COMMENSALITY AS A SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Gianmarco Tolone

WALKALOGUE

My first home in the city of Zurich was at the border between Oerlikon and Schwammendingen. I past by Neu-Oerlikon on a daily basis. My odd first impression of the city district appeared to be accurate when I had to go to the ONA building for some courses. I am not used to this scale, even after living for several years in the largest city of Switzerland. Never before did I have to walk so far to get from one address to the next, the buildings have far bigger foot prints than usual.

With gastronomy as my field of research I want to guide you through Neu-Oerlikon and I would like to invite you to a little detour to see examples that work differently and manage to have a broader impact than businesses which just happen to be there.

In a project brief I collect the gathered elements and inspiration to formulate a strategy how to face the task to conceive a housing unit funded by the city of Zurich in the middle of a plot developed on the basis of the contemporary real-estate market.





NEU-OERLIKON, RATIONAL CITY

Neu-Oerlikon used to be a purely industrial site. It hosted factories of four different companies producing machinery and weapons on the roughly 60 hectares. The area was highly restricted. Only two roads which crossed in the center of the road were accessible while the rest was entirely fenced in. Towards the end of the 20th century a lot of the production was moved outside of the city or out of the country. Therefore the site was redeveloped as a new city district. Almost over night offices for 7'000 workers and homes for around 3'000 people were built in the former industrial area.

Utopian Measures

The "Sondernutzungsvorschriften", a set of special building provisions, which were solely written for the area are identifiable through several aspects:

Street Widths

The generous widths of the street correspond with the large footprints of the buildings. The absence of cars shows how the parking is mostly situated underground.

"Freiraum"

Gigantic public parks and plazas were installed to compensate or maybe justify the radical urban development. The monotonous developments which appear like mock-ups stringed together around buildings plots pointout the obvious, the central driver were the square meters.

Industrial Scale, Industrial Redevelopment

One is under the impression, that the new city district next to the highly frequented train station was designed with the same efficiency as the industrial sites that used to stand in place. Whatever measures were taken to enhance the public, the in-between appears as if it was only implemented because of its mere theoretical necessity.

Border

Beyond the border shown in the master of the redevelopment, Neu-Oerlikon is easily distinguishable through the large scale of its buildings footprints compared to its surrounding.



A set of cut outs of Facades in Neu-Oerlikon summarizing a walk through the area



Photography Steel Casting in the MFO factory



First Developments right after Completion

CS5

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CS1

CS2

CS3

CS4

Was one Industry replaced by another?

SYSTEMIC GASTRONOMY

The system way in which food is provided in many places in Neu-Oerlikon is emblematic for its rational character. Several of the local firms have contracts with catering companies like the ZFV or the SV. They provide food for the workers, for a lower price if one is an employee in the same building in exchange for the release of the rent or covering the cost beyond the operating cost.

System

In highly pragmatic kitchens food is prepared for a large amount of people. There is almost no limit for scale as long as the space is provided. How systematized a kitchen works depends on the elaborated concept and the financial elasticity of the canteen. Weather the chef orders a bag of peeled and cut carrots or freshly farmed carrots has a huge impact on the price of a menu.

The canteen saves resources wherever possible, the staff takes care of everything behind the buffet while the guest makes up for the low price by taking over all the work on the other side of the buffet.

Waste

Remnants are a problem although usually canteens find a balance in the request. Therefore it can be quite minimized.

Unused Space

According to Benjamin Schmid, head of all the UBS canteens by ZFV, the unused space in the canteens is a problem. The large eating spaces are only use for two hours a day and the rest of the time they are empty. Especially since Corona the employees make more and more use of the option to work from home. He says that canteens have to be conceived differently for the future.



Elite Special

Canteen 30 20 10

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CS5







FOOD AS A SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE, THE UNDERCOMMON

Systemic Urban Growth

In order to create a city district, everything was put in place to feed the needs of the workers and inhabitants of Neu-Oerlikon, bus stops, public parks, a square and so on. Likewise businesses settled down like supermarkets, hairdressers, kitas, fitness centers, a hotel, and so on. The businesses that settled down are mostly branches from bigger firms. Their interests are obvious, there was no competition and they have the funds to risk a gamble in a newly developed area.

Systemic Gastronomy

The consumption of food and the social gathering deriving from it is a crucial part of our individual and social daily life. Whatever hospitality businesses settle down in Neu-Oerlikon do this out of commercial interest. Therefore one can observe the large businesses hire corporate catering companies, like SV, ZFV or Migros, to provide food for the workers in the office buildings. The distinction of price in INT for internal and EXT for external shows how the companies partly finance the catering companies to offer lower prices for their workers.

The rest of the food businesses in Neu-Oerlikon are almost exclusively branches of bakeries, restaurants and shops of bigger companies. Due to their systemic production they can profit of the slow public life of the area and also pay the rents. Other than in usual hospitality, where independent gastronomies become part of the social neighborhood, these business are only attracted by numeric factors.

The social act of Eating as an Undercommon

To eat is a crucial social act in human life. As much as everything besides work and housing seems to only work on a basis of necessity there is no food offer which enhances the neighborhood life of the area. There are no restaurants and meeting spaces enhancing the social dynamics of the neighborhood. Because of the absence of gastronomy as a social driver in Neu-Oerlikon I have decided to analyse the offer of food as a social infrastructure. The act of meeting and sharing food out of a social motivation is the Undercommon. I don't want to idealize small business gastronomy. Restaurants can be highly exclusive and separate society more than mixing it. But beyond food blogs and gentrification gastronomy can work as an urban design tool. The lack of restaurants and food offers motivated by more than financial interests leaves Neu-Oerlikon with a rather functional gastronomy and social exchange as a byproduct of eating does not take place.

The same way Jane Jacobs describes the role of shop owners in city neighborhoods, as a contact point, as neighborhood keeper, as people who knew everybody from around, as a place where the neighborhood encounters, restaurant owners and their co-workers greet guests by their name, which they quite often happen to know. Restaurants are at times are the link between the private and the public sphere.



BIRCHER MUISLI



Planning

BREAKALOGUE

As we had to represent our findings in form of one particular stop of a collectively created walkalogue by the students I decided to show what I haven't found within the MFO areal than to visit what I have found around the Neu-Oerlikon area.

A systematized City District

Congruent to how the development was pragmatically conceived the offer of food is emblematic of how rationally the area is functioning.

Taking a Break

Instead of showing an alternative to what is missing, I decided to make use of the group

we were and to invite everyone to participate in a breakalogue. Therefore I prepared the ingredients for a Bircher Müsli. The invention of the iconographic dish marks the moment in the early 20th century when Dr. Maximilian Bircher-Benner was the first to examine the influence of our diet to our health.



, Dielay Fibr



Packing

Preparation

I bought the groceries I needed also everything that avoids anybody with allergies to be excluded from the shared meal. Coffee and tea were made before the walk. I organized all the tools that are necessary for the preparation of the müsli and asked my fellow diploma students to bring their own bowls so that there is enough dishes for everybody.

BREAK





Invitation

As an introduction to the performative act I received all my guests at the big entrance of the MFO-Park and explained my intention of taking a break to prepare and share a meal together.

Preparation

For the müsli we only had to rasp apples, cut the dates and squeeze lemon juice and the buffet was ready.





Meal

One after the other went along the buffet and mixed together the ingredients of his or her preference and than got a cup of tea or coffee.

Commensality

What we experienced together was an act of commensality, a crucial moment of daily life. Conversations happened spontaneously one could exchange beyond the formal context and get to know each other. CS CS1 CS2 CS3 CS4





































































COMMENSALITY

to eat *i*:t

To consume for nutriment. To take into the mouth piecemeal, and masticate and swallow as food; to consume as food. Usually of solids only.

www.oed.com

While the general definition of the verb to eat suggests that it refers to a purely biological act it is more than just a necessity for survival. A lot of our social constructs revolve around the act of eating, around the sharing and the consumption of a meal. Commensality as e term circles the act of eating and all the social constructs involved into this overlooked act of daily life.

"Commensality literally means eating at the same table (mensa). In its broader general meaning, it describes eating and drinking together in a common physical or social setting. Eating is, in all cultures, a social activity and commensality is undeniably one of the most important articulations of sociality."

Claude Fischler - Commensality, Society and Culture 2011

The Scope of the Term

In "Commensality - from everyday food to feast", a collection of works around the term of commensality, several of the authors argue that a child being fed by a mother in her uterus and the breast feeding after its birth are the first moments in which we are participating in commensality. The sharing of food characterizes and forms our social being and is the stage for many intimate family reunions as well as the daily common consumption of food in collegial and business-based occasions of meeting.

The Term is very diversely specified, Tan Che-Beng divides the term into domestic commensality, kin and communal commensality, ceremonial commensality and hospitality commensality, while Penny van Esterik separates embodied commensality (meaning in utero, ritual pre-lacteal feeds, breastfeeding/breast milk substitutes and shared breastfeeding/pre-masticated food) from enculturated commensality (meaning sharing food with siblings and other household members, sharing food with community members, feasts and political commensality and sharing food with strangers/food aid).

Ambiguity and Relativity

In the same publication Carole Counihans investigations show how in Italian food culture allegedly shows how family meals in Italian culture are strictly held for family members or specially invited people, representing Italian family meals as a very restricted and exclusive happening, while my own lifelong experience of Italian food culture within various setups, throughout the entire Apennine Peninsula show the opposite. In my experience even at intimate family moments everyone is welcome, to offer food is not only cultural obligation, it is a very much cherished characteristic of the culture itself. I do not at all want to argue against Counihans perception. What she points out is how commensal culture is probably impossible to define even within very specific cultural environments.

CMS

Within our daily routine we mostly interact with people inside of our work-, school- and private environment. Occasions where we share a space with people from other backgrounds, other daily structures are rare. One important moment where we slightly step out of our rather intimate environment is when we eat. While commensality on the one hand is an act which shapes our private life and relationships, from a public perspective it points out where the city becomes a shared living environment. On the example of Neu-Oerlikon we can identify an absence of a certain public commensality. It leaves the act of eating almost as a mere necessity. While thousands of people pilgrim to Neu-Oerlikon on a daily basis to their office space and another few thousand live here one still gets rather the impression of being inside of a conglomerate of islands with unclimbable cliffs than in a central urban district, even during lunch time. While gastronomic institutions are a driving force within city districts, characterizing neighborhoods around the MFO areal the

food offer only seems to exists due to its pure necessity.

Each individual has his or her own perception of commensality, which is characterized by culture, religion, habits, budget, possibilities and free time. Nevertheless commensality could be seen as a potential to encourage a certain exchange within a artificially created neighborhood and therefore enhance the public life.

CS5



Classical Table Cover

Dining Table

The Straw Bale house by Sarah Wigglesworth architects is the house she built for herself and her husband containing their offices in one wing of the L-shaped building.

Part of the process was the concept drawing named "Dining Table". The first drawing of the three shows a perfectly set table according the conventional rules. Setting a table in a classical way follows strict guidelines that demand in what order and for what each piece of the dishes is used.

The second drawing represents the act of eating commensaly. It shows how human action is not representable in one static illustration and therefore how one can only influence the way the table is used to the moment until the first chair is pulled from the original order. The first moment after this arbitrary performance where there is again a static setting is when the last person has left the table. The planning of a commensal space can only define its use to a certain degree. This has to be taken into account, the palimpsest of a dining table can only be realized by providing it with certain initial conditions.







Dining Table - Sara Wiggliesworth

CS5

CASE STUDIES

For my research I went on a search for aspects in gastronomies beyond food blogs and gentrification. I searched for elements in restaurants additional or beyond the ordinary way of how hospitality works, elements that could be used to enable a restaurant to become a social infrastructure, a driver for neighborhood life outside of the hip corners of the core city.

I don't see the hospitality spaces as models to be copy pasted one to one. I am looking for elements beyond the hospitality for the pure necessity of eating and the consumption business. I try to learn from them how to address more needs than hosting people and serving food, how to include other ways of hospitality and how to create a network that makes several uses profit from each other.



Mi Mi Sa Restraurant



HOMEMADE Mi Mi Sa Korean Restaurant

Bahnhaldenstrasse 2, 8052 Zürich MO-FR 10:00–14:00 | 17:30–21:00 SA 11:00–21:00

The small space is surrounded by shelfs and fridges stuffed with Asian produce. By looking closer one can see the homemade products. Besides Dumplings similar to gyoza and bao buns they sell their Kimchi.

There are a few tables were one can sit and eat some typical dishes. Through the little gap of the curtain closing half the kitchen entrance you can see a service hatch towards a room on the other side of the kitchen which must be a private space. I assume this is where they eat, which would means the kitchen works towards two directions. One one hand they prepare own food and on the other they made it a business to share it with their customers. As a guest one does not get the feeling of being served in a formal way. When eating there you are just taking participating in their daily meal.

Guest Room 30 m² 16 Seats

Key Elements:

- A Kitchen used for both, to cook for the private sphere and for customers.
- The sharing of unique cooking technique.
- Offering the products to prepare at home besides the retail products to open up options.



MiM	i Sa Res	taurant			
Guestroom Isonometry					
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Mi Mi Sa Restaurant Floorplan



CS1

CS3 CS4

GASTRONOMY, EDUCATION, INCLUSION Tasteria

Robert-Maillart-Strasse 14, 805 Zürich MO-FR 11:30–13:00

The Tasteria is a restaurant of the AOZ the organization for people seeking for asylum in Switzerland. The gastronomy is only one part of the organization. In the former production hall they also have the Brockito shop for all kinds of second-hand objects. As well as in the shop in the restaurant they offer an educational program for immigrants seeking for asylum. The six to eighteen months program is usually financed by the municipalities in which the people applied for asylum. Usually it also includes a German course. The restaurant prepares lunch for workers and habitants around the area, additionally it also offers caterings. Further they provide lunch for six kindergartens in the surrounding area.

The stand in the backyard also offers the daily menus for take-away.

Guest Room

150 m² Inside 76 Seats

180 m² Outside 124 Seats

Key Elements:

- Inclusion and Education as part of the business model.
- Offering lower prices because there is a byproduct to the hospitality business.
- Re-Use and Re-Invention of industrial hall.
- Other services like the shop as an attraction for guests.

- Maximizing the use of the kitchen by producing food for other guest rooms.
- Using the Space not only for the lunch service but also as an event location.
- A large social dynamic by through a wide food offer and the inclusion of the disadvantaged.



Tasteria





AOZ Situation

CS2



Tasteria Restaurant Floorplan GF


Tasteria Restaurant Floorplan 1F



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MULTIPURPOSE CANTEEN NOERD

Binzmühlestrasse 170b, 8052 Zürich MO-FR 09:00–13:00

The Canteen in the NOERD is part of the infrastructure of the office island. The building is owned equally by Freitag and Aroma, although the canteen is self-sustaining. During lunch time it serves meals with a high quality standard to a bit a higher price than usual, although they offer a fridge to store home cooked meals and allow the consumption of private food. Further the canteen works as a living room, it can be used for breaks, meetings and aperos. The canteen is located in the courtyard of the office buildings in the middle of the garden on the second floor. This artificial environment is so popular that it is booked for months ahead to hold events, mostly weddings. Most events are catered by the canteen which is an additional income with which the business is mostly financed. Daily customers come from the building and from the surrounding area.

Guest Room 250 m² Inside 100 Seats

120+ m² Outside 124 Seats

Key Elements:

- A unique venue for the canteen instead of a leftover space in the ground floor.
- Events as a side business to reach the needed revenue.
- High quality meals to a bit a lower price.
- Allowing home cooked meals to include everyone.

- Not depending on a big catering business.
- Flat hierarchy.
- The space is used throughout the entire day in many ways.





Associação Portuguesa Floorplan





INFRASTRUCTURE FOR A PUBLIC SPACE Maxi Markt

Kiefernweg 37, 8057 Zürich MO-FR 07:30–12:15 | 15:00–1900 SA 08:00–14:00 SU 09:00–12:00

The small market is located in the middle of a housing area. Besides offering the possibility to run ones errands seven days a week the owners furnished the space with a "Festbank". Customer can buy drinks, coffee and snacks at the table outside or in the little park in front of it. I have seen youngsters having their Friday beer on the table but also middle aged people chatting before or after shopping while having coffee at the table. During summer one can also sit on the lawn and enjoy the sun.

Guest Room 25 + 200 m² Outside 8+ Seats

Key Elements:

- By providing a little bit of outside furniture they invite people to consume it in front of the shop.
- Activation to a public park, working as its infrastructure.
- Addressing a variety of different habitants of the surrounding area.
- Consumption to a low price.







Naco Na Pedra (500g) 38.00



COMMUNITY DRIVEN GASTRONOMY

Associação Portuguesa Zurique

Birchstrasse 80, 8050 Zürich FR 18:30–00:30 SA 09:30–00:30 SU 09:30–19:00

The restaurant is hidden in the basement of a housing unit. The entrance faces the street leading to Neu-Oerlikon. The doorway is the entrance to two ground floor uses at the corners of the building and a staircase which leads to the Restaurant. Although it is in the basement it is above ground so it has windows. The restaurant works as a association, the staff works voluntarily. Associates pay a yearly fee for their membership and profit from benefits like celebrating their birthday for free in the restaurant. Costumers are mostly part of the Portuguese community although everyone is welcome to enjoy typical Portugues drinks and dishes. It has a smokers lounge and a snooker area which allows uses beyond eating at the table.

Guest Room

200 m² 74 Seats

Key Elements:

- Community driven restaurant.
- Membership offering benefits.
- Association induces a regularity of the visit as well as the common culture.
- Affordable dining.
- Strong use of the basement of a ordinary housing unite combines several uses.

- Activity beyond eating.
- Insight of a culture, invitation to take part.





Associaçao Portuguesa Floorplan

PROJECT BRIEF MFO Potentials

As Stefan Jack, the representative of the Housing development of Liegenschaften Stadt Zürich pointed out, the city has no interest in high profits of the development on the development. The housing units will be built in todays quality standard although they will be rented out far below the average market price.

Ground-Floor Use

The new master plan foresees a better public use of the ground-floor level. The problem with that is, that even if, as Stefan Jack stated, the city would rent the ground-floor spaces almost for free it is still difficult to find tenants. This suggests, that the city might have to could take the initiative and program the use. My observations showed, that the social Life in Neu-Oerlikon lacks of gastronomy businesses with a broader interest than just numeric factors.

Halle 550 Even Infrastructure

The Migros event branch is the tenant for the next 20 years by contract. They have invested a substantial capital into the restoration and the infrastructure of the hall. They rent out the hall for events with the condition of being in charge of the catering where they generate their profit. This means that the event kitchen able to serve a thousand and more guests is not constantly in use since events aren't taking place on a daily basis.

Multipurpose

The existing catering machine could be used for more than just the events which are taking place in inside of the halls. It could be conceived as the operator for different uses. The Migros included a restaurant in the entrance space, but that would just be another restaurant by a large company.

Collaboration

The city of Zurich and the Migros could conceive new way of collaborating to offer more than just a lunch menu.

A canteen as a social infrastructure

What if the city of Zurich, with no interest in large profits, becomes a caterer? Not just for providing food for a neighborhood, how is a gastronomy conceived when it has a broader spectrum of intentions than just stilling hunger of guests

Education

Cooking class is part of the curriculum of Swiss secondary schools, to teach it in a more social environment than the intimate circle of a class would only be beneficial for the education. Further nutrition is still one of the common causes of death. The city could offer programs to create awareness to raise awareness of what we eat.

Housing

The Private an the gastronomy work as two separate systems. In a time where we don't find time to eat properly, a new gastronomy could offer a flourishing collaboration.

Food

Beyond offering food for lunch and dinner customers with an integrated shop leftovers could be resold besides other products.

Commensal Space

The space could be in use the entire day and house several forms of commensality, as well as meetings and smaller festivities.

Community Space

Associations of all kind could use the space for several activities as well as concepts of Vereine we know of the in Zurich that employ cooking staff to prepare meals for 5 days a weak.

Social Infrastructure

The accommodation of a broad variety of uses would create a vivid commensal space enabling encounters between a broader variety of individuals.



BRIEF