäffikon anschauen, ein Inbegriff von Schönheit ist es ja architektonisch ja wirklich nicht mehr. Da können ja auch kaum mehr Vögel leben in diesen Überbauungen. In den letzten Jahren wurde es immer schlimmer.“¹²⁸

A member of the “Korporation” stated that this actor never had long-term planning projects for Freienbach. However, the “Korporation” defended its economic interests and the possession of a high proportion of the resource “land” conferred to this actor a great power. Additional resources for influencing the decision-making were money and public functions. These resources conferred to the “Korporation” a sort of formal legal authority, because it was legally considered as public actor, despite to its great economic interests beside the public services given.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Greuter (2008)

¹²⁸ Interview with a previous municipal council municipal council-deputy of the liberal party and interview with a previous social democratic deputy of the cantonal parliament.

¹²⁹ Greuter (2008)

“Im Prinzip haben wir nicht mehr zu sagen als jeder Bürger. Wir sind nicht politisch orientiert. Wir richten uns nicht speziell aus. Wenn es um unsere Interessen geht, haben wir vielleicht etwas mehr Einfluss als der normale Bürger. Das ist schon möglich.“¹³⁰

Although the analyses proved the dominance of the economic interests in the decision-making and the secondary role of the political parties, it is challenging to understand the role of the formal and informal contact. Therefore, it is challenging to determine how deep the municipal council and the “Korporation” were interlinked.

Beside the “Korporation” and the municipal council, the VSLZ played an important role as regional actor. This important role was possible because of the increasing influence of the public opinion and the progressive acquisition of formal legal authority by the formulation of first cantonal (decree for the Zurich lake protection) and then national laws (moor protection). Additionally, in 2006 the proof about environmental sustainability of new buildings was added in the law, and infrastructures and projects and extension of the right of environmental organisation for complaint against decisions of authorities regarding planning as well. Finally, this group could participate to the formulation of the master plan.

The perception that this system was undemocratic led the group in opposition to the “Korporation” to create a new actor. The role of this actor would have been the creation of a democratic feeling and new instruments for exerting democratic rights. The goal of the group was to change relative stable parameters.

¹³⁰ Interview with a member of the „Korporation“

6.5.4. Characterisation of the conflicts

The most important conflicts in Freienbach concerned the land-use intensity, the land-use type and the public intervention.

6.5.4.1. Land-use intensity

The conflicts concerning the land-use intensity played an important role in Freienbach and showed constant components. On one side, the municipal council together with the “Korporation” aimed to increase the land-use intensity in order to create opportunities for Freienbach to develop demographically and economically. The municipal council and the “Korporation” as landowner were also interested in the financial benefits by taxes and rents coming from the new developments. On the other side, the VSLZ and the group in opposition to the “Korporation” set nature protection and life-quality increase as priorities. Therefore, they aimed to maintain low the land-use intensity especially for areas adjacent to the “Frauenwinkel”-protected area. This conflict became clear since the 1980s, because of the changing urban context and of the change of interests of the “Korporation”. This changing context coincided with the more active actions of VSLZ and of the group in opposition to the “Korporation” which submitted objections and initiatives for avoiding land-use change or land-use zones conversions.

Intensive use of land	Low-intensive use of land	Years
The municipal council agreed with the proposition of the Steinfabrik AG to change the use and increase the use-intensity of the “Steinfabrik”-	VSLZ, SDP and later the Group in opposition to the “Korporation” argued that the “Steinfabrik”-area was excessively close to the protected	1994- today

<p>area. “Korporation” bought the land and planned to intensively use it.</p>	<p>“Frauenwinkel” for an intensive use. These groups thought it should have been better to convert the area to agricultural zone or to a low-intensity use.</p>	
<p>The municipal council proposed to increase land-use intensity values in residential and other zones. The motivation was the optimal use of land for saving agricultural land and the intension to absorb population growth and stimulate the settlement of new economical activities.</p>	<p>VSLZ though that increase in land-use intensity values would have damaged landscape and decreased life-quality of population.</p>	<p>1982/ 1993</p>
<p>The municipal council accepted the proposition of TELECOM to build a training centre in Freienbach. “Korporation” sold building rights for this project. Although this would have meant an intensive use adjacent to the “Frauenwinkel”-area, the training-centre would have been a good opportunity for creating new employments and giving benefits to the local economy.</p>	<p>VSLZ stated that the TELECOM training-centre would have been an excessively intensive use for this area adjacent to the “Frauenwinkel”-area. VSLZ proposed the conversion of that area named “Bermuda-triangle” to agricultural area.</p>	<p>1987</p>

Table 46: Conflicts about land-use intensity

6.5.4.2. Conflict about land-use

Land-use	Land-use	Years
All local actors stated that productive agricultural land should not have been lost. Land was important for agriculture and landscape.	Federal authority thought that national road network should cross Freienbach.	1963
Landowners thought that land southern of the highway should have been converted to building zone.	The municipal council thought that the land southern of the highway should be maintained as agricultural zone. Highway should have constituted the physical barrier between urban area and agricultural area.	1972
The municipal council and “Korporation” thought that the “Steinfabrik”-area should have been used for residential and commercial purposes.	VSLZ and the group in opposition to the “Korporation” thought that the area should be designated for public use like park.	1993- today

Table 47: Conflicts about the land-use type

The conflicts about the land use type did not show any characteristic structure. However, in all three cases the strategies to increase life-quality collided. The first relevant conflict concerned the construction of the highway in the 1960s. Farmers and local actors aimed to protect productive agricultural land and minimise the lost. Agriculture production would have been important for local economy and for maintaining landscape. Federal authority on the other side planned the road network at a wider national scale and did not set as priority local interests. With this strategy, federal authority sought a detailed land-use planning of whole national territory. The second conflict regarded the extension of building-zone to the area southern of the highway. The municipal council aimed to

maintain this area as agricultural zone for limiting built-up areas expansion. Landowners were proposing to convert the area to building zone, because they had intention to build-up. The landowner aimed to reach economical benefits and to increase the life-quality by offering flats in an interesting geographical location. The municipal council was intentioned to avoid to build-up the hill for protecting landscape and attractiveness of Freienbach. The third case was the strongest reaction from VSLZ and the group in opposition to the “Korporation”. The municipal council and the “Korporation” were intentioned to convert the use of the “Steinfabrik”-area to a mixed zone and projected therefore to build a commercial-residential complex. The VSLZ and the group in opposition to the “Korporation” stated that land for public use was missing and proposed to give priority to the public use also in order to protect this area from excessively intensive use. The public opinion sustained this last position, but the conflict has not been solved yet.

6.5.4.3. Intensity of public intervention

The conflicts about the intensity of the public intervention were dominated by the nature protection issue. The VSLZ aimed to increase the public intervention for protecting nature, because retained that the existing regulations and laws were not strong enough. For these reason, the VSLZ sought a direct intervention by proposing the conversion to agricultural zones of the “Bermuda-triangle” and the conversion to public zone of the “Steinfabrik”-area. The VSLZ stated that the private property was the major resources that was protecting the private intentions and impeding the right application of nature protection laws. For the municipal council the existing laws and decrees for nature protection were enough and the intention of private to build should have played a dominant role for the development of Freienbach. The “Korporation” aimed to realise its projects following existing laws but avoiding new regulations that limited freedom.

6.5.5. Conclusion

The “Korporation Pfäffikon”, the municipal council, the VSLZ, the group in opposition to the “Korporation” and the cantonal office on spatial development were the main actors influencing the decision-making process since the 1970s. No coalition was built in Freienbach.

Since the 1970s, the “Korporation Pfäffikon” and the municipal council were dominant and could translate their beliefs into policy. The main reasons used by these actors were the power of the “Korporation” conferred by the large amount of land in the building zones owned, by the execution of public services and by the formal and informal contacts with the municipal council. The collaboration between the “Korporation” and the municipal council was due more to informal contacts than to shared beliefs. Therefore, this was not considered a coalition.

The opposition to the dominant actors was built by the VSLZ and by the group in opposition to the “Korporation”, which could translate only few beliefs into policy. This situation caused the activation of the group in opposition to the “Korporation”. The new strategy of this group was the acquisition of public opinion by informing, formulating initiatives and creating new frames for the democratisation of decision-making.

6.6. Discussion of the results

6.6.1. Policy change

In all three municipalities some major and minor policy changes happened between 1970 and today. Sabatier (1998) defined as minor policy changes the changes concerning the secondary aspects of belief systems and as major policy changes the changes concerning the policy cores beliefs.

Sabatier (1998) defined the major changes as changes in the policy core aspects of governmental programmes. The topic and scope of the policy change determine whether it is major or minor. Major policy changes concern generally the redefinition of policy goals or priorities. Minor policy change concern mostly the change in concrete measures performed for better achieve the policy goal

First, major policy changes reflected between the 1970s and the 1980s a different understanding of the role of the urban management and the identification of new causalities. In all three municipalities, the spatial development concepts and the land-use plans were redefined in order to reinforce the steering intervention of municipalities, impeding actively urban sprawl. This means that the role of the municipal urban management was partially redefined. For this reason, in Rapperswil in the 1970s new instruments for regulating the un-ordered development were developed. First of these was the parking concept, which had the goal to mitigate the traffic intensity and to protect the environment and the life quality in the historic centre. Additionally, the decree for the historic centre protection was developed in order to avoid the damage of the historical city. Furthermore, the land-use intensity values were generally increased for actively fostering the urban development (section 6.3.3). In the 1980s, in all three municipalities, the public regulation of the urban change was reinforced, because urban development was considered unable to self-regulate. The changes concerned the land-use plans, which

were re-formulated to be more problem-oriented and specific. One concrete change was the division of the municipal territory in well-defined land-use zones designed for the future development (also called zoning). The allocation of specific zones was done by considering the consequences of the neighbourhood land-uses. For example, in Jona the industry-area was separated from the residential area and the construction of shopping centres was refused. The reason of such decisions was that the causality between land-use pattern on the territory and traffic intensity was recognised (section 6.4.3). A second concrete change observed in all three municipalities in the 1980s was the increase in the land-use intensity values, which reflect the choice of an active infill development strategy for combating the urban sprawl. These policy changes coincided with the application of the new federal law on spatial planning and were identified as general phenomena in Swiss municipalities (Lendi 1996).

Further major policy changes occurred in the 1980s and concerned the designation of nature and of landscape protection as priorities in the municipal urban management. These changes were also qualified as major policy changes because they concern the extension of the role of the urban management towards the landscape protection. For example, in Jona the actors developed the consciousness that urban sprawl damages landscape and nature. Therefore, the building zones were reduced and the intensive agricultural activities limited because of the new constitutional article about the protection of moors and marshland of special beauty and national importance (Bundesverfassung, Art. 78). Similarly, in Freienbach some measures to protect the nature were added in the first planning steps of the construction projects. During the 1990s, principally in Freienbach the population participation was improved in the master plan decision process (section 6.5.3). This policy change has been described for all Swiss municipalities and has been explained by the formulation of the new laws for heritage and nature protection at national level, which influenced policy change at the municipal level (Lendi 1996).

Additional policy changes occurred in the 1990s and concerned the fostering of the public participation in the urban management and the management coordination among

neighbouring municipalities. Also in this case, the role of the municipal urban planning was widened. The reason of that is that spatial planning was recognised to be more than a municipal technical issue. First, it was realized that, since the spatial development concerns regions, the municipalities should coordinate their priorities and actions in order to steer the development efficiently in the same direction. Second, it was realized that the urban management should consider also the land-use conflicts and the needs of the population and therefore the public participation in urban management decision-making should be fostered. The coordination and the participation were promoted in Freienbach through the development of a master plan (section 6.5.3). Furthermore, with the institutional amalgamation in Rapperswil and Jona the urban management developed a more regional collaborative character (section 6.3.3).

Sabatier (1998) defines minor policy changes as change of the secondary aspects of a policy program. In the three municipalities, minor policy changes in urban management were identified mostly in the 1990s. Unlike the discussed major changes, they did not concern changes in the understanding of the role of urban management, but only the changes in the measures used to achieve the unchanged urban management goals. For example, in Rapperswil the land-use intensity values were increased in the 1990s. The unchanged strategy was still the infill development and the development of Rapperswil remained the first priority. However, the land-use intensity values were adjusted for better reaching the goal of developing Rapperswil (section 6.3.3). Similarly, a list with plants to protect was introduced in the building regulation in order to better ensure nature protection. Furthermore, in Jona the partial conversion of the “Gubel”-area to agricultural zone was part of the general landscape protection strategy (section 6.4.3). In Freienbach a minor policy change occurred earlier, at the beginning of the 1980s, with the re-definition of “extension zones” as reserve zones as part of the planning rules clarification (section 6.5.3).

6.6.2. Policy subsystem

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) hypothesise that on major controversies within a policy subsystem when policy core beliefs are in dispute, the line-up of allies and opponents tend to be stable over periods of a decade. In the conflicts of this study, the actors and coalitions remained stable between 1970 and 1980. New actors appeared during the 1980s and the 1990s. In Jona and Rapperswil the political parties, the liberal coalition and the social-democratic coalition, the building cooperatives and the landowners were present in the subsystem during the entire study period (sections 6.3.3 and 6.4.3). In Freienbach the municipal council, the nature protection organisations, the group in opposition to the “Korporation” and the landowners were the actors present in the subsystem during the entire study period (section 6.5.3). In Jona the nature protection organisation appeared in the 1980s in the policy subsystem and the citizens forum in Freienbach appeared after 2000 (sections 6.4.3 and 6.5.3). According to these findings, it can be stated that the hypothesis formulated by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) is extendible to the urban management in the three cases studies.

A second hypothesis of Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) is that actors within an advocacy coalition will show substantial consensus on issues pertaining to the policy core, although less so on secondary aspects. Advocacy coalitions were present in two municipalities. In Rapperswil, the liberal coalition and the social democratic coalition were the two main actors dominating the decision processes during the entire study period. The Liberal Party built a coalition with the house owner organisation and the craft and trade association. The two actors shared the belief of the primary role of the market and the belief of a limited role of the public in guiding development. The SDP built a coalition with the railway-employee—building-cooperatives and with a group of students in the 1970-1980s. The shared belief was the important role attributed to the public regulation relatively to land and housing market (section 6.3.3). In Jona, only the SDP built a coalition with some building cooperatives (section 6.4.3). The coalitions found in Rapperswil and Jona are composed by actors sharing substantially both policy core and

secondary aspects. In practice, the coordinated action of the actors composing the coalitions occurred mostly by defending the secondary aspects like the increase in land use intensity values for the liberal coalition or the development of new regulation like the parking regulation in Rapperswil (section 6.3.3). In the cases studied, any substantial difference between the belief systems of the actors composing a coalition could be detected. Therefore, the hypothesis is not completely correct for urban management in the municipalities studied.

Generally, two elements characterise the coalitions in the cases studied. First, all coalitions were composed by a party which was part of a governmental institution (municipal council) and by a private actor. Formal and informal connections between these two types of actors have been widely recognised in the literature to play a crucial role in urban management (Mossberger and Stoker 2001, Stone 2005, Pütz 2007). Second, in the municipalities where coalitions were detected, the coalitions played a dominant role in the subsystem.

The consequence of the dominance of the coalitions was the development of a dual view within the subsystem: on one side the “public interventionist ecological view” and on the other sides the “minimal state view”. This dual vision, which was present in the policy subsystem concerning urban management, has been observed in other studies. Ruegg (1996) and Andersen and Pløger (2007) identified coalitions between private actors and political parties that built a political dualism. Ruegg (1996) observed a “minimal state city view” vs. “ecological city view” and Andersen and Pløger (2007) an “empowerment-social-view” vs. a “neo-elitist-market-view” dominating decision-processes.

The Christian Democratic Party did not build any coalition and can be considered a policy brokers for Rapperswil and Jona. Sabatier (1998) attributed to policy brokers the function to mediate between conflicting actors or coalitions. For Rapperswil and Jona the CDP beliefs and positions were close to the social democratic coalition (sections 6.3.3 and 6.4.3). However, their position was situated between the two conflicting parts. For

negotiated agreements, the role of CDP can be considered a mediation that contributed the finding of acceptable solutions for both liberal and social democratic coalitions.

An important finding of the analyses was that within the policy subsystem the landowners played a central role. The “Ortsgemeinde” of Rapperswil owned large areas of land in Rapperswil and in Jona. Therefore, this actor could influence the decisions in urban management and particularly in housing policy. The role of the “Korporation Pfäffikon” in Freienbach was even more important. The “Korporation” played a crucial and often a dominant role in most of the decision-making processes concerning urban planning. The dominant role of the “Korporation” put the political parties’ beliefs in a secondary level. The monastery of Einsiedeln played an important role in the 1970s for the designation of building zones (section 6.5.3). The importance of major landowners as actors influencing the policy decision-making has been recognised for forestry management (Elliott 2001, Kissling-Näf and Bisang 2001) but less so for the urban management. The private households have been mostly recognised as main actors responsible for deciding about land-use (Geist et. al. 2006, Tuner et al. 2007), but not for influencing decision-making concerning policy measures.

Landowners having a crucial role in the subsystem mostly cover public functions and have been present as actor in the municipality since many centuries. Both the “Ortsgemeinde” and particularly the “Korporation” cannot be classified as mere private actors. In practice, they are regulated by the public law because they were created with the aim to manage common goods and provide services like water supply for the “Korporation Pfäffikon” (section 6.5.2.1). Interestingly, particularly in the “Korporation” since the 1970s the public functions coexisted with the strong private economic interests (Greuter, 2008). The case studies showed the strong influence in the urban planning of these historical corporations created since the 17th centuries for public purposes, which can be classified as hybrid actor. Such corporations could be considered as public actors with strong private economical interests disposing of great amount of land resources.

The citizen's forum in Freienbach appeared in the subsystem with the goal to promote the active role of population in decision-making. This empowering strategy was applied in order to change the subsystem stable since many decades (section 6.5.3). Beaumont and Nicholls (2008) stated that a principal vehicle for achieving a critical consciousness was the critical pedagogy of popular education, consisting of both content and technique. On one hand, education should reveal how power relations subordinate people and identify the appropriate means for altering those relations. On the other hand, educators cannot empower if they reproduce authoritarian structure. In Freienbach, the group in opposition to the "Korporation" tried to develop a critical consciousness in the society (Beaumont and Nicholls 2008) for empowering inhabitants and created the frames for this process. Democratic participation to the discussion in the Forum, non-appurtenance at any political parties and development of constructive proposition to the municipal council for democratising policy making were the empowering instruments (section 6.5.3).

In the urban management at municipal level, the national and cantonal actors do not play an important role in the policy subsystem. Generally, in the case studies analysed the public actors from other institutional level do not play a determinant role. The federal and cantonal offices played only in some cases an important role by forcing the implementation of federal and cantonal laws, for example concretely by mandating the reduction of building zones to the municipal council in Jona (section 6.4.3). The reason of that is that in the context of Swiss federalism, the major planning activities are the task of municipalities. However, the nature protection organisations were mostly organised at the regional level and played a secondary role for Rapperswil and Jona but a core role in Freienbach. Other types of influences from higher institutional levels are the development of laws concerning directly or influencing indirectly urban management setting the broad lines of policies (Sellers 2002). These types of influences are detected according to the Advocacy Coalition Framework as external elements.

Within the subsystem, the same actors and coalitions played similar role in decision-making process which led to policy change and which led to decisions about concrete construction projects. On one hand, Ruegg (1996) and Andersen and Pløger (2007)

distinguished between the crucial role of parties in creating regulations and the private and public actors collaborating in developing and realising great projects. Ruegg (1996) studied urban regimes for Bologna, Zurich and Frankfurt and found that on one side the conflict between social-ecological belief systems and liberal belief systems dominated decision processes and were mostly carried out by governing political parties. On the other hand, Ruegg (1996) found that for great project since the 1980s private actors played a determinant role and consensus or disagreement were independent on the political parties. Our case studies show generally that the role of political parties was not dependant on the type of decision but more on the general context. The reason is that decision-making concerning great construction projects generally concerns also change in land-use plan and consequently the re-definition of secondary aspects of the policy.

6.6.3. Resources

It is clear that the main resource used to translate the actor's belief into policy was the formal legal authority (Sabatier and Weibele 2007). The majority parties represented in the municipal councils in Jona and Rapperswil mostly used this resource. Since these parties dispose of the majority in the council, their beliefs could be translated more easily into policy. The municipal council of Freienbach, which was acting compactly, also used this resource for influencing decisions. Furthermore, the cantonal authorities disposed of more formal legal authority respect to the municipal council and to the other local actors. A strategy applied in the cases studied for the acquisition of formal legal authority resource by forming a coalition with actors that was already disposing of this resource (Di Gaetano 1997) or by applying legal objections. Such a case occurred in Freienbach, when nature protection organisations applied the objection against the "Steinfabrik"-project. The result of this action was the intervention of the federal administrative court, which mandated to include in the project planning some measures for nature protection. Because of the formal legal authority of the federal court, the project was changed (section 6.5.3). A similar case happened with the "Gubel"-project (section 6.4.3). In this

case, despite the municipal council first decided to accept, the cantonal authority refused the approval of the project because nature protection organisations applied an objection. The “Korporation” and the “Ortsgemeinde” also disposed of formal legal authority because of their public functions in the municipalities and because of the large amount of land owned. In practice, due to the large amount of land owned, the municipal council considered the “Korporation” and the “Ortsgemeinde” as interlocutors for the definition of land-use plan. The dominant role of the formal legal authority as resource for influencing policy-decision making confirms the result of other studies about policy decisions in urban centres. Di Gaetano (1997) and Pützt (2007) are two examples of studies, which identify institutional power or authoritative resources as one of the dominant instruments used by actors and coalitions for influencing decisions.

The public functions or mandates can be considered as resources linked with formal legal authority. In this study, the high influence of large landowners carrying public functions has been observed. The “Ortsgemeinde” administrated the public goods and the “Korporation” managed the water supply for the whole municipal community. These public functions conferred formal legal authority to these actors. Similarly, the possession of large amount of land can also be considered a public function. Because of the land scarcity, the municipal council expected that large landowners contribute substantially to steer spatial development in the planned direction. The collaborations due to the mutual benefits are not enough considered as important in ACF. The ACF supposes that the coalitions with conflicting belief system use resources for influencing the policy making and that the policy brokers contribute to find acceptable compromises. Therefore, as complement to the ACF the results of this study permit to formulate the assumption that if one actor or coalition cannot be dominant, long-term and stable dependencies between political actors can occur. These dependencies are based on resource exchange and seek to have a mutual benefit and reduce the uncertainty for organisations over their resource supply (Poppelaars 2007).

Between all resources listed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993), the material resources were also mentioned as guidance instruments for influencing the decision-making.

However, the land property was not explicitly mentioned and this study brings evidence that this can be a determinant resource. In Rapperswil, the "Ortsgemeinde" was the only actor possessing land reserves (section 6.3.3). This resource conferred to the "Ortsgemeinde" the power to bargain with the municipal council (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993, Stone 2005). In this case, the goals of the "Ortsgemeinde" and the ones of the political parties relatively to the housing development coincided. Consequently, the land was used for the urban expansion of Rapperswil. The "Korporation" used jointly with the monastery the large land resources first as mean for negotiating the designation of building zones. The designation of large amount of the owned land to building zones conferred to the "Korporation" more power because on this land Freienbach was supposed to develop. Therefore, the "Korporation" could influence the decision-making and its beliefs were transformed into policy change. Examples of translation into policy of these beliefs were the creation of country-houses zones, the increase in land-use intensity values, the conversion of residential zones to mixed zones, the non-conversion of the area where the project "Hotel Seedamm Plaza" was realised (section 6.5.3). Although many policy analyses concerning forestry management identify land property distribution as important resource for influencing decision-making (Kissling-Näf and Bisang 2001, Elliot and Schläpfer), this resource has rarely been recognised as relevant for urban management (Greuter 2008). However, the distribution of land property has been widely recognised as playing a determinant role for concrete construction projects (Geist et al. 2006, Pützt 2007). The importance of the resource land for urban management can be explained by the fact that urban management refers directly to space and land because it seeks to guide the land-use. Additionally, land is mostly limited and therefore the possession of large land-areas is an advantage for deciding about the land-use of the entire municipal territory. Land is an important resource because private property is protected by the constitution. Therefore, the authorities can put only in some cases limits to the private property in order to achieve goals formulated in development concepts (see Swiss federal constitution Art 26).

The influence on the public opinion has been identified as further strategy to influence the decision-making in urban management. For Sabatier and Weibele (2007) and other

authors (Andersen and Pløger 2007, Poppelaars 2007) this is a typical strategy used by advocacy coalitions. The case studies analysed show that the public opinion can play a determinant role in conflicting situations. In some observed cases, the introduction of new issues such as nature protection in the urban management was possible only with the support of public. Two examples of that are the formulation and the application of the decree for historic centre protection in Rapperswil and the development of the parking concept. The support of these specific beliefs by the public opinion was crucial because these propositions were not supported by a large majority (SDP and CDP) (section 6.5.3). Further examples were both the two “Initiative Steinfabrik”. The VSLZ in 1993 and the group in opposition to the “Korporation” in 2007 collected rapidly the signatures necessary for applying an initiative. This rapidity indicates that a portion of the population was supporting the idea to increase nature protection in the area adjacent to the Frauenwinkel. The second Initiative in 2007 was accepted by population vote. This means that the municipal council in Freienbach was mandated by the population to develop a concept for re-converting the area (section 6.5.3). Similarly, the rejection of the “plant protection initiative” in Rapperswil was possible because the liberal coalition could acquire the public sustain of the idea that excessively private property limitation is dangerous for the municipal development (section 6.3.3).

The information regarding one specific problem, its causes, its costs and its benefits and the policy alternatives can be used for by actors for acquire the public opinion by solidifying the coalition membership and consequently win political battles (Sabatier and Weibele 2007, Poppelaars 2007). Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) recognise the great importance of the technical information and aim to better understand its role with the ACF. In the cases studied new emerging nature protection organisations used information coming from recent scientific studies for shaping the ongoing public discussions and acquiring public opinion. For example, the group “our city, the city for us” used the information coming from the technical school for introducing the issue of life-quality protection and nature protection into the public discussion (section 6.3.3). The VSLZ used the same type of information for influencing the public opinion with the aim to improve the nature protection measures in the “Frauenwinkel”-area and in the close areas

such as in the “Steinfabrik”-area or in the “Bermuda-triangle”-area in Freienbach (section 6.5.3). Simultaneously at national and international level, a public discussion regarding the “Waldsterben” was taking place. Therefore, the public opinion was likely to be influenced by such arguments. This study confirms the importance of technical and scientific knowledge originating from expert communities such as Schools for steering decision-making.

6.6.4. Issues

Housing was a central issue in the cases studied. The problems concerning the housing were regulated since 1974 by with the Swiss federal law for the promotion of building of flats and property (Wohnbau- und Eigentumsförderungsgesetz WEG). Switzerland, like other European countries, was characterised in the 1970s and 1980s of a lack of flats (Ruegg 1996, Andersen and Plong 2007). The demand was constantly higher than the offer and prices were excessively high. Additionally, the land speculators increased the gravity of the situation. Therefore, in 1973 a resolution was applied in many municipalities in order to re-balance housing market. At municipal level the building of affordable flats by building cooperation was promoted.

The traffic intensity was a further core issues during the entire study-period in the cases studied. In the three case studies, the traffic was constantly present in the policy discussions. Commuter traffic is caused by functional differentiation of urban areas, which is characterised by the development of work-areas in centres and dislocation of residences in peripheries (Kaufmann and Sager 2006). A solution to the transit traffic passing by Rapperswil, Jona and Freienbach was constantly searched. However, the lack of coordination and of financial means impeded until new to find a definitive solution.

An additional important issue was the search of the more adequate strategy for promoting compact development. Urban sprawl was perceived as a core problem and the

development of effective managing strategies was a common challenge in the study area. The search of proper measures for managing urban sprawl was the core issue in all Swiss municipalities and in other European countries (Antrop 1998, Hammer et al. 2003, Schulz 2005, Siedentop 2005). In Rapperswil, the promotion of infill development was discussed as strategy since the 1970s, because urban expansion was still limited by the reserve scarcity (section 6.3.3). In Jona, this issue arose in the 1980s, when the loss of open spaces due to urban growth became clearly perceivable. In both municipalities, the first measure applied was the increase in land-use intensity values. Additionally, in Jona some areas in the building zone extent were reconverted to agricultural zone (section 6.4.3). In Freienbach, the promotion of infill development was a strategy for achieving two goals: to limit urban sprawl and to increase revenues on housing for the “Korporation” (section 6.5.3). In all three cases, the discussions about infill development were related with the land-use intensity conflict.

A further important issue was the revision of the land-use plans. As stated by Wegelin (1996), the time after the application of the Swiss federal law on spatial planning was characterised by the experiencing of municipal authorities of its application. In all three municipalities, the development of the best-fitting spatial allocation of zones was an intensively debated topic. Since the 1980s, in the municipalities a major consciousness of the causalities of urban change was developed. For example, actors in the subsystem began to perceive the tight link existing between urban sprawl and traffic intensity growth (Lendi 2007). The dominant questions discussed were how far work and residential-areas should be separated, how many spaces for public buildings should be designated and where reserves should be allocated. In all three municipalities, a functional centre with services was created. Furthermore, the collaboration and regional planning became a political issue only in the late 1980s.

The ecological issue became a constant presence since the 1980s in the decision-making concerning urban management in the three municipalities. This increased importance of topics related with ecology in the urban management has been observed in other European countries (Andersen and Pløger 2007, Lendi 1996, Ruegg 1996). The

development of new knowledge originating from the scientific word and from the experience of actors at other institutional levels and the emerging of politically active nature protection organisations explain this phenomenon. In all three municipalities, the protection of the delicate areas adjacent to the lakeshore was discussed. One of the most important cases was the rejection of the great housing-complex-project in the “Gubel”-area in Jona and the re-conversion of that area to agricultural zone (section 6.4.3). In Freienbach, the nature protection issue was constantly discussed because of the presence of the protected area “Frauenwinkel”. The challenge was to define adequate land-use-types and land-use intensities for areas bordering with the “Frauenwinkel” (section 6.5.3). Additionally, the aspect of landscape protection and aesthetic as elements of life-quality also became important since the 1980s.

It has been showed in section (5.1.) that in the three municipalities considered urban sprawl outside of the building zones was not optimally managed. However, our analysis shows that the building outside of the building zones was never perceived as problem and never became an issue in the decision-making process. The excessive extent of building zones was perceived as problem principally in Jona and areas were re-converted to prevent urban sprawl. In Jona and Rapperswil construction demand for building outside of the building zones were generally considered singularly and any municipal concept for agricultural zone were developed.

6.6.5. Explaining major policy changes

The major policy changes occurred in the 1980s concerned the improvement of the intervention by urban management (section 6.6.1.) and were caused by three factors. The first factor was the experience of the implementation of the urban management done after the application of the Swiss federal law on spatial planning in 1979 (Wegelin 1996). Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) stated that in the case that the implementation of a measure does not allow the achievement of the policy goals, the actors of the subsystem

will be dissatisfied. Consequently, more adequate strategies will be developed in order to achieve the goals. Second, the three municipalities (section 5.1.4) like many Swiss municipalities experienced in this period a fast urbanisation, which major trends were built-up area expansion and traffic growth (Kaufmann and Sager 2006). The case studies show that in the 1970s the land-use plans included broad building zones and included a low detailed zoning. After some years of application, all actors considered the outputs of the land-use plan implementation as unsatisfying and described urban change as un-ordered, sprawling in the green areas and financially non-efficient. Additionally, all the actors learned that built-up area expansion was closely linked to traffic intensification. The third factor causing policy learning in the cases studied was the new knowledge originating from new scientific studies and from the monitoring of spatial development as observed by Lendi (2007). As consequence of policy learning, in all three municipalities all the actors did not accept status quo and therefore negotiated agreements were concluded (Sabatier and Weibele 2007). During the 1980s, the actors elaborated more detailed land-use plans and building regulations. Additionally, as new general strategies for urban management reduction of building zones extent, enhancement of infill development and partially spatial segregation of work and residential areas have been chosen.

The major policy change, which regarded the addition of nature and landscape protection as priority in urban management was caused by a general “ecological turn-over” in the public opinion. The new scientific knowledge and the wide public discourse concerning ecological issues caused this turnover. In the 1980s, the sensibility of the public opinion and politics about the ecological topics increased in Switzerland and Europe (Wachter 1996, Ruegg 1996). The reasons of that were the diffusion of new scientific knowledge and the emergence of a political discussion at both international and national levels. At international level, many UNO-conferences addressed the question of the consequences of prosperity and changed life style on nature and climate (NZZ 2007). From the 1987, the population came intensively in contact with the concept “sustainability” because this concept was defined in the “Brundtland-Report” of the World Commission on Environment and Development (Wachter 1996). The “Waldsterben”-issue is one of the discourses influencing deeply public opinion in Switzerland was the. The economical

prosperity and the consequent consumerism were identified as causes for forest die (Waldsterben) and damage of nature in general. Additionally, the politics was accused to have failed in different policy domains such as environmental policy (NZZ 2007). The Swiss planning was also evaluated as not effective in promoting sustainable development (ARE 2005, Blöchinger et al. 2003). The ecological discourse in Switzerland caused policy change in different policy domains (Wachter 1996, Lendi 1996). For example, at national level nature protection was fixed as a goal also in the Swiss federal law on spatial development in 1979. Additionally, the task to protect moors and marshland of special beauty and national importance was added in 1987 in the Swiss constitution in the Article 78. Furthermore, the proof about environmental sustainability of new buildings, infrastructures and projects was added in the Swiss federal law on nature protection (Bundesgesetz vom 1. Juli 1966 über den Natur- und Heimatschutz, NHG) in 1988 (ORL 1992). As consequence of the discourse and of the policy change at national level, the nature protection organisations acquired the resource “public opinion” and increased therefore their power. This context dynamic led to the increased support of the ecological issues by people with the militancy in nature protection organisations and with votes for the new “green-parties” (Grüne Partei). Additionally, the formulation of new laws and decrees conferred to the actors addressing such ecological issues more formal legal authority. This explains the partially successes during the 1980s of the VSLZ, i.e. in the cases of “Gubeldorf”, where the project permission was denied and part of the area was re-converted to agricultural area (section 6.4.3) and for the protection of the “Frauenwinkel”, where some measures for limiting extremely intensively uses close to the protected areas were developed (section 6.5.3).

The change in the economic conditions led to the shift of actor constellation and of the functioning of the decision-making in Freienbach. Sabatier and Weible (2007) consider the economic conditions as external factors, which change causes the shift in the resource allocation and consequently the change of actor influence on decision-making. The economic change at the end of 1960s was driven by the Swiss-wide economic-growth, by the proximity to Zurich and by the construction of the highway crossing Freienbach. This economic change induced the “Korporation” to negotiate for having the more land as

possible in the building zones by the designation of building zone. Large areas owned by the “Korporation” were designed as building zone in 1972 and this coincided with a shift of the resources distribution. The designation of the building zones increased the value of the land owned by the “Korporation”. First, the economic value of the land increased and second, the value of land as potential available land for urban development increased. These facts conferred also more formal authority to the “Korporation” because the municipal council had no other choice than to negotiate with this actor for planning development. The change in the external parameters (economic condition) and the shift in resources (land value) led also to policy learning. The new generation of people in the “Korporation” learned that the land in the building zones would have allowed not only to manage land well, but also to increase the capital. Therefore, the general goals of the “Korporation” were shifted at beginning of the 1970s from mere management tasks to economic goals. Due to the still existing deep formal and informal links between the “Korporation” and the municipal council and the increased power of the “Korporation”, the “Korporation” became dominant in the decision-making about planning (section 6.5.3).

At the end of the 1980s, the major policy change was characterised by the shift from a mere municipal to a more regional urban management and by the inclusion in the decision-making of the multiple public interests. This change was caused by the policy learning due to the experience done with urban management and by the new scientific knowledge. The scientific and the political community could learn that the lack of horizontal and vertical coordination is a constraint for urban planning because the recent trends of urban change were concerning regions and not only single municipalities (Kaufmann and Sager 2006, Kübler et al. 2003). The federal authority also learned this and made therefore an effort to promote the collaboration and communication between cities, urban areas, cantons and federal authorities for example with the creation of the conference of Swiss agglomeration in 2001 where all three state levels are involved. A crucial step was the development of a new strategy that promotes the collaboration between municipalities and cantons by financial participation (Kübler et al. 2003). New agglomeration development programmes were developed in different regions including

the agglomeration Obersee composed by Freienbach, Rapperswil, Jona and Rüti. This new knowledge and new federal measures caused policy learning by all actors within the subsystems of the three municipalities (sections 6.3.3., 6.4.3 and 6.5.3). The actors involved in urban planning in Rapperswil and Jona realised that an independent planning of the two municipalities led in the past exclusively to competition and did not permit an optimal spatial development. Until mid of the 1990s Rapperswil tried to absorb the population growth by forcing the allocation of new housing in the rare reserves despite the neighbour municipality of Jona disposed of great amount of reserves. Similarly, the municipal council of Jona tried to create a functional city-centre for meeting the need of the population even if in Rapperswil a very functional old-city-centre was already present. This consciousness prepared actors in Rapperswil and Jona for the institutional change. In 2007, the institutional amalgamation of Rapperswil and Jona was realised. This change of external parameters (institutional design) caused a deep change in urban management. The joint planning of Rapperswil-Jona allowed the conceptualisation of the spatial development extended to the entire Rapperswil-Jona territory. This shows that in this case the policy learning was translated first into the change of the institutional setting and then in policy change of the urban management (section 6.3.3). In Freienbach, the policy learning had as consequence that a master plan for the region “March-Höfe” in collaboration with other municipalities had been developed (section 6.5.3).

In the 1990s in Freienbach, the group in opposition to the “Korporation” experienced policy learning and changed its strategy for achieving its goals. The opposition group to the “Korporation” tried to influence decision-making by critics and by supporting the initiatives of other groups constantly. However, in the 1990s the consciousness of the non-effectiveness of its strategy became dominant in the group. Some reasons of the unsatisfaction were the failure of the first “Initiative Steinfabrikareal”, of the “Initiative Frauenwinkel” and the satisfaction showed by the VSLZ to be involved in the master plan. In practice, the group in opposition to the “Korporation” considered the master planning not enough democratic, even if many actors could participate to the decision-making. The policy learning led this group to develop an efficient an empowerment strategy. Concretely, the group created the “Citizens Forum” as new democratic

opportunity for fostering population to develop a critical consciousness of their society (Beaumont and Nicholls, 2008). Additionally, the group in opposition to the “Korporation” decided to become more active and applied the second “Initiative Steinfabrikareal” with the goal to promote public use of that area instead of increasing land-use intensity for fostering economy and increase income of the “Korporation”. These new strategies aimed to change relatively stable parameters: re-set democracy functioning in Freienbach and re-distribution of power resources. Through democratic participation, population should be able to acquire formal legal authority (section 6.5.3).

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) hypothesise that the policy core attributes of a governmental program in a specific jurisdiction will not be significantly revised as long as the subsystem advocacy coalition that instituted the program remains in power within that jurisdiction – except when the change is imposed by a hierarchically superior jurisdiction. In Jona and Freienbach the major policy changes occurred despite the continuity of the dominant actor in the municipal council. The major policy changes were mostly caused by policy learning processes that influenced all the actors and by the change of external factors like public opinion and national laws. In Rapperswil a shift in the actors governing occurred. The major policy changes in 1980s occurred with the social democratic coalition governing. However, the return of the liberal coalition to the dominant position limited the reinforcement of the policy changes started in the 1980s but did not lead to policy changes steering into the opposite direction. Therefore, the hypothesis of Sabatier and Jenkin-Smith (1993) cannot be verified for this study. The cases studied let formulate a new hypothesis.

“In the Swiss urban management, the change in the public opinion and the policy learning are the most important factors causing major policy change.”

First, the change in the belief shared by the public opinion led to the shift in the resources distribution among the governing actors. New emerging actors like the nature protection organisations could use the public opinion as resources. Additionally, new laws belonging to other subsystems like the environmental policy conferred formal legal authority to the emerging actors. Second, policy learning of all the actors occurred. These two elements led to major policy change in the urban management. The major policy

changes observed in the study area concerned all Swiss municipalities because they were caused by a deep shift in the public opinion of the whole country due to new knowledge (Wegelin 1996). However, change in the governing actor is an essential factor for explaining the “intensity” of major policy change, and minor policy change.

Sabatier (1998) hypothesises that significant perturbations external to the subsystem are a necessary, but not sufficient cause of change in the policy core attributes of a governmental program. In the cases studied, the change in the public opinion was the significant perturbation that caused first the change in the resources distribution and second the policy change. However, the institutional amalgamation caused other external changes such as the change in the territorial structure but no change of the resources of the single actors. If the institutional amalgamation is defined as a change in an external relatively stable parameter, this change was sufficient to lead to policy change. Therefore, the hypothesis can only partially be verified.

6.6.6. Conflicts

One of the core conflicts present in the decision-making concerned the intensity of public intervention. This conflict saw as opponent the vision of public as guarantor and the vision of minimal-state. Especially in Rapperswil, the conflict between the different belief systems of the two large coalitions dominated the discussions in the policy decision-making. In the 1970s, the major issue discussed was the protection of the historic centre, later it was the introduction of new steering instruments to regulate green areas and nature protection and the limitation of the displacement of residential use in mixed zone. All these discussions saw on one side the social-democratic coalition proposing stronger intervention by municipal council and expressing the dissatisfaction of market self-regulations and on the other side the liberal coalition defending a minimum of freedom degree for the market forces to play and regulate development. In Jona, as well this dual vision was present. The social democratic coalition and the VSLZ were defending in the “Gubeldorf”-issue the intervention of public re-converting the area to agricultural zone with the task to protect nature. The Liberal Party by contrast, defended the initiative of privates and interpreted this as opportunity for municipal council for public-private partnership. Other issues where these two belief were opposed were discussed when the building-complex in the centre was projected. The social democratic coalitions defended the public control of spatial planning and the Liberal Party defended private-public partnership in the project (section 6.4.3). In Freienbach, the belief of the “Korporation” was similar to the liberal belief system because it sustained more freedom for market to play. In contrast, the VSLZ and the group in opposition to the “Korporation” sustained a more intensive intervention for example by reconverting the “Bermuda-triangle” and by converting to public zone of the “Steinfabrik”-area (section 6.5.3). Ruegg (1986) observed a similar dual vision also for European cities. However, a notable difference is that the post-industrial-city visions coalition observed by Ruegg (1996) did not attribute to urban planning any market-regulatory function. The cases studied show that the liberal parties and coalitions defended partial market-regulatory function of urban management. The liberal coalitions tried to protect the

freedom for the private initiative in building but had the belief that the municipal council should have framed with clear rules the spatial development. Additionally, concerning the housing issues all the actors recognised the importance of the market regulations. Therefore, the promotion of affordable housing found generally agreement by all the actors.

Additional conflicts about the public intervention regarded the concurrence between the residential and commercial land use in the urban centres. For example, the social democratic coalition in Rapperswil proposed to regulate the balance between the two uses. The liberal coalition proposed to let the market regulate the proportion of the two uses (section 6.3.3). The same conflict concerned the mixed zones, strongly supported by the liberal parties and the “Korporation”. The Socialist Parties together with the Christian Democratic Parties always preferred to define mere residential zones for protecting the residential use (sections 6.3.3., 6.4.3 and 6.5.3). This competition between land uses was caused by the functional differentiation (Kaufmann and Sager 2006). The centre attracts the services and the industry and their concentration causes benefits for their specialisation. Furthermore, the services and the industry can pay higher rents and as consequences residents are driven out (Linder 2004).

A further important conflict in the urban management concerned the land-use intensity. As opponents were observed on one side the vision supporting nature and green areas protection and on the other side the vision supporting efficiency in planning. Infill development and nature or green space preservation are both strategies, which are part of the federal planning policy (Wachter, 1996). Blöchliger et al. (2002) stated that in the discussion as national level the worth of infill development is generally accepted. Infill development means efficient use of infrastructures, preservation of agricultural areas and profitability of land. However, the cases studied show that at municipal level infill development and green space protection can collide. In the three municipalities, infill development was a wide discussed issue, even if the principle was generally accepted as strategy. Especially in Freienbach and in Rapperswil since the 1990s deep conflicts between two different beliefs existed. The social democratic coalition in Rapperswil and

the VSLZ in Freienbach shared the belief that the excessive density promoted by the high land-use intensity values causes bad life-quality (sections 6.3.2.1 and 6.5.2.4). This happens because of the loss of green spaces, of the decrease of landscape aesthetic and of the damage of lakeshores, which had to be protected. The liberal coalition in Rapperswil, the “Korporation” and the municipal council in Freienbach shared the belief that infill development as active strategy would have promoted a financially efficient planning, preserved the agricultural spaces and had increased the income of landowners (sections 6.5.2.5 and 6.5.2.1). Additionally, for Rapperswil the infill development meant also population increase and income increase by taxes. In Jona, the actors shared the belief that land-use intensity values were excessively low and had to be increased. The Social Democratic Party introduced the issue about the green area protection only for core areas. The situation in Jona was probably different because the increase in land-use intensity values was not so pronounced like in the other municipalities. This means that although infill development and nature protections were part of the general major policy changes in the 1980s, the two visions collided during the implementation of urban management or during the decision about secondary aspects.

6.6.7. Comparing the three case studies

All the three municipalities experienced the same major policy changes between 1970 and today. Like all the Swiss municipalities, the three municipalities widened the role of urban management. To urban management was attributed a more active and interventionist role for regulating the market and other forces causing the urban change. Additionally, urban management was newly considered a regional policy and a result of a democratic participative process. Although in all three municipalities the general shift was equal, the intensity of this shift differed.

As presented in the previous section (conflicts 6.6.6.), the main conflicts present in municipality’s subsystems concerned both the discussions about the policy cores and the

secondary aspects. However, these conflicts had different consequences at the level of the policy core aspects and secondary aspects. On the one hand, due to Swiss- or Europe-wide policy learning and to the introduction of new laws in different domains, all the conflicting actors experienced policy learning and contributed to the major policy change by finding a consensus or a negotiated agreement. On the other hand, the intensity of the major policy changes and of the minor policy changes differed in the three municipalities. As consequence, the urban management was different in the three cases studied.

The cases analysed in the previous sections let argue that the factors explaining the major policy changes are different from the factors explaining the minor policy changes. Changes in the public opinion, change of further external factors and policy learning explain the major policy changes. The different subsystems, distribution of resources and external relative stable and dynamic parameters explain the differences between the urban management policy and the implementation in the three municipalities studied.

During the study period, Rapperswil developed an urban management that can be characterised as social democratic. Rapperswil experienced the first major policy change earlier than the other municipalities. The public opinion in Rapperswil in the 1970s could be influenced by the presence of the technical school. The group “our city, the city for us”, which was part of the social democratic coalition, was the attractor of the change of the public opinion in Rapperswil. This led to change in the coalition governing. The fact that the first major policy change occurred in Rapperswil under the dominance of the social democratic coalition in the city council strongly legitimated by public opinion explains because the urban management in Rapperswil can be defined social democratic. In practice, stronger regulations than in the other municipalities studied were applied: the parking concept and the historic centre protection. Furthermore, in the 1980s all the actors experienced policy learning increasing the legitimating of the major policy change occurred. After the shift in the governing coalition, the liberal coalition was able to stop the further reinforcement of the major policy change, impeding the introduction of new regulating measures (such as the green area values and plant protection initiative). However, the existing policy remained social democratic and due to the bargaining with

the social democratic coalition, some further regulations went in both directions of the liberal and social democratic beliefs. In practice, the land-use intensity values were slightly increased and a list of plant to protect was introduced. The limited territory also contribute to explain the reason because in Rapperswil the urban management was social democratic, despite to the presence of a particularly pronounced dual vision, The consequence of the limited territory was the pronounced dual vision conflict about the infill development. Because of the lack of space, infill development policy was particularly promoted in Rapperswil and the land-use intensity values were particularly high. However, the limited territory imposed a strong regulation for avoiding chaotic urban change. The dominant social democratic coalition was supporting the infill development strongly than in other municipalities because of the lack of available space (section 6.3.3).

Jona developed during the study period a moderate liberal urban management. Also Jona experienced the major policy changes described. However, since the liberal coalition was governing, the policy change was weaker then in Rapperswil. The Liberal Party also experienced the policy learning described but did not change all aspects of the policy core. As consequence, the major policy change was translated into policy by using weaker measures. First, the land-use plan became more detailed and the industry and the residential areas were separated; however to obtain construction permissions remained easier then in the other municipalities. Furthermore, even if some areas were re-converted to agricultural areas, some other areas were converted to building zone. Additionally, in some cases despite to policy learning, the governing Liberal Party was resistant to the major policy change. The re-conversion of some areas to agricultural areas was mandated (“Hocklistein”) or imposed by higher institutional levels with stronger formal legal authority (“Gubeldorf”). This means that the major policy change was possible because of the policy learning but reinforced by the imposition of hierarchically superior actors. A further factor encouraging a less regulative policy relatively to Rapperswil was the much broader territory and the larger amount of potentially available land for development. As consequence, a less regulative policy with weaker control of the construction permits was possible. The second consequence was that the infill development policy was less

pronounced than in Rapperswil and was proposed later, when all the actors perceived the unordered urban change (section 6.4.3). This explains also the less pronounced conflict on infill development respect to Rapperswil.

Freienbach developed during the study period a liberal urban management. Although all the actors experienced the major policy changes described, these changes were translated into measures in a quite different manner than in the other municipalities. The reason of that is the crucial role of the “Korporation” in Freienbach, which had strong economic interest related with urban change. Unlike in the other municipalities, the domination of “Korporation” and of the municipal council was based on informal relations and resources dependency. The crucial resources were the land owned by the “Korporation” and the formal legal authority of the municipal council and of the “Korporation” due to its public functions. Despite to the more detailed land-use plans due to policy change and to limitation of building zones expansion, the consequences of this were the stronger flexibilisation of space given by the creation of more mixed zones, the rejection of many propositions aiming to protect nature and the consequent intensive use of sensible areas. Higher hierarchical actors imposed some measures for nature protection, because Freienbach was very resistant. This resistance caused deep conflicts between the belief systems and the creation of a new actor with empowering goals, aiming to change the subsystem. The urban policy was called liberal because it followed the liberal beliefs of flexibilisation of space for allowing the market forces to play and support economical competition. Infill development was strongly promoted in Freienbach, in order to increase land revenues (section 6.5.3).

6.7. Conclusions

The major policy changes in the three municipalities reflected the Swiss-wide trends driven by the policy learning. The policy learning arose from the experience done with planning implementation between 1970s and 1990s. However, the local actors’

constellation and the resource distribution mattered. The differences of these elements at, municipal level contribute to explain the different implementation of the policies in the municipalities.

The minor role of the national and cantonal authorities in planning could be confirmed. The reasons of that were the federal system and the competence distribution previewed by federal law on spatial planning.

Many urban studies do to detect the importance landowners as actors and land as resource for influencing the policy making. However, this study found evidences of their importance. Particularly, the analysis showed the importance of landowners historically rooted in the municipalities and which execute public functions.

7. General discussion

The aim of this section is to link the two research steps in a research model (Figure 9). The spatially explicit analysis performed in the first step linked urban change with land-use plans (section 5.1). The policy analysis performed in the second step explained the functioning of the policy-decision subsystem (section 6). The integration of this knowledge in the research model permits a better understanding of the political driving forces of urban change.

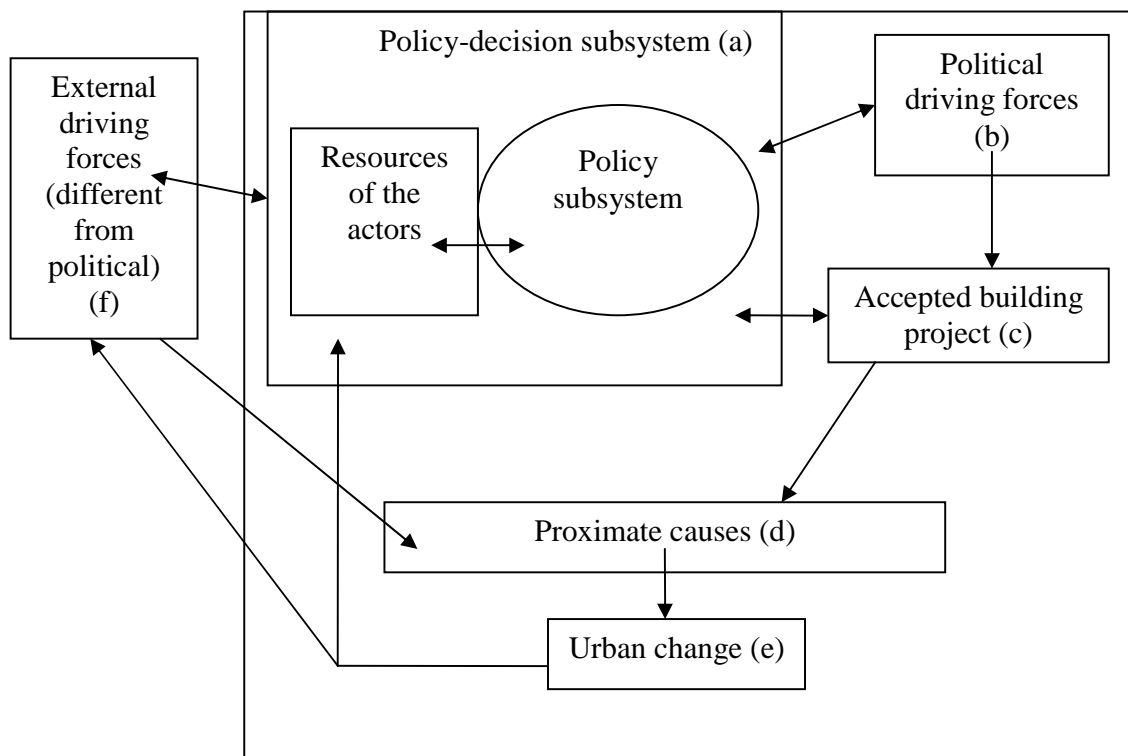


Figure 9: Linking urban change, land-use plans and the policy-decision subsystem: Theoretical research model

7.1. The effects of political driving forces on urban change

This study allowed the specific effects of urban management as a political driving force for urban change to be identified. The different character of urban management in Rapperswil, Jona and Freienbach discussed in section 6.6.7 contribute to explaining the different urban changes in the three municipalities described in section 5.1.5.

In Rapperswil, the strong support for infill development as a strategy of urban management helps to explain the urban change (section 5.1.4). The implementation of the infill development strategy explains the increase in the number of buildings observed in section 5.1.4 that occurred despite the lack of reserves. Actors in the subsystem implemented the infill development strategy with a general increase in land-use intensity values and promoted the construction of new housing complexes in the few existing reserves (section 6.4.3). The construction of new housing complexes (“Hanfländer” and “Gutenberg”) and the replacement of old buildings with new ones were the proximate causes of urban change (section 6.4.3). The infill development strategy also contributes to explaining the increase in building density observed between 1960 and 1990 (5.1.4). The decrease in building density between 1990 and 2000 was interpreted in section 5.1.5 as a result of replacing small buildings with larger buildings. This replacement of buildings can also be considered as part of the infill development strategy. The large number of large buildings probably explains also the fact that the building density registered in Rapperswil was generally lower than that observed in either of the other municipalities.

The permissive management of construction permits and the support of an infill development strategy contribute to explaining the urban change observed in Jona (section 5.1.4). The large expansion of the built-up area observed in Jona between 1970 and 1990 in section 5.1.4 can be explained by the increase in available land for built-up area expansion through the creation of new buildings zones (such as the conversion to buildings zones of the hamlets “Wagen” and “Curtiberg”) and the assignment of many construction permits (section 6.4.3). The application of the infill development strategy

after the 1970s (section 6.4.3) explains the high increase in building density inside the building zone described in section 5.1.4. Since infill development strategy was supported more in Rapperswil than in Jona (section 6.6.7), one would expect higher building density values in Rapperswil than in Jona. It can be hypothesised that the higher building density values registered in Jona relative to Rapperswil is due to the smaller volume of buildings in Jona. Probably more single houses than buildings complexes were built in Jona. The loose management of construction permits also explains the higher number of new residential and agricultural buildings registered outside of the building zone in Jona relative to Freienbach and Rüti (section 5.2.3). In the case of Jona proximate causes were primarily the construction of housing inside the building zone and of both residential and agricultural buildings outside the building zone.

The influence of the liberal urban management policies applied in Freienbach can be to some extent directly observed in the development of the parameters analysed in section 6. Major characteristics of the urban management of Freienbach were the high flexibilisation of space through the creation of widely mixed zones and the support of an infill development strategy through the overall increase in land-use intensity values (section 6.6.7). In Freienbach, the flexibilisation of space was favoured over the expansion of the building zone applied in Jona. This fact explains why much lower values of built-up area expansion were registered in Freienbach than in Jona (section 5.1.4). The increase in land-use intensity values explains the constant increase in the building density observed between 1980 and 2000 (section 5.1.4). Proximate causes were the construction of housing complexes, commercial and leisure buildings inside the building zone and both residential and agricultural buildings outside the building zones (sections 6.5.3 and 5.2.3).

The parameters analysed in section 5.1.4 do not allow the direct effects of space flexibilisation and of the resistance to the introduction of nature protection measures to be identified, although these characterised urban management in Freienbach (section 6.6.7.).

These elements provide evidences that a land-use plan, which is the most important measure of urban management, acts as a political driving force on urban change and

permits some mechanisms of action of this driving force to be clarified. This study confirms the finding of Brandt et al. (1999), Wassmer (2006) that the boundary set by the land-use plan acts to limit the built-up area expansion and channels expansion within the building zone (section 5.1). However, the example of Jona (section 6.6.7) shows that the availability of large areas of land within the building zone and the implementation of a management policy that allows construction permits to be addressed either easily can foster built-up area expansion (Carrhutes 2002, ARE 2005). Similarly to other authors this study shows that urban management acts as a driving force through the implementation of an infill development strategy encouraging high-density development within the building zone (Wassmer 2006, Koomen et al. 2008). However, as Couch and Karecha (2006) observed in Liverpool, a land-use plan does not act in the same way outside the building zone since there the building density rather diminishes.

The policy analysis (section 6.6.) shows that decision-making processes leading to the acceptance of a concrete construction project (Figure 9 c) are strongly interconnected with decision-making processes leading to the creation of political driving forces (Figure 9 b). The cases studied show that decisions regarding large construction projects generally include strategic decisions about the urban management of the entire territory (section 6.6). For example, many large construction projects were discussed in Jona and Freienbach (sections 6.4.3 and 6.5.3, i.e. the “Gubeldorf” project in Jona and the “Steinfabrikareal” project in Freienbach). The discussions regarding the “Gubeldorf” project first led to discussions concerning the implementation of nature protection measures at the shores of the lake. Finally, most locals were keen to preserve the delicate area by the lake and stop it from being intensively used. Consequently, the area was partially converted into an agricultural area and the project was rejected. Because strategic decisions were involved, both types of decision-making required the same set of actors (section 6.6.). Unlike in some other studies (e.g. Ruegg 1996), political parties and private actors both played a determinant role in both decisions and did not only influence decisions concerning political driving forces. Therefore, it can be hypothesised that the two types of decisions occur within the same subsystem (Figure 9 a).

7.2 Towards a better understanding of the driving forces of urban change

The integration in the research model of the results discussed in section 6.6 concerning the causes of policy changes in the three municipalities permits a formulation of general considerations about the driving forces of urban change and their link with the policy-decision subsystem.

The cases analysed reveal that **changes in public opinion** and **changes in political driving forces** other than urban management were the most important external driving forces (Figure 9 f) of urban change (section 6.6). The policy analysis shows that new knowledge led to changes in public opinion and that the changes in political driving forces other than urban management led to major policy changes in urban management. The “ecological turn-over” in the 1980s constitutes an interesting example where all the steps leading to a major policy change in urban management can be seen as arising from the new scientific knowledge and its diffusion in public discourse (section 6.6.1).

The first consequence of the change in public opinion was the shift in the resources of the actors (Figure 9 a). One changing resource was the public opinion at the local level where actors, such as nature protection organisations, emerged and whose beliefs supported the emerging knowledge. Another change was at the level of the formal legal authority where ecologically oriented actors increased their power in the municipal council or and new laws were adopted that helped to support ecological beliefs (e.g. laws for nature protection) (section 6.6.1). The second consequence of the change in public opinion was the policy learning involving all the actors (occurring within a). With the “ecological turn-over”, this study found that nature protection had become a goal for urban planning in the belief system of almost all actors in the subsystem (section 6.6.1). Changes in resources and general policy learning caused major policy changes. Major policy changes correspond to changes in the political driving forces (Figure 9 b) which act on urban change (figure 9, e). With the of “ecological turn-over” in urban management, nature protection was added as a goal of urban management in all three municipalities.

The importance of **policy learning** as a cause of policy change suggests that the research model should be considered as cyclic. The results of the policy analysis discussed in section 6.6.5 show that policy change was often caused by policy learning. Policy learning was defined as a relatively enduring alteration of thought or behavioural intention and can result from increased knowledge derived from experience with implementing policy measures (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993). The major policy changes in the 1980s and 1990s occurred because all actors in the subsystem were keen to change the status quo (section 6.6.5), because all actors considered the outcomes of the urban management at the time unsatisfactory (section 6.6.5). The first policy-learning process observed confirmed the assumptions of Wegelin (1996) and was caused by the local authorities' experience with implementing the land-use plan after the application of the Swiss federal law on spatial planning in 1979 (section 6.6.5). During the 1970s and part of the 1980s the need for residential space increased due to population growth and changes in attitudes and lifestyles, which acted as driving forces together with the existing land-use plans for urban change (Herperger and Bürgi 2007). All actors in the three municipalities studied experienced the implementation of the first land-use plans and could learn from their experience and new scientific findings, which driving forces acted on urban change and how they acted (section 6.6.5). The actors in the subsystem in Rapperswil, Jona and Freinbach agreed that the existing urban management (b) was unable to mitigate the action of external driving forces (Figure 9 f). They all believed that the municipal council should be more effective in stopping land speculation (section 6.6.5). New scientific findings and the actors' own experiences indicated that an increase in traffic was linked to the expansion of built-up area and that traffic and urban management should be better coordinated (section 6.6.5). Major policy changes corresponded with the revision of the role of urban management and the more precise planning of the pattern of future land use in all municipalities. These led to a more detailed designation of zones and land-use intensity values and a coordination of settlement and traffic management (section 6.6.5). The case studies revealed that, in the 1990s, a horizontal coordination of urban management could solve efficiently problems, which involve more than one municipality (section 6.6.5). This policy-learning process led to a major policy change

with much more horizontal coordination of urban management (section 6.6.5). This demonstrates that policy learning can be interpreted as a response of the actors to a previous cycle of the model.

Changes in public opinion and **general policy learning** could be classified as **cultural driving forces**. Culture has been recognised as an important driving force influencing land change (Rockwell 1994, Bürgi et al. 2004, Herperger and Bürgi 2007). Rockwell (1994) defines culture as verbal communications by individual about their values, attitudes, norms and knowledge. Culture can have indirect and direct effects on land change. Indirect effects on land change happen through influencing population growth, politics, and economic development. Direct effects act directly on proximate causes determining, for example, settlement patterns (Rockwell 1994). The cases studied show that public opinion is a type of cultural driving force that acts indirectly on urban change. Changes in public opinion first influence the distribution of the resources among actors and then policy making, thus leading to policy change (section 6.6.5). Changes in political driving forces acts directly on urban change (7.1). The attitudes of the population, such as an increased need for more residential space act directly on land change, resulting in the expansion of built-up areas (Hersperger and Bürgi 2007). The dominant role played by change in public opinion and policy learning in the case studies confirms the importance of cultural driving forces for urban change (Bürgi et al. 2004, Schneeberger et al. 2007).

This study has also shown that **institutional design** acts as an external driving force on urban change. The institutional amalgamation in Rapperswil and Jona led to a major policy change (section 6.3.3), and a change in a further external driving force: the characteristics of the territory. After the amalgamation both municipalities has to be managed together. Another consequence was the expansion of the subsystem given by the merging of policy subsystems of Rapperswil and Jona (section 6.3.3). This led to a redefinition of the goals and strategies of urban management (policy change, section 6.3.3). To Jona was attributed the function to absorb population increase by allocating new residential areas and to Rapperswil was attributed the function to develop

commercial, cultural and leisure activities (section 6.3.3). As a result, the pressure on Rapperswil decreased and no population increase was anticipated for Rapperswil (section 6.3.3). It can be hypothesised that this strategy resulted in less urban change in Rapperswil and more urban change in Jona.

The study confirms that **natural driving forces** act as external driving forces (Figure 9 f) for urban change. Bürgi et al. (2004) divide natural driving forces into spatial configurations, topography and soil conditions. Spatial configurations include current existing land use and roads (Bürgi et al. 2004). Territorial extent can be also considered as an element of the spatial configuration. First, the case studies showed that the extent of territory available for built-up expansion influenced urban management and urban change (section 6.6.5). The small area belonging to Rapperswil meant that it made sense to pursue an infill development strategy. When implemented, this led to a strong increase in land-use intensity values (section 6.3.3). This strategy explains the urban change described in section 5.1.4. Additionally, the case studies show how urban change itself influences the subsystem through the conditioning of actors' policy learning (experience) (section 6.6.5). Urban change can be also interpreted as a change in the spatial configuration because it is associated with changes in building density and the extent of built-up areas with eventually new roads appearing. It can be hypothesised that once urban change happens, a new cycle of the model starts and the new spatial configuration acts as a new external driving force (figure 9, f). The policy analysis also indicates that the highway in Freienbach and the railway in Jona are important driving forces of urban change (6.6.5).

This work contributes to understanding the role of **resource distribution** in explaining urban change. It has already been described for policy decision-making (Pütz 2007, Sabatier and Weible 2007), and Sanderson (1994) showed how power distribution among public and private actors exerts a strong influence on policy implementation. However, studies analysing the role of resource distribution in decision-making so far failed to provide spatially-explicit evidence of this important role and have not clarified the mechanisms of influence of resources on decision making.

This study indicates that possession of **land** is an important factor influencing urban change. If a single actor possesses a large amount of land, this will strongly influence decisions about urban management and proximate causes (Lambin et al. 2003). In all three municipalities large landowners, such as the “Ortsgemeinde” in Rapperswil and Jona and the “Korporation” in Freienbach, were able to successfully influence decision-making (section 6.6.3). The case studies showed that the governing institutions formally include those actors who possess large areas of land in decision making because of their potentially important contribution to urban development (section 6.6.3). As a consequence, these actors acquired formal legal authority (section 6.6.3). The power of land as a resource is explained by the fact that land is scarce within the municipal boundaries and that private property is protected by the Swiss constitution (Bundesverfassung Art. 26) (Baumgartner and Seidl in press).

In the case studies, **belonging to a governing institution** (formal legal authority) was the most powerful resource for guiding policy change and consequently urban change. The role of policy institutions has been long recognised as a determining factor influencing urban change (Geist et al. 2006). The policy analysis showed that actors or a coalition with majority in the municipal council could strongly influence urban management (section 6.6.3). Changes in public opinion tended to result in policy learning for all actors, but the translation of major policy change into measures varied depending on which actors was governing (section 6.6.5). The Liberal Party dominated in Jona in the 1980s and introduced different measures from those in Rapperswil, where the social democratic coalitions dominated the government (section 6.6.5). Additionally, formal legal authority is generally the resource used by actors from a higher institutional level to impose decisions (Baumgartner and Seidl in press). The case studies showed that the cantonal authorities intervened in some cases with decisions of the municipal council to improve the implementation of the federal law on spatial planning e.g. by insisting on fewer or smaller building zones or rejecting construction projects (section 6.6.4).

This study has shown that **information and new scientific findings** are important both as resources and as external driving forces of urban change. The case studies provide

evidence for the role of new scientific findings as external driving forces, often shifting public opinion and thus leading to major policy change (section 6.6.7). Although some research has shown the importance of new findings for steering land use particularly through the invention of new technologies (Geist et al. 2003, Bürgi et al. 2004, Rockwell 1994), their influence on policy change has seldom been described (but e.g. Moser 2005, Bürgi and Schuler 2003). Information about new findings can also be used by actors as a resource to acquire public support or to be elected to government institutions (Sabatier and Weible 2007). In Rapperswil, scientific information provided by the technical school led the social democratic coalition to increase its power within the city council at the end of the 1970s. (Section 6.3.3).

Other researches have also shown that for deciding about urban management the policy subsystems are mostly composed of **local actors** (e.g. Hersperger and Bürgi 2007, Koomen et al. 2008). Actors from other institutional levels participate in decisions only by stipulating the size of building zones or insisting on the consideration of nature protection measures. All such interventions aim to improve the implementation of the Swiss federal law on spatial planning, as in the case of resistance to major policy changes. (Section 6.6.2).

This study contributes to the **identification of conflicts** driving decision-making in urban policy. The conflict between public-interventionist-ecological and minimal-state visions drove most of decisions within the subsystems of the case studies (section 6.6.6). Similar to studies of other European cities, this study divided the actors in the subsystem into two groups, one (the social democratic coalitions) which supports a stronger regulative intervention of the public on urban change, and a second group (the liberal coalition and “Korporation”) which supports minimal public regulation in order to stimulate market forces (Ruegg 1996, Andersen and Plong 2007). This work also identified a further conflict concerning the controversial perception of infill development. One group (the social democratic coalition and the nature protection organisations) shared the belief that infill development should not lead to excessive building density and loss of green areas and life quality, which corresponds with the public-interventionist-ecological vision

(Ruegg 1996, Andersen and Plong 2007). A second group (the liberal coalition and “Korporation”) shares the belief that land-use intensity should be high if the goal is the efficient use of land in order to preserve external green areas, which corresponds with the minimal-state vision (section 6.6.6).

This study demonstrates that two major factors explain policy change. First, new knowledge led to a general change in public opinion and major policy changes in all municipalities (section 6.6.5.). Wegelin (1996) also observed the same trend in all Swiss municipalities. It can be hypothesised that a nation-wide change in public opinion and policy change caused a shift in urban management in all Swiss municipalities. This effect has been observed in other studies like Bičik et al. (2001) which showed the influence of political national changes on land changes in Czech Republic in the 19th and 20th century. Second, resource distribution among local actors within the subsystems determines how such a major policy change is translated into concrete measures and implemented. This confirms the importance of the specificity of the local context for explaining land change (Lambin et al. 2003, Rindfuss et al. 2004). These two factors are both necessary for explaining urban change (7.1), which is why studies focussing on different scale levels are essential to find out more about the driving forces of urban change (Lambin et al. 2003).

7.3 Limitations of the methodological approach

The integration in this study of a spatially explicit analysis and a policy analysis constitutes an innovative approach results in more knowledge of the land-change system (section 1.1). First, the use of ACF for studying policy change for a long time period (35 years) allowed for the first time the detection of different elements that have been neglected in past research on land-change science. Second, linking the policy analysis with the spatially explicit dimension helped to detect the spatial effects of political

driving forces. The interdisciplinary approach used made it possible to add the following new elements:

- Identification of the importance of changes in public opinion and new knowledge as external driving forces of urban change
- Identification of the relevant actors creating political driving forces
- Identification of a set of relevant resources for the creation of political driving forces
- Identification of the major conflicts dominating the policy subsystem

Despite these new insights, this interdisciplinary method can still be further improved. First, more parameters should be measured to characterise urban change and to allow a better link between driving forces and policy outcomes. Land-cover changes should be further characterised to include “open spaces within the built-up area” and “building-volume” among the variables. In practice, the building density gives only a relative measure of infill development, as the case studies showed. Changes in land-use type should also be described with variables such as “traffic intensity on roads” or “industrial emissions”. Second, policy analysis neglects the importance of the decisions of individuals to build a new house. The ACF permits decisions concerning large projects to be linked so that they also include policy decisions. However, decisions regarding large projects and individual decision leads to proximate causes. The ACF does not take into consideration the mechanism of influence of urban management on the individual decisions of single landowners. In order to understand the research model proposed in section 2.1 as a whole, a survey should be performed to find out the motivations of landowners to build or to buy houses and land. These improvements in the methodological approach would help us to find out more about the links between external driving forces, political driving forces and proximate causes, which are the direct effect of the choices made by individual house owners.

8 Conclusions

8.1 Implications for land-change science

This thesis proposes an innovative interdisciplinary method that combines a spatially explicit analysis with a policy analysis as an approach to explore the relationship between driving forces, proximate causes, actors, decision-making and urban change. Combining the ACF proposed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) with a comprehensive general framework of land-use science described by many authors (e.g. Briassoulis 2000, Lambin et al. 2003 and Bürgi et al. 2004) results in an original research model. This model has innovative elements such as the policy-decision subsystem, which includes actors and power resources (section 2.1).

This study shows that the land-use plan is the most important measure of urban management, influencing in the three municipalities both a) building density and b) built-up area expansion. Extensive building zones were found to stimulate built-up area expansion, while building zone small in area limited this phenomenon. Furthermore, all three municipalities experienced an increase in land-use intensity values, which has encouraged a high building density within the building zone. An additional relevant effect has been the channelling the expansion of built-up areas within the building zones. This shows how urban management and planning policy in general can steer urban change.

It seems that changes in public opinion, policy changed at the national level and special local features of the municipality are necessary to explain differences in the urban management of the three municipalities and the resulting differences in urban change. General shifts in public opinion occurred in the 1980s and 1990s. In the 1980s, the belief that the public should intervene more in urban change became more widespread with a

more regulative planning policy and increased awareness of environmental problems. In the 1990s, public opinion began to value more collaboration on solving problems. Additionally, policy changes in national planning and nature protection were observed with the active promotion of an infill development strategy, the limitation of the size of building zones, horizontal coordination and nature protection. These two external changes involving the whole of Switzerland explain the general shift observed in the urban management of the three municipalities. However, the analyses show that local features in the subsystem (actors), resources distribution (formal legal authority and land) and territory (size) determine how major policy changes were implemented differently in the three municipalities.

A clear finding is that land ownership is crucial for influencing policy-making. In Rapperswil, Jona and particularly in Freienbach, where “Korporation played an important role, large landowners used land to translate their own belief systems into policy.

These findings contribute to a better understanding of the mechanisms of urban change. Additional variables to characterise urban change should, however, be included in future studies, as well as descriptions of and the action of other driving forces.

In future research on urban change, land cover and land use should be both be characterised by more adequate variables in order to link policies better with outcomes (see section 8.2). A better link between urban management and urban change (outcomes) would add new elements for policy evaluation and provide more propositions for future urban management.

Similar interdisciplinary and comparative approaches could be applied to other driving forces. This study focused primarily on urban management as a political driving force, without investigating other driving forces (external) in detail. Findings from research on other types of driving forces (natural, socio-economic, cultural and technological) would contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the driving forces of land change.

8.2 Implications for spatial planning

The analysis presented in this thesis has some general implications for urban management. Some factors hindering the achievement of the goals formulated in the Swiss federal law on spatial planning were identified, and suggestions for mitigating the effect of these factors were made.

8.2.1 Elements hindering efficient urban management

Local factors influencing policy change tend not to be taken into consideration sufficiently by the cantonal or federal authorities. Policy evaluations and reports on spatial planning often aggregate analyses at the cantonal level, or fail to take into account the role of actors and resource distribution in the decision making (e.g. ARE 2003, ARE 2005). Neglecting the inclusion of important local mechanisms, such as the influence of the power-resource distribution for decision-making and urban change, in policy evaluations tends to make urban planning inefficient. If such elements are not considered, then political authorities and researchers will not be able to find out why some urban planning strategies are inefficient despite there being an apparently well-organised multi-level planning system and general major policy change (ARE 2005, Herpersger and Bürgi 2007). Without this understanding, it is not possible to adequately improve urban management and make planning more efficient.

General policy learning was found to lead to major policy change, but deep conflicts between them tended to shift to the level of secondary aspects of policy. During major policy changes, actors agree on overall concepts describing the role of urban management, but conflicts emerge during the implementation phase. The major conflicts identified concerned the intensity of public intervention in urban management and infill development. Generally, a liberal view supporting minimal regulation and high land-use

intensity values (*Ausnutzungsziffer*) conflicts with the social democratic view favouring stronger local authority regulation and preservation of open spaces by limiting land-use intensity values. Although a pluralist view could foster efficient urban management, the long-term conflicts could hinder the efficiency of urban management. The case studies show that decision-making can be a long process when these are deep conflicts as there were in Freienbach and Rapperswil.

The development of urban management in individual municipalities can exacerbate land-use conflicts. The aim of municipal urban management is the realisation of the goals expressed in the Swiss federal law on spatial planning within the municipal territory. It seems, however, that since the actors in the subsystem have the task of managing the municipal territory as a unique unit, they often consider the municipality and municipal territory as the financially competitive unit. As a consequence, each individual municipality tries to allocate enough zones to attract industries and jobs, and enough residential zones, enough zones for public structures such as schools and leisure facilities in order to have enough income from taxes to balance municipality's finances. Actors tend to consider the municipal territory as an isolated unit. As a consequence, the municipal territory should be able to provide its inhabitants with: enough jobs, residential areas and public structures to encourage population growth. These two factors often lead to deep conflicts over land use because the municipal territory is limited. The largest conflict that was observed in this study as Koomen et al. (2008), Baumgartner and Seidl (in press), was that between the goal to limit the expansion of built-up areas expansion and the goal to attract more inhabitants to increase municipal income from taxes. This conflict was often translated in the three municipalities into a land-use intensity conflict. Although infill development is a generally accepted strategy, the two views lead to a deep conflict. On the one hand, some actors or coalitions (the Liberal Party and the liberal coalition) believe that land-use intensity values should be constantly increased to attract more inhabitants. On the other hand, other actors or coalitions (the Social Democratic Party and the social democratic coalition) claim that land-use intensity values should not be excessively increased so as not to affect the traditional local structure and quality of

life. The case studies show that if there are conflicting goals for urban development, it is challenging to find efficient solutions.

Another finding is that the isolated development of urban management in the individual municipalities makes it difficult to identify regional problems and find adequate solutions. In the cases studied, traffic intensity on the dam was a regional problem affecting Jona, Rapperswil and Freienbach. The lack of coordination between the local authorities was identified as responsible for the lack of an adequate solution. Nowadays many planning problems concern regions or agglomerations, so an isolated approach to urban management actually hinders efficiency (Kübler et al. 2003, Kaufmann and Sager 2006).

Land is a crucial resource that influences decisions about planning because of its scarcity within the municipal boundaries. The case studies show that, because of the limited land reserves, large landowners become crucial partners for the municipal authorities in deciding on policy. Freienbach constitute an example where the “Korporation” has a dominant position and can influence actively urban change because it owns a lot of land. The “Korporation” pursues both public and private economic goals. Urban planning can become inefficient if private landowners put excessively their own personal economic interests before the public interests of sustainable spatial development.

8.2.2 Possible elements to enhance the efficiency of urban management

Science and planning coordination at the national and cantonal levels should continue to play an important role in steering urban management. The case studies show the importance of new research findings and policy changes in the federal laws (external political driving forces such as laws on nature protection) for inducing major policy changes at the municipal level. New knowledge (e.g. that urban change is also responsible for nature degradation and that the increased need for residential space is responsible for the expansion of built-up areas) leads local actors to learn and induce a

general shift in the policy core of urban management. Thus, urban management has become more regulative with more detailed land-use plans and measures for nature protection, and more coordination with neighbouring municipalities. This shows the importance of a dialogue between research and governmental institutions, policy makers and the public. Findings from science and from the experiences of actors implementing urban management should be part of a general dialogue between actors at different institutional levels and research. The federal authorities have made some effort in recent decades to promote the link between research and policy making and promote such an exchange, for example with the conference of the Swiss agglomerations (Tripartite Agglomerationskonferenz) where actors from the municipal, cantonal and national authorities exchange their experience. Creating additional forums to promote the exchange of knowledge and experience among policy actors and researches could create more opportunities for policy learning (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993). This would also help to raise the federal authority awareness of new decision-making functions at municipal level.

In summary, some general considerations for improving the efficiency of urban management can be formulated:

1. Increased **horizontal coordination** is a proper approach to ameliorate the efficiency of urban management. Regional coordination of spatial planning would lead to several changes. First, coordination would lead to an increase in the size of the territory to be managed and consequently would allow a more spatially efficient distribution of functions, thus relativizing the competitiveness between the individual municipalities and the importance of land as resource. Second, regional problems such as traffic transit could be more efficiently perceived and solved. As the examples of Rapperswil and Jona show, institutional amalgamation constitutes an efficient type of coordination. Institutional amalgamation mitigated the conflicts around infill development because the land available was increased and spatial functions properly distributed. Rapperswil was attributed the function of a centre promoting commercial and cultural activities and Jona the function of providing room for a population increase. Additionally, with institutional

amalgamation the financial competitiveness between the two municipalities disappeared because the administration was centralised. This seemed to positively enhance the horizontal coordination aimed by the federal authorities.

2. New **instruments for steering built-up area expansion** outside the building zones should be developed. First, there seems to be a conflict between the goal to preserve agricultural land and the goal to support the development of agriculture. Second, the policy analysis showed that the municipal councils usually do not have a general plan for urban development outside the building zones. New instruments should be designated to coordinate urban development outside the building zones and set targets concerning the optimal size of built-up area expansion and optimal density in order to limit urban sprawl. The formulation of a federal concept proposed in the last report on spatial planning (ARE 2005) could be the proper approach for regulating existing conflicts.

3. New **parameters for measuring infill development** should be selected. This study showed that one of the most important conflicts within subsystems concerns land-use intensity values. This conflict arisen from different belief systems. Both views sustain the idea that urban development should be possible with a limited expansion of built-up areas. This means that high-density development should be fostered. The conflict concerns the adequacy of land-use intensity values (Ausnutzungsziffer) as instrument for regulating the intensity of land-use. Land-use intensity values are obtained by dividing the parcel area by the total area covered by each floor of the buildings built on that parcel. Liberal coalitions favour higher land-use intensity values to optimise the efficiency of land use. Social democratic coalitions, however, prefer lower land-use intensity values to preserve the original structure of the residential areas and to protect green areas within these areas. Sustainable urban development requires balanced intensity of land use (ARE 2005). However, natural environments should not be affected by excessively intensive use. On the other hand, land should be used efficiently to preserve agricultural areas outside the building zone (ARE 2005). In Rapperswil,

the social democratic coalition proposed the introduction of a new regulative value to optimise the quality of infill development. The “green areas values” should set minimum values for green areas in residential areas because this is not considered in the land-use intensity values. The minimal land-use intensity values proposed in the planning report (ARE 2005) should be accompanied by new values regulating quality of the environment in the residential areas.

The research has shown that urban management can potentially steer urban change. The findings constitute a further step towards the improvement of efficiency in urban management, which is necessary to promote a sustainable development of urban land.

9. References

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