Planning for social sustainability

Mechanisms of social exclusion in densification through large-scale redevelopment projects in Swiss cities

Debrunner, Gabriela; Jonkman, Arend; Gerber, Jean-David

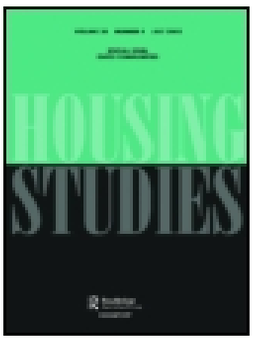
DOI
10.1080/02673037.2022.2033174

Publication date
2022

Document Version
Final published version

Published in
Housing Studies

Citation (APA)
Debrunner, G., Jonkman, A., & Gerber, J.-D. (2022). Planning for social sustainability: Mechanisms of social exclusion in densification through large-scale redevelopment projects in Swiss cities. *Housing Studies*, *39*(1), 146-167. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2022.2033174



Housing Studies

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/chos20

Planning for social sustainability: mechanisms of social exclusion in densification through large-scale redevelopment projects in Swiss cities

Gabriela Debrunner, Arend Jonkman & Jean-David Gerber

To cite this article: Gabriela Debrunner, Arend Jonkman & Jean-David Gerber (2022): Planning for social sustainability: mechanisms of social exclusion in densification through large-scale redevelopment projects in Swiss cities, Housing Studies, DOI: 10.1080/02673037.2022.2033174

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2022.2033174

HOUSING STUDIES
https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2022.2033174

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Planning for social sustainability: mechanisms of social exclusion in densification through large-scale redevelopment projects in Swiss cities

Gabriela Debrunner[a], Arend Jonkman[b], and Jean-David Gerber[a]

[a]Institute of Geography & Center for Regional Economic Development (CRED), University of Bern, Bern, Switzerland; [b]Department of Management in the Built Environment, Delft University of Technology, Delft, The Netherlands

ABSTRACT

In many cities, there has been renewed interest over the last 30 years in densification as part of wider efforts to combat urban sprawl. In daily practice, however, densification is a contested process because of its redistributive effects. Next to potential environmental advantages, it produces both benefits and losses for different individuals and households. The redistributive effects are an expression of conflicts between environmental, economic, and social dimensions of sustainability. We show that the latter is heavily impacted: if densification projects are not designed to the needs of people who are actually supposed to benefit from it—the residents—low-income groups are at risk of social displacement. This scenario is highly unsustainable. By using a neo-institutional approach and comparative case study methodology conducted in Switzerland, we analyze the institutional rules *and* the involved actors' strategies when dealing with densification projects. We explain the mechanisms leading to the loss of social qualities when competing with economic interests of investors and authorities.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 6 July 2020
Accepted 20 January 2022

KEYWORDS
Densification; new institutionalism; housing; social sustainability; gentrification

1. Introduction

In many cities of the global North, tensions between densification as a policy goal and its social implications on housing affordability, residential stability, or community cohesion have intensified in recent years (UN Habitat, 2016). Broitman & Koomen (2015, p. 32) define densification as 'a process leading to an increase in the number of households within existing municipal boundaries'. Increased use density—defined as the number of persons per square meter (Boyko & Cooper, 2011, p. 47)—is supposed to reduce individuals' overuse of natural resources, such as land, water, or energy (Holman et al., 2015). *Densification* is the *process* through which the

CONTACT Gabriela DEBRUNNER gabriela.debrunner@giub.unibe.ch Institute of Geography & Center for Regional Economic Development (CRED), University of Bern, Hallerstr. 12, Bern 3012, Switzerland

compact city model (in the US also termed 'new urbanism' or 'smart growth') is to be implemented.

In Switzerland, federal law has required municipalities to promote densification within existing municipal boundaries to protect agricultural land and to prevent urban sprawl since May 2014 (Art. 1 SPA[1]). Many redevelopment projects have led to the internal reconstruction of existing buildings to create more smaller units or have led to total redevelopment (Weilenmann et al., 2017). Consequently, a growing number of tenants living in rental housing are confronted with the situation of being evicted and displaced on short notice as they can no longer afford rents after densification and modernization (Davidson & Lees, 2005; FOH, 2019, p. 4). Lower-income residents are forced to leave central neighbourhoods for cheaper suburban areas (FOH, 2017).

We identify two lines of research related to the social implications of urban densification in the rental segment: first, a broad body of literature reflecting on the pros and cons of densification, both as a process and policy objective (*inter alia,* Holman et al., 2015; Touati-Morel, 2015). And, second, scientific work discussing the role of social sustainability in urban regeneration in general (*inter alia,* Ancell & Thompson-Fawcett, 2008; Bramley & Morgan, 2003; Burton, 2000, 2003; Vallance et al., 2011). However, a critical analysis which focuses on the socio-political dimensions of densification and its effects on tenants from a social sustainability perspective is largely missing (Pérez, 2020). As we will argue in the following sections, such an understanding is crucial so that densification projects are actually designed in a way that takes into account the needs and capabilities of those affected—the residents—and hopefully involve them in decision-making. Otherwise, low-income groups will disproportionately suffer displacement and exclusion (Jenks et al., 1996, p. 84).

In this article, our goals are twofold: first, we aim to explain *how* tenants are affected by densification through redevelopment projects from a social sustainability perspective. We focus on social consequences at the household level in line with emic research approaches that argue that the principal source of evidence concerning the sustainability of cities should be people themselves (Bramley et al., 2009; Zukin, 2009). Second, our goal is to detect the reasons for tenants' social exclusion in densification projects from a neoinstitutional perspective. More precisely, we analyze the local regulatory framework and the strategies of the actors involved (local authorities, investors, tenants, NGOs) to understand the mechanisms at play that potentially hamper a socially-sensitive implementation of densification. Specifically, we ask: 1) How are the impacts of urban densification through redevelopment projects on tenants to be analyzed from a social sustainability perspective? and 2) How do the institutions in force contribute to explain the outcomes of urban densification through redevelopment projects in terms of social exclusion?

These questions require the use of qualitative case study methodology (Yin, 2018). We conducted a comparative analysis of two Swiss cities – Zurich and Basel. Both cities are confronted with increasing densification pressure and tenant exclusion due to rising rents after redevelopment. By analyzing the institutional rules and decision-making behavior of the actors involved in two large-scale densification areas, we explain the reasons for possible trade-offs between economic, environmental, and social goals of densification. We show that preserving the cities' social

qualities is a serious challenge when competing with short-term economic interests of investors and local authorities. Finally, we discuss the consequences of our results for Swiss urban spatial planning.

2. Planning for social sustainability in a dense city

The point of departure of our analysis is that densification does not automatically lead to sustainable outcomes. Rather, it is important to consider how densification is planned and implemented and how involved actors have their say.

2.1. Impacts of urban densification on tenants

Although it has been more than thirty years since the Brundtland report's release and extensive academic literature was published on the concept of sustainable development, its social dimension has received little attention in policy, academia, and practice (Murphy, 2012). None of the social, ecological, or economic dimensions of sustainability is allowed to have the upper hand over the others if a development process is to be considered sustainable (Barbier, 1987).

Vallance et al. (2011, p. 344) argue that the residents' interpretation of their local environment is central for measuring sustainability. If in any densification process the social consequences are being downplayed—resulting in rising housing prices and exclusion—the resulting situation is not sustainable (Jenks et al., 1996, p. 84). Social exclusion is defined as a process leading to the (in)direct displacement of lower income groups, which in turn causes gentrification, social segregation, and social polarization (Lees, 2008, p. 2463). In contrast, socially inclusive development fosters 'an environment conductive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration, with improvements in the quality of life for all segments of the population' (Polese & Stren, 2000, p. 15f).

To contribute to a sustainable urban development, densification processes need to respect the 'places' and 'spaces' in which tenants live and are socially embedded in to preserve the city's long-term social stability and capital (Bramley et al., 2009; Lefebvre, 1991). Thus, for densification to be truly sustainable, it has to esteem tenants' basic needs and the specific social relations, values, customs, and structures of the place they live in (Chiu, 2004, p. 66). This resident-oriented sustainability approach (Townroe, 1996) acknowledges that social sustainability is indeed a community level concern, but it depends on the extent to which individuals can contribute to it (Elsinga et al., 2020). The principal source of evidence concerning the social sustainability of cities should be people themselves (Zukin, 2009). This approach considers it to be unrealistic to formulate comprehensive universal social sustainability standards considering the great socio-cultural and geographical diversities of human settlements (Chiu, 2004, p. 75).

While each of the indicators of social sustainability (Table 1) may be regarded as conceptually distinct, it is clear that there are various connections between them (Chiu, 2004, p. 65). The indicators introduced in Table 1 were obtained by

Table 1. Indicators of socially-sustainable densification of urban housing stocks from a tenant-oriented perspective (Burton, 2003, p. 547; Chiu, 2004, p. 69; Stone, 2006; Ancell & Thompson-Fawcett, 2008, p. 432; Bramley & Power, 2009, p. 33; Fainstein, 2010; Mulliner et al., 2013, p. 275; Weingaertner & Moberg, 2014, p. 127; IFHP, 2019).

Dimensions of social sustainability in a densification process		Indicator [operational indicators]
Social	Community cohesion	– Residential stability [years of residency in the neighborhood] – Community spirit and social interaction [residents' perceived level of friendliness; number of social networks and contacts (knowing people) within the neighborhood; perceived satisfaction with the social involvement in community activities and support; perceived satisfaction with the social mix of the neighborhood; perceived level of social attachment to the neighborhood]
	Citizenship & Decision-making	– Local democracy, participation, and empowerment [transparency and regularity of communication between investor, municipality, and residents; protection of residents' housing needs provided by local housing, planning, and tenure security legislations]
Socio-economic	Housing Affordability	– Rental costs in relation to monthly income ratio [%] – Residual income standard [interaction between incomes, housing costs, and non-housing necessities per person]
	Housing Availability and -Accessibility	– Availability of non-profit housing [share of non-profit housing of the total housing stock of the municipality, length of waiting lists in the non-profit housing sector] – Access criteria to housing units [access criteria related to age, gender, income, etc.]
Socio-ecologic	Housing quality *in* and *around* the building	– Perceived satisfaction of residents with the quality of the dwelling [perceived satisfaction with the size of home, distribution of rooms, location, rent, facilities, physical condition of the apartment and the building, daylight] – Perceived satisfaction of residents with the living quality of the local environment, namely the availability and access to facilities and amenities [perceived satisfaction with open-, free spaces & parks; noise & air pollution; perceived availability of daily use shops and other services such as banks or post offices; leisure facilities; schools and child care; health facilities; waste and disposal options; transport nodes; employment opportunities; perceived safety during nighttime; perceived level of cleanliness; facilities for disabled people; perceived satisfaction with the urban character and the local lifestyle]

synthesizing selected academic and policy literature with the ambition of highlighting key aspects of interest for social sustainability in relation to densification and urban housing development from a tenant's perspective. They were supplemented by our own experience working with residents, local authorities, housing suppliers, and community organizations in Switzerland and the Netherlands.

The affordability of housing is the key dimension for the social sustainability of housing for households (Jonkman, 2021). Moreover, the availability and quality of housing are also crucial to assess (Mulliner et al., 2013). In many cases, residents could afford to pay for housing but remain excluded because of limited availability of housing or discrimination. Housing availability is always measured in connection with a specific price range and a given moment in time. Issues of housing availability become particularly relevant when many rental contracts have been terminated simultaneously in the same area (IFHP, 2019). The quality of housing is of central

importance when issues of overcrowding, inadequacy, and poor design impact people's lives (Ancell & Thompson-Fawcett, 2008). It describes whether residents live in housing conditions that fail to meet physical standards of decency or at unsafe or inaccessible locations (Stone, 2006). It is linked with several attributes (e.g. access to services and facilities) which influence a household's perception of affordability (Mulliner et al., 2013). Finally, community cohesion is used as an indicator to describe the level of residents' social attachment to the local community. A stable community is regarded as a necessary capability of a community to sustain itself (Chiu, 2004). Citizenship describes the residents' inclusion in local decision-making, which provides information on whether the tenants can express their views and needs on a formal level (Fainstein, 2010).

2.2. An institutional perspective on social exclusion

Supporting tenants' housing opportunities in general, and social inclusion in densification projects in particular, has largely been assumed to be the responsibility of the public sector, more specifically of local authorities as they guide, structure, or regulate the use of urban space (Holman et al., 2015). As Healey (2007) highlights, however, the social impacts of densification are to be seen as results of a complex process of governance which is to be understood as the interplay between the regulatory framework and the decision-making behavior of the actors involved.

Formal and informal institutions inform the institutional opportunity structure within which actors develop their strategies (Vatn, 2005). These 'rules of the game' shape the governance of the resource. The institutionalist perspective is therefore well suited for research on housing, as its existence is dependent on a variety of formal rules, plans, and procedures, as well as informal rules, routines, traditions, and ideologies.

New institutionalism theorizes the role of formal and informal rules, as well as other social structures (traditions, patterns of behaviours, cognitive frameworks mediated by ideologies, worldviews) that are determinant of—and emergent from—the actions of the individuals (Hall & Taylor, 1996). Contrary to classic institutionalism, which tends to appraise institutions in a descriptive legalistic manner (Thelen, 2003), the new institutionalist perspective postulates a mutual interaction between actors and institutions, with both influencing each other (Lowndes, 1996).

Besides public officials, other groups such as lobbyists, landowners, developers, and residents play a crucial role in the decision-making process. These actors influence the outcomes of densification, including the emergence of gentrification processes. Each actor defends his/her interests through the strategic activation of specific public or private formal rules. Landowners, for instance, are most often in a position of power due to the strong constitutional protection of their property rights. On private plots, public objectives, including spatial planning goals, only get implemented when titleholders agree to undertake a new development, sell their land or transfer their development rights (Gerber et al., 2018). Consequently, in many cases, the landowner has much discretion in defining the profit-margin to be targeted on the parcel (optimization of rental yields). Such commodification strategies (Aalbers,

2017), however, may hamper tenants' social inclusion and result in the promotion of housing based on its financial value rather than its use value (Rolnik, 2013).

To sum up, the socially-sensitive implementation of densification is the result of a socio-political negotiation process which is shaped by the local regulatory framework stipulated in formal rules (e.g. legislations, codes, ordinances) *and* the strategic behavior of the actors involved (Nicol & Knoepfel, 2008). Codominant use interests between residents, investors, and local authorities and their strategic formulation and activation of specific formal rules, result in benefits for some (e.g. increased housing options, business opportunities) and losses for others (e.g. displacement, insecure tenure, community disruption) (Marcuse, 1985).

3. Study design & methods

To analyze the challenging implementation of densification objectives in terms of social sustainability within its real-world context, we conducted in-depth qualitative case studies (Yin, 2018).

3.1. Case selection

In Swiss cities, the tensions between densification objectives and tenants' interests have intensified in recent years, especially since the revision of Federal Spatial Planning Act (SPA) in 2013 obliging the over 2000 municipalities to densify within city boundaries. An increasing number of people suffer from social displacement after modernization as a consequence of densification (FOH, 2019, p. 4). As the country is regarded as a nation of tenants with the lowest homeownership rate in Europe (Lawson, 2009), a growing number of inhabitants living in the private rental market is at risk to be evicted on short notice due to decisions taken by the landowner (Rérat, 2012). In Switzerland, the municipality is the actor responsible to coordinate densification. Local planning authorities grant the building permits to private landowners. Building applications need to align with the Local Zoning Plan (Linder, 1994).

To understand how the social dimension of sustainability is shaped in a context of densification, we selected two cases—the Swiss municipalities of Zurich and Basel— to analyze two different governance approaches towards socially-inclusive densification. Although the cities Zurich and Basel face similar housing challenges (Table 2) (Balmer & Gerber, 2018), they both follow different strategies to handle these challenges based on a different mix of policy instruments. In both cases, the municipality's strategy relies both on public law (land-use planning, housing policy) and private law (contracts, land acquisition, ban on disposal of public land).

3.2. Project selection

To evaluate the social sustainability in urban densification from a tenant's perspective (research question 1), we further selected two large-scale densification areas within the cities of Zurich and Basel. In this project-based approach, we investigated social sustainability 'from the ground up, as it actually exists in local places, and as a set of evolving practices' (Krueger & Agyeman, 2005, p. 416).

Table 2. Housing market characteristics in Zurich and Basel-City (Statistical Offices Zurich and Basel City, 2017, 2019, 2020; FOSD, 2017, p. 25).

	Population in absolute numbers (2019)	Estimated population growth & demographic change	Share of buildable lots within city boundaries (2017)	Owner-occupied housing (including condominium) (%)	Private rental housing (%)	Non-profit rental housing (incl. coops and public housing) (%)
City of Zurich	428'700 (around 1 Mio. including suburban areas)	+21% by 2030, significant increase of 10-19 and 40-49 years old	9% (for housing purposes only)	47.2%	28%	24.9%
City of Basel	178'445 (around 800'000 including suburban areas)	+10% by 2040, significant increase of children (10-19 years) and 40-49 years old	9% (for housing purposes only)	49.7%	36.1%	13.5%

Specifically, the densification projects—Zurich Brunaupark and Basel Schorenweg—were selected as they are both owned by the same institutional investor (Credit Suisse [CS] pension fund). The share owned by institutional investors such as CS makes up 63% of the total housing property in Swiss cities (FOH, 2017, p. 14). CS projects in Zurich and Basel were both *ongoing* at the time of investigation (between March and November 2019), which is why the actors involved (local authorities, investors, tenants, NGOs) could be directly confronted with the decisions and actions taken.

Zurich Brunaupark is a settlement built in the 1980/90s and is composed of four buildings with 239 apartments and approximately 400 residents. The investor plans to densify the area through demolishment and total reconstruction of the existing buildings in 2023. The new settlement will count an additional 258 apartments, 497 in total (Schoop et al., 2020, p. 18). Many households (47%) consist of multiple adults without children. 42% of the households have been living in the project for over 15 years. Basel Schorenweg was built in 1961 and counts 196 apartments with around 300 residents in total. CS plans to densify the two existing buildings via total internal reconstruction with smaller housing units in 2021 (Laur, 2019, p. 21). A high share of the residents in both projects can be classified as elderly and/or as single households (Table 3). In March 2019, the approximately 1085 tenants of Brunaupark and Schorenweg were informed of the termination of their rental contract by CS.

3.3. Methods

The data of our study was collected through qualitative methods. We proceeded in two steps: *first*, we analyzed how tenants living in the areas in question (Brunaupark and Schorenweg) are affected by densification through redevelopment from a social sustainability perspective. We conducted a household survey with 412 households living in the settlements to gain a broad understanding of their perspectives. The survey incorporated the social sustainability indicators presented in section 2.1 and included both open and multiple-choice questions. The open questions were used to gain a richer understanding of the households' perspectives on how tenants are

Table 3. Socio-economic profile and household types of tenants in Zurich Brunaupark and Basel Schorenweg.

	Zurich Brunaupark	Basel Schorenweg
Socio-economic profile and household types		
Single person, under 35	3%	7%
Single person, 35 to 65	15%	10%
Single person, 65 or older	8%	43%
Two or more person household (no children), all under 35	7%	–
Two or more person household (no children), not all under 35 or over 65	25%	12%
Two or more person household (no children), all 65 or older	15%	12%
Couple with children, youngest child 6 or younger	12%	7%
Couple with children, youngest child 7 or older	8%	7%
Single parent, youngest child 6 or younger	–	2%
Single parent, youngest child under 7 or older	5%	–
Years of residence in the settlement		
<1 year	7%	5%
1-4 years	5%	24%
4-10 years	25%	24%
10-15 years	20%	17%
>15 years	42%	31%

affected by densification plans. The multiple-choice questions were used to further underline household positions, but the analysis remains qualitative in nature. We opted for a self-completion postal and digital survey method (with one reminder) and managed to achieve a respectable 25% response rate (101 responses in total). In designing the questionnaire, we considered the existing body of literature as well as a number of national surveys covering similar topics. In *a second step*, we analyzed the institutional rules in force as well as the involved actors decision-making behavior, focusing on the tenants, the landowners, and the local authorities. We started with a broad screening of local policy documents to analyze the interface between urban densification and social sustainability. We included government reports, legislation, and parliamentary debates primarily published within the last decade. We also incorporated newspaper articles, project documents, and 'grey literature' to understand the actors' strategies and objectives behind specific formal rules. Finally, we performed ten semi-structured expert interviews with representatives from five local public authority departments, three local tenants' associations, and two CS portfolio managers. All experts were chosen due to their detailed understanding and knowledge of the studied projects.

4. The tensions between densification and social exclusion

4.1. Impacts of densification on tenants from a social sustainability perspective

4.1.1. Community cohesion

In Zurich Brunaupark and Basel Schorenweg, the majority of the residents have lived in the settlement for over 15 years (Table 3). Many of them state that they feel strongly socially embedded in the neighborhood as they have spent their everyday life with family members, neighbors, and friends in this space and share a lot

of memories. In particular, families with children as well as the elderly fear losing social support and contacts through dismissal. They perceive a common sense of home, local identity, and embeddedness and are not willing to leave (see e.g. Figure A1).

> We live in a small village here. People know each other. Everyone helps each other. We have a good social life and connectivity.[…] We live together very peacefully and quietly (Tenant Zurich Brunaupark, 73 years, June 2019).[2]

4.1.2. Housing affordability

According to the CS marketing department, the rents after densification and modernization in Brunaupark will increase by 60%. For example, a 3.5 room apartment (75 m^2) which today costs 1700 CHF per month (gross rent) will be offered for 2720 CHF. In Basel Schorenweg, the rents for the new apartments will rise by +50%. Here, a 3.5 room dwelling which today costs 1200 CHF per month (gross rent) will be offered for around 1800 CHF. In both projects, the bank legitimizes the rent increase with the argument that the dwellings are centrally located and substantial modernization will be obtained resulting in higher living quality for the residents (Credit Suisse Zurich, 2020).

As a consequence, some tenants in Brunaupark and Schorenweg state that they will not be able to afford a new apartment in the modernized housing project anymore. Especially the low-income and elderly, who have lived in their dwellings for many years, indicate that they will have to move to cheaper areas outside city boundaries.

> I will lose my center of life. I will not be able to find an affordable apartment at such a central location anymore (Tenant Basel Schorenweg, 55 years, June 2019).

4.1.3. Housing availability and accessibility

In Zurich, tenants who are in need of finding low-cost housing within the city (e.g. due to their workplace) can rely on the support of the non-profit housing sector (public and non-profit housing cooperatives). Otherwise, rents on the for-profit housing market are too expensive for them. In the city of Zurich, however, waiting lists for non-profit housing units are long. People sometimes have to wait for several months and up to years to get access to an available subsidized apartment (Martel, 2020). Even if they are elderly or in a precarious living situation, available apartments in the non-profit housing sector are not offered to socially-evicted tenants immediately or with priority. Consequently, for the majority of tenants living in Zurich Brunaupark, moving to cheaper suburban areas remains the only option to find housing.

> We will not find such an affordable flat in the city center anymore. All cooperative housing associations have long waiting lists and for some it is even not possible to apply anymore. (Tenant Zurich Brunaupark, 42 years, June 2019).

Even tenants with higher incomes who would be able to afford higher rents are not allowed to stay in Brunaupark. CS has decided they do not receive priority

access to the new dwellings even though they have lived in the settlement for many years, regardless of the family situation, age, gender, income, or workplace (Interviewee 5, CS portfolio manager Zurich, July 8, 2019).

Similar to Zurich, in Basel it has become difficult for evicted renters to find something adequate within the city center (Statistics Basel-City, 2019, p. 13). To find affordable housing on short notice, tenants also rely on the support of Basel's non-profit housing associations. These organizations, however, have long waiting lists too and do not prioritize elderly, families, or socially-dismissed households (Martel, 2020). Also similar to Zurich, even tenants who would be able to afford the new rents in the densified settlement will not be able to stay in Basel Schorenweg. They will neither receive an alternative apartment which they could move to during reconstruction nor get prior access to a new dwelling. Therefore, regardless of being high- or low-income, moving to retirement homes (which have long waiting lists too) or to cheaper suburban areas remains the only option for tenants living in Basel Schorenweg (Beck & Schulthess, 2019).

4.1.4. Housing quality in and around the building

Tenants living in Zurich Brunaupark do not recognize a need for modernization. The buildings were internally renovated in 2012, with new kitchens, bathrooms, and flooring installed (Schoop et al., 2020, p. 18), and tenants perceive the physical condition of their dwellings and the surrounding neighborhood as being high quality. In particular, they are satisfied with the size, the location, and the services within and around Brunaupark (see e.g. Figures A2 and A3).

> I totally cannot understand why these buildings which are in very good physical shape will be demolished. Especially in Zurich municipality which aims to reach the goals of a green and sustainable city (Tenant Zurich Brunaupark, 78 years, February 2020).

Similar to in Zurich Brunaupark, residents in Schorenweg do not understand why urban regeneration of their apartments is needed at all. In 2002, the buildings were fully internally renovated. The modernization included the installation of new bathrooms, kitchens, floors, and window insulation to improve energy efficiency. In addition, the roof and gutters were renewed in 2010 and in 2015 the eight elevators were fully refurbished (Laur, 2019). Hence, residents living in Schorenweg perceive the physical condition of their apartments as being of high construction and housing quality. They also appreciate the access to green and open spaces as well as to services in the surrounding neighborhood. Thus, overall, 'no construction measures are effectively needed' (Interviewee 10, Head of Local Tenants Association Basel, June 26, 2019).

4.1.5. Citizenship & decision-making

Tenants of Zurich Brunaupark and Basel Schorenweg do not feel they have been adequately involved in the local decision-making process. Neither have they been informed about the up-coming dismissal in advance, nor have they been involved in the negotiation process between the city government and the investor from the beginning. For example, until contract termination, they had not known about the

upcoming densification procedure and rent increase at all. Information exchange only took place between CS and the city authorities. Therefore, tenants in both settlements do not feel adequately supported by the city council (executive) and local public administration. They feel left on their own in finding a new apartment and in coping with their current living situation.

> We were surprised when we received the contract termination. Our government just observes and does not intervene (Tenant of Basel Schorenweg, 60 years, June 2019).

Overall, the results of the surveys show that the indicators of social sustainability are not met in both densification areas. The tenants are neither able to afford the apartments after densification, nor do they expect to be able to maintain their local social networks. They are forced to leave their dwellings, even if many of them face difficulties in finding alternative housing options in the city. The densification procedures strongly disrupt their social stability and cohesion in the neighborhood. Results also show that tenants' perspectives have not been formally addressed either. The decision of whether, how, and for the benefit of whom densification was actually needed was explicitly made between the investor and the city council. This shows that urban planning in the age of densification does not or only insufficiently take the interests of the residents into account, even though they are the primary targets of densification.

4.2. Institutional rules and actors' strategies

In this section, we analyze the institutional mechanisms leading to the situation presented in the previous section. To understand the reasons behind the described social outcomes, we analyze the institutional rules and the involved actors' decision-making behavior. For each city, first, we emphasize aspects of planning and energy policy because of their significant impact on housing (re)development. Second, objectives of housing and social welfare policy are explored. Finally, we address the role of private law (property rights, tenancy matters).

4.2.1. Zurich-City government

On November 1, 2018, the revision of Zurich's Local Zoning Plan came into force. Based on the revised legislation, the city council initiated planning measures such as the introduction of densification zones to effectively promote population growth through internal settlement development and efficient use of energy (Zurich City Council, 2013, p. 5). In Zurich Brunaupark, for example, the revised zoning plan has led to a situation in which the investor became allowed to double the number of apartments on the same parcel (by +258 additional apartments to 496 in total). The redevelopment of existing housing stocks is presented as needed as free inner-city brownfield areas are missing in Zurich and new construction on greenfield has become restricted since the introduction of the revised Federal SPA (City of Zurich 2016, 2019a, b).

> In future terms, and nowadays already, population growth is only possible through demolition and reconstruction of existing housing stocks in the city of Zurich. (Interviewee 2, City of Zurich, Urban Development Department, July 31, 2019).

Simultaneously, the fulfillment of social policy objectives such as the provision of affordable, stable, and secure housing is guaranteed by the 'Housing Article' in the Constitution of the Municipality of Zurich.[3] According to the Municipal Constitution (Art. 2, Para. 4), by 2050, the city council must have ensured that a third of the total housing stock aligns with cost-rent principles to counteract social exclusion processes.

> There is a process of social exclusion going on in Zurich. If housing property has been renovated, demolished, and brought to the market again, the price for the same apartment with a higher standard has doubled. […] We have a constant struggle of gentrification in the city (Interviewee 3, City of Zurich, Housing Department, May 3, 2019).

To achieve this ambitious goal, during the last decade, the city government has followed an interventionist housing policy strategy to promote affordable housing, for instance by purchasing private land for public housing or by providing long-term building leases on public land and supply-side subsidies to non-profit cooperatives (Interviewee 2, City of Zurich, Urban Development Department, July 31, 2019). Overall, with these housing and planning policy measures, Zurich's local government aims to constantly increase the share of non-profit housing property within city boundaries (Zurich City Council, 2017, p. 4ff).

Our analysis reveals that, in daily practice, the promotion of 'social sustainability' criteria (e.g. residential stability) does not solely rely on local housing and planning policy. In Zurich, the building permit for each private housing project is approved and controlled by the municipal planning department. In case the project is of certain importance (e.g. due to its location) and size, the planning authority may receive recommendations from the Local Building Committee [LBC]. The committee is part of the planning department (Art. 53 MC) but also consists of external experts (mainly architects). Its role is to advise the city council and the local planning department in questions of urban planning, design, and architecture. In Zurich Brunaupark, the committee advised the authorities to approve a total area reconstruction rather than partial redevelopment to ensure an improved and uniform architectural quality of the settlement (Zurich City Council, 2019a). The fulfillment of social objectives, e.g. in relation to tenant inclusion, community cohesion, or housing affordability, was not part of their project evaluation.

> In Zurich, this [the collaboration with the local building committee] is called 'cooperative planning'. However, in Brunaupark, they only evaluated the project based on design standards. Social parameters were not included at all (Interviewee 5, Head of Local Tenants Association Zurich, May 2019).

Moreover, the implementation of social objectives does not rely only on the local government's own prerogatives. This is because in Switzerland, in general, the rights of private homeowners are strongly protected by constitutional law in international comparison. The right to own property is protected as a fundamental right which can only be restricted if an overweighing public interest exists (Art. 22ter CSC[4]). As holder of property rights, CS does not only have the right to control and to make decisions about the housing stock. It also has the right to obtain at least a

portion of the financial benefits produced by the housing stock. In the rental sector, Swiss courts interpret the weight of public interest narrowly so that property restrictions or expropriations are rare in international comparison (Alterman, 2010). The rights of tenants (Art. 253-274 OC[5]), in contrast, are regarded as weakly protected by law in comparison to neighbouring states such as Austria or Germany (GFOBRP, 2016). For example, landowners are allowed to terminate an open-ended rent contract within three months without any specific reason, regardless of the tenants' strength of social integration, age, or years of residency in the neighbourhood. In Brunaupark, CS does not need to comply with rent levels for the new housing construction and is allowed to set the new rents according to market prices. They also do not need to follow legal restrictions for dismissal of elderly or economically weak households. Because the local planning department can only guide housing development, the responsibility to decide on the profit margin and social goals to be targeted on private parcels to a large extent lies with the developers.

> Normally, the property owner has already decided whether they demolish the housing stock or not. The only thing we can do is to advise them. We cannot do more than this (Interviewee 4, Head of Planning Department, October 24, 2019).

Based on these legal conditions, on June 12, 2019, Zurich's executive city council decided *not* to approve the objections submitted by the municipal parliament and the local tenants' association (see following sections). Their decision based on the argument that 'the introduction of a special land use plan would be equal to a restriction of private ownership. Such restriction of property rights, however, would be disproportionate and therefore illegal' (Zurich City Council, 2019b, p. 3). Finally, on March 10, 2020, the city council fully approved CS's building permit for Brunaupark (Huber, 2020).

4.2.2. Basel-City government

In 2018 the city of Basel started its political debates on the revision of the Local Zoning Act.[6] The city council aimed to introduce 'planning measures which lead to a density increase at inner-city locations to promote housing space for an additional 5000 residents under the paradigm of green energy consumption' (Basel-City Council, 2018, p. 1). To meet this goal, the local government has introduced a progressive housing policy strategy. In practice, this means that the city council (executive) tries to purchase land for public housing and has expanded its collaboration with non-profit housing associations and institutional investors (e.g. via urban development contracts) to increase the share of affordable housing (Basel-City Council, 2016, p. 38). Furthermore, the municipal government provides demand-side subsidies to low-income residents (Basel-City Council, 2016, p. 38).

In Basel Schorenweg, however, the above-mentioned local planning and housing policy measures have not succeeded in preserving the social qualities of the area. Tenants are being dismissed, even though the city council has tried to purchase the land in Basel Schorenweg for the provision of social housing units. In fact, they could not accomplish the purchase as CS's price request was too high for the city government (Interviewee 10, Credit Suisse portfolio manager Basel, September 12,

2019). In spring 2020, the city council granted the building permit and rejected the objections submitted by residents and the local tenant association. The decision was legitimized by the argument that Schorenweg is private property and the densification measures announced by CS would take place within the regular Local Zoning Act (Basel-City Council, 2018).

4.3. Credit suisse's development strategy

In Zurich Brunaupark and Basel Schorenweg, CS has decided to densify the existing housing stock as both areas are centrally located. The possibility to raise density stipulated by the Local Zoning Acts has created attractive investment conditions in both cities (Interviewees 6 and 10, CS portfolio managers in Zurich, July 8, 2019 and Basel, September 12, 2019).

> We decided to create more housing units through densification. […] We prefer to invest money at central locations which are well connected to transport nodes (Interviewee 6, Credit Suisse portfolio manager Zurich, July 8, 2019).

In Basel Schorenweg, for instance, by 2040, it is estimated that the area will grow by 1000 new housing units. In 2009, the local planning authority authorized the construction of two new housing high-rise buildings in the area as well as a new school (Basel-City Council, 2009). By the end of 2018, these two buildings were completed (Oppliger, 2016). In March 2019, CS decided to densify the Schorenweg area as they aimed to benefit these improved urban development and asset conditions (Interviewee 10, Credit Suisse portfolio manager Basel, September 12, 2019).

Even though CS was aware in both settlements that the buildings had been renovated only a few years ago and a lot of criticism against the planning procedure was raised, they decided to invest money at these central locations and modernize the apartments. The overall aim was to benefit from the high return on investment resulting from increased rents at an attractive location.

> It is a fact that the rents will increase. […] In the end, however, the buildings are newly renovated with less financial expenses for maintenance costs. (Interviewee 10, Credit Suisse portfolio manager Basel, September 12, 2019).

Interestingly, in Zurich Brunaupark, CS states that they initially planned to densify via partial redevelopment, rather than total reconstruction, to protect social qualities (Interviewee 6, CS portfolio manager Zurich, July 8, 2019). However, the Local Building Committee disapproved this proposal. As a consequence, CS decided to dismiss the residents and to demolish the existing housing stock to be able to build a totally new and architecturally homogenous settlement.

> The local building committee told us that Brunaupark settlement is too heterogenous. […] Therefore, we changed our decision and aimed to perform a uniformed area redevelopment (Interviewee 6, Credit Suisse portfolio manager Zurich, July 8, 2019).

4.3.1. Tenants' and local NGOs resistance strategies

As a result of the socio-economic challenges tenants are confronted with due to densification and upgrading, in Zurich Brunaupark, on March 12, 2019, a group of tenants founded a local self-help initiative to make their protest visible. Today, the 'Brunaupark tenants association' [BTA] counts around 120 members and aims 'to secure stable, affordable, and socially-mixed housing for all income segments in the settlement' (BTA, 2019a). The association has organized street rallies and initiated a local petition which over 5700 citizens signed within one month (Interviewee 1, Head of Brunaupark Tenants Association, June 13, 2019). Specifically, the local petition called for a legal rejection[7] of the contract terminations (BTA, 2019b). Simultaneously, left-wing parties of the municipal parliament (strongly supported by the local tenants association) initiated a referendum which aimed to introduce a 'special land use zone'[8] for the Brunaupark area. The introduction of such a zone would have put the municipal parliament in charge of approving development projects rather than the city council only (Zurich Municipal Parliament, 2019).

Similar to Zurich, in Basel Schorenweg, in March 2019, 96 households submitted a lawsuit against unfair contract dismissal to make their rights visible. Moreover, in June 2019, Leilani Farha, UN special rapporteur on adequate housing, visited the settlements of Zurich Brunaupark and Basel Schorenweg as part of her Europe tour. To help the residents, she wrote an advisory letter to the Swiss Federal Office for Foreign Affairs on behalf of UN. Main topic of the letter was the unfair treatment of tenants, particularly, in regard to their eviction on short-notice and the precarious housing situation for elderly and low-income households (Sturzenegger, 2020). As we have described above, however, none of these attempts were supported by the city authorities in Zurich or Basel.

5. Mechanisms leading to residents' social exclusion

In this article, our first goal was to explain how tenants are affected by densification from a social sustainability perspective and to understand how their positions are integrated into local decision making. Second, we analyzed the strategies developed by local authorities, property owners, and local NGOs to defend their interests in each institutional setting. This allows us to explain how and why trade-offs between environmental, economic, and social goals of densification take place.

Our analysis reveals that in Zurich Brunaupark and Basel Schorenweg, municipal authorities approve CS plans since the investor acts within the regular zoning plan. According to the protection guaranteed by the Swiss Constitution, no legitimate reason for private housing property restriction exists. In other words, in both cities, CS acts within the limits of the law—a law that is not targeting the protection of tenants according to the current balance of interests decided by the courts—and the authorities in charge of granting building permits renounce to interfere. This is also due to a clear bias in favor of modernization for some members of the political or administrative organs, as public actors are not homogenous. CS thus seeks to benefit from the densification potentials guaranteed by the Local Zoning Act. The bank acknowledges densification as lucrative business as mortgage rates are low at

the moment and the pressure to invest capital is increasing. Under the premise that the demand for housing will continue to be high, investment risks are minimal and urban densification is all the more profitable. Investment costs, in turn, can be amortized in the very short term. As a result, under the 'flag' of densification as a public policy goal, CS realizes redevelopment projects with high return on investment. As long as developers are not legally obliged to do so, neither in Zurich nor Basel, they will feel compelled to support tenants' social inclusion.

To counteract private investors' development practices, municipal authorities have started to intervene more proactively in housing development in Zurich and Basel. For example, city authorities in both municipalities have introduced new housing policy measures such as increased subsidies for non-profit housing associations. Moreover, local planners have also worked *with* property rights. In Basel Schorenweg, for example, the planning administration tried to purchase the private plot in Schorenweg but the price requested by CS was deemed too high. To legitimize such an acquisition strategy, broad political support is needed, which is often lacking. As a consequence, city authorities have neglected the social dimension of densification in Zurich Brunaupark and Basel Schorenweg.

In contrast to social objectives, which investors and municipal authorities (executive power) tend to perceive as a barrier to the economic development of cities, ecologic goals of densification generate investment opportunities. This explains why both parties come to an agreement on the implementation of densification that neglects its social side. In fact, social inquiries make planning procedures more expensive for investors and public actors and potentially prevent the comprehensive urban renewal projects that planning administrations are supporting (see Brunaupark case). As a result, the Swiss legal context, characterized by strongly protected property rights and weak tenancy law, has led to a situation where the real estate industry and municipal authorities work hand in hand to promote densification as 'Eco-Business' at the expense of its social dimension.

Our results show that long-term residents in Brunaupark and Schorenweg find themselves evicted as they are no longer able to afford the new rents of their modernized and densified dwellings. They are forced to leave urban centers because of the lack of affordable alternatives. This process of social exclusion contributes to the constant erosion of social relations and contacts to family members, neighbors, and friends. In Brunaupark and Schorenweg, residents feel that their perspectives as tenants have not been respected by municipal authorities, particularly since their legal objections (e.g. against unfair dismissal) have been rejected in both cities. Even though they tried to resist through street rallies, formal petitions, or the collaboration with the local tenants association, they did not succeed in defending their interests and faced discrimination because of their low-income status.

6. Conclusion

Even though densification has become a core objective of urban policy agendas across the globe, critical analysis of its socio-political limitations, challenges, and contradictions, particularly in regard to its effects on tenants from a social-sustainability perspective is largely missing (Ancell & Thompson-Fawcett, 2008; Burton, 2003;

Pérez, 2020). This article addresses this gap in the literature and focuses on the social implications of densification through redevelopment, therefore indirectly contributing to the understanding of *how* social qualities of a city can be sustained effectively.

Based on two Swiss examples, we show that the current way of implementing densification objectives can be far from socially sustainable. Even though both cities seem to follow a rather active housing and planning policy approach to promote socially-inclusive housing in a context of urban densification, our results show that it is not enough to prevent social exclusion effectively. This is because a powerful coalition between private landowners and municipal authorities promote densification as an 'Eco-Business' by coupling urban competitiveness with ecologic viability goals, while neglecting social aspects. This coalition tends to jeopardize the very social qualities which are a city's basis for community-based initiatives and solidarity-creating capacities. Low-income groups, including old-aged, young families, or student households, become the victims of powerful forces of capitalist urbanization and differential spending power.

Beyond case-based specificities, our findings have potential for generalization, which is based on the identified causal mechanisms. The causal links explain why the social dimension of sustainability tends to be bypassed in densification procedures. While landowners' profit-making interests are strongly protected by law in Switzerland, tenants do not experience the same legal protection of their needs for affordable housing. It is reasonable to hypothesize that cities in other national settings where property rights are strongly protected may also experience a similarly skewed distribution of power and comparable interpretation of densification as an eco-business opportunity.

Different strategies can be proposed to make densification more socially sustainable: the introduction of quotas for affordable housing, public subsidies for non-profit housing cooperatives, eviction controls, etc. An effort can be made to properly activate existing instruments: making densification more socially sustainable is not only a matter of inventing new policy instruments, but also of the ability of public administrations to familiarize with the full range of existing intervention possibilities. Sometimes the implementation of more social measures might have to be done at the expense of architectural quality and homogeneity, but this might be something redevelopment proponents may have to learn to live with, as reconstruction is always more expensive than soft adaptation of existing buildings.

Residents could be involved more actively in decision-making. Stricter control mechanisms in relation to occupancy rate or income levels in non-profit housing units could also be activated. Practitioners should also not limit information exchanges and consultation with actors who have a right of appeal, but should include all affected actors, including the large proportion of residents who do not/cannot vote. To ensure the inclusion of local knowledge, municipal planners could encourage owners to share and to discuss ideas about upcoming projects *before* officially submitting a building permit application. Greater awareness of the detrimental social implications of densification through redevelopment and implementation of proactive measures to counteract them could also improve the acceptance of densification and prevent NIMBY-responses (Scally & Tighe, 2015). Sustainable

urban development calls for economic stability, environmental protection, *and* social sustainability. Not just the one or the other.

Notes

1. Federal Act on Spatial Planning (SPA) of 22 June 1979 (CC 700).
2. All quotes have been translated from German by the authors.
3. Zurich Municipal Constitution of November 24, 2013 (MC 101.100).
4. Swiss Civil Code of December 10,1907 (CC 210).
5. Federal Act on the Amendment of the Swiss Civil Code (Obligations Code; OC) of 30 March 1911 (CC 220).
6. Basel-City Local Zoning Act of November 17,1999 (LZA 730.100).
7. In reality, the legal basis that would legitimize such an intervention is very slim.
8. Special land use zones are designated to areas of increased public interest in which spatial development can take place outside the regular zoning plan.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

ORCID

Arend Jonkman http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8928-2846
Jean-David Gerber http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9111-9071

References

Aalbers, M. (2017) The variegated financialization of housing, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 41, pp. 542–554.
Alterman, R. (2010) *Takings International. A Comparative Perspective on Land Use Regulations and Compensation Rights* (Chicago: ABA Publications).
Ancell, S. & Thompson-Fawcett, M. (2008) The social sustainability of medium density housing: A conceptual model and Christchurch case study, *Housing Studies*, 23, pp. 423–442.
Balmer, I. & Gerber, J. D. (2018) Why are housing cooperatives successful? Insights from Swiss affordable housing policy, *Housing Studies*, 33, pp. 361–385.
Barbier, E. (1987) The concept of sustainable economic development, *Environmental Conservation*, 14, pp. 101–110.
Basel-City Council (2009) *Areal Schoren. Ratschlag Festsetzung eines Bebauungsplans* (Basel: Stadtverwaltung Basel).
Basel-City Council (2016) *Wohnraumentwicklungsstrategie des Kantons Basel-Stadt 2012-2016* (Basel: Stadtverwaltung Basel).
Basel-City Council (2018) *Zonenplanrevision Teil II: Ratschlag an den Grossen Rat* (Basel: Stadtverwaltung Basel).
Beck, R. & Schulthess, J. (2019) Was tun gegen steigende Mieten?, *Republik*, Access: August 7, 2019, pp. 1–8.
Boyko, C.T. & Cooper, R. (2011) Clarifying and re-conceptualising density', *Progress in Planning*, 76, pp. 1–61.
Bramley, G., Dempsey, N., Power, S., Brown, C. & Watkins, D. (2009) Social sustainability and urban form: Evidence from five British cities, *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 41, pp. 2125–2142.

Bramley, G. & Morgan, J. (2003) Building competitiveness and cohesion: The role of new housebuilding in Central Scotland's cities, *Housing Studies*, 18, pp. 447–471.
Bramley, G. & Power, S. (2009) Urban form and social sustainability: The role of density and housing type, *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 36, pp. 30–48.
Broitman, D. & Koomen, E. (2015) Residential density change: Densification and urban expansion, *Computers, Environment and Urban Systems*, 54, pp. 32–46.
Brunaupark Tenants Association (2019a) *Interessensgemeinschaft Brunaupark* (Zurich). https://www.igbrunaupark.ch/:30.06.2019.
Brunaupark Tenants Association (2019b) *Petition Leben im Brunaupark* (Zurich). https://www.igbrunaupark.ch/:30.06.2019.
Burton, E. (2000) The compact city: Just or just compact? A preliminary analysis, *Urban Studies*, 37, pp. 1969–2006.
Burton, E. (2003) Housing for an urban rennaissance, *Housing Studies*, 18, pp. 537–562.
Chiu, R. (2004) Socio-cultural sustainability of housing: A conceptual exploration, *Housing, Theory and Society*, 21, pp. 65–76.
City of Zurich (2016) *Analyse Bauliche Erneuerung in Zahlen – Erneuerung von Wohnbauten in der Stadt Zürich 2000-2015* (Zurich: Stadtverwaltung Zurich).
City of Zurich (2019a) *Bericht Energiepolitik 2017 – 2018* (Zurich: Stadtverwaltung Zurich).
City of Zurich (2019b) *Ersatzneubau im Mietwohnungssektor in der Stadt Zürich*. (Zurich: Stadtverwaltung Zurich).
Credit Suisse Zurich (2020) Brunaupark Projekt. Available at https://brunaupark.ch/faq/ (accessed 25 March 2020).
Davidson, M. & Lees, L. (2005) New-build "gentrification" and London's Riverside Renaissance, *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 37, pp. 1165–1190.
Elsinga, M.G., Hoekstra, J.S.C.M., Sedighi, S.M.A. & Taebi, B. (2020) Toward sustainable and inclusive housing: Underpinning housing policy as design for values, *Sustainability*, 12, pp. 1920.
FOSD [Federal Office for Spatial Development] (2017) Bauzonenstatistik Schweiz 2017. Statistik und Analysen. Bern. (accessed 18 October 2020).
Fainstein, S. (2010) *The Just City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
FOH [Federal Office for Housing] (2017) *Gemeinnütziges Wohnen im Fokus. Ein Vergleich zu Miete und Eigentum* (Grenchen: Swiss Federal Administration).
FOH [Federal Office for Housing] (2019) *Zusammenhang zwischen Einkommens- und Energiearmut sowie die Folgen energetischer Sanierungen für vulnerable Gruppen. Eine qualitative Analyse* (Grenchen: Swiss Federal Administration).
Gerber, J.-D., Hartmann, T., & Hengstermann, A. (2018) Instruments of land policy- dealing with scarcity of land (Abingdon: Routledge),
GFOBRP [German Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development] (2016) *Mietrecht und energetische Sanierung im europäischen Vergleich* (Bonn: German Federal Administration).
Hall, P. & Taylor, R. (1996) Political science and the three new institutionalisms, *Political Studies*, 44, pp. 936–957.
Healey, P. (2007) *Urban Complexity and Spatial Strategies: Towards a Relational Planning for Our Times. The RTPI Library Series* (London: Routledge).
Holman, N., Mace, A., Paccoud, A. & Sundaresan, J. (2015) Coordinating density; working through conviction, suspicion and pragmatism, *Progress in Planning*, 101, pp. 1–38.
Huber, M. (2020) Bewilligung für umstrittene Brunaupark-Neuüberbauung, *Tages-Anzeiger*. Access: March, 18, 2020.
IFHP [International Federation for Housing and Planning] (2019) *The Social Cities Index – A Tool for Urban Leaders* (Copenhagen, Denmark: Danish Federal Administration).
Jenks, M., Burton, E. & Williams, K. (1996) *The Compact City: A Sustainable Urban Form?* (London: E & FN Spon, and imprint of Chapman and Hall).
Jonkman, A. (2021) Patterns of distributive justice: Social housing and the search for market dynamism in Amsterdam, *Housing Studies*, 36, pp. 994–1025.

Krueger, R. & Agyeman, J. (2005) Sustainability schizophrenia or 'Actually existing sustainabilities?' Toward a broader understanding of the politics and promise of local sustainability in the US, *Geoforum*, 36, pp. 410–417.
Laur, F. (2019) Das Geisterhaus am Schorenweg, *Basler Zeitung*, Access: August 27, 2019.
Lees, L., Slater, T. & Wyly, E. (2008) *Gentrification* (London: Routledge).
Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell).
Linder, W. (1994) *Swiss Democracy: Possible Solutions to Conflict in Multicultural Societies* (New York: St. Martin's Press).
Lowndes, V. (1996) Varieties of new institutionalism: A critical appraisal, *Public Administration*, 74, pp. 181–197.
Marcuse, P. (1985) To control gentrification: Anti-displacement zoning and planning for stable residential districts, *Yearbook of Construction Articles*, 13, 931–952.
Martel, A. (2020) Ein Wohnparadies für alle? Weshalb das nicht funktionieren kann, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Access: June, 27, 2020.
Mulliner, E., Smallbone, K. & Maliene, V. (2013) An assessment of sustainable housing affordability using a multiple criteria decision making, *Omega*, 41, pp. 270–279.
Murphy, K. (2012) The social pillar of sustainable development: A literature review and framework for policy analysis, *Sustainability: Science, Practice & Policy*, 8, pp. 180–215.
Nicol, L. A. & Knoepfel, P. (2008) Institutional regimes for sustainable collective housing stocks, *Swiss Political Science Review*, 14, pp. 157–180.
Oppliger, M. (2016) *In der Schorenmatte zeigt Basel, wie planvolle Verdichtung aussehen könnte, Tageswoche* (Basel: Neue Medien Basel AG).
Pérez, F. (2020) 'The miracle of density': The socio-material epistemics of urban densification, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, pp. 1–19. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12874
Polese, M. & Stren, R. (2000) *The Social Sustainability of Cities. Diversity and the Management of Change* (M. Polese & R. Stren (Eds)). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Rérat, P. (2012) Housing, the compact city and sustainable development: Some insights from recent urban trends in Switzerland, *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 12, pp. 115–136.
Rolnik, R. (2013) Late neoliberalism: The financialization of homeownership and housing rights, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37, pp. 1058–1066.
Scally, C. & Tighe, J. (2015) Democracy in action?: NIMBY as impediment to equitable affordable housing siting, *Housing Studies*, 30, pp. 749–769.
Schoop, F., Kälin, A. & Hofer, K. (2020) Das lange Warten auf den Abbruch, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, pp. 18–19. Access: February, 26, 2020.
Statistics Basel-City (2019) *Wanderungsbefragung 2018* (Basel: Ergebnisbericht).
Statistics Office Zurich (2017) Immer mehr Leerkündigungen bei Umbauten. Available at https://www.stadt-zuerich.ch/prd/de/index/statistik/publikationen-angebote/publikationen/webartikel/2017-09-14_Immer-mehr-Kuendigungen-bei-Umbauten.html (accessed 26 March 2020).
Statistical Office City of Basel (2019) Bevoelkerungsszenarien. (Basel). Statistical Office City of Basel (2020) Bevölkerungsentwicklung Stadt Basel, Bevölkerungsentwicklung. Available at: https://www.statistik.bs.ch (accessed 18 October 2020).
Stone, M. E. (2006) What is housing affordability? The case of the residual income approach, *Housing Policy Debate*, 17, pp. 151–184.
Sturzenegger, M. (2020) UNO-Sonderberichterstatterin eilt Zürcher Mietern zu Hilfe, *Tages-Anzeiger*, Access: January, 9, 2019.
Tenants Association Basel (2019) *Einsprache gegen Bauprojekt Schorenweg* (Basel: Basler Mieterverband).
Thelen, K. (2003) How institutions evolve: Insights from comparative historical analysis, in: J. Mahoney & D. Rueschenmeyer (Eds) *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, pp. 208–240 (New York: Cambridge University Press).
Touati-Morel, A. (2015) Hard and soft densification policies in the Paris City-region, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 39, pp. 603–612.
Townroe, P. M. (1996) Urban sustainability and social cohesion, in C. Pugh (Ed) *Sustainability, the Environment and Urbanization*, pp. 204–222. London: Earthscan.

UN [United Nations] Habitat (2016) *Habitat III – United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development*, pp. 1–23 (Quito: United Nations Confederation).
Vallance, S., Perkins, H. C. & Dixon, J. E. (2011) What is social sustainability? A clarification of concepts, *Geoforum*, pp. 42, 342–348.
Vatn, A. (2005) *Institutions and the Environment*, p. 496 (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited).
Weilenmann, B., Seidl, I. & Schulz, T. (2017) The socio-economic determinants of urban sprawl between 1980 and 2010 in Switzerland, *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 157, pp. 468–482.
Weingaertner, C. & Moberg, Å. (2014) Exploring social sustainability: Learning from perspectives on urban development and companies and products, *Sustainable Development*, 22, pp. 122–133.
Yin, R. K. (2018) *Case Study Research and Applications. Design and Methods* (Washington, DC: Sage).
Zukin, S. (2009) *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Zurich City Council (2013) *Gerechter. Die Entwicklung der Bau- und Zonenordnung der Stadt Zürich* (Zurich. Stadtverwaltung Zurich).
Zurich City Council (2017) *Programm Wohnen* (Zurich: Stadtrat von Zürich).
Zurich City Council (2019a) *Auszug aus dem Protokoll des Stadtrats. GR Nr. 2019/200.* (Zurch. Stadtverwaltung Zurich).
Zurich City Council (2019b) *Der Stadtrat von Zürich an den Gemeinderat. GR Nr. 2019/90* (Zurich. Stadtverwaltung Zurich).
Zurich Municipal Parliament (2019) *Motition der Fraktionen SP, Grüne und AL des Gemeinderats Zürich GR. Nr. 2019/90* (Zurich. Stadtverwaltung Zurich).

Appendix

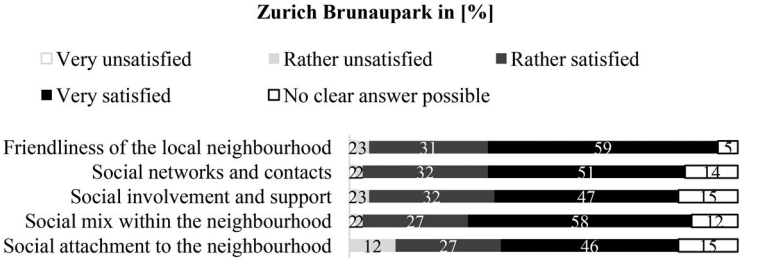


Figure A1. Community cohesion perceived by residents in Zurich Brunaupark.

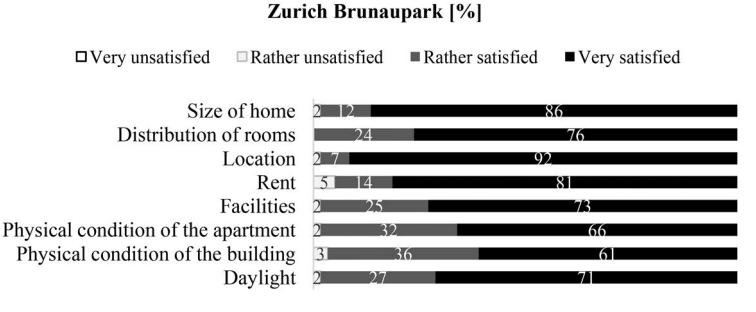


Figure A2. Housing quality within the building perceived by residents in Zurich Brunaupark.

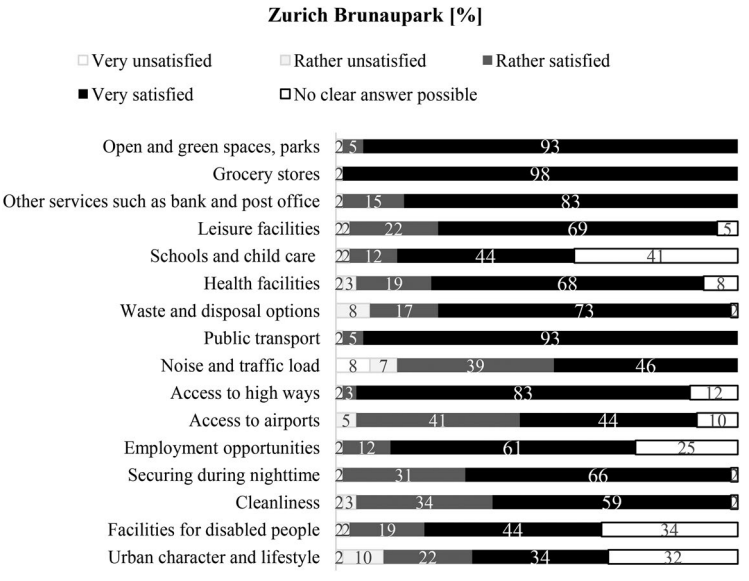


Figure A3. Housing quality around the building perceived by the residents in Zurich Brunaupark.