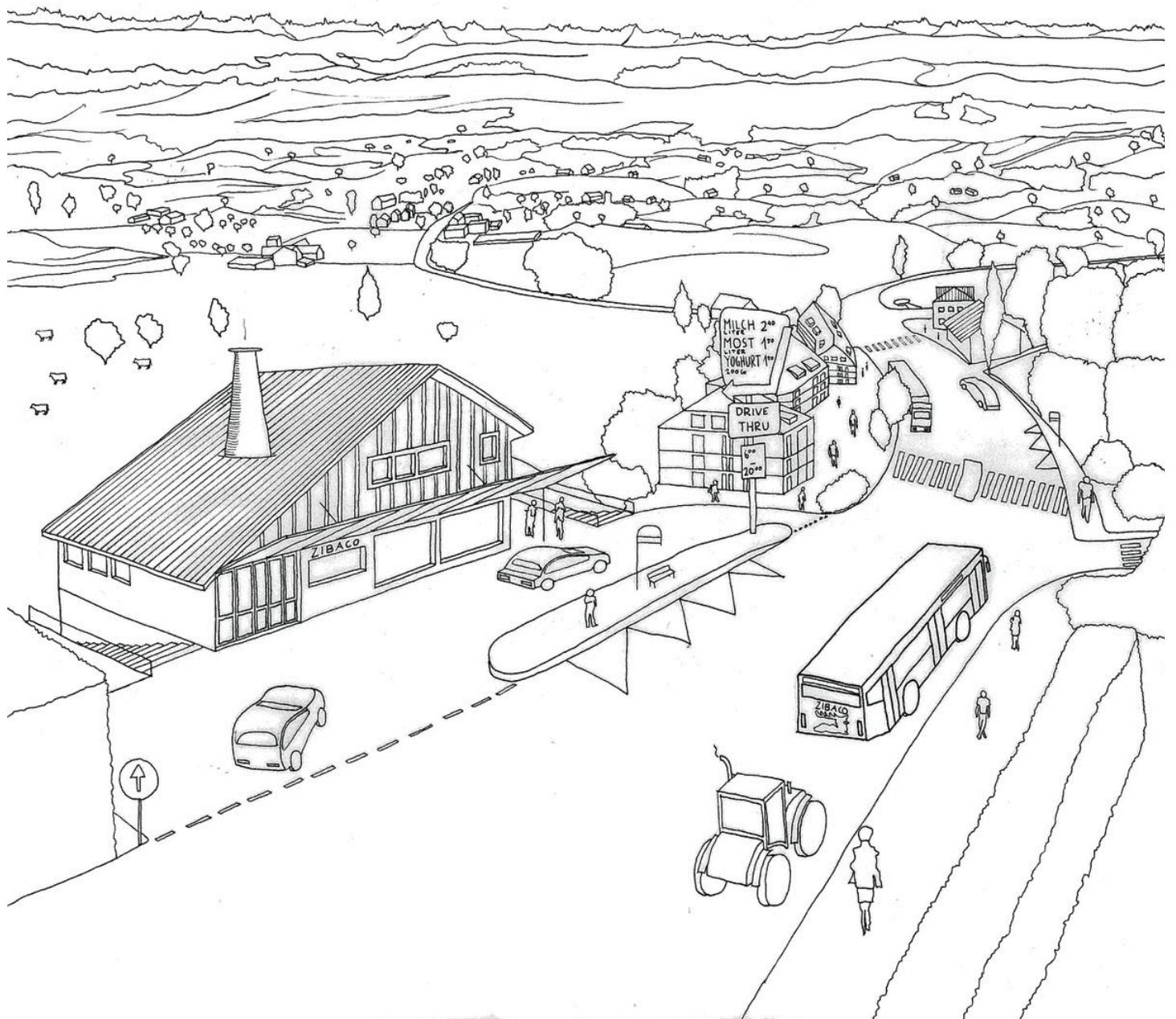


HIRZEL

Farmers, Unite! Strengthening Farms and Farmers Through Cooperative Ownership and Production

Leon Bloch, Viktor Jørgensen, and Roman Schürch



Hirzel is a village and mountain pass in the Canton of Zurich, located in a pre-Alpine landscape, characterised by pastures for dairy farming. Over the last centuries, milk production has become the economic backbone of the entire region. But this was not always like that: between 1400 and 1800, the so-called Hirzel Höhi was an important mountain pass located at the European north-south trade route between Milan and Munich.

The region underwent another profound change in the early 19th century, when industrialisation and rising living standards forced milk farmers to adapt their practices to keep up with increasing demand for dairy products and competition. The introduction of collective storage and production was a first step, followed by the establishment of communal cooperatives. Later, these cooperatives were merged or displaced to form the largest commercial enterprises we know today: Emmi, Migros, Coop.

Today, most farmers in the Zimmerberg region produce for national processors and retailers. Many farmers have recognised the disadvantages of such dependence and have introduced direct marketing through farm stores, but on an individual basis. Following the example of the first communal cooperatives in the region, we propose to reintroduce cooperative farming so that Hirzel farmers can become independent of the large retailers through mutual support.

A Highway Through Pasture



Hirzel is situated in the southwest corner of the Canton, above Lake Zurich, just about halfway between Horgen and Zug. The landscape is characterised by its numerous drumlins with single linden trees on top of them, and extensive pastures covering the plateaus.

Along the Southern border of Hirzel lies the Sihl Valley, forming the edge of the Canton of Zurich towards the Canton of Zug. Here, the mule trail (Säumerpfad) from Horgen to Zug has served cross-European trade since the 13th century and allowed the region to flourish. In 1846, the Hirzel Pass was opened, ending the century old prevalence of the mule trail and leading the region into the modern era.

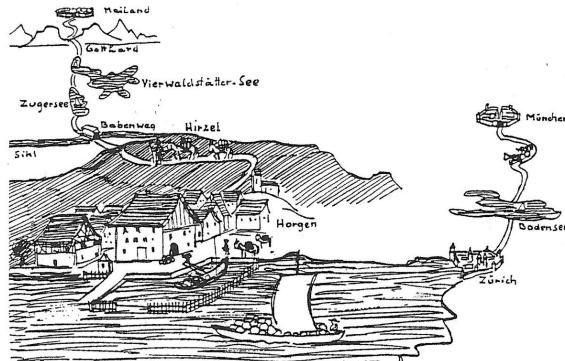
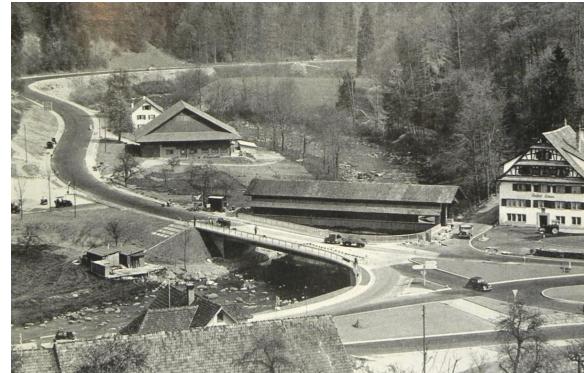


DIAGRAM OF THE OLD MULE TRAIL,
OPERATING FROM 1230 TO 1846.

Source: *Ortmuseum Sust – Horgener Jahrheft 2007*. Horgen: Gemeinde Horgen in Verbindung mit Pro Horgen, 2007.

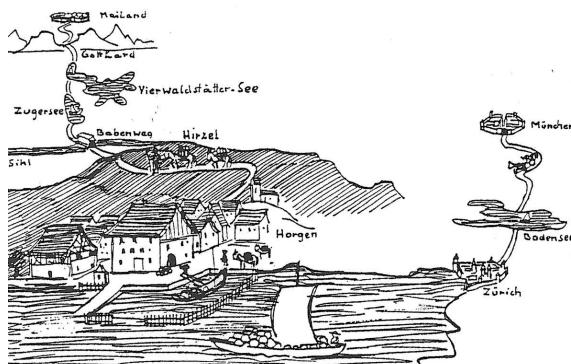


OLD "BABENWAG" BRIDGE, WHICH CARRIED
THE MULE TRAIL, BEING REPLACED BY
THE NEW HIRZEL PASS , 22 MAY 1960.

Source: Schiedt, Hans-Ulrich. "Sihlbrugg in der
Geschichte der Handelsstrassen von Zug."

Accessed 4 April 2023.

[<http://www.villmergerkriege.ch/15Babenwaag/Geschichte%20Sihlbrugg.pdf>]



THE OLD MULE TRAIL

Operating from 1230 to 1846. Source:
Ortmuseum Sust – Horgener Jahrheft 2007.
Horgen: Gemeinde Horgen in Verbindung mit Pro
Horgen, 2007.



OLD "BABENWAG" BRIDGE

Carried the mule trail over the Sihl River and was
replaced by a new concrete bridge on 22 may
1960. Source: Schiedt, Hans-Ulrich. "Sihlbrugg in
der Geschichte der Handelsstrassen von Zug."
[<http://www.villmergerkriege.ch/15Babenwaag/Geschichte%20Sihlbrugg.pdf>]



DRUMLINS WITH LINDENTREES, 1980.

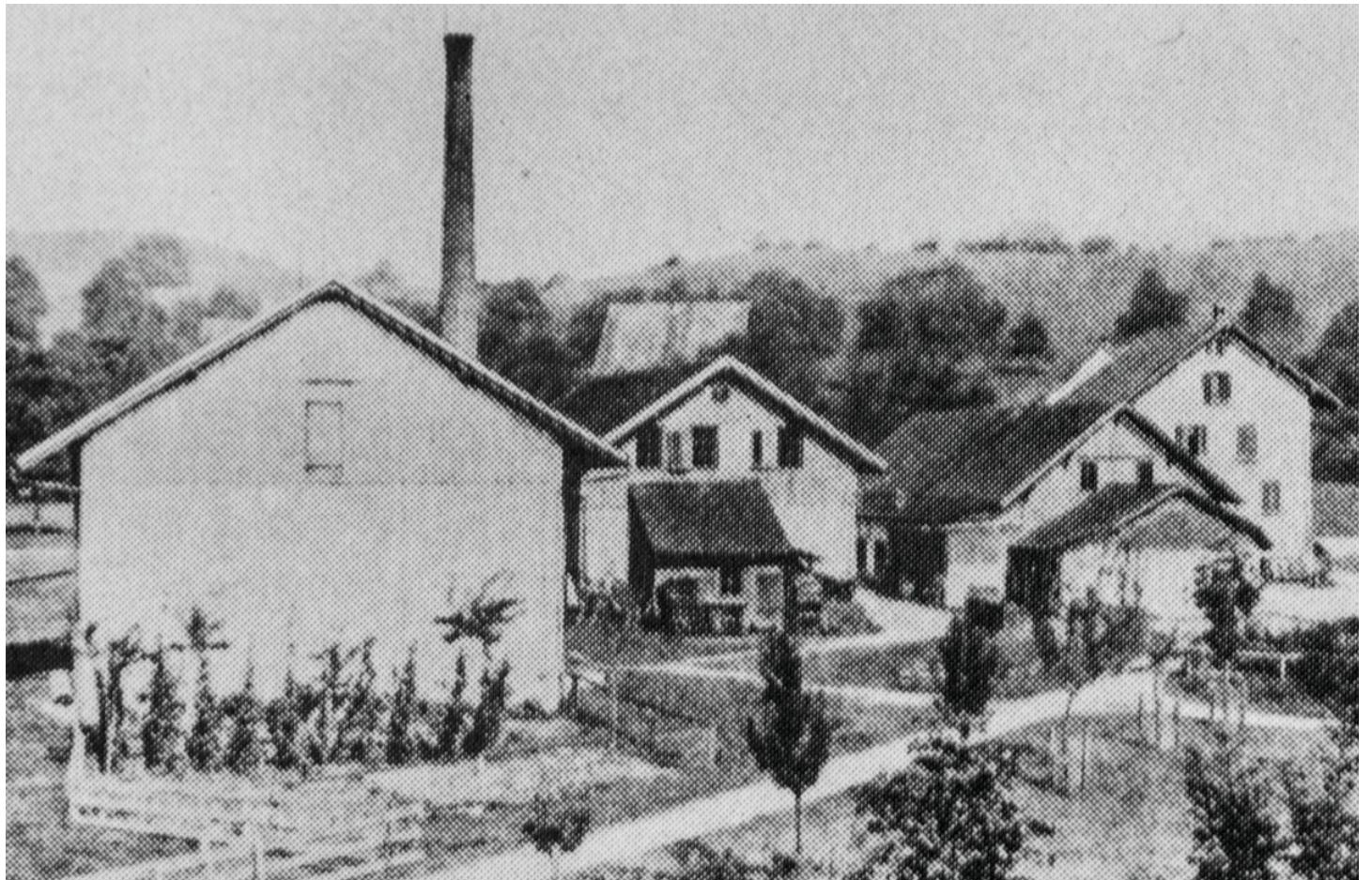
Source: Winkler, Jürg, *De Hirzel e chli nostalisch*. Hirzel: 2003.



AERIAL PHOTO OF HIRZEL.

Photograph: Benjamin Müller, 2012.

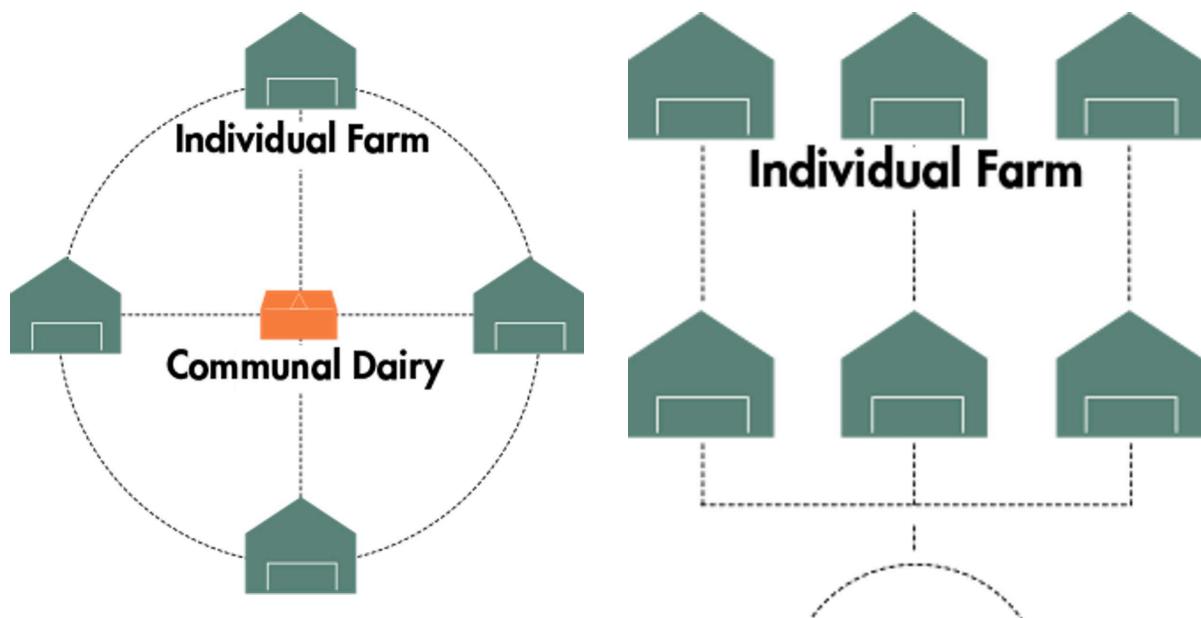
The Success and Demise of Communal Dairies

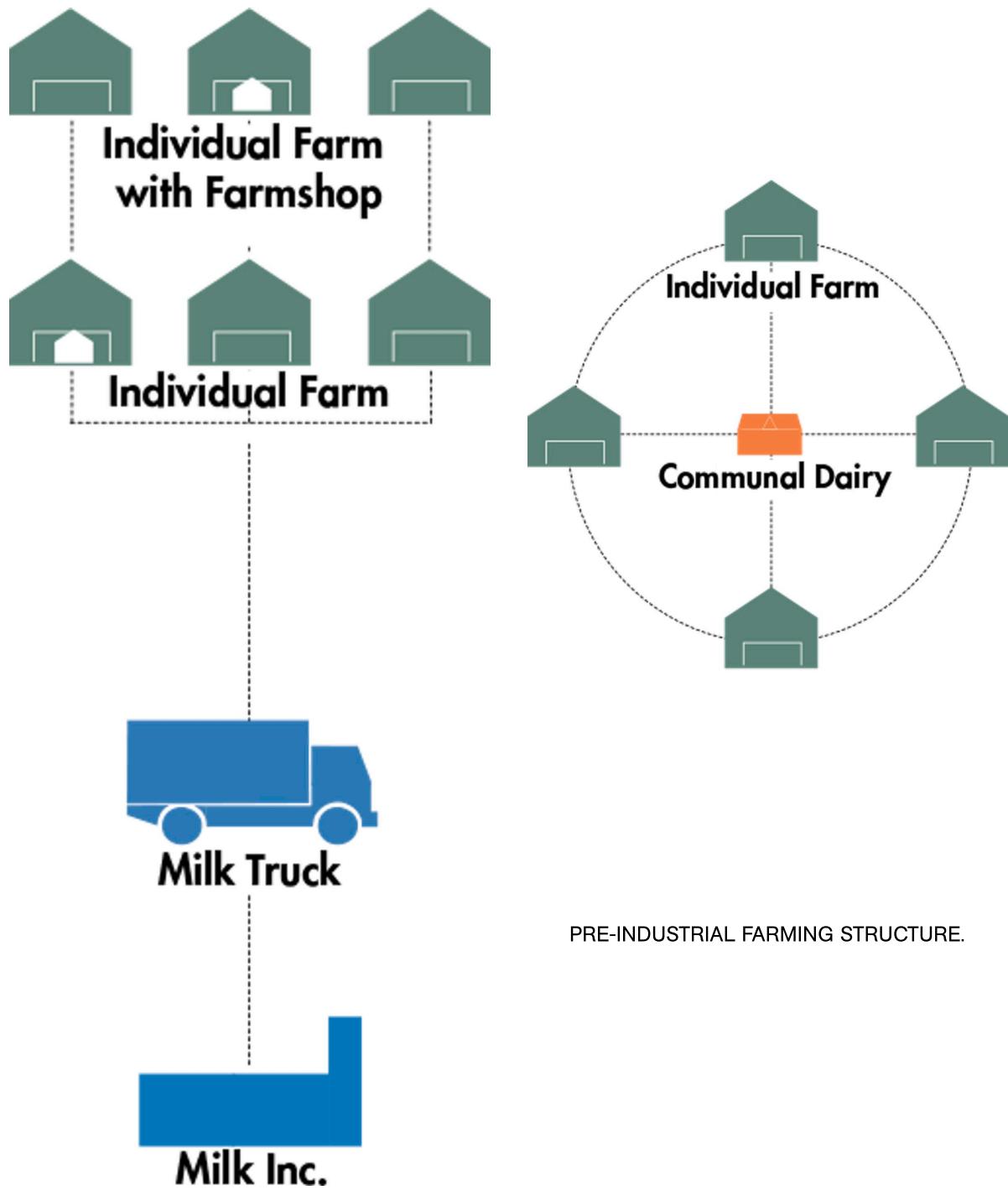


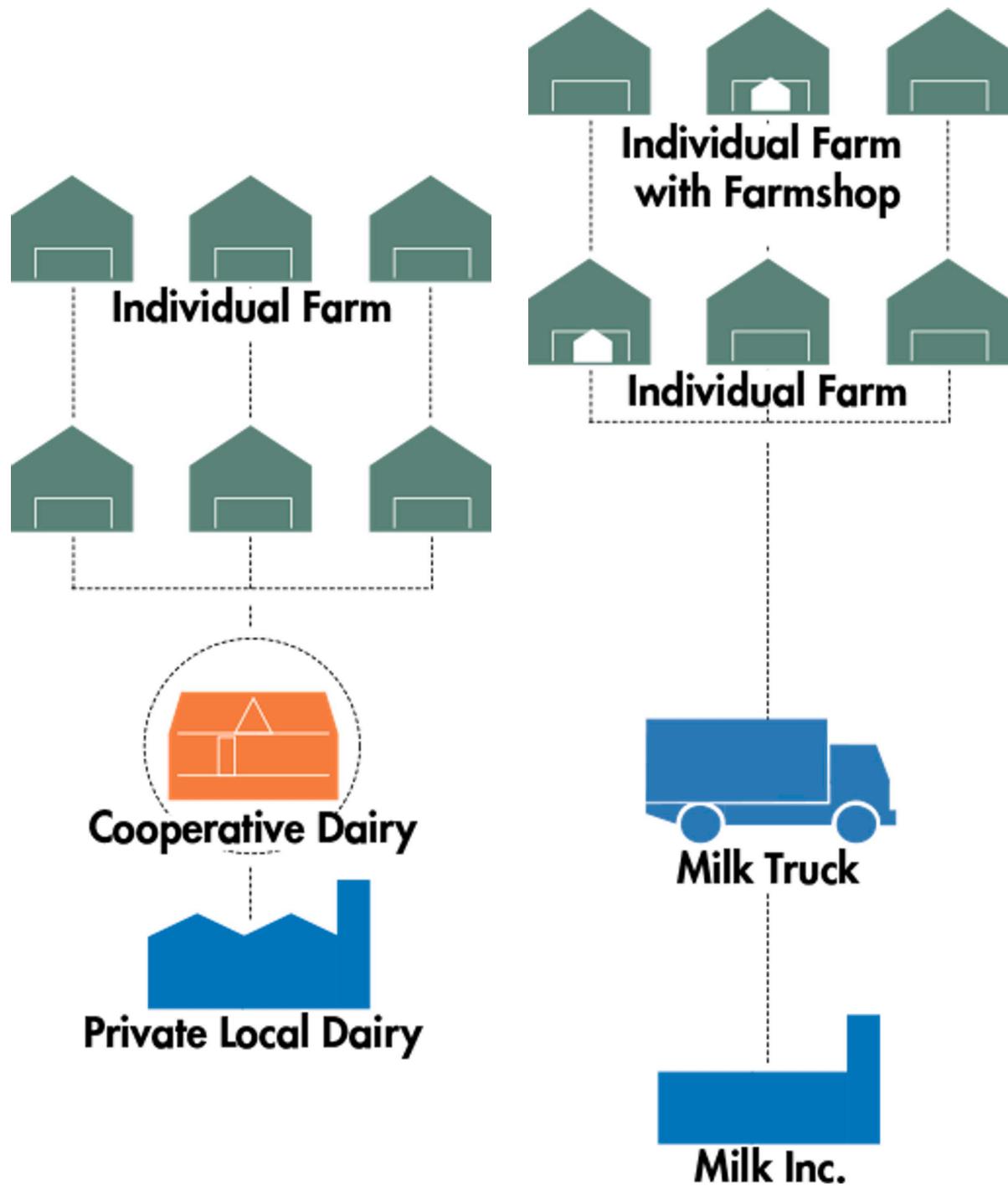
The climatic and soil conditions of the Hirzel region favor animal farming, therefore dairy production became one of the main fields of activity in agriculture. Since then, animal farming and dairy production has had a profound impact on the Hirzel region and its social life.

Hirzel is situated 300 metres above the shore of Lake Zurich. Due to the pre-alpine climate, plants grow less efficiently. Because of that, crop or vegetable farming has never been thoroughly established. Instead, focus has been laid on dairy farming. In recent years many farms switched to meat production. Both forms of farming are visually striking in the landscape with green pastures used for fodder production.

Hirzel was and to a certain extent still is a polycentric village that grew out of hamlets. Possibly due to its predominant pastoral activity, the village never developed an actual core, but remained a scattered settlement. Accordingly, the places of assembly were spread throughout the area and were located in the various hamlets.

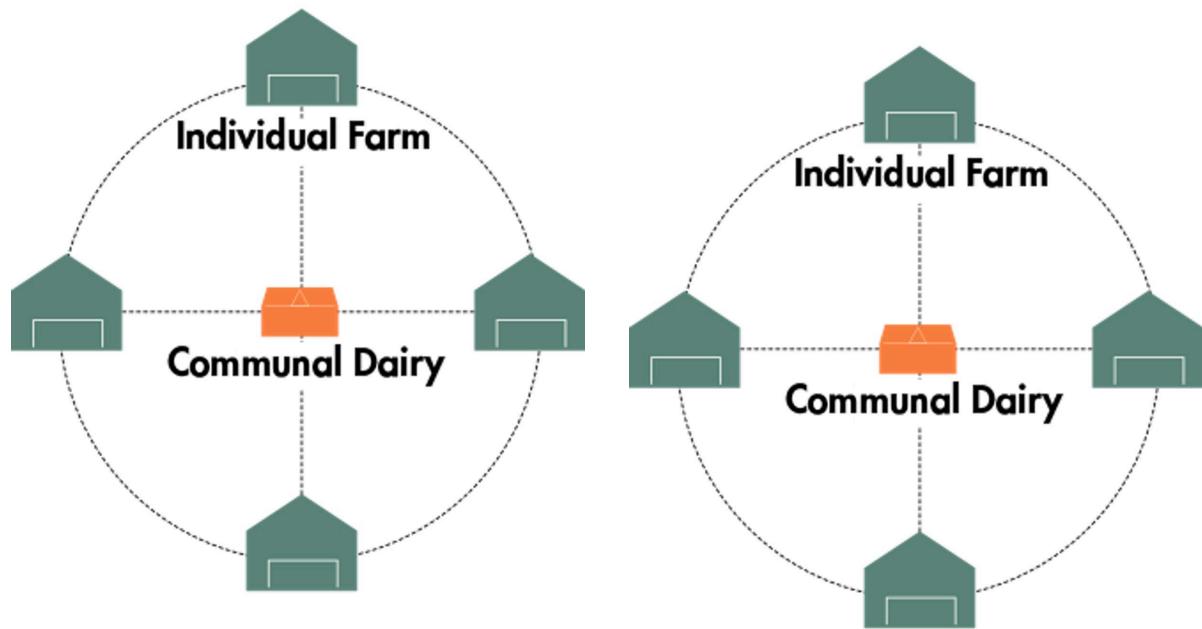


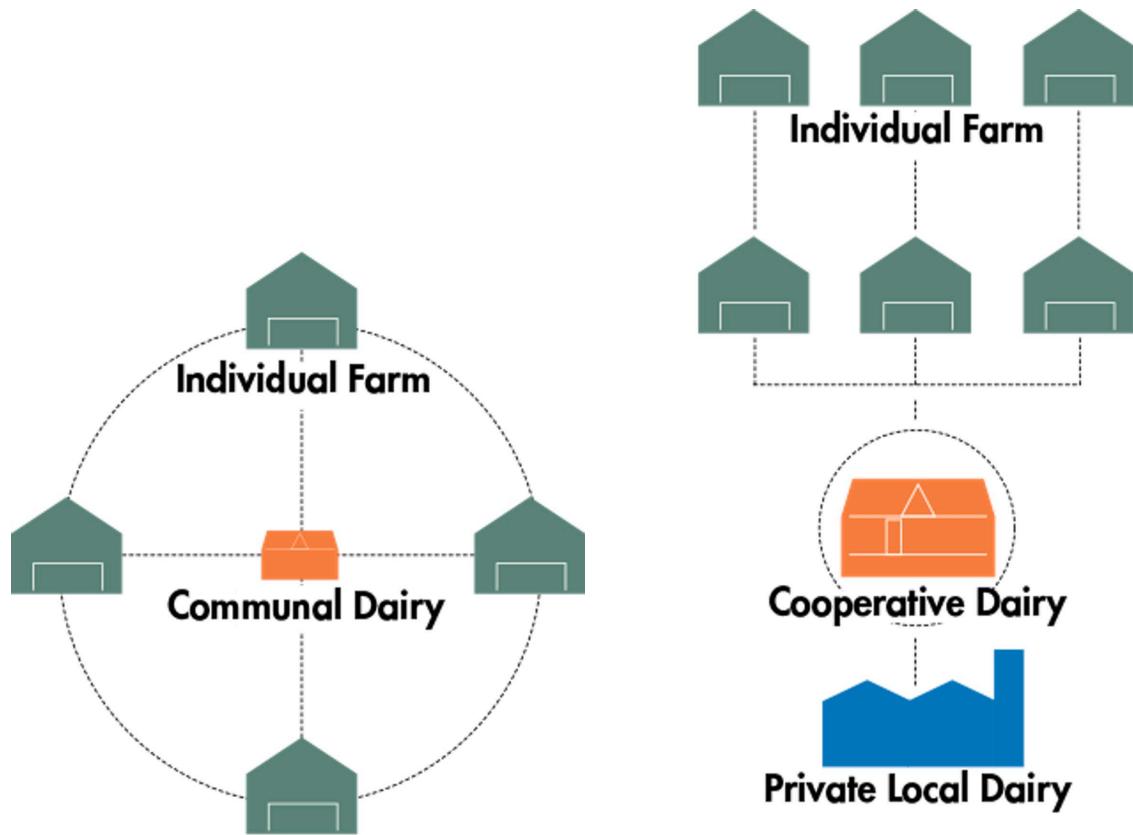




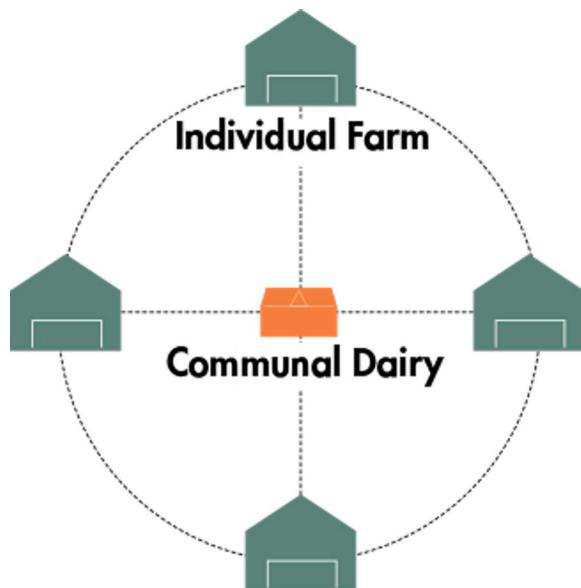
FARMING STRUCTURE
DURING INDUSTRIALISATION.

TODAYS FARMING STRUCTURE.





ADSF



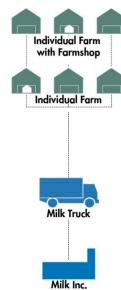
SDF

SDF



SDF

SDF



TODAYS FARMING STRUCTURE.



PRE-INDUSTRIAL FARMING STRUCTURE.



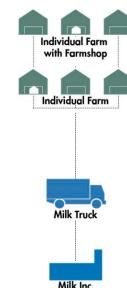
FARMING STRUCTURE
DURING INDUSTRIALISATION.



FARMING AND PROCESSING
IN PRE-INDUSTRIAL TIMES



FARMING AND PROCESSING
DURING INDUSTRIALISATION

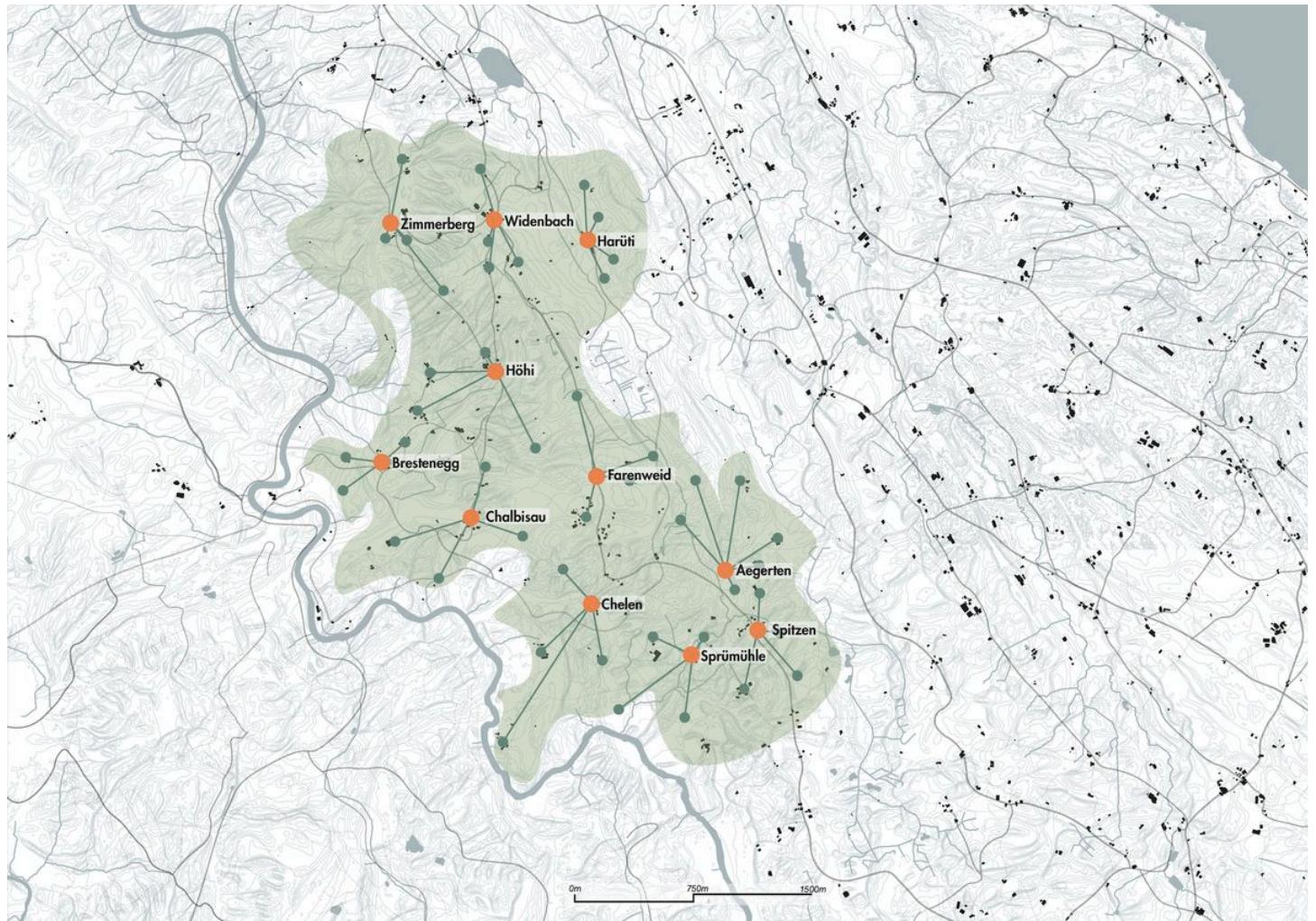


FARMING AND PROCESSING TODAY

Pre-industrial Milk Production and Processing

In pre-industrial times most farms processed raw milk into products like butter or cheese individually in their own dairy, a *Hofkäserei*. This type of farming worked well for centuries, as most dairy products were produced for home consumption and the products sold were sparse on the markets and therefore in high demand.

Starting in the early 19th century, the demand for dairy products increased, standards of quality, and hygiene improved, while automatisation and the pace of distribution accelerated. The demand for dairy products could no longer be met by single farmers working on their own, so farmers worked together to be competitive on the market. As work stages were achieved together, the single farmer left certain duties to the collective. Production, sale, and distribution of products were now handled commonly. Communal dairies called *Gemeinschaftskäserien* were created, usually one for each of the scattered centres. These spaces also worked as milk collecting points called *Milchsammelstellen*.



COMMUNAL FARM DAIRIES AT THE BEGINNING OF INDUSTRIALISATION

■ Location of communal farm dairies

■ Pastures

■ Farms affiliated to a dairy



FORMER COMMUNAL
BUILDING IN HIRZEL-SITEN.
Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer
Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



FORMER COMMUNAL BUILDING IN
HIRZEL-CHALBISAU, 18TH CENTURY.
Source: Renfer, Christian, *Die Bauernhäuser des
Kantons Zürich. Band 9-11*. Basel: Schweizerische
Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, 1982.



FORMER COMMUNAL BUILDING IN
HIRZEL-CHALBISAU, 18TH CENTURY.
Source: Renfer, Christian, *Die Bauernhäuser des
Kantons Zürich. Band 9-11*. Basel: Schweizerische
Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, 1982.



FORMER COMMUNAL
BUILDING IN HIRZEL-SITEN.
Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer
Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



FORMER COMMUNAL
BUILDING IN HIRZEL-ROTHUS.
Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer
Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



FORMER COMMUNAL
BUILDING IN HIRZEL-KIRCHE.
Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer
Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



Former communal dairy in Hirzel-Chalbisau, built in the 18th century. Undated photograph, ca. 1900s. Source: Renfer, Christian, *Die Bauernhäuser des Kantons Zürich. Band 9-11*. Basel: Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, 1982.



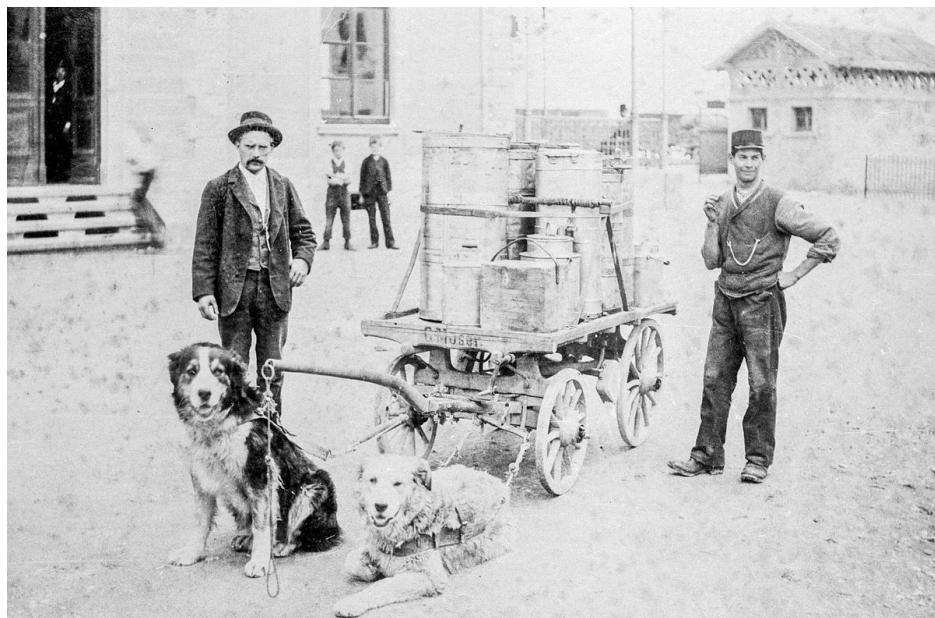
Former communal dairy in Hirzel-Siten. Undated photograph, ca. 1920s. Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



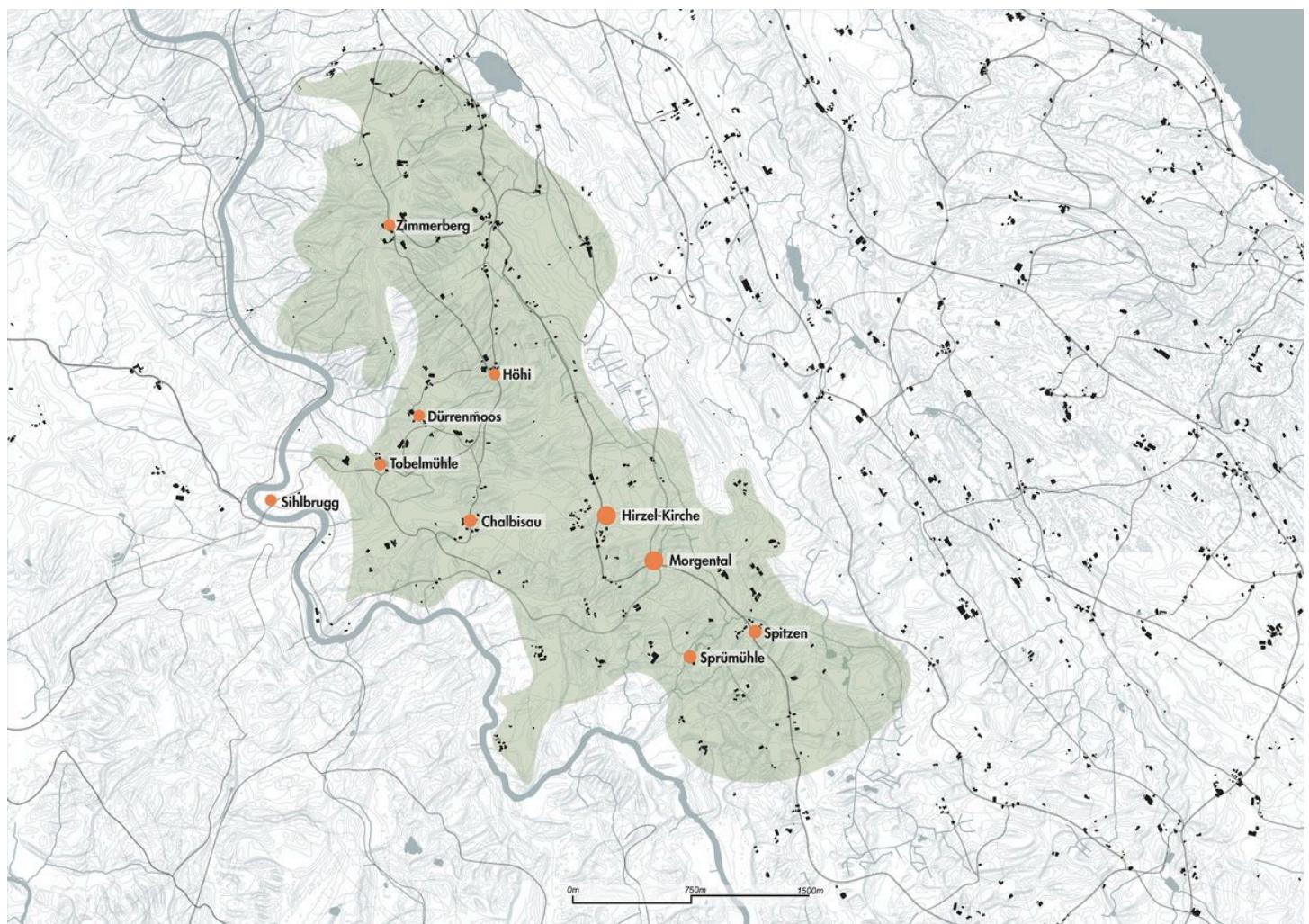
Former communal dairy in Hirzel-Rothus. Undated photograph, ca. 1960s. Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



FORMER COMMUNAL DAIRY IN HIRZEL-KIRCHE.
UNDATED PHOTO, APPROXIMATELY 1920S.
Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



PRE-INDUSTRIAL MILK TRANSPORT.
Source: Private Image Collection of Jöri Bernhard.



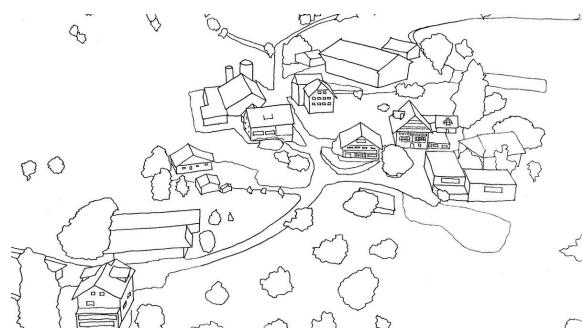
PRE-INDUSTRIAL SOCIAL HUBS

■ Social hubs

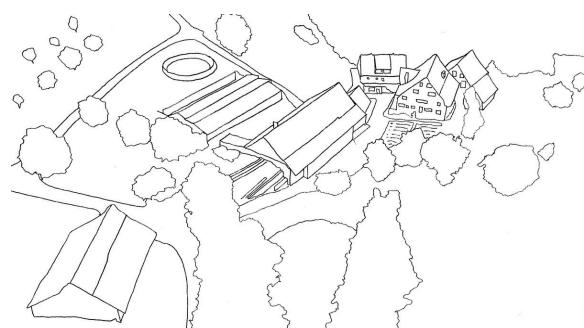
■ Pastures



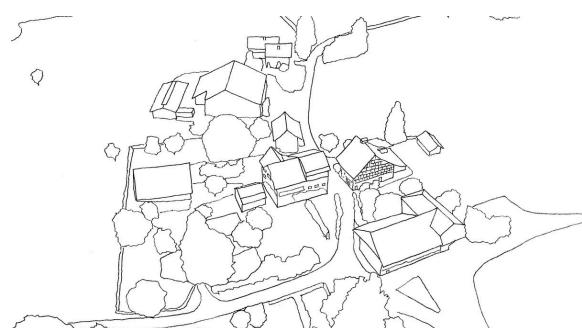
THE OLD CENTRE OF TOBELMÜLI. LITHOGRAPHY, 17TH CENTURY.
Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



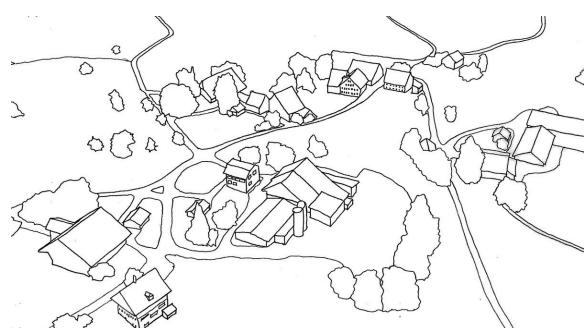
THE OLD CENTRE OF CHALBISAУ.



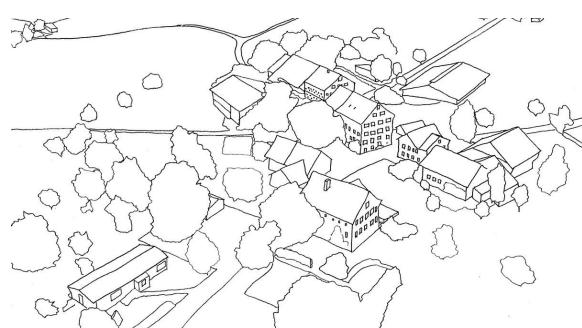
THE OLD CENTRE OF TOBELMÜLI.



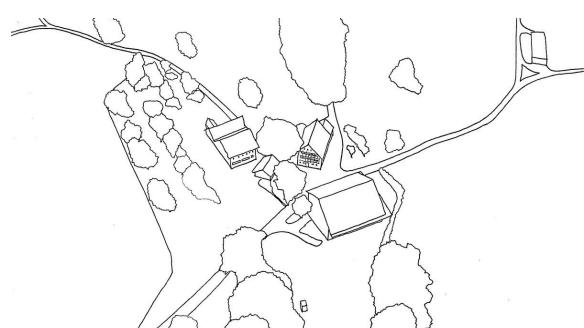
THE OLD CENTRE OF DÜRRENMOOS.



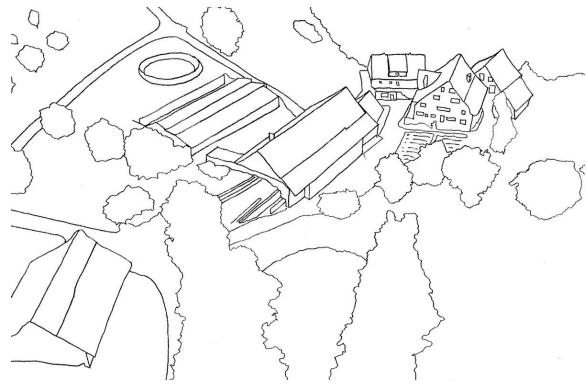
THE OLD CENTRE OF ZIMMERBERG.



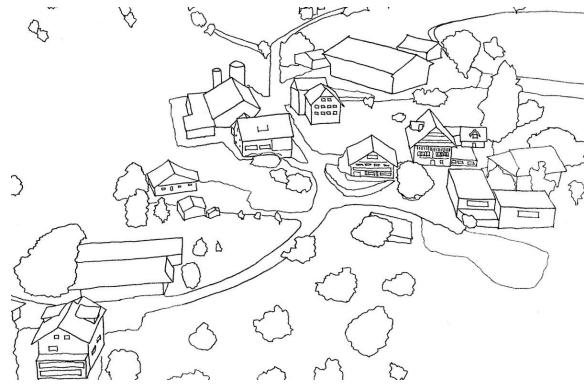
THE OLD CENTRE OF HÖHI.



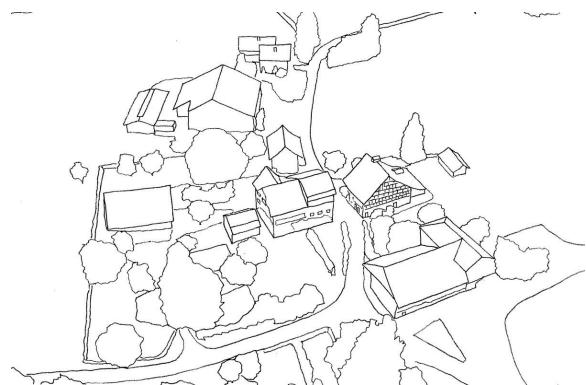
THE OLD CENTRE OF SPRÜHMÜHLE.



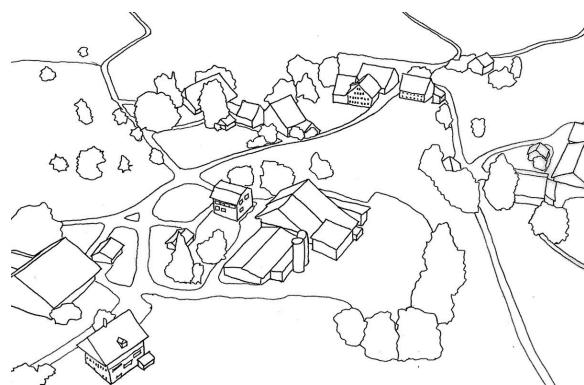
TOBELMÜHLE



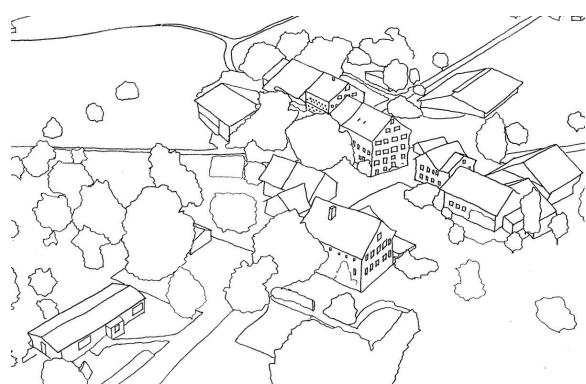
CHALBISAU



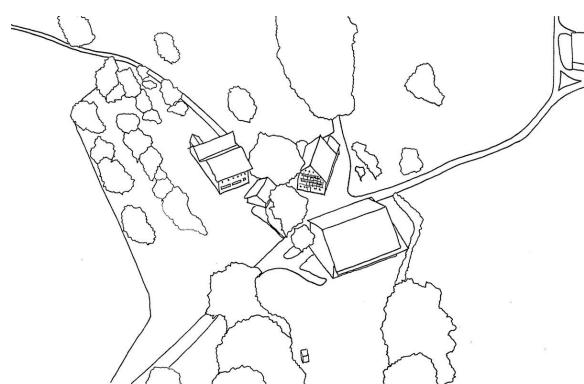
DÜRRENMOOS



ZIMMERBERG



HÖHI

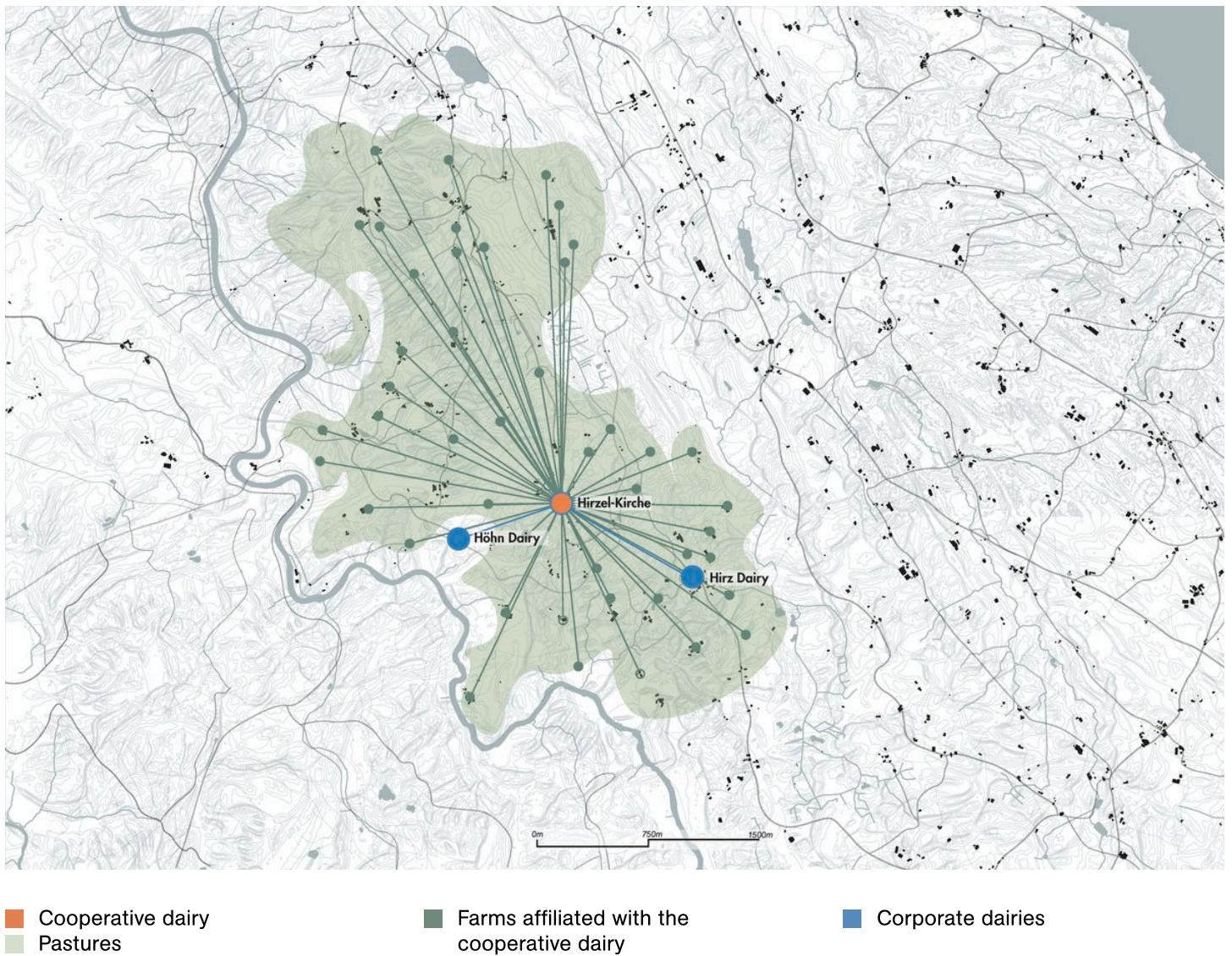


SPRÜHMÜHLE

Milk Production and Processing During Industrialisation

As several milk collecting points became unprofitable during the ongoing industrialization, they were closed and replaced by larger cooperative collection points. With every replacement the dairies served a larger area than before, and more duties were transferred from the individual farmer to the collective dairy. At this point, for example, milk prices were negotiated within the dairies. The process of uniting dairies had a profound impact on social life: With the loss of the local collection points and dairies, many social hubs lost their purpose, and local meeting places were dissolved or relocated.

At the dawn of the 21st century however, even the larger cooperative dairies became too small and were replaced by regional corporations, such as Molkerei Höhn or HIRZ. After starting out small, these companies slowly displaced the remaining collective dairies in the region of Zimmerberg.





COMMUNAL DAIRY OF HIRZEL.

Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



WORKERS INFRONT OF THE HIRZ FACTORY.

Source: Private Image Collection Jöri Bernhard.



HIRZ FACTORY, 1946.

Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



EXPANDED HIRZ FACTORY. UNDATED PHOTO.

Source: Private Image Collection Jöri Bernhard.



TODAYS ABANDONED HIRZ FACTORY.

Photograph: Leon Bloch.



EMPTY MILK TRUCKS ON THE OLD FACTORY GROUNDS.

Photograph: Leon Bloch.



EXPANSION OF HIRZ FACTORY, 1984.

Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



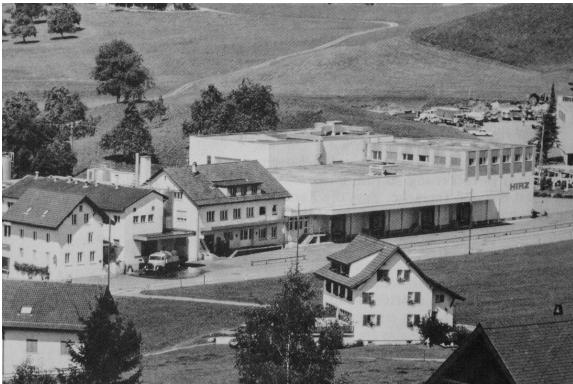
WORKERS INFRONT OF THE HIRZ FACTORY.

Source: Private Image Collection of Jöri Bernhard.



HIRZ FACTORY, 1946.

Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



EXPANSION OF HIRZ FACTORY, 1984.

Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



EMPTY MILK TRUCKS ON THE ABANDONED FACTORY GROUNDS, 3 MAY 2023.

Photograph: By the authors.



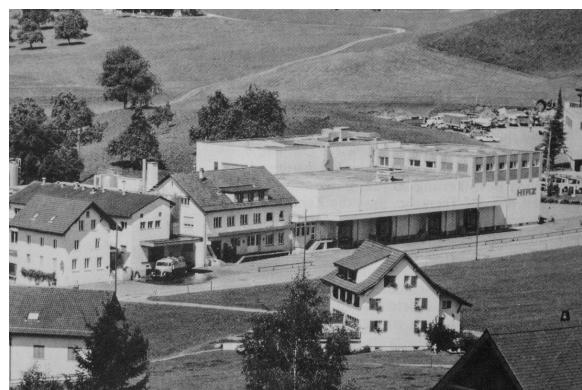
TODAYS ABANDONED HIRZ FACTORY, 3 MAY 2023.
Photograph: By the authors.



WORKERS IN FRONT OF THE HIRZ FACTORY.
Source: Private Image Collection of Jöri Bernhard.



HIRZ FACTORY, 1946.
Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



EXPANSION OF HIRZ FACTORY, 1984.
Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



HIRZ FACTORY. UNDATED,
APPROXIMATELY 1980S.
Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



EMPTY MILK TRUCKS ON THE ABANDONED FACTORY GROUNDS.
Photograph: By the authors.



TODAYS ABANDONED HIRZ FACTORY.
Photograph: By the authors.



Workers in front of the Hirz factory.
Undated photograph, ca. 1900s. Source:
Private Image Collection of Jöri Bernhard.



Hirz factory, 1946. Source:
Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer
Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



Expansion of Hirz factory, 1984. Source:
Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer
Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



HIRZ FACTORY. UNDATED,
APPROXIMATELY 1980S.
Source: Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer
Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.



EMPTY MILK TRUCKS ON THE ABANDONED
FACTORY GROUNDS. 3 MAY 2023.
Photograph: By the authors.



Today's abandoned Hirz factory, 3 may 2023.

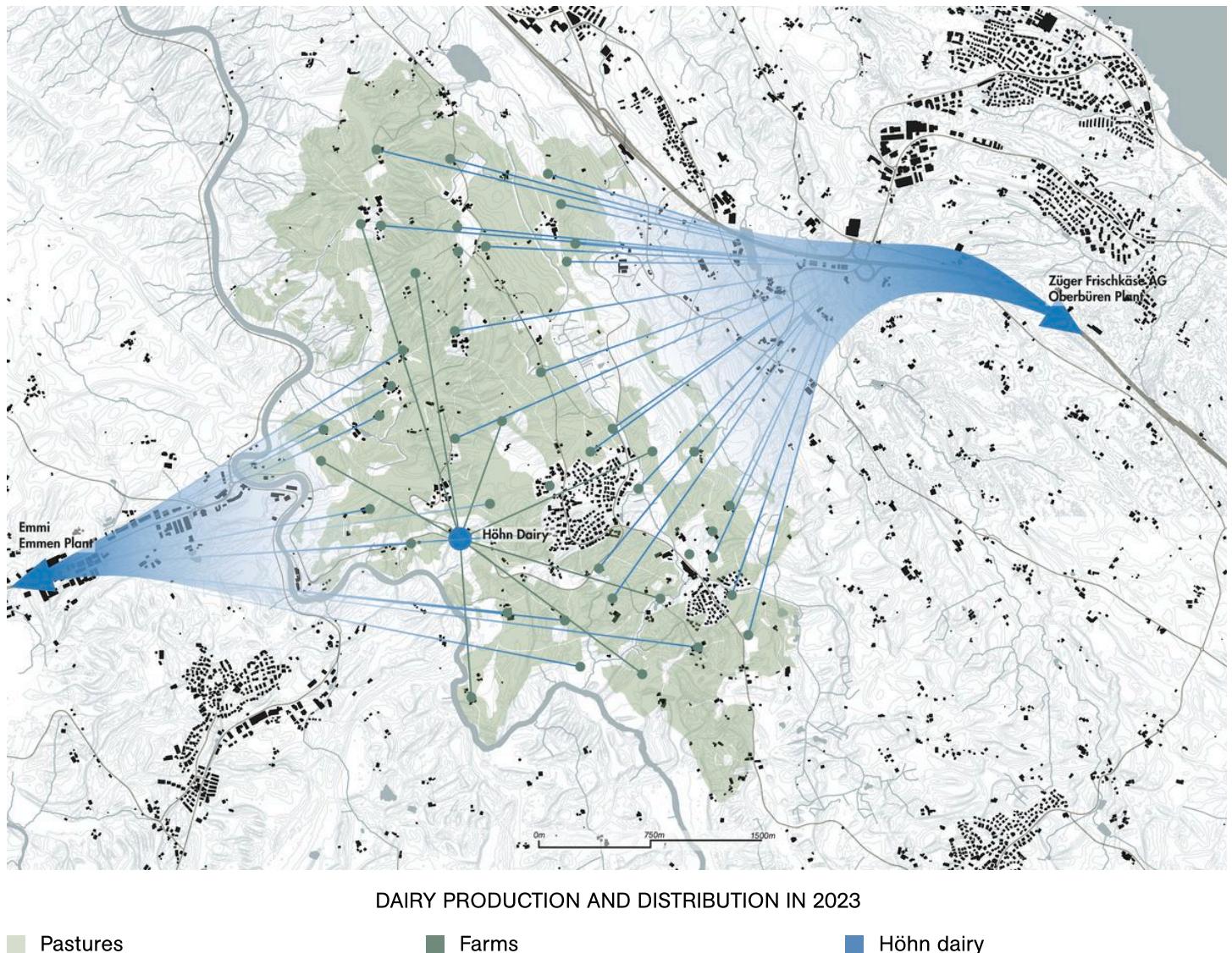


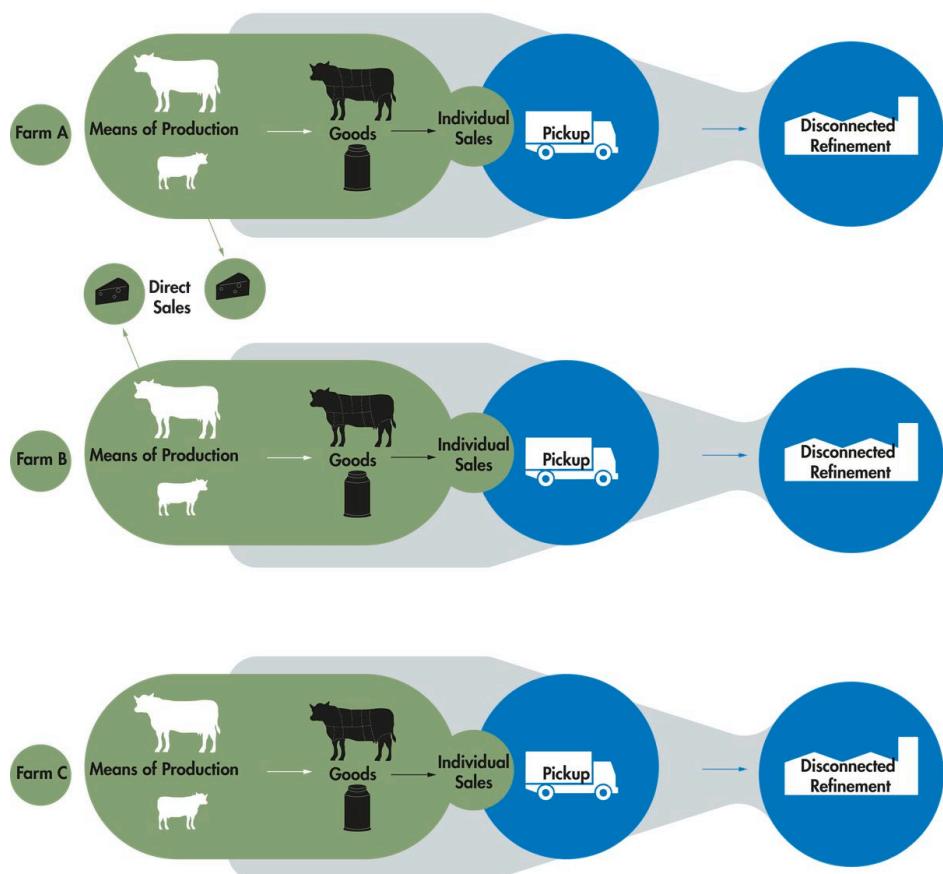
HIRZ ZEITSTRAHL

Milk Production and Processing Today

As the company continued to grow, the originally regional companies were bought up by companies operating nationwide. HIRZ was sold to Emmi and later merged with Nestlé in 2003. Today, HIRZ no longer has any direct connection to the region apart from its place of origin, Hirzel. As a result, the Höhn dairy is currently the only remaining dairy in Hirzel.

While the Höhn dairy specializes exclusively in processing and marketing organic milk, most of the milk produced in Hirzel is collected directly from the farms by milk trucks from Emmi or Züger Frischkäse. This type of milk collection is less labor-intensive than if each farmer took his milk to the local dairy himself.



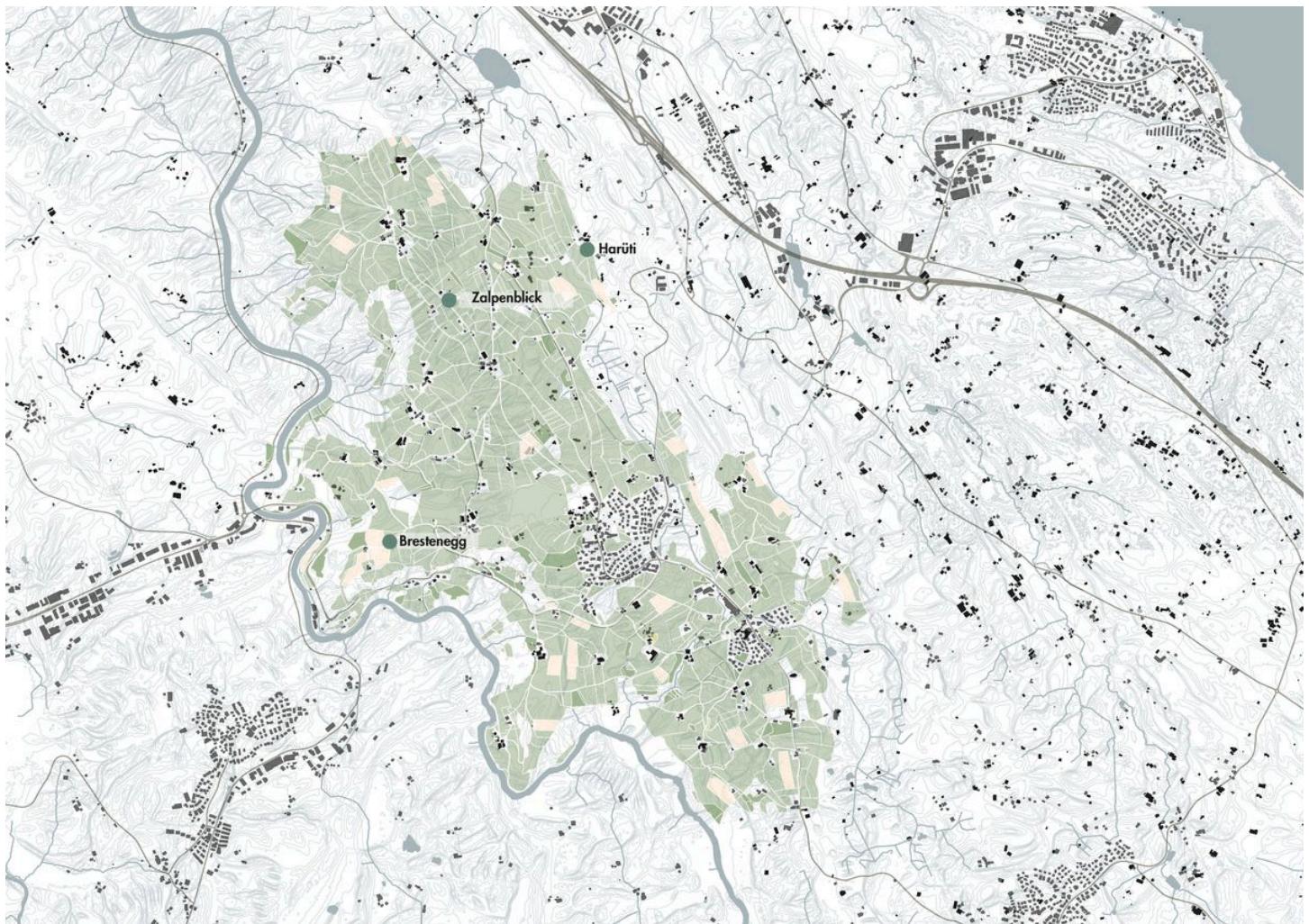


THE PRODUCTION, REFINEMENT, AND SALE OF PRODUCTS TODAY.

A Pre-alpine Monoculture



In the Hirzel region, animal husbandry and milk production predominate. Only a few farmers experiment with arable or vegetable farming, and accordingly this branch is economically less important.



Farms
Pastures

Biodiversity areas
Crops

Land		Pastures: 8km ² Crops: 0.21km ² Biodiversity: 0.09km ²	9,7km ²
Milk		Sold to Höhn: 2500t/a Sold to others: 4300t/a	Total Produced 6800t/a
People		Working in Agriculture: 102 Migrate to Work: 2056	Total living in Hirzel: 2158

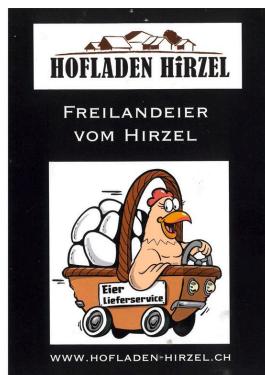
AGRICULTURE, LAND AND LABOUR IN HIRZEL TODAY

As one farmer, Ruedi Bill of Harüti, states, it is simply not economically feasible for him to invest in crop production. One of his colleagues, Daniel Heer farming on Brestenegg, is using some of his land to grow spelt for fodder and cultivates a minor range of vegetables for his own farm shop. He argues that the subsidies provided by the state do not incentivize moving away from traditional cattle farming.

Still, there are farms in Hirzel trying to expand to crops and vegetable cultivation. On the “Z’Alpenblick” farm close to Höhi, owned and operated by Regina Schwarzenbach and her team, collective and organic vegetable farming is practiced. But their way of farming is only possible because of subsidies received through a suckler cow husbandry they took over from a retiring neighbour by chance.

Bächenmoos Farm

The Bächenmoos farm is the home of Dani Heer and his Hofladen Hirzel. Dani Heer works his 28 ha. farm with his wife, and produces meat, fodder, and vegetables and owns a farm shop.

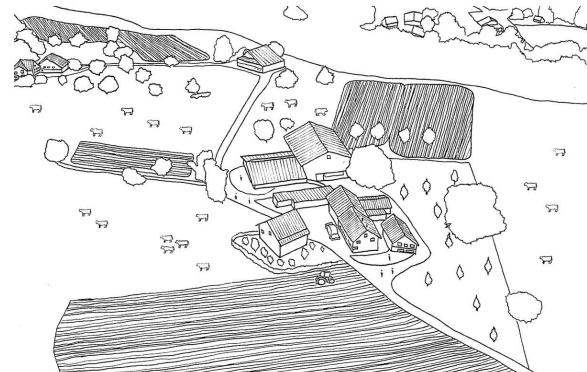


Flyer for Hofladen Hirzel. Source: Hofladen Hirzel [<https://www.hofladen-hirzel.ch>].

Dani Heer of Brestenegg.



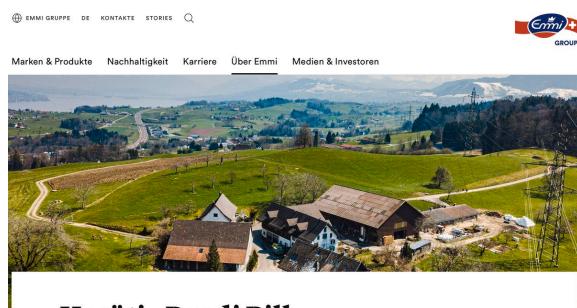
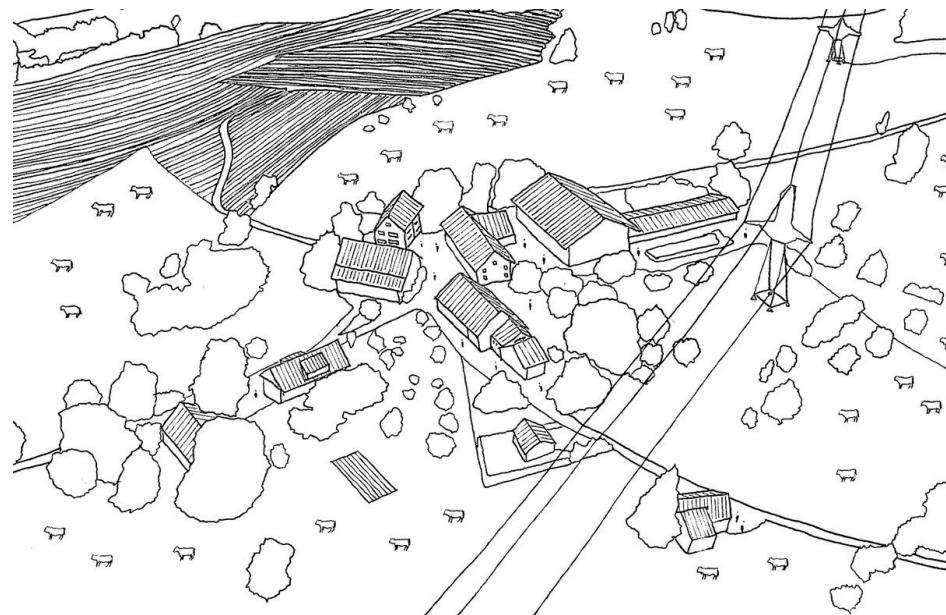
Farming at Brestenegg on 3 may 2023.



BÄCHENMOOS FARM, HOME OF DANI HEER AND HOFLADEN HIRZEL.

Harüti

The Harüti farm is operated by Ruedi Bill. He works his 56 ha. farm and produces milk, meat, and fodder. He is an ambassador to the Emmi group.



Harüti - Ruedi Bill

Hirzel (ZH)

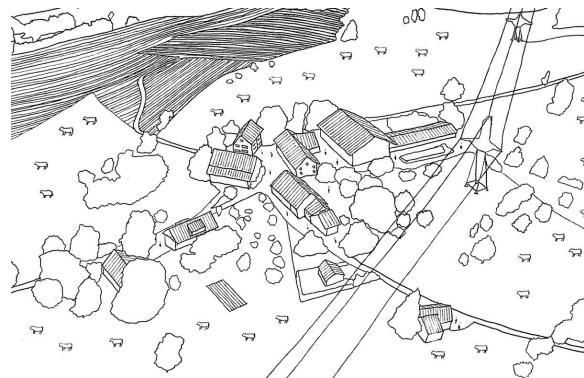
Presentation of the Harüti farm on the Emmi website. Source: Harüti [<https://group.emmi.com/che/de/ueber-emmi/bauernbotschafter/overview-milchlieferanten/harueti-bill-hirzel>].



Farming at Harüti on 5 April 2023.



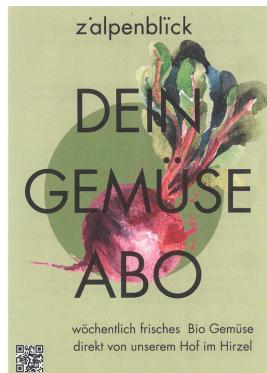
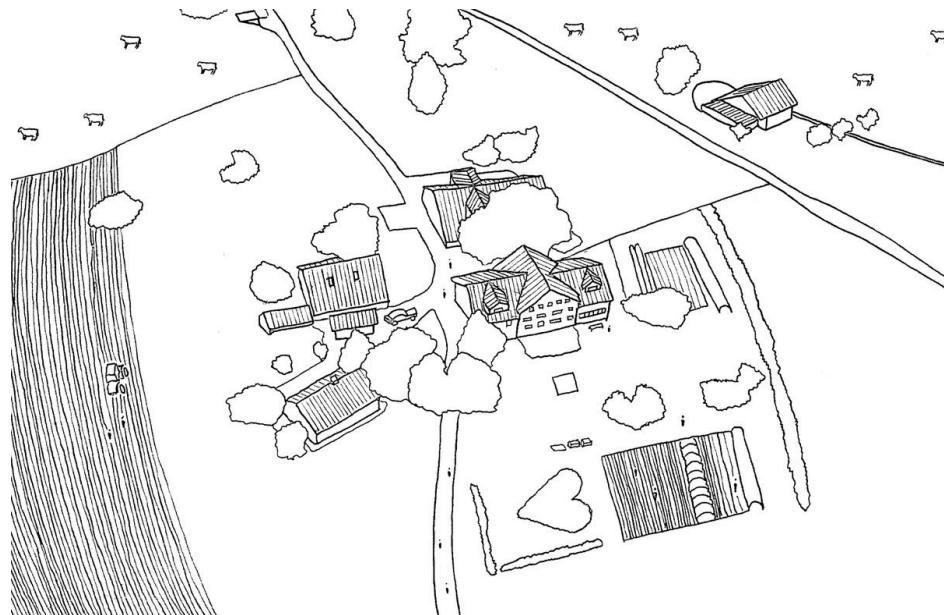
Ruedi Bill (l.) with his father, Fritz Bill, of Harüti. Source: Harüti [<https://group.emmi.com/che/de/ueber-emmi/bauernbotschafter/overview-milchlieferanten/harueti-bill-hirzel>].



HARÜTI FARM, HOME OF RUEDI BILL.

Z'Alpenblick

Z'Alpenblick farm, home of Regina Schwarzenbach and her team. She works her 17 ha. farm with members of the z'Alpenblick cooperative, and produces meat, and over 50 different kinds of vegetables. She operates a vegetable basket.



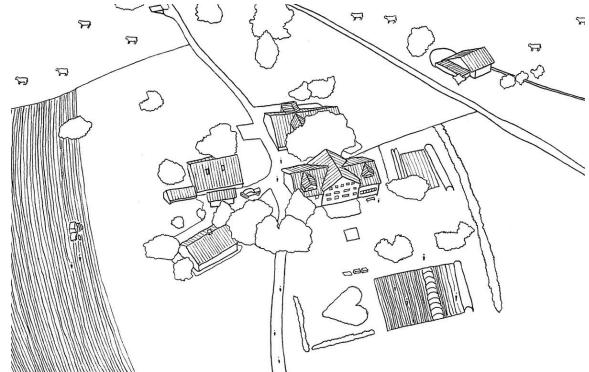
Flyer for the z'alpenblick vegetable basket.
Source: Z'Alpenblick [<https://www.zalpenblick.ch>].



Regina Schwarzenbach (r.) with
z'alpenblick member Marie Dupré.



Farming at z'alpenblick, 22 march 2023.



Z'ALPENBLICK FARM, HOME OF REGINA SCHWARZENBACH AND HER TEAM.

There are 28 farmers left, spread all over the Hirzel. Because of the gridlocked farming situation and the dependency on subsidies, they almost all of them produce the same: Milk, meat, eggs, and apple juice. Dairy and meat products are almost exclusively distributed through corporations and retailers, to be processed and sold on the nationwide market. Trade is done individually by each farmer; a communal or collective way of selling products to retailers has not existed since the closure of the many regional dairies, and most recently since the closure of the HIRZ factory in 2005. And so, farmers are dependent on large manufacturers. Most farmers have a private farm shop; some operate a full-scale walk-in store, while others simply have self-service fridges. There is no coordinated plan to sell local goods and products in a unified way.



INDIVIDUAL FARM SHOPS SPREAD ALL OVER THE HIRZEL REGION.



LOCATION, INSIDE IMAGE



LOCATION



LOCATION



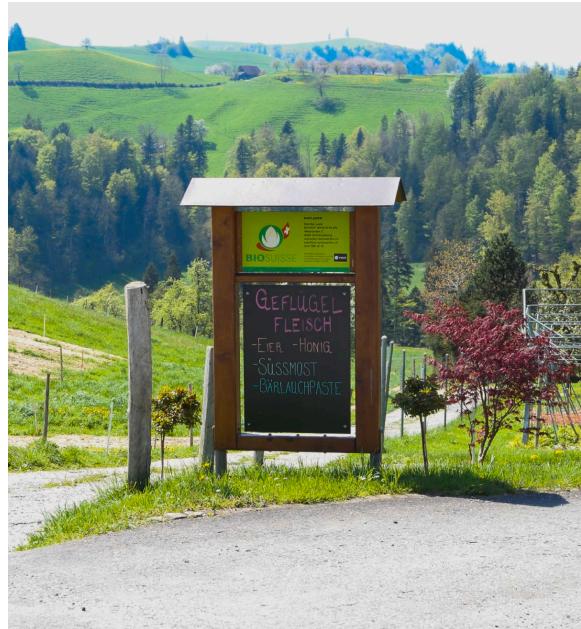
LOCATION



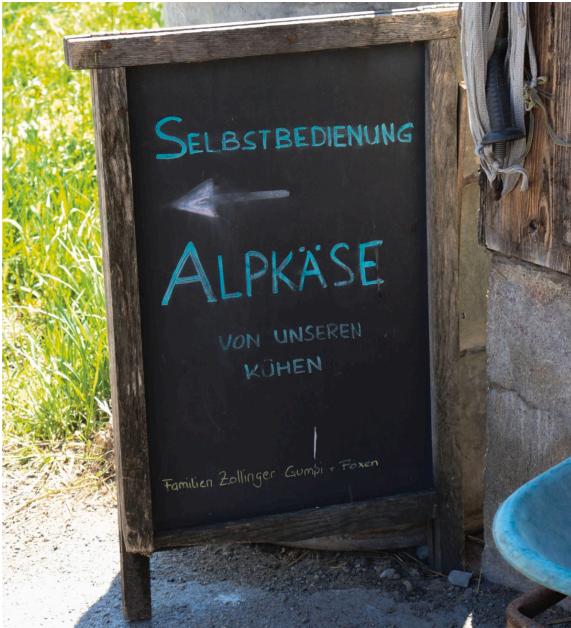
LOCATION



LOCATION



HOFLADEN LUSTI, WEISSERLEN
(SCHÖNENBERG ZH).
Photograph: By the authors.



FAMILY ZOLLINGER, HIRZEL-GUMPI.
Photograph: By the authors.



HOFLADEN LEUTHOLD, HIRZEL-SPITZEN.
Photograph: By the authors.



HOFBUFFET, HIRZEL-ZIMMBERBERG.
Photograph: By the authors.



SELF-SERVICE SHELF, HIRZEL-ZIMMBERBERG.
Photograph: By the authors.



SELF-SERVICE FRIDGE, HIRZEL-ZIMMERBERG.
Photograph: By the authors.



HOFLADEN LUSTI
Weisserlen (Schönenberg ZH). 3 May 2023.



FAMILY ZOLLINGER
Hirzel-Gumpi. 3 May 2023.



HOFLADEN LEUTHOLD, HIRZEL-
SPITZEN. 22 MARCH 2023.
Photograph: By the authors.



HOEBUFFET
Hirzel-Zimmberberg. 3 May 2023.



SELF-SERVICE SHELF, HIRZEL-
ZIMMBERBERG. 3 MAY 2023.
Photograph: By the authors.



SELF-SERVICE FRIDGE, HIRZEL-
ZIMMERBERG. 3 MAY 2023.
Photograph: By the authors.

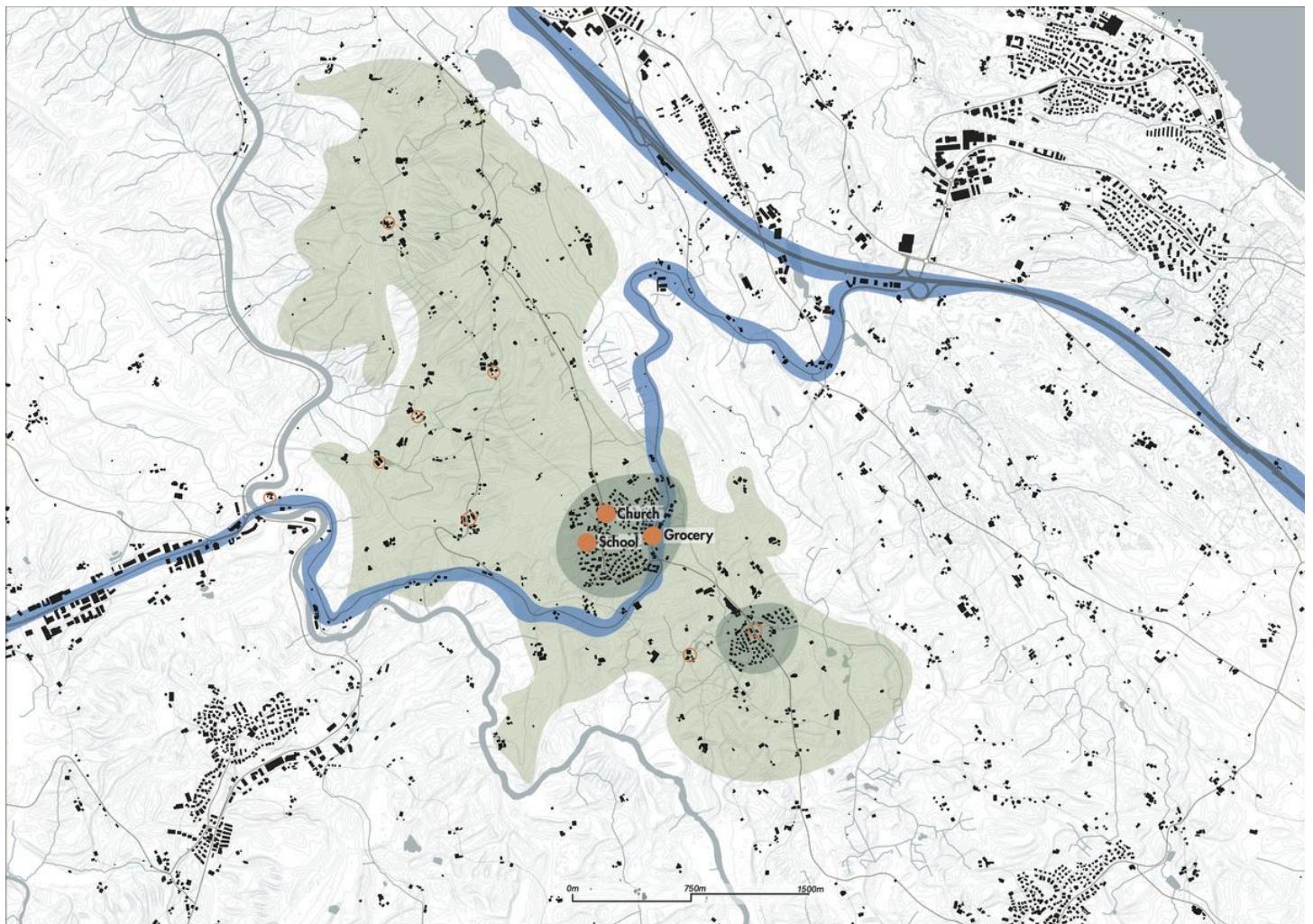
The Slow Death of a Commune?



With the closure of the common dairies the polycentric quality of a lively Hirzel came to an end.

But with what was it replaced? The geographic centre of Hirzel manifested itself over the years from one of the subordinated centres to the main core.

With the construction of the N3 (today A3) highway, Hirzel was connected to the larger Zurich agglomeration. This triggered a construction boom, starting in the 1970s, which doubled the population within 50 years. The newcomers were not involved in agriculture, and the number of farms dropped from 95 in 1969 to 38 in 2014.

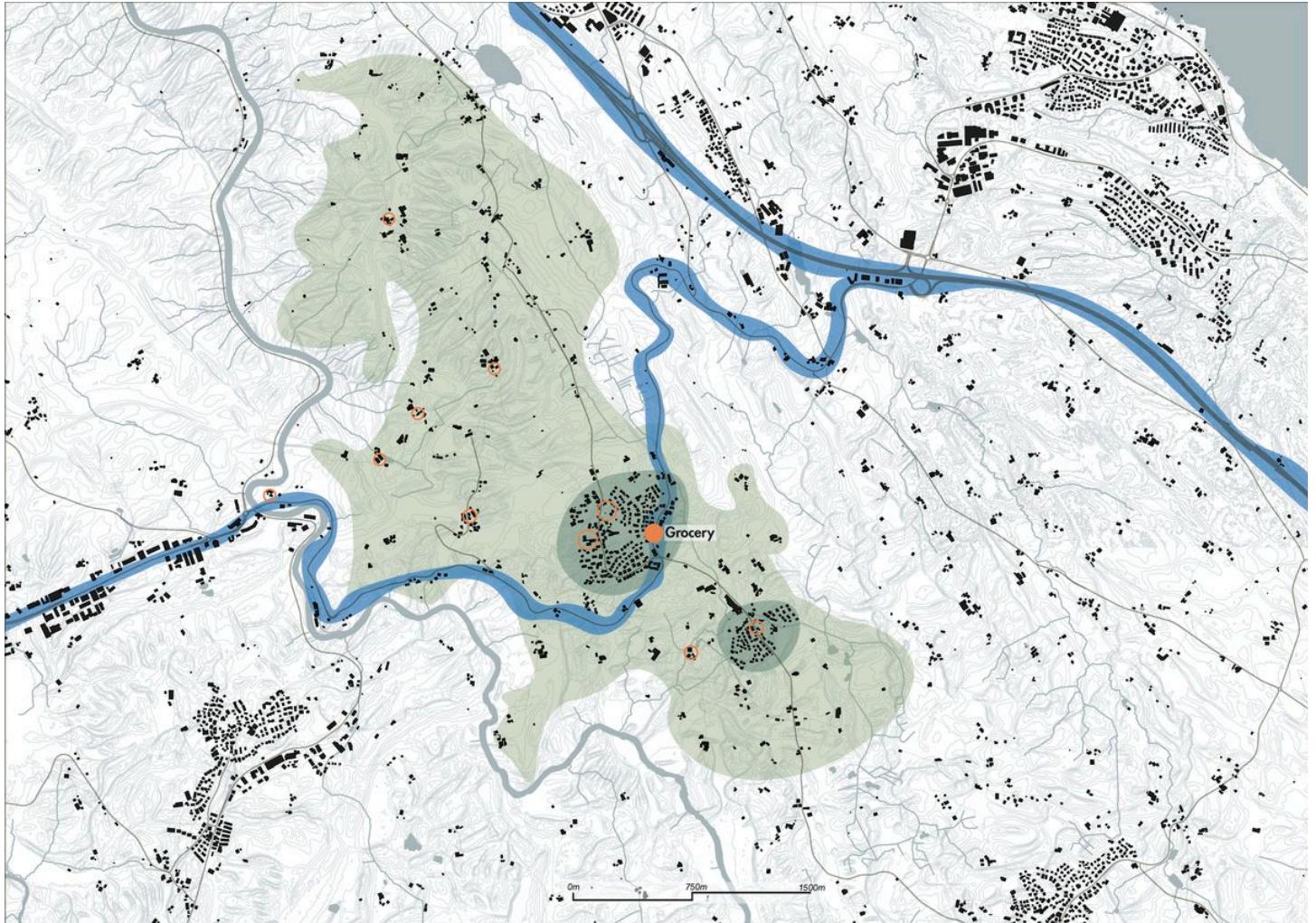


THE THREE SOCIAL GROUPS OF HIRZEL, BEFORE THE MERGER WITH HORGGEN 2018.

■ SOCIAL HUBS, BEFORE THE MERGER WITH HORGGEN 2018.

■ THE PASTURES: THE FARMERS.
■ THE VILLAGE: THE INHABITANTS.

■ THE HIRZEL PASS: THE COMMUTERS.



THE THREE SOCIAL GROUPS OF HIRZEL, AFTER THE MERGER WITH HORGGEN 2018.

■ SOCIAL HUBS, AFTER THE MERGER WITH HORGGEN 2018.
 ■ THE PASTURES: THE FARMERS.
 ■ THE VILLAGE: THE INHABITANTS.
 ■ THE HIRZEL PASS: THE COMMUTERS.

Over the last few decades, the commune of Hirzel has struggled financially and therefore had one of the highest tax rates in the region. As the HIRZ factory had a profound impact on communal finances, its closure worsened the village's economic situation. On top of that most inhabitants in the village today commute to work in Zurich or Zug and do not contribute directly to local services. This creates a "sleeper-town", marred by heavy traffic, with over 17,000 cars travelling over the Hirzel per day, and nearly no amenities or public services left, neither for its inhabitants nor the commuters. Hirzel was incorporated into the commune of Horgen in 2018. The coalition of the two communes enabled many positive changes for Hirzel, such as a lower tax rate and broader educational offerings for children. However, it also led to the closure of Hirzel's public library, and its communal office was dissolved.



"CUT-UP": POSTER ADVOCATING FOR VOTING
AGAINST AN EXPANSION OF THE HIRZEL PASS, 1984.
Source: Gemeinearchiv Horgen.

Today, three different groups are predominant in Hirzel but are barely in exchange with one another:

First, the farmers, operating on their family farms – sometimes generations – who lost their local meeting points due to changes in operating procedure dictated by new industry standards.

Second, the new inhabitants, who enjoy their private residential homes in a scenic and mostly calm rural landscape as they work in close-by centres, offering a broader range of jobs.

Third, the commuters, who drive over the Hirzel Pass and through the lifeless village of Hirzel where they are not offered a chance to interact with the village population and are hardly able to purchase local products due to the lack of shopping facilities.



HEUTIGE BILDER VON HIRZEL



VIEW OF MODERN HIRZEL.
Photograph: By the authors.



CONSTRUCTION SITE IN THE
CENTRE OF THE VILLAGE.
Photograph: By the authors.



OLD AND NEW BUILDINGS LINE THE
MAIN STREET, THE HIRZEL PASS.
Photograph: By the authors.



RECENTLY BULIT HOUSING
BORDERS FARMLAND DIRECTLY.
Photograph: By the authors.



THE HIRZEL PASS.
Photograph: By the authors.



THE ABANDONED POST OFFICE ALONG
THE MAIN ROAD, THE HIRZEL PASS.
Photograph: By the authors.



VIEW OF MODERN HIRZEL.
Photograph: By the authors.



CONSTRUCTION SITE IN THE
CENTRE OF THE VILLAGE.
Photograph: By the authors.



RECENTLY BUILT HOUSING
BORDERS FARMLAND DIRECTLY.
Photograph: By the authors.



THE HIRZEL PASS.
Photograph: By the authors.



OLD AND NEW BUILDINGS LINE THE
MAIN STREET, THE HIRZEL PASS.
Photograph: By the authors.



THE ABANDONED POST OFFICE ALONG
THE MAIN ROAD, THE HIRZEL PASS.
Photograph: By the authors.



VIEW OF HIRZEL TODAY. 3 MAY 2023.
Photograph: By the authors.



CONSTRUCTION SITE IN THE CENTRE
OF THE VILLAGE. 5 APRIL 2023.
Photograph: By the authors.



RECENTLY BUILT HOUSING BORDERS
FARMLAND DIRECTLY. 19 MARCH 2023.
Photograph: By the authors.



THE HIRZEL PASS. 9 APRIL 2023.
Photograph: By the authors.

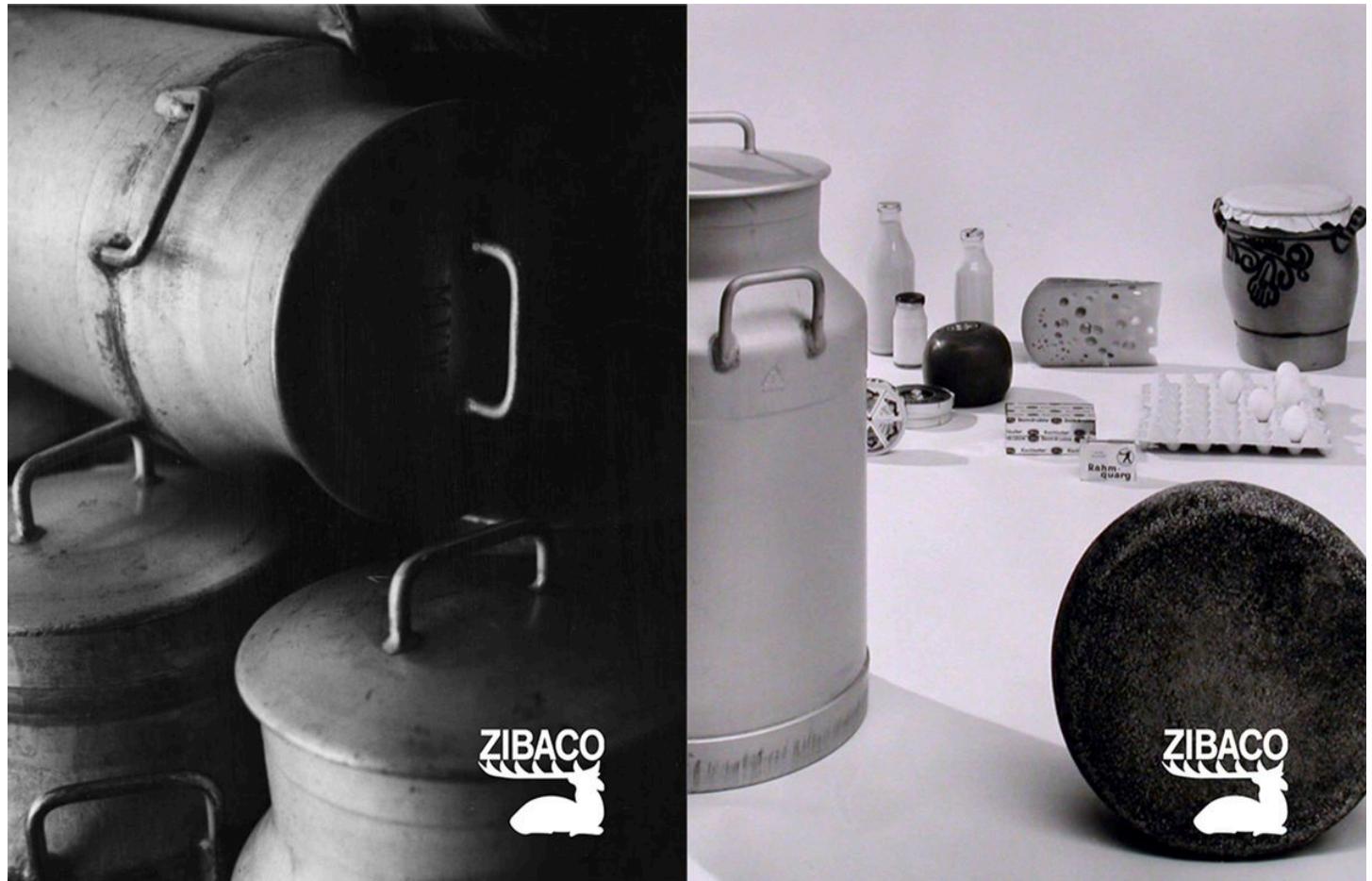


OLD AND NEW BUILDINGS LINE
THE HIRZEL PASS. 9 APRIL 2023.
Photograph: By the authors.



THE ABANDONED POST OFFICE ALONG
THE HIRZEL PASS. 9 APRIL 2023.
Photograph: By the authors.

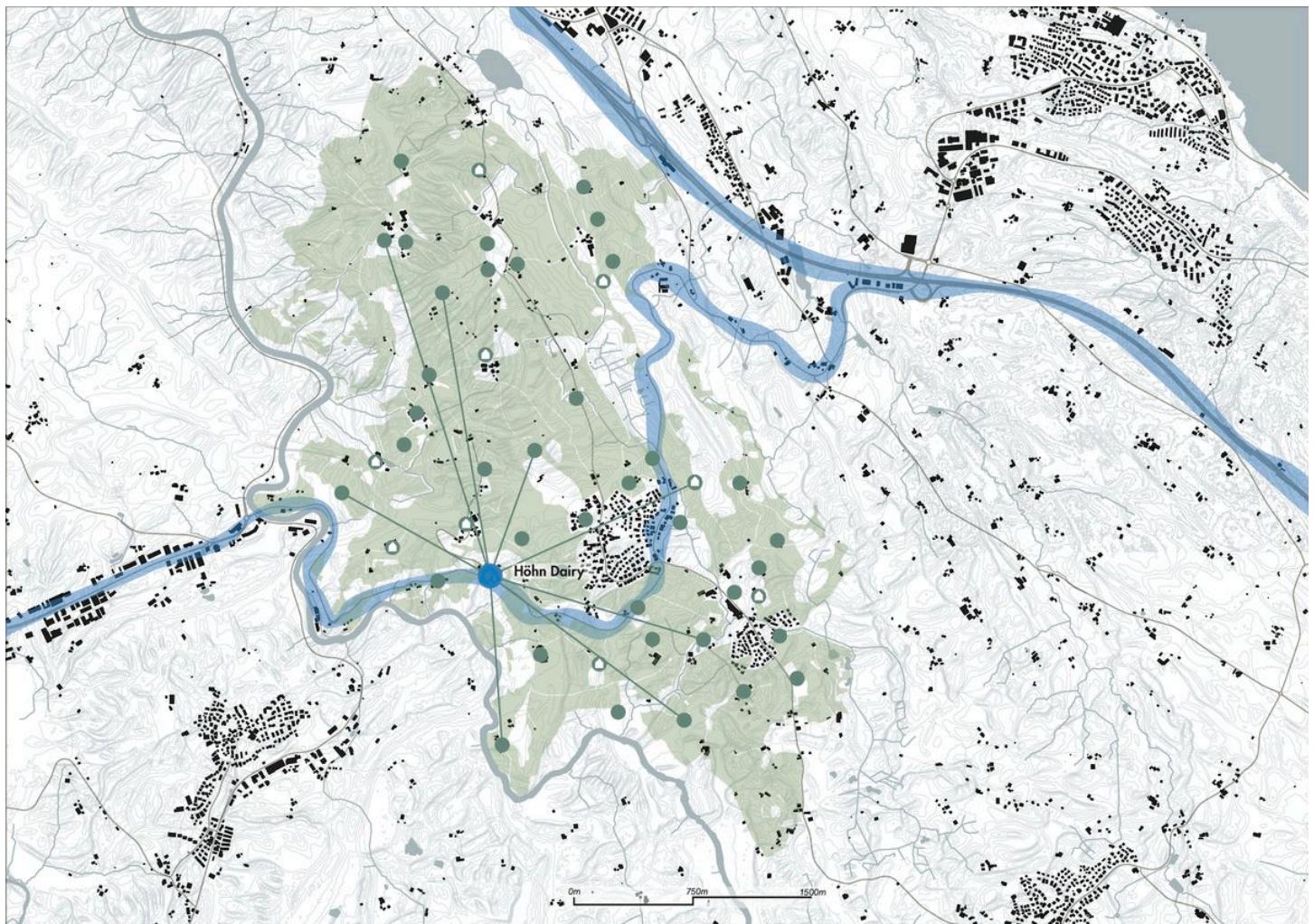
The Rekindling of a Cooperative Mindset



In order to break away from the agricultural status-quo, we propose a new farmers' cooperative, which can fulfill the need for a coordinated and united processing of farm products. We can take over the abandoned HIRZ factory and the abandoned post office, and bring the three groups of Hirzel together, thus reviving the village.



https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=82IpWU_yKPY



THE STATE OF HIRZEL TODAY.

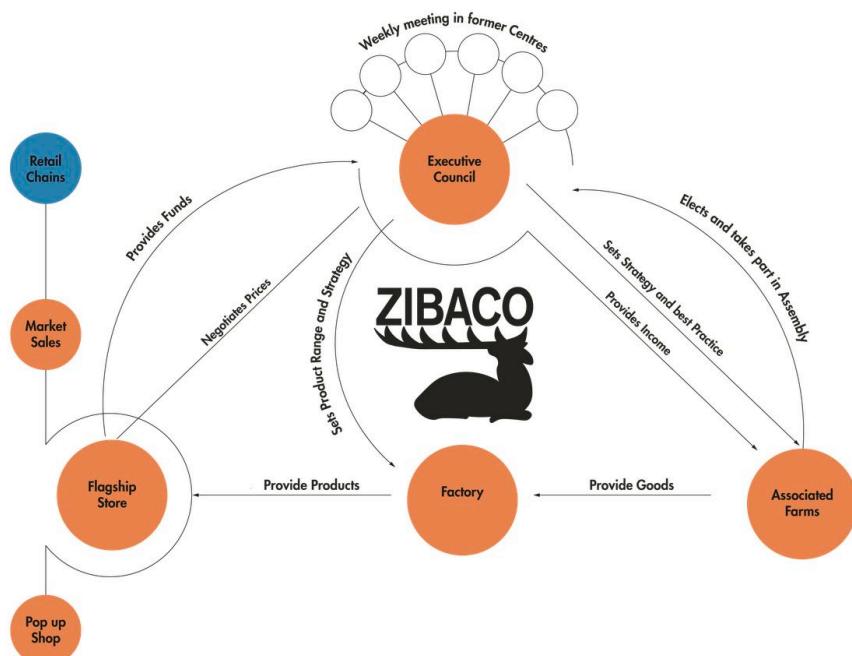
- PASTURES.
- FARMS.
- FARMS WITH PRIVATE FARM SHOP.
- HÖHN DAIRY, THE LAST DAIRY LEFT IN HIRZEL.
- COMMUTER PATH.

All the phenomena mentioned above leave us with the following problems: Former small hubs are scattered around the commune but are underused, social life no longer takes place there. The farmers are mostly dependent on large corporations, and most of the farmers produce similar goods. Their products are shipped to production facilities far away from the region of Zimmerberg. There is almost no room for improvement or self-determination under the agricultural status-quo without rethinking the current relationships and potential opportunities.

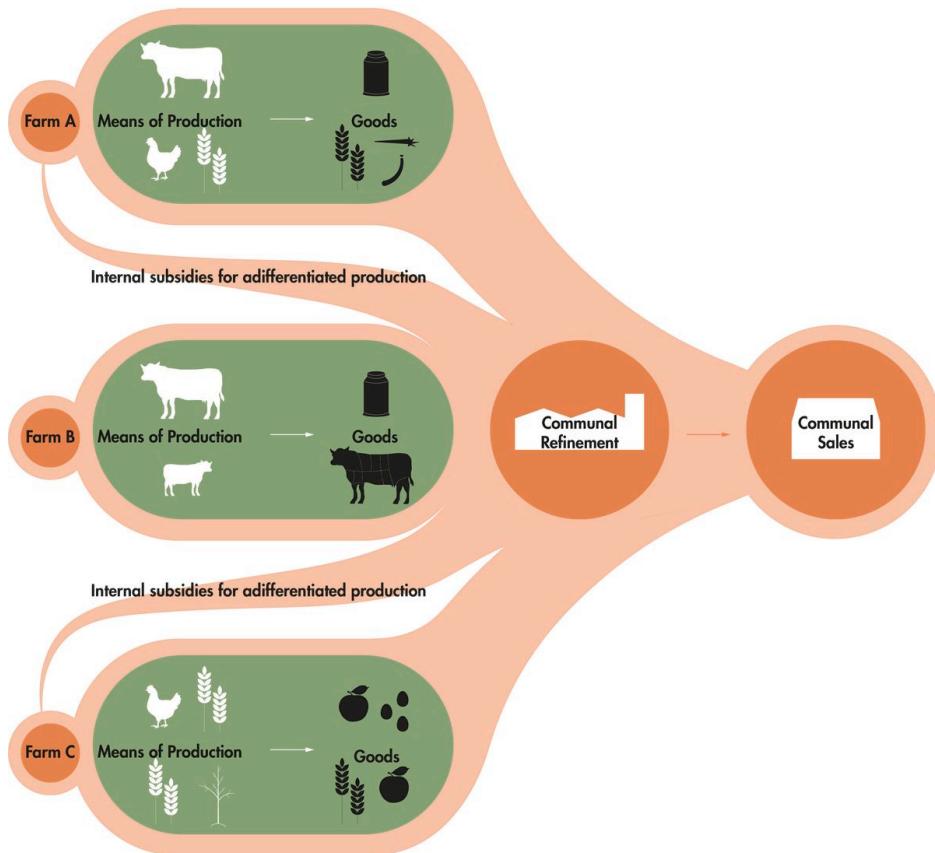
Our proposal is to establish a cooperative form of farming in today's Hirzel. The newly formed cooperative, the "Zimmerberger Bauern Cooperative", or ZIBACO for short, is owned democratically by the associated farmers and regulates the supply, production, pricing, and distribution of self-made products. In doing so, the local farmers reclaim a forgotten strength of their possible market influence; now they can coordinate work among each other and act as a unified group when they find themselves in negotiations with larger industrial buyers.

By opening their own road shop and having ZIBACO stand for local, social and economically sustainable, as well as environment-friendly products the cooperative brand gains value without having to rely on non-local food distributors.

Once a year, a general assembly is held, where an executive council is elected. This council represents the cooperative towards third parties. Every week, the council meets with the associated farmers to discuss current matters and take decisions on key elements which affect the cooperative, such as the current milk price for example. These meetings take place in the underused, scattered hubs, with the location rotating every time. In this way, the old social hubs regain their purpose as former gathering spaces of Hirzel's inhabitants and are hopefully able to therefrom develop into the future.

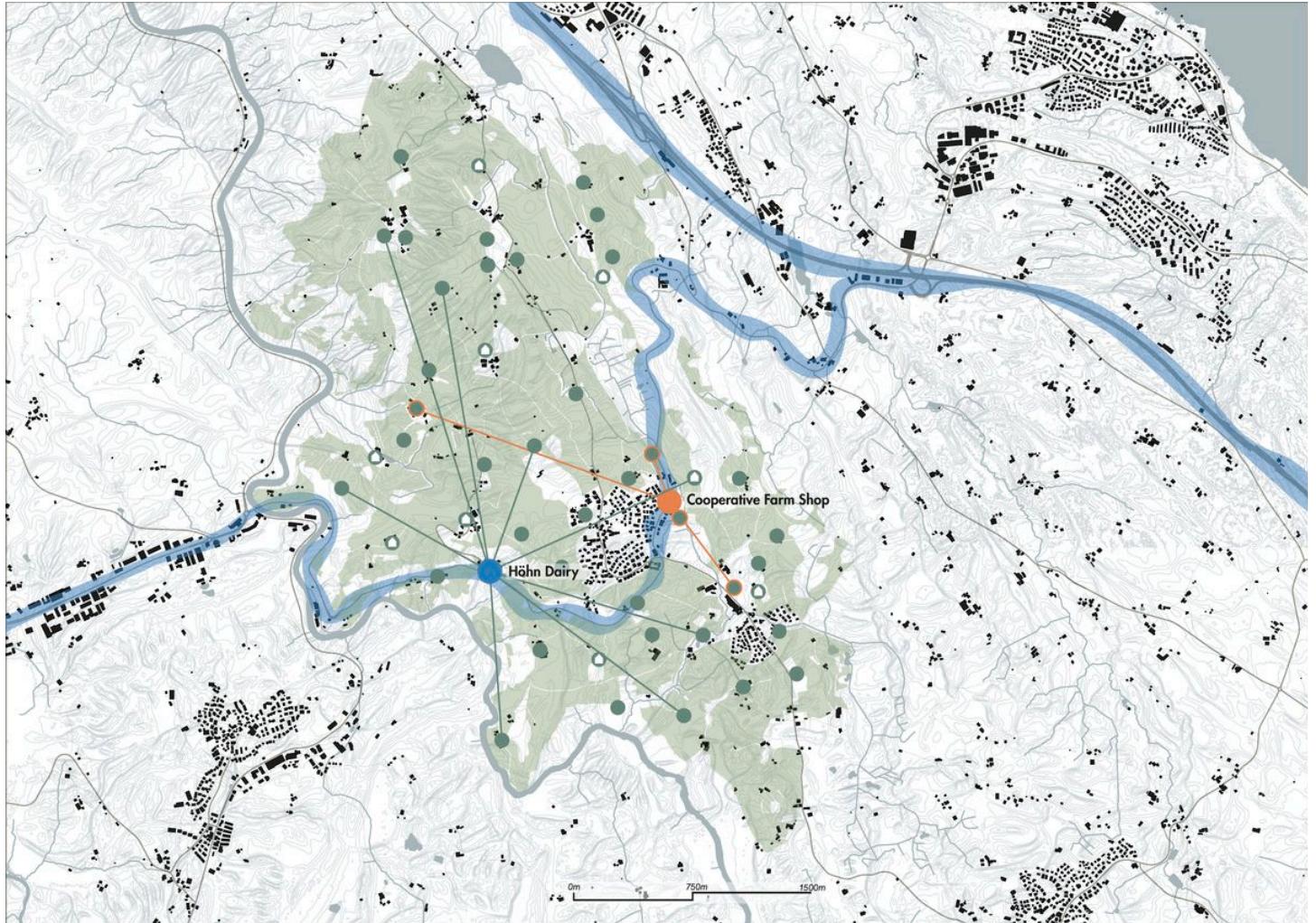


ORGANIGRAM OF ZIBACO.



THE PRODUCTION, REFINEMENT, AND SALE OF PRODUCTS UNDER ZIBACO.

The private farms and machine pools of affiliated farmers are leased by the cooperative and used commonly, the decision on which goods are produced on which arable land lies within the cooperative. The former HIRZ factory has been abandoned since 2016 and is being taken over by the cooperative and functions as the new processing site of local comestibles. Products include milk, cheese, yoghurt, meat products, apple juice and seasonal vegetables. As the cooperative grows, so does the product line while the points-of-sale spread across the region. All of this is done in stages; the changes are implemented gradually, in order to not disturb the land.

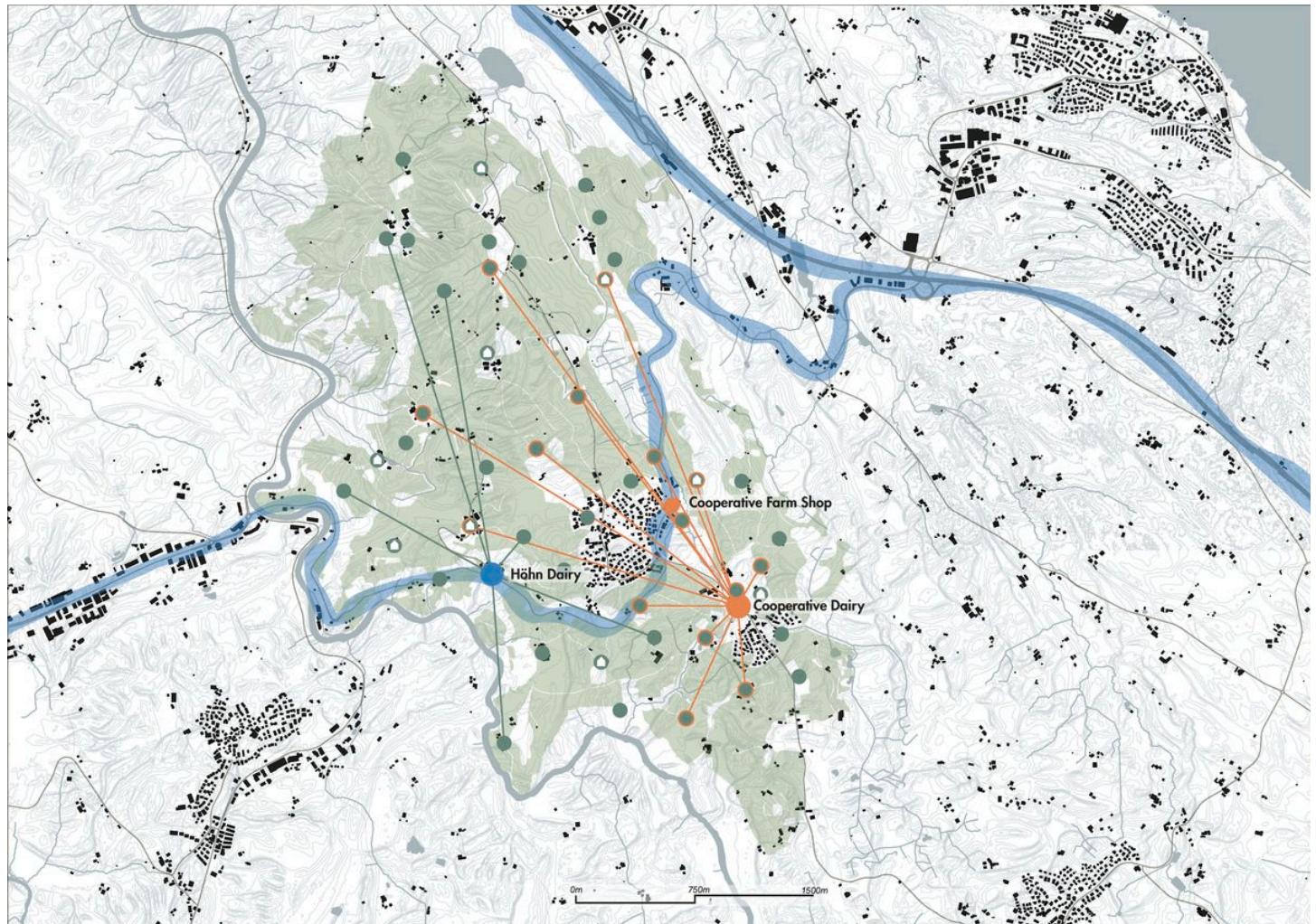


FIRST STAGE OF THE COOPERATIVE.

■ FIRST FARMS AFFILIATIVE THEMSELVES WITH THE NEW ZIBACO SHOP.
■ PASTURES.

■ FARMS.
○ FARMS WITH PRIVATE FARM SHOPS.

■ HÖHN DAIRY, THE LAST DAIRY LEFT IN HIRZEL.
■ COMMUTER PATH.

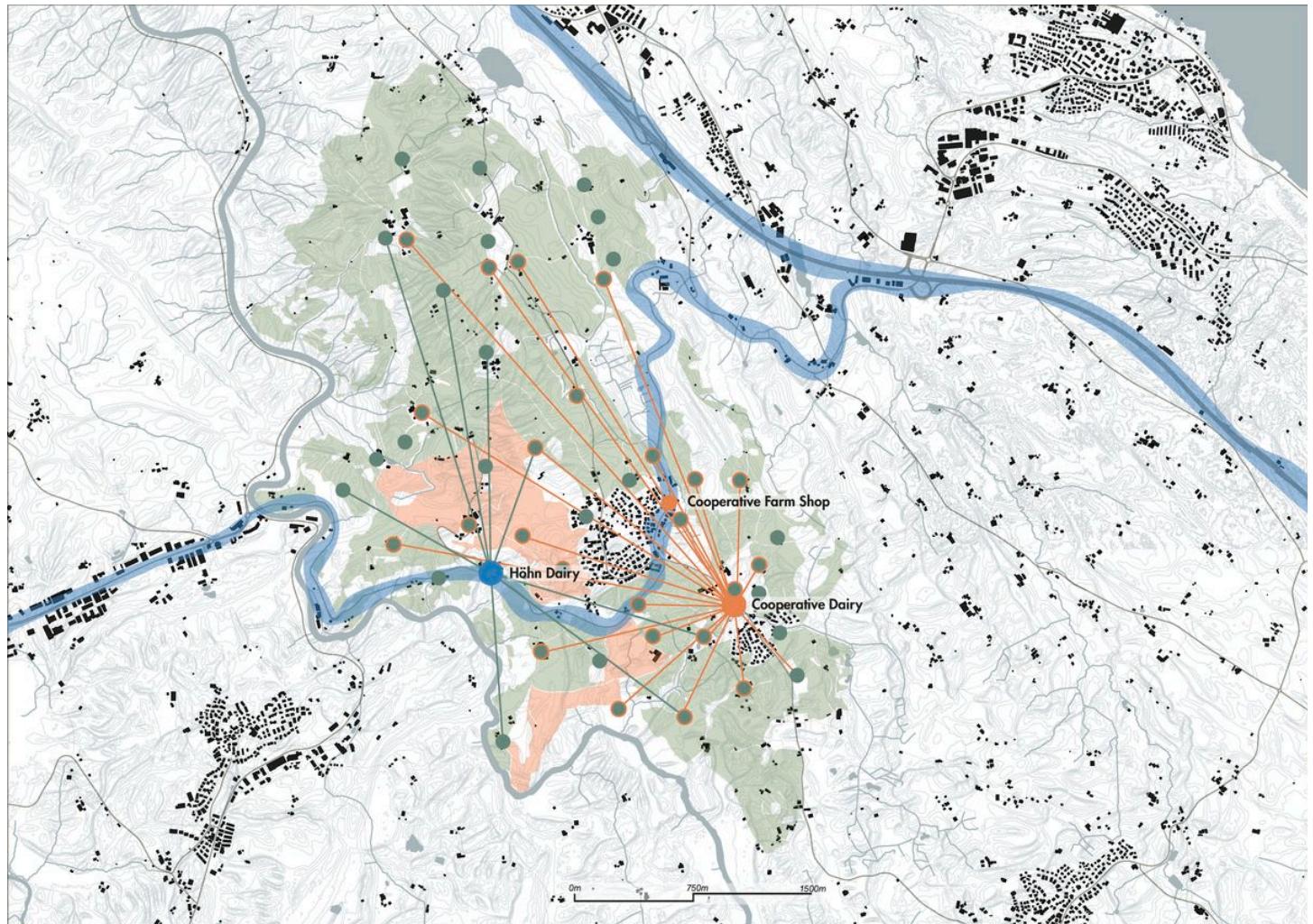


SECOND STAGE OF THE COOPERATIVE.

■ ZIBACO PRODUCTION MOVES TO THE FORMER HIRZ FACTORY.
MORE FARMS ARE AFFILIATED WITH THE COOPERATIVE.

■ PASTURES.
■ FARMS.
○ FARMS WITH PRIVATE FARM SHOP.

■ HÖHN DAIRY, THE LAST DAIRY LEFT IN HIRZEL.
■ COMMUTER PATH.

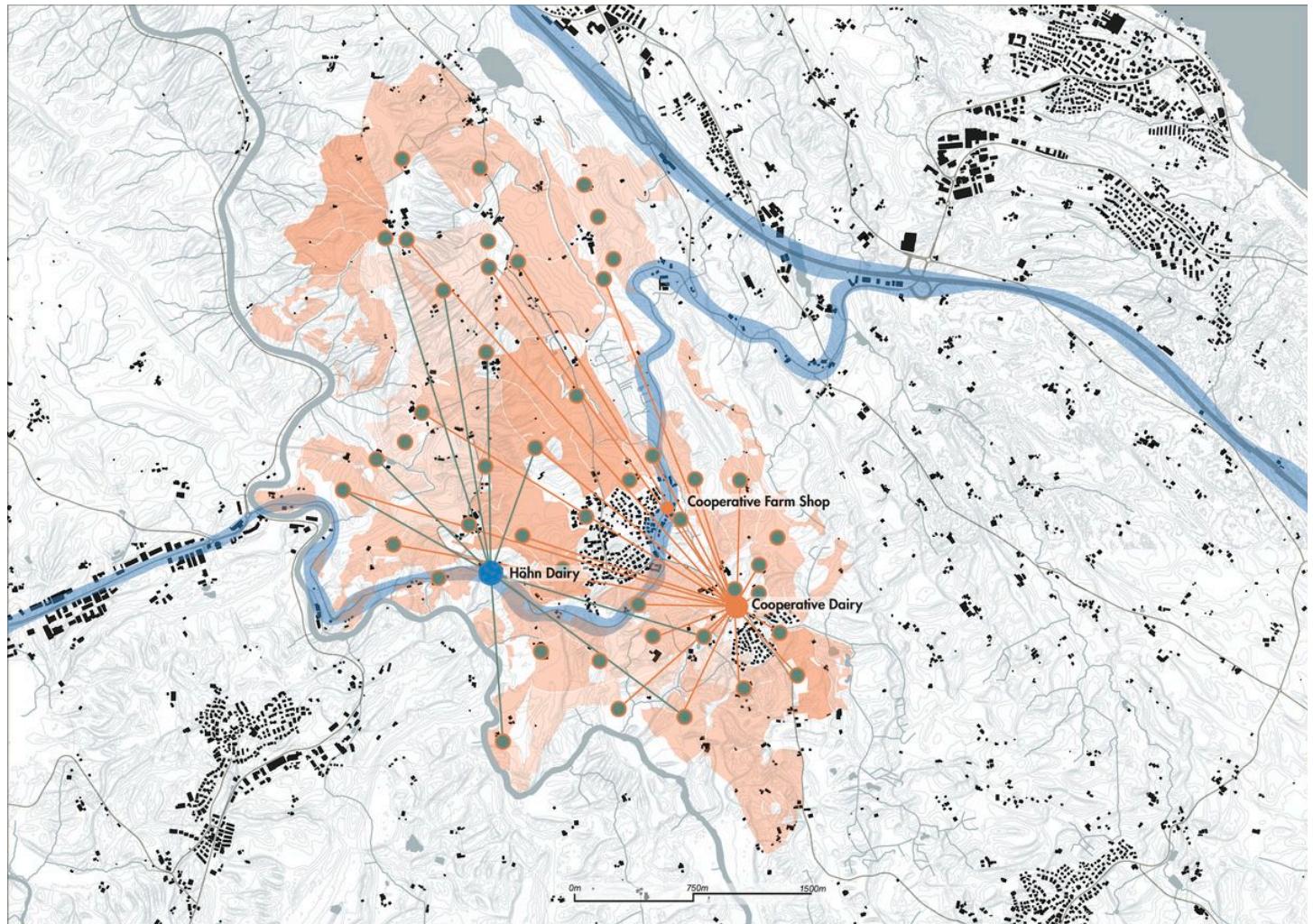


THIRD STAGE OF THE COOPERATIVE.

■ ZIBACO PRODUCTION MOVES TO THE FORMER HIRZ FACTORY. MORE FARMS ARE AFFILIATED WITH THE COOPERATIVE.

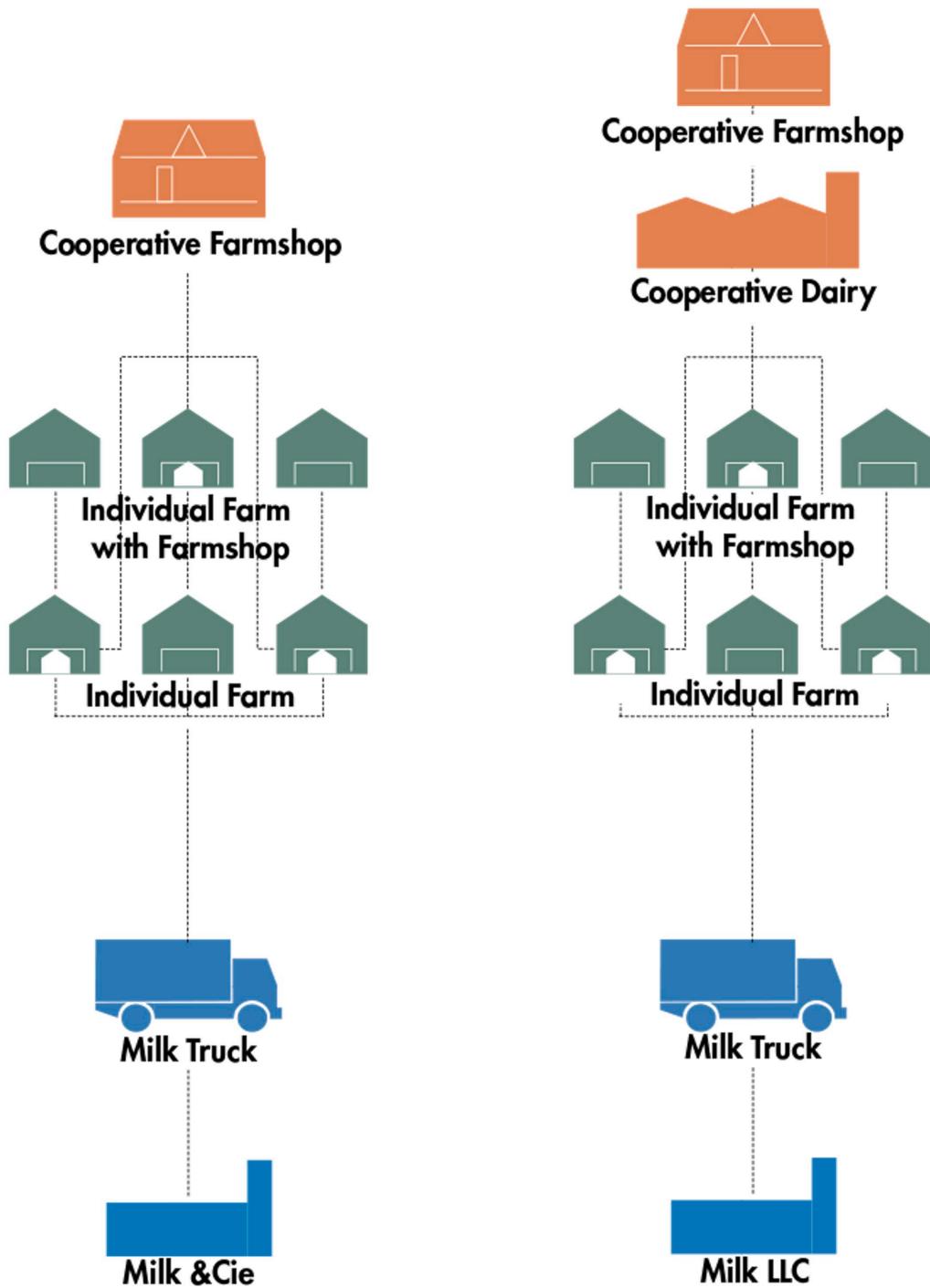
■ ZIBACO INCENTIVISES THE OUTPUT OF CERTAIN LANDS.
■ FARMS.

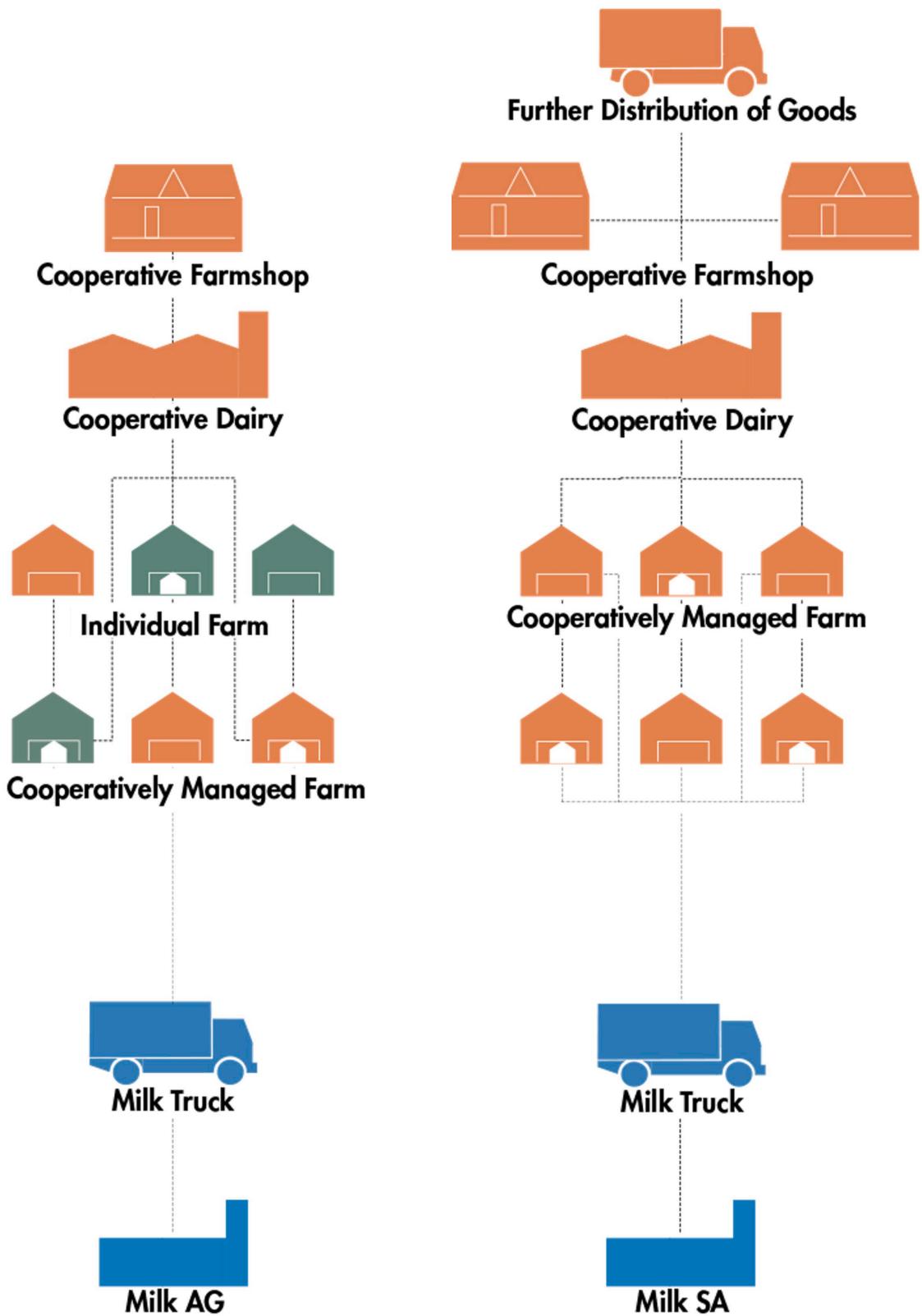
■ HÖHN DAIRY, THE LAST DAIRY LEFT IN HIRZEL.
■ COMMUTERS PATH.



FOURTH AND FINAL STAGE OF THE COOPERATIVE.

- ALL FARMS ARE AFFILIATED WITH ZIBACO.
- COOPERATIVE-INCENTIVISED PASTURES.
- COOPERATIVE-INCENTIVISED CROPLAND.
- COOPERATIVE-INCENTIVISED BIODIVERSITY-PROMITTING AREAS.
- FARMS.
- HÖHN DAIRY, THE LAST DAIRY LEFT IN HIRZEL.
- COMMUTER PATH.



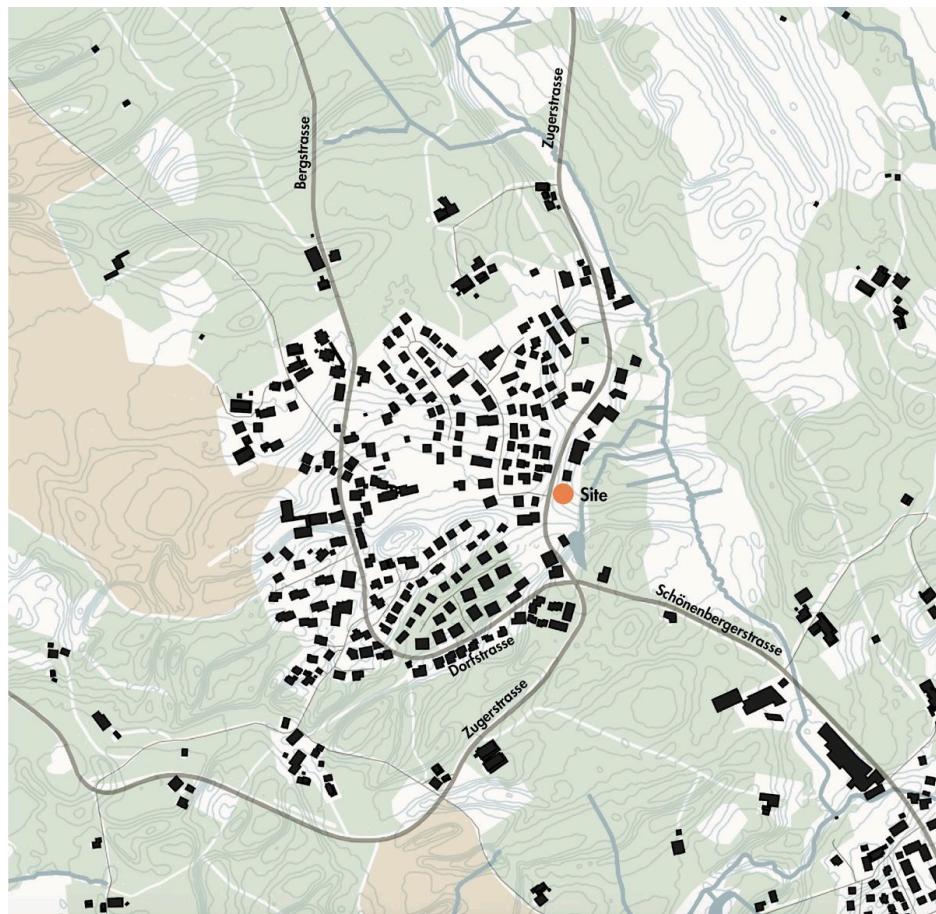


THIRD STAGE OF THE COOPERATIVE.

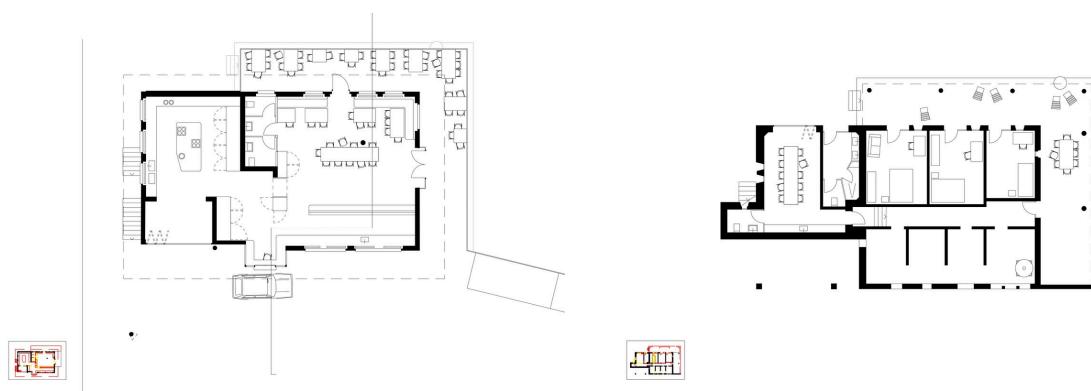
FOURTH AND FINAL STAGE
OF THE COOPERATIVE.

The sale points of ZIBACO products are developed in stages: The first stage is a mobile truck, serving the commuters in Hirzel, neighbouring hamlets and towns, as well as nearby cities and local markets, establishing a pop-up store wherever it goes.

The second stage is the opening of a permanent shop in the centre of Hirzel. Along the Hirzel Pass lies the former post office which is abandoned today. The cooperative takes over the site and establishes a shop and a café serving locals and commuters. In addition to serving Hirzel's inhabitants, a drive-through counter is created for commuters.

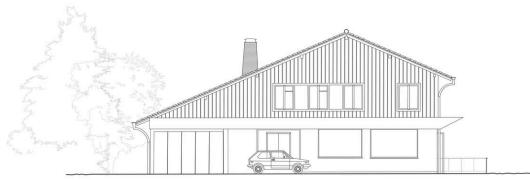


SITUATION PLAN OF THE ZIBACO FARM SHOP.

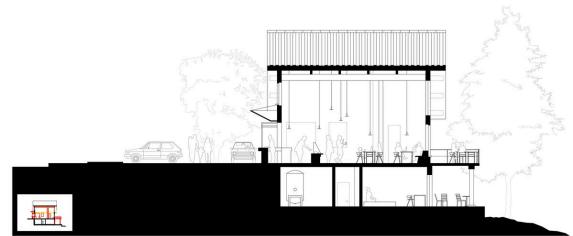


GROUND FLOOR OF THE REMODELED POST OFFICE, CONTAINING A DRIVE-THROUGH COUNTER, THE ZIBACO FARM SHOP, A CAFE, THE COOPERATIVE HEADQUARTERS, AND ROOMS FOR PART-TIME FARM WORKERS.

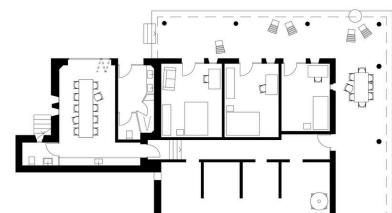
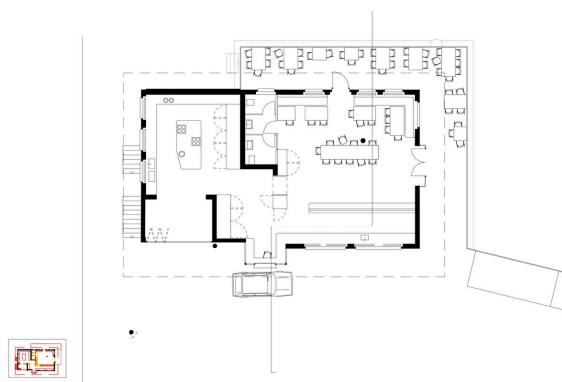
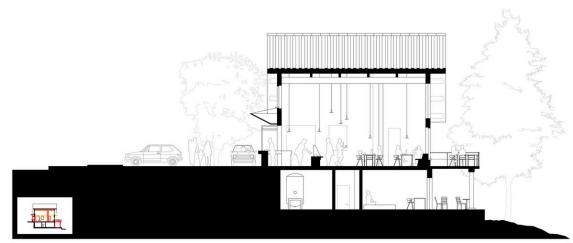
BASEMENT FLOOR OF THE REMODELED POST OFFICE, CONTAINING A DRIVE-THROUGH COUNTER, THE ZIBACO FARM SHOP, A CAFE, THE COOPERATIVE HEADQUARTERS, AND ROOMS FOR PART-TIME FARM WORKERS.

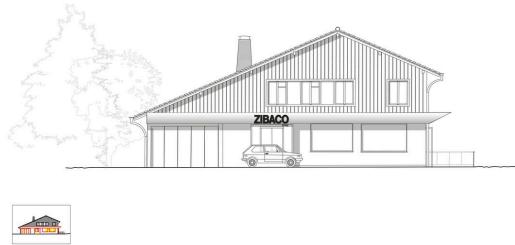


VIEW OF THE REMODELED POST OFFICE, CONTAINING A DRIVE-THROUGH COUNTER, THE ZIBACO FARM SHOP, A CAFE, THE COOPERATIVE HEADQUARTERS, AND ROOMS FOR PART-TIME FARM WORKERS.

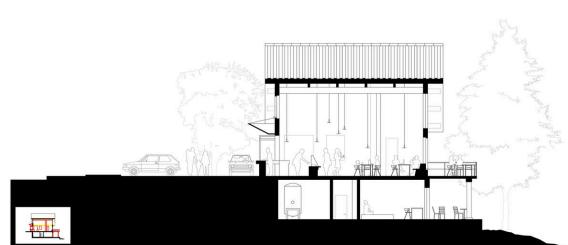


CUT THROUGH THE REMODELED POST OFFICE, CONTAINING A DRIVE-THROUGH COUNTER, THE ZIBACO FARM SHOP, A CAFE, THE COOPERATIVE HEADQUARTERS, AND ROOMS FOR PART-TIME FARM WORKERS.

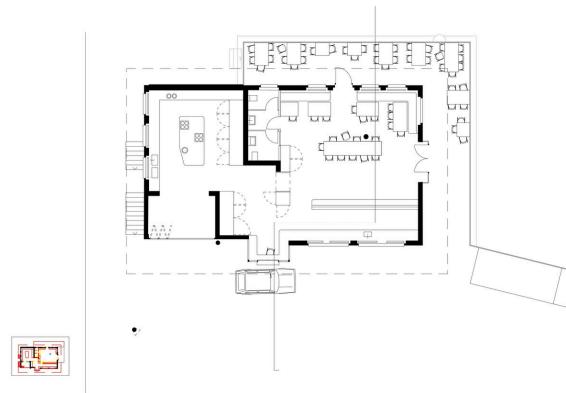




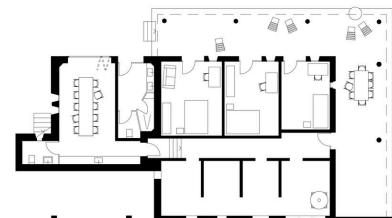
VIEW OF THE REMODELED POST OFFICE, CONTAINING A DRIVE-THROUGH COUNTER, THE ZIBACO FARM SHOP, A CAFE, THE COOPERATIVE HEADQUARTERS, AND ROOMS FOR PART-TIME FARM WORKERS.



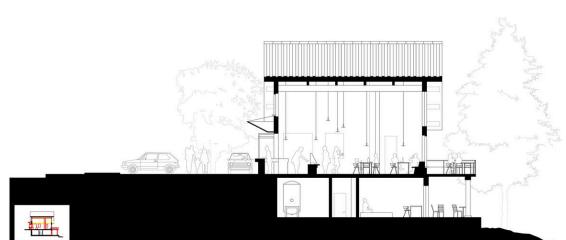
CUT THROUGH THE REMODELED POST OFFICE, CONTAINING A DRIVE-THROUGH COUNTER, THE ZIBACO FARM SHOP, A CAFE, THE COOPERATIVE HEADQUARTERS, AND ROOMS FOR PART-TIME FARM WORKERS.



GROUND FLOOR OF THE REMODELED POST OFFICE, CONTAINING A DRIVE-THROUGH COUNTER, THE ZIBACO FARM SHOP, A CAFE, THE COOPERATIVE HEADQUARTERS, AND ROOMS FOR PART-TIME FARM WORKERS.



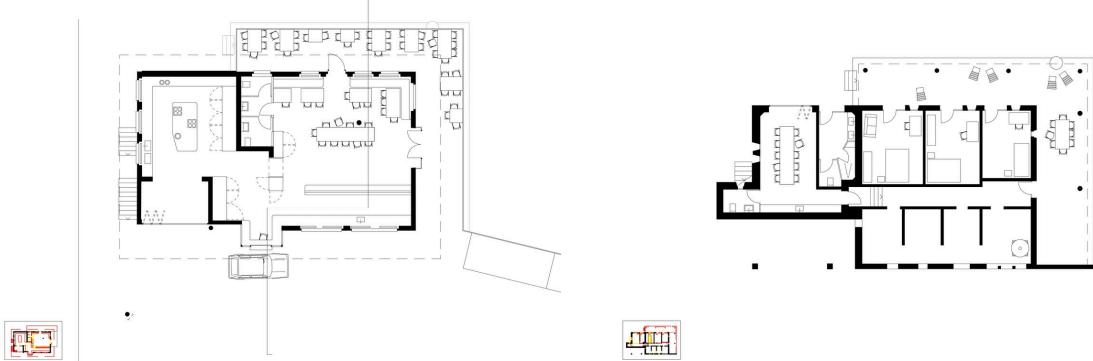
BASEMENT FLOOR OF THE REMODELED POST OFFICE, CONTAINING A DRIVE-THROUGH COUNTER, THE ZIBACO FARM SHOP, A CAFE, THE COOPERATIVE HEADQUARTERS, AND ROOMS FOR PART-TIME FARM WORKERS.



CUT THROUGH THE REMODELED POST OFFICE. GROUND FLOOR: DRIVE-THROUGH COUNTER, ZIBACO FARM SHOP, CAFE WITH BALCONY. BASEMENT: ROOMS FOR PART-TIME FARM WORKERS, VERANDA.



VIEW OF THE REMODELED POST OFFICE. LOGISTICS, DRIVE-THROUGH COUNTER, ZIBACO FARM SHOP WINDOW.



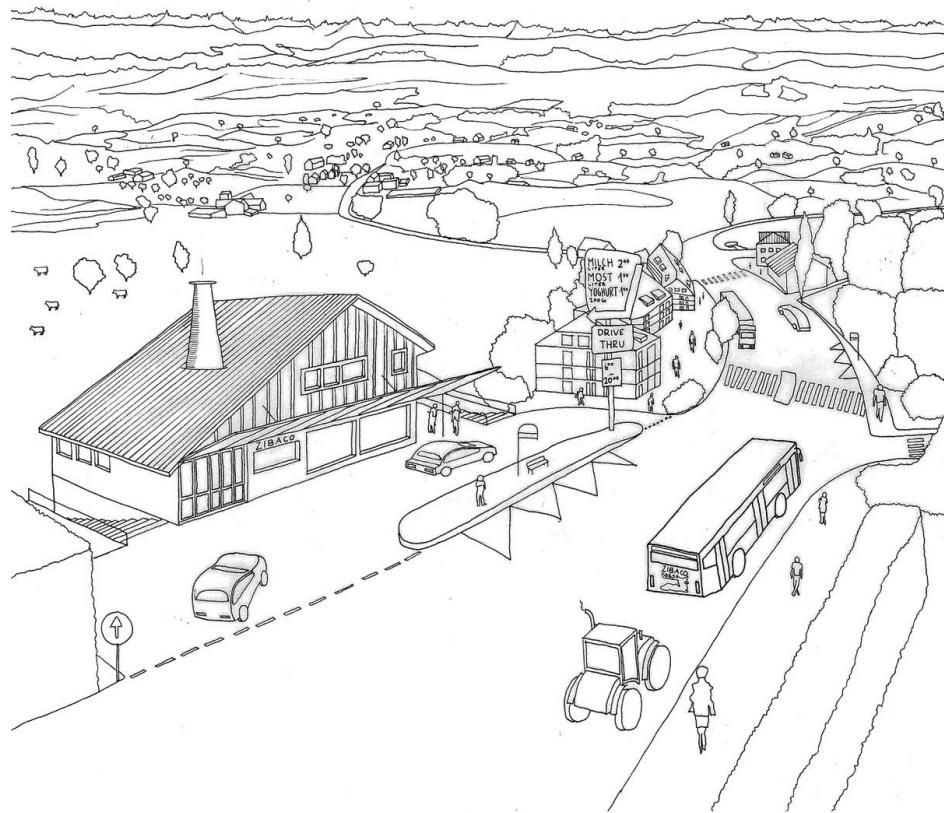
GROUND FLOOR OF THE
REMODELED POST OFFICE.
LOGISTICS AND KITCHEN, DRIVE-THROUGH
COUNTER, ZIBACO FARM SHOP, CAFE WITH
BALCONY.

BASEMENT FLOOR OF THE
REMODELED POST OFFICE.
ZIBACO HEADQUARTERS, ROOMS FOR PART-
TIME FARM WORKERS, VERANDA.

ZIBACO unites the farmers of Hirzel, and invites inhabitants and commuters to join in. It can act united against third parties and can therefore keep up with large retailers and corporations. While it is based in Hirzel, ZIBACO can in the future spread over the whole Zimmerberg region, connecting even more farmers. The cooperative is a promising jump-start for reinvigoration of the region's local industries and quality of life, where the people can get together, work, and grow together as one.



LOGO, ADS ETC



THE FUTURE OF HIRZEL.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On this occasion we would like to thank Jöri Bernhard, Ruedi Bill, Daniel Heer, and Regina Schwarzenbach for their time and willingness to answer all our dilettante and naive questions. Also, we would like to thank Monika Neidhardt and Hans Erdin who gave us access to the Gemeinde- and Ortsbildarchiv in Horgen.

SOURCES

- Bernhard, Jöri, *Hirzel. Dorf im Wandel*. Hirzel: Gemeinde Hirzel, Partonat, 2017.
- Bolt, Marianne. "Der Hirzel wurde immer wieder von Kriegen heimgesucht." *Zürichsee-Zeitung* online. 4 January 2018. Accessed 2 April 2023. <https://www.zsz.ch/der-hirzel-wurde-immer-wieder-von-kriegen-heimgesucht-226396930060>
- Chapter Image of Chapter "A Pre-alpine Monoculture": Aerial photograph by Max Eggler, 1968. Ortsbildarchiv Horgen.
- Chapter Image of Chapter "Highway Through the Pastures": View from Hirzel-Höhi to the Rigi mountain. Undated, approximately 1940s. Ortsbildarchiv Horgen.
- Chapter Image of Chapter "The Slow Death of a Commune": Construction of the Hirzel highway exit in Horgen, 1968. ETH Image Library. https://www.e-pics.ethz.ch/index/ETHBIB.Bildarchiv/ETHBIB.Bildarchiv_11372.html
- Chapter Image of Chapter "The Success and Demise of Communal Dairies": Hitz factory buildings. Undated, approximately 1900s. Winkler, Jürg, *Stationen der Hirzler Geschichte*. Wädenswil: im Auftrag des Gemeinderats Hirzel, 1992.
- Dössegger, Charles, *Milchhütte Zimmerberg: Aus nach 138 Jahren*. Anzeiger des Bezirkes Horgen, pp. 3. 2 November 1992. Access provided by Gemeindearchiv Horgen, 3 May 2023.
- "Ein Stück Geschichte ist zu Ende." *Foodaktuell* online. 3 May 2011. Accessed 2 May 2023. <https://www.foodaktuell.ch/2011/05/03/ein-stueck-geschichte-ist-zu-ende/>
- Fitzsche, Bruno et. al., *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich, 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Zürich: Stiftung Neue Zürcher Kantongeschichte, 1994.
- Gemeindearchiv Horgen. Accessed 23 March and 3 May 2023.
- Gemeindeportrait. Kanton Zürich. Accessed 30 March 2023. <https://www.zh.ch/de/politik-staat/gemeinden/gemeindeportrait.html>
- Hariüti – Ruedi Bill. <https://www.zalpenblick.ch>
- Höhn. "Geschichte." Accessed 10 May 2023. <https://hoehn-hirzel.ch/about-us/>
- Hirzel Höhi. Wikipedia. 14 March 2023. Accessed 29 March 2023. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hirzel_Höhi
- Hirzel (Pass). Wikipedia. 9 January 2019. Accessed 4 April 2023. [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hirzel_\(Pass\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hirzel_(Pass))
- Hirzel. Wikipedia. 28 February 2023. Accessed 4 April 2023. <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hirzel>
- HIRZ. "Wir sind HIRZ". Accessed 7 May 2023. <https://hirz.ch/wissen/>
- Hitz, Daniel. "Bundesrat verpasst dem Hirzeltunnel einen Dämpfer." *Zürichsee-Zeitung* online. 28 January 2021. Accessed 2 April 2023. <https://www.zsz.ch/bundesrat-verpasst-dem-hirzeltunnel-einen-daempfer-901062261761>
- Hofladen Hirzel. <https://www.hofladen-hirzel.ch>
- Illi, Martin. "Horgen (Gemeinde)." *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* online. 12 January 2021. Accessed 4 April 2023. <https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/000096/2021-01-12/>
- Interview with Dani Heer. 23 March 2023 and 3 May 2023.
- Interview with Jöri Bernhard. 19 April 2023.
- Interview with Regina Schwarzenbach. 22 March 2023.
- Interview with Ruedi Bill. 5 April 2023.
- Meier, Peter. "Hirz Hirzel wird aufgelöst." *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* online. 20 November 2003. Accessed 29 March 2023. <https://www.nzz.ch/article98OIZ-Id.279765?reduced=true>
- Meyer, Clo, "Von der bäuerlichen zur industriellen Milchverarbeitung. Dargestellt am Beispiel Hirzel, Kanton Zürich. Ende 18. bis Anfang 20. Jahrhundert." Seminararbeit zum Seminar: *Agrargeschichtliche Probleme des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Universität Zürich. Historisches Seminar, Prof. Dr. Rud. Braun. October 1980. Access provided by Gemeindearchiv Horgen, 3 May 2023.
- Ortsbildarchiv Horgen. Accessed 13 April 2023.
- Ortsmuseum Sust – Horgener Jahrheft 2007. Horgen: Gemeinde Horgen in Verbindung mit Pro Horgen, 2007.
- Private image collection of Jöri Bernhard. Accessed 14 April 2023.
- Renfer, Christian, *Die Bauernhäuser des Kantons Zürich. Band 9-11*. Basel: Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, 1982.
- Schiedt, Hans-Ulrich. "Sihlbrugg in der Geschichte der Handelsstrassen von Zug." Accessed 4 April 2023. <http://www.villmergerkriege.ch/15Babenwaag/Geschicht e%20Sihlbrugg.pdf>
- Schäppi, Arthur. "Alte Hirzler Post wird zu modernem Volgladen." *Zürichsee-Zeitung* online. 24 February 2019. Accessed 24 April 2023. <https://www.zsz.ch/alte-hirzler-post-wird-zu-modernem-volgladen-352309881665>
- Staubli, Titu, "Die Siedlungsentwicklung der Gemeinde Hirzel in den letzten 100 Jahren." Maturarbeit am Gymnasium Unterstrass Zürich. Zürich: 2004. Access provided by Gemeindearchiv Horgen, 3 May 2023.
- Winkler, Jürg, *Der Hirzel. Bild einer Gemeinde*. Hirzel: Jürg Winkler, 1989.
- Winkler, Jürg. "Hirzel." *Historisches Lexikon Schweiz* online. 11 November 2019. Accessed 4 April 2023. <https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/000095/2019-11-11/>
- Winkler, Jürg, *Stationen der Hirzler Geschichte*. Wädenswil: im Auftrag des Gemeinderats Hirzel, 1992.

- Z'Alpenblick. <https://www.zalpenblick.ch>

This work by Leon Bloch, Viktor Jørgensen, and Roman Schürch was created as part of the design studio Agrarian Project at ETH Zurich in Spring 2023. The PDF is intended for educational purposes only. Its commercial distribution is strictly forbidden.

© 2025, Architecture of Territory

Architecture of Territory
Professor Milica Topalović

TEACHING TEAM

Dorothee Hahn
Milica Topalović
Jakob Walter
Jan Westerheide

Prof. Milica Topalović
ETH Zurich
ONA G41
Neunbrunnenstrasse 50
8093 Zurich
Switzerland
+41 (0)44 633 86 88
www.topalovic.arch.ethz.ch