

## V Comparative Analysis

The detailed analysis of the contexts, the dynamics of the planning processes and the conceptual commitments of the principal actors have provided a deeper understanding of the four cases, highlighting the corresponding discursive structures and practices, coalitions and conflicts. As within the case studies, for the reconstruction and interpretation of the planning discourse in a *comparative* perspective the three analytical dimensions of context, text and process need to be brought together, while previous research work can also be used to contrast results.

Based on the insight obtained so far, this will be done along the three axes that have emerged as the most significant correspondences and distinctions between the cases. These are the key transformations that result from the functions of the analyzed discourse: First, the *planning approaches* for HST integration will be questioned in respect to their constitution as a public policy and conceptual structure. The second axis of comparison concerns the *institutional changes* and modified planning practices at different levels that have accompanied the integration of the HST. Finally, the concrete space-functional *development projects* that have been derived and decided will be examined, regarding their particular discursive construction and the coalitions that have promoted them.

These axes of transformation characterize a dominant planning discourse that currently shapes the integration of the HST in European regions, interpreted here as the *discourse of metropolization*. For the identification of these axes each analytical dimension has been of importance. Although a clear-cut attribution of results to a certain discourse dimension is not feasible due to their interdependent character, an approximate weighting is indicated here that allows to relate the comparative analysis to the most important corresponding paragraphs of the case studies (Fig.V.1).<sup>1</sup>

	Planning approaches	Institutional changes	Development projects
Analysis of context	■	■■■	■
Analysis of text	■■■	■	■■■
Analysis of process	■	■■■	■■■

Fig.V. 1: Weighted relevance of discourse dimensions for the axes of comparative analysis; source: author  
Key: ■ low / ■■ medium / ■■■ high

### 1 Transformations of the planning approaches

In all cases, a shift has been observed from an initially transport-focused motivation for the construction of new HST lines, planned on the national and European level and including a rather abstract and hypothetical relation to territorial development, towards ever more concrete and (urban) project-oriented

<sup>1</sup> See chapter II.2

approaches with a strong implication of the regional and local authorities, integrating a wide range of sectoral policies. However, this shift is not a revision of the previous ideas, but rather a complementation, even though in the transformed discourse that now frames the integration of the HST the aspects of continuity sometimes result in being less apparent. Furthermore, the later approaches are also not only a mere consequence of advancing planning procedures and the detailing of their subject from the national to the local level. They come with a different conceptual framework that provides the former plans and ideas with a new quality.

### **1.1 The adoption of the HST as a public policy**

The first orientations for the integration of the HST have been strongly influenced by the fact that the subject emerged from the railway sector and powerful industrial lobbies that had successfully promoted the establishment of the HST as a European and national transport policy issue. It was the national railway companies and governments that started to deal with the HST, carried out feasibility studies and examined track alternatives. It is obvious, especially for France and Germany where the European HST was first developed, that this transport mode also simultaneously represents a technological product innovation with good prospects for exportation and future growth. It equally relies on some of the most important capital goods industries of their national economies, which has decisively contributed to improve the acceptance of the HST at government levels, with a view to the development of GDP and unemployment rates.<sup>2</sup> This circumstance is reflected in the concepts initially used and disseminated by the governments, the European Commission, the International Railway Union (UIC) and the European Roundtable of Industrialists (ERT). In this approach, the HST was first of all a transport policy vehicle enhancing “mobility”, “transport safety”, “transport efficiency” and “transport sustainability”. However, it also soon became understood as an instrument to pursue other sectoral goals, in particular regarding economic and spatial development.

On the national level, this perspective was first expressed in the transport structure plans that appeared at the beginning of the 90s (SDNF, BVWP, PDI). Only in the Netherlands had the transport structure plan of that time (SVV2) been preceded in terms of HST integration by the spatial development guidelines established in the 4th report. These plans reiterated four basic conceptual orientations for the HST that have largely dominated the design of the derived plans and projects, even though their respective weight has differed from case to case. These common orientations were: the renaissance of the railways, the positioning in a transeuropean railway network, the equilibration of the national spatial structure and the reduction of environmental impacts caused by transport.

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<sup>2</sup> The discussion about the development of the MAGLEV trains in Germany (Transrapid) has followed a similar pattern, yet only until recently with a minor prospect for domestic applications. However, the government decision of February 2002 to massively subsidize the construction of MAGLEV trains in Munich and North-Rhine Westphalia required a discursive transformation of this long-distance travel mode into a regional public transport means. See also: Rade/ Rosenberg 1995, Büllingen 1996, Hübner et al. 1997

### 1.1.1 The “Railway renaissance”

The incipient argumentation revolves around the modernization of the railways and its transformation into a competitive transport mode in contrast to the private car and aircraft. The HST is understood as an opportunity to revive the railways and increase its continuously shrinking market shares through the creation of an attractive transport offer. Additionally, positive image effects on the public transport systems in general are expected to result from this upgrading of the ‘top-product’ of the railways and its immediate environs, the station buildings and areas. However, neither the specific orientation of the HST at business and touristic travel purposes, nor the comparatively small quantitative relevance of long distance (international) passenger transport played a role here. The adequate heading for this argumentation is the concept of a “renaissance”, employed initially by the DB in Germany, that suggests the juvenilization of the entire railway sector induced by the construction and operation of new HST lines.<sup>3</sup>

The “renaissance” perspective has also been identified by Bertolini/Spit (1998) as a possible factor contributing to the “development potential” of station locations. However, they underline that the actual situation of the railways in the transport market (esp. unfavourable urbanization patterns, diminishing share in passenger transport) and the various unknown quantities related to the restructuring of the sector (organization, privatization, political goals) pose more unresolved questions than providing reasons for optimism.<sup>4</sup>

The exception here represents the HST since it is the only railway branch that has been growing. Thus the “renaissance” points to an *equation* of the HST and the railways that has substantially strengthened the power position of those arguing in favour. Consequently, short travel times and expectations of increasing transport demand are the key criteria that have guided the selection of track alternatives and station locations in the initial phase of all cases.

This ‘streamlining’ of the railways has also led to the proposals of “ex-urban” stations, understood as a “logical consequence” of the characteristics of the HST. Hence, the choices for La Part Dieu and Satolas, Zuid/WTC, Rosenstein (discarded) and the Vallés station are based essentially on the assumed need to reduce travel times. In this perspective, every city served by the HST appears as an obstacle between other destinations along the line, which also manipulates the actor positions: Instead of formulating conditions, local actors should rather be satisfied if the HST stops in their place at all. In the case of Stuttgart this argumentation has been used explicitly and even appeared to influence the debate about different infrastructure configurations of the station itself (terminus, through-station), although the travel time differences actually resulted to be insignificant.

### 1.1.2 “Transeuropean networks”: From “cohesion” to “competitiveness”

The event of the European market integration in 1992 has formed an essential common reference for the early concepts of HST integration. Against this backdrop the development of a “transeuropean HST

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<sup>3</sup> The 2003 World Congress for Railway Research (WCRR) organized by the UIC and national railway companies has been subtitled “From birth to renaissance”. See: [www.wcrr2003.co.uk](http://www.wcrr2003.co.uk)

<sup>4</sup> Bertolini/ Spit 1998, 18-31

network” appears as the physical equivalent to the process of economic liberalization. The “network” would allow both to establish a “level playing field” for expanding market forces and to connect structurally weak regions (“periphery”) to the dynamic “core area” of Europe. Hajer (2000) has pointed out that the network metaphor serves here as an “organizational myth”, providing identity and homogeneity for incommensurable values without actually resolving the tensions between them.<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore the network also conditions divergent understandings of “integration”. While the argumentation of the CEC points in particular to the overall “cohesion” objective, suggesting that the transeuropean network would support an equal spatial distribution of development possibilities — based on transport accessibility — the national governments have turned the perspective around. From a national point of view, *inter*-national accessibility now becomes a basic condition for economic competitiveness. Consequently, a backwardness of their own infrastructure endowment is identified that would limit future development prospects – especially in the case of Spain and France, yet even in the Netherlands this argument has been applied. For Spain this argument has all the more been the reason to introduce a track gauge different from its national railway network, with the corresponding limitations for operation.

The connection to the network is formulated as a condition *sine qua non* of development and competitiveness without any alternatives. In the Dutch case, the distinction between being a “part of” or being “connected with” this network (and the final decision for the first option) make the inherent logic explicit: Building the HST lines means “integration into Europe” and its open markets, whereas not building them would correspond to “isolation” and an uncertain future development. This argumentation achieves additional weight in those cases where the HST lines are furthermore identified as a “missing link” of the TEN in a allegedly unified and interconnected European space. In the French and Spanish case the concept of “missing links” has therefore been crucial for the support of the Lyon-Turin tunnel project and the connection Barcelona-Perpignan.

Most importantly, the conflicting positions of different authority levels illustrate that the key objective of “cohesion” as understood and defended by the TENs is not useful to orientate spatial development at all, since it depends on the existence of a previously constructed *outside* and therefore on the scale considered.<sup>6</sup> Although it suggests that the tensions and inequalities are resolved in the endeavour to level out the continent, this perspective remains illusory since in reaction to the external challenge of competition *each* territorial unit is positioned against its respective surroundings, thus identifying their own internal deficits in terms of cohesion, accessibility, equilibrium, endowment, etc. which in turn lead to largely differing claims and priorities. Since the HST results in favor of those territories already best accessible by rail,<sup>7</sup> once again the resulting question turns out to be which territories have more (political, economic, human) resources to impose their particular views — a difficult starting point to combat existing disparities.

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<sup>5</sup> Hajer 2000, 6

<sup>6</sup> Following Derrida’s concept of the “constitutive outside”; cf. Mouffe 2001, 3

<sup>7</sup> Bruinsma/ Rietveld 1997, 18-24

### 1.1.3 “Equilibration” and “strengthening” of the national territory

The same ideas that inspire the notion of a “transeuropean network” can be found again on the national level, yet with a different emphasis in the respective development concerns expressed. The basic objective is also an “equilibration” of territorial development through a homogeneous network of HST lines as a generic condition for the development of the national “periphery” and to connect the major national centers. However, this is pursued initially without a link to urban or economic development policies and with a weak trans-national perspective that would have had to consider the changing positioning of urban places in a European transport network. Thus, although the underlying concepts of cohesion and competitiveness are the same, the orientation of the national territory has first modified the priority and objectives of the HST links and related development projects.

In the French and Spanish case this perspective has been of particular significance since it focuses on counterbalancing the concentration on the capital areas of Paris and Madrid. In the case of Spain, the decision to first build the Madrid-Seville line (instead of Madrid-Barcelona) can only be explained by national development priorities. In Germany the national HST network is attributed a specific importance in respect to the singular conditions created by the unification and the development of the East, while at the same time the strengthening of the decentral spatial structure and the large agglomerations is emphasized. In the Netherlands, distributive questions in relation to the HST have played a less prominent role due to the scale of the country. Yet, the focus here has also increasingly been on the reinforcement of the Randstad cities and their space-functional interrelations.

### 1.1.4 Environmental benefits: “transport substitution”, “urban concentration” and “sustainability”

Reduced environmental impacts form an important feature attributed to the HST, and have been used to support its development. Although its characteristics largely differ from conventional trains, the HST is presented as an important contribution to improve environmental quality, thus drawing on the advantageous properties of the conventional railway system in this respect. The high weight and acceleration speeds, the resulting energy inefficiency, as well as the necessary construction of new infrastructures with requirements that limit the flexibility for territorial integration have been considered but set aside in the argumentative weighing. Instead, pointing to the predicted transport growth especially in international relations, the HST is accepted as the “lesser evil”, positively formulated as the “most environmental friendly way” of dealing with the further increase in transport. This argumentation has been especially important in Germany and the Netherlands, while in France and particularly Spain it played a marginal role, which reflects the general social sensitivity for environmental concerns in the respective countries.

Consequently, the concept of “transport substitution” has been a key protagonist of the planning discourse. It is supported by expert studies that examine the effects of the HST on particular transport relations and modal shifts. “Substitution” therefore suggests a reduction of transport emissions and improved safety, since the same transport volume would be handled by a less noxious and safer mode. This argument has been especially weighty in the cases of Schiphol, where the quantitative “substitution” effects from air transport are the most significant, for the airport connection in Stuttgart and for the

transalpine HST link Lyon-Turin it is targeting road transport. In contrast, in Lyon and Barcelona the environmental benefits of “substitution“ by connecting the airport to the HST take the back seat to the objective of enlarging the airports’ catchment areas and the potentials for transport growth and economic development. This circumstance sheds some light on the ambiguity of the argumentation since Amsterdam and Stuttgart also actually count on these effects.

Apparently, the emphasis of “substitution” is rather based on the concern for the economic feasibility and future profitability of a new HST line, since the mentioned studies also always indicate that a high percentage of the expected traffic (between 25-50%) would be *induced* by the new offer. Furthermore, a systemic approach taking into account network effects as more and more lines are operated has only been used in one case (Lyon), but for the purpose of proving the financial feasibility of the HST projects. Transport growth is thus already part of the development model that underpins the promotion of the HST. The multiple implications of HST services for activity patterns and urban structures have not been studied from an ecological perspective at all (beyond the obligatory project EIA<sup>8</sup>), but instead served to justify the new network with a view to spatial and economic development.

As a consequence of the “railway renaissance”, on the other hand, the HST has also been related to the objectives of urban concentration and economic use of space. Apart from the generic environmental advantage of “recycling” brownfield sites for new settlement, the focus on station area (re-)development is also said to prevent settlement extension into the periphery and contribute to urban densification in reference to the theoretical models of a “compact city” (Amsterdam) or “city of short distances” (Stuttgart). At the same time the urban structure could become more oriented to the railway network. However, these implications have not been further examined or detailed but remain simply plausible assumptions of frequent reproduction. An assessment of potential effects of the envisaged urban transformations would have to start with taking into account the functional specialization of the station areas. As many studies of HST station area developments have underlined, this process induces a further relocation of functions and in particular a changing centrality structure, mobility patterns and settlement extensions at the scale of the urban region.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, the development at the airports in Amsterdam and Stuttgart, and their future impact on land consumption, are not linked to the argument of “urban concentration”, which then appears to refer only to those developments planned within the built-up area.

Finally, the circumstance that the HST is attributed combined benefits for economy, environment, and even social integration (“approach people”) has stood to reason that it contributes to a “sustainable” (transport) development. Since the concept of “sustainability” started to pervade European and national policy documents, this discursive construction of the HST as a vehicle for “sustainability” represents a major achievement as it allows one to invoke all kinds of references (from the Maastricht treaty to the local “Agenda 21”) and form broad coalitions for its support. However, the empirical basis for such a

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<sup>8</sup> Environmental Impact Assessment

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. Koleskas 1992; Decoutere et al. 1993; van Dinteren/ Fancello 1994, 165-70; Schütz 1996, 67

general classification of the HST is actually missing, while many researchers – if attempting a global interpretation at all — rather point in the opposite direction.<sup>10</sup>

## 1.2 The discourse of “metropolization” — a new frame for HST integration

A different orientation is then emerging from the increasing attribution of interdependencies between the HST lines and the urban areas connected and interconnected by them. Therefore, the conjugation of the HST appears to be more and more conditioned by the articulation of “metropolitan” territories and their specific properties. With this shift, the inherently selective character of the transport mode HST becomes further accentuated as the strategic potentials for a structuration and development of space are recognized and exploited.

It is at this stage that different positions and interpretations of what the “HST network” actually means for the territory and how this transport mode should become integrated, appear openly and lead to planning conflicts. The most important topic of the resulting controversies is the reference to various spatial scales for the discursive construction of the HST projects. These scales form the basis for proposing and designing a specialization of HST station area developments and their urban functions, as well as for the formation of specific actor coalitions for each location.

### 1.2.1 Defining metropolises: A reinterpretation of national territory

The need to increase the competitive profile in a European context and the perspectives created by accessibility improvements due to HST operation have also influenced the interpretation of the national territories. While in the initial promotion of the PBKA project<sup>11</sup> the structural role of the HST on the affected regions was merely a welcome secondary effect of what has been regarded as an innovative and profitable investment for railway renewal, national governments increasingly started to “read” their territories in terms of HST accessibility.

Transport networks and (international) accessibility start to shape the basis for the formulation of a spatial development model where the HST is understood as a priority transport mode. Consequently the principal characteristic of the envisaged spatial structures results in being polycentricity, deriving the aim to reinforce the different national centers and achieve their functional specialization and complementarity — either as a starting point (Germany, Netherlands) or as a main development objective (France). Only in Spain has a shift from “decentralization” to “polycentricity” not been performed yet.

The distributive goal (“cohesion”) is thus combined with the requirement to strengthen those urban concentrations that have the potential to defend a competitive position in the European market i.e. the strong economic centers with an international orientation, now designated as “metropolises”. They are attributed a “motor function” both for the national economy and regional development, and therefore combine *distribution* with *concentration*. In particular, this competitive development of the “metropolises” is

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<sup>10</sup> Floeting/ Henckel 1993, 2627; Zumkeller 1994, 3; Apel/ Henckel 1995, 152; Monheim 1996, 293-301, Misereor/ BUND 1997, 153-59

<sup>11</sup> HST-line Paris-Brussels-Köln-Amsterdam

seen to rely on independent regimes established by regional and local initiative and cooperation, as well as on new forms of partnership between public and private institutions. The discourse of “metropolization” thus suggests and enables a power shift from the national to (selected) regional and local levels, while at the same time reinforcing the national control of the overall spatial structure.<sup>12</sup>

The described conceptual orientation can first be found in the Netherlands and Germany where new spatial planning guidelines were issued at the beginning of the 90s. The German concept of “European Metropolitan Regions” (EMR), put forward by the state and the regions, precisely underlines the support for the decentral and federal structure that should allow different approaches for the reinforcement of these national centers, interconnected by HST. However, the case of Stuttgart has also shown that different potentials and ambitions of the regions confront the government with the difficult task of maintaining the balance.

In the Netherlands the state has gone one step further in detailing the interrelation of the HST and the articulation of “metropolitan” territories with the creation of the “new key-projects” policy. Here, the government has started to focus on the development of the large agglomerations (“urban knots”) that were given new competencies for intermunicipal planning. It then extended this perspective with the recognition of “urban networks” and especially the “Deltametropolis” concept that emerged from the discursive activity of the four major cities. With these new concepts the Netherlands is also the only example where coordination between HST station locations in different cities is taking place, thus including stations within a travel time distance of approximately 1h or less. Most of all, the government is also directly involved in the supervision of all HST station area projects and ascribes them the highest development priority.

In the second half of the 90s this orientation has also been taken up in France with the revision of the spatial planning act. Here, the state has shifted from the “metropoles of equilibrium” to the promotion of “agglomeration projects” that should help to establish *alternative* locations for Paris. This perspective goes decisively beyond the former concept of decentralization as it stresses the reinforcement of endogenous potentials of the regions and large agglomerations by cooperation and coordination. However, their interconnection by HST appears only as a pre-condition, which is certainly due to the fact that the realization of the national network is also in an advanced stage.

Finally, in Spain the situation is mainly characterized by the confrontation of the three authority levels that control the integration of the HST. Here, it is the city of Barcelona and its agglomeration that promote their recognition as the center of a “metropolitan region” with a strong orientation to the international context rather than a vocation as national spatial counterbalance. In turn, the region attempts to find a middle way between strengthening Barcelona and equilibrating the regional territory, while it is equally concerned with an independent positioning of Catalonia between Madrid and — from its point of view — Europe. In contrast, the government has not adopted any of these concepts but clings to the orientation at “cohesion” defined in the national transport structure plan. The integration of the HST consequently

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<sup>12</sup> cf. WRR 1999, 82-93



results in being a key issue of conflict between authorities as it would contribute to manifest only some of these interpretations, especially accentuated through the more isolated operation of the HST in Spain.

### 1.2.2 Articulating “metropolitan” territories

At the same time, the strategic development orientation and internal structure of the urban areas connected by HST has also experienced a reinterpretation. In the Netherlands and Germany this has been an implicit outcome of the interaction of governments with local and/or regional authorities in the revision of national policy guidelines (i.e. 5<sup>th</sup> spatial planning report, ORA). In France and Spain, however, the regional and local actors have rather challenged the respective government schemes with their claims. In all cases these new interpretations revolve around the notion of “metropolitan” territories and their articulation.

Their common starting point is a more or less elaborate effort of *geo-positioning* in a trans-national perspective in order to evaluate future development prospects and potentials. From this angle, optimal international accessibility and the internationalization of the space-functional structure are perceived as the bases of development. Crucial strategic objectives are therefore to ensure and improve access by HST and aircraft (“TEN connection”) and to enhance the attraction and concentration of international activities and command functions (“decision makers”). In programmatic terms the envisaged structural change points to the development of knowledge-based services and educational facilities, the provision of large-scale facilities such as congress-, trade fair- and leisure centers, as well as the support of economic specialization and the formation of “clusters”.

Regarding the spatial organization, polycentric urban structures with specialized and complementary centers are therefore identified as the adequate model of spatial organization for the “metropolises”. In this, however, their scale is subject to multiple definitions that depend on the actor that applies the concept. Thus we find “metropolitan” spaces interpreted at the level of the agglomeration (COURLY, AMB), the urban region (RUL, ROA, VRS, BMR) as well as the region (Rhône-Alpes, Deltametropolis, EMR Rhine-Neckar, Catalonia).

Since the centers in this spatial structure are defined by their accessibility, they result in becoming major transport infrastructure nodes, with or without an existing urban concentration. Consequently the concept of “node development” has turned out to be a focal point of the planning discourses. Railway stations, public transport nodes, motorway intersections, airports and their combinations represent the locations that start to dominate different sectoral policy agendas (transport, economic development, urban revitalization) and require specific development programs (“logistic pole”, “airport city”, trade fair, “central business district”, “technopole”, downtown extension, etc.). Here, also the “renaissance” of the railways that has promoted a new focus on station area (re-) development perfectly connects with the concepts for the restructuring of the “metropolitan” territory.

HST station area projects typically combine all of the above mentioned hypotheses and objectives and therefore result in being the “key projects” of the envisaged metropolitan development, supported by a broad array of policies from the national to the local level and across policy sectors. The orientation of HST station developments at this “metropolitan model”, underpinned by economic growth objectives, has

been strongly advocated by the research approach and results of EURICUR.<sup>13</sup> The repercussions of these studies among the actors concerned can be estimated to be considerable, since their dissemination has also been facilitated through the activities of the “Eurocities” network, including conferences and personal contacts. The resulting discourse coalition thus appears to be fairly broad, providing direct links from the local to the European level.

However, the different space-functional interpretations of the “metropolis” have also caused frictions. This has been observed especially in France and in Spain, where a centralist tradition combines with strong regional and local institutional dynamics. Thus, in Lyon the COURLY is concerned about Satolas airport as a potential location competitor for La Part Dieu, whereas the RUL promotes its fast development as a logistic pole. In turn, Rhône-Alpes puts the emphasis on the transfer function of Satolas as a regional “central station”. Similarly, in Barcelona the city and the AMB defend only three HST stations and a fully-fledged connection to the airport, while the region supports the Vallés station as the future “central station” of Catalonia. In turn the government would prefer to serve and develop Sants and Sagrera only. Thus, beyond the mere HST access or connection of the “metropolitan” space as demanded from a national point of view, the diverging interests emerge through the “metropolitan” logic of structuration and its different spatial references, thus making the station location developments a conflictive enterprise.

In the Netherlands and in Germany the discourse coalition between public authorities has been comparatively broader and has therefore prevented substantial confrontations in this respect. Here, the main conflicts result rather from the changed status, organization and discursive position of the railway companies and, as in the case of Stuttgart, the formation of a local opposition.

### 1.2.3 Bridging gaps: The dualisms of metropolization

Parallel to the envisaged “metropolitan” development there appears to be an implicit awareness of the risks it might convey. This is reflected in the use of concepts that express a concern for maintaining an equilibrium between the “metropolitan” dynamics and impacts, and a supposedly threatened sphere of normal urban life and its social and environmental conditions. A key concept here represents the goal of increasing the “quality of life” that permeates the texts in all cases. At the level of the location, this goal is translated into the demand for a high design quality of buildings and public space, while at larger scales also environmental protection and preservation, the maintenance of open space, landscapes and cultural heritage, as well as housing provision, an improved professional qualification of the population and the prevention of critical social tensions — all mentioned as policy objectives.

The argumentation in favor of a better “quality of life” promises a compensatory programme for the large-scale transformations oriented toward improved competitiveness, including the integration of the HST. Consequently, the dualisms of global-local, economy-environment, or urban-rural have led to the formulation of a “double objective” (Netherlands), striving for both external (market) integration and internal (social & environmental) stability. While economic and transport growth are accepted as inseparable conditions for future development, other measures need to be designed to safeguard the

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<sup>13</sup> Van den Berg/ Pol 1997, 1999; cf. chapter III.1.2.3 and 2.3

“everyday-life environs”, as designated in the Netherlands and France.

Both objective dimensions appear as simply contrasting that can be pursued in parallel, whereas their rather complex interrelations are not further examined. As van den Berg/ Pol (1997) have also implied in their criteria for HST station developments, the “local” level has to become organized to serve the “global” objectives.<sup>14</sup> Again the concept of “sustainability” is used to ease these frictions between contradictory claims, especially in the Netherlands and Germany, but increasingly also in France and Spain. The growth of Schiphol, the development of the city centers of Stuttgart and Lyon, as well as the projects of “recentralization” in Barcelona have therefore been labelled as “sustainable”.

However, it is precisely this type of dualism that has originated the only important local opposition of all cases: The “Umkehr” association in Stuttgart. Among other things, the leading actors have failed here to discursively construct their plans for the integration of the HST in a credible way as an improvement for the local “quality of life”. Instead, their mechanical reiteration of the benefits of metropolization has created a growing criticism of the neglects in a social context highly sensitized for urban and ecological problems. Once this position had been occupied by the opponents, all additional explanations and modifications of the authorities and the railway company necessarily appeared as mere tactical attempts of justification and could therefore not broaden the acceptance.

#### 1.2.4 Metropolization – discourse topic and conceptual structure

The above identified concepts and practices are interpreted here as the “metropolization discourse”. This designation of the discourse topic reflects the spatial and institutional scope (“metropolis”) and the shared orientation at a particular process of multi-sectoral urban transformation (competitiveness, internationalization, specialization, accessibility). It especially refers to the abundant contributions from urban theory and research revolving around the mutations of large urban agglomerations in the age of globalization that have shaped the understanding of the “metropolis”.

Drawing on the Dutch case study, an etymological consideration appears to be worthwhile here: The Greek term *métropolis* actually combines two semantic elements: *mêtêr* (mother) and *polis* (city-state). Therefore, the *mother-city* has obviously become a principal reference in planning, which underlines the fact that its significance is most of all qualitative – if not affective – but difficult to quantify: A “metropolitan” scale can be the agglomeration, the region, or even the continent. The metropolis constitutes a colorful identity that transcends administrative borders and provides access to the international arena, but it is not necessarily related to physical urban growth. These specific qualities make it an important concept for the flexible formation of actor coalitions, for instance concerning the integration of the HST.

At present, the metropolization discourse results in being a main resource of power in spatial planning, apparently beyond the core policies of urban and transport development. Yet, we have also seen that the discursive concepts can have divergent functions within the planning processes when placed in different contexts and employed by different actors:

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<sup>14</sup> van den Berg/ Pol 1997, 9-12; cf. chapter III.1.2.3

- In Lyon, the metropolization discourse has allowed an approximation between the (traditionally) diverging positions of the national government and the local and regional authorities, that even led to the formation of a new coalition for the promotion of the metropolitan territory.
- In Amsterdam, it has increased the direct influence of the large agglomerations on national policy making, while it also conceals the existing differences of interpretation with the government.
- In Stuttgart, the essential conflicts between the railway company and public authorities, as well as between national government and the region have been covered by the metropolization discourse, while conversely the same conceptual commitments have also challenged a strong local opposition.
- In Barcelona, the discourse has served to formulate new claims of city, agglomeration and region as against the national government, and has brought the distributive conflict between these two poles to a head.

Therefore, concerning the integration of the HST, the 5 planning dilemmas for station (re-) development projects identified by Bertolini/ Spit (1998) (material, functional, financial, temporal, organizational) appear to represent a valid categorization of conflictive issues.<sup>15</sup> The outcomes of these dilemmas, however, are essentially conditioned by two discursive struggles that the topic of metropolization defines, and which influence the legitimation, orientation and power positions of the actors involved:

- 1) The discursive definition of the locations in reference to different scales, and
- 2) The discursive resolution of the dualisms between “global” and “local” objectives.

In spite of the fact that the functions of the metropolization discourse in terms of power distribution and decision making vary with the context, the *directions of development* actually appear to converge. Thus, for both struggles the margins of indefiniteness and transformation have become narrow, pointing to the hegemonic position of the metropolization discourse.<sup>16</sup> This is illustrated by the broad homogeneity of concepts used for defining the objectives of HST integration, space-economic transformation and modifications of the institutional context. Together, the characterization of the HST as a public policy and the specification of the subject of metropolization provide a complete picture of this discourse that frames the integration of the HST (Fig.V.2).

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<sup>15</sup> cf. Bertolini/ Spit 1998, 170-75; chapter III.1.2.3

<sup>16</sup> cf. chapter II.1.2

	LYO	AMS	STR	BCN
<b>railway renaissance</b>				
	competitive mode	competitive mode	competitive mode	competitive mode
	travel time reduction/ <i>integral high-speed</i>	travel time reduction/ <i>HST world</i>	travel time reduction	travel time reduction
	market share increase	market share increase	market share increase	market share increase
	-	public transport promotion	public transport promotion	-
	-	<i>densification of station areas</i>	<i>revitalization of station areas</i>	-
<b>transeuropean networks</b>				
	competitiveness	competitiveness	competitiveness	competitiveness
	international accessibility	international accessibility	international accessibility	international accessibility
	integration into EC	integration into EC	integration into EC	integration into EC
	missing link	-	-	missing link
	<i>connect with backbone</i>	<i>part of TEN</i>	<i>connect with TEN</i>	<i>connect with EC</i>
		<b>mainport connection</b>		<b>overcome backwardness</b>
<b>equilibration of the national territory</b>				
	internal equilibrium	-	development of the East	internal equilibrium
	avoid hypertrophy	-	reinforce decentral spatial structure	overcome radial structure
	tangential connections	-	-	tangential connections
	overall accessibility	-	-	overall accessibility
	-	<i>reinforce the Randstad</i>	<i>strengthen large agglomerations</i>	-
<b>reinterpretation of the national territory</b>				
	decentralization	polycentricity	polycentricity	-
	double objective	specialization and complementarity/ <b>spatial differentiation</b>	specialization and complementarity	-
	<i>international poles/ network of cities</i>	<i>economic primary structure/ motor function of cities urban networks</i>	<i>motor function of cities</i>	-
	<i>regional metropolises</i>	<i>urban knots</i>	<i>European Metropolitan Regions</i>	-
	alternatives for Paris	(new) key projects	-	-
<b>articulation of metropolitan territories</b>				
	international accessibility	international accessibility	international accessibility	international accessibility
	structural change	structural change	structural change	structural change
	concentration/ decentralization	concentration/ decentralization/ <b>urban diversity</b>	concentration/ decentralization	concentration/ decentralization/ <b>recentralization</b>
	scale enlargement	scale enlargement	scale enlargement	scale enlargement
	specialization/ complementarity	specialization/ complementarity	specialization/ complementarity	specialization/ complementarity
	<i>node development/ spaces at stake/ growth pole</i>	<i>node development/ changeover machine/ profit center</i>	<i>growth pole/ location synergy</i>	<i>dynamizing areas/ new central areas</i>
	<i>multimodal platform</i>	<i>airport city</i>	<i>multimodal platform</i>	<i>airport city/ airport system</i>
	<i>European metropolis European crossroads</i>	<i>Deltametropolis urban networks</i>	<i>European Metropolitan Regions</i>	<i>Barcelona Metropolitan Region</i>
	multi-level cooperation	multi-level cooperation	intermunicipal cooperation	multi-level cooperation
	participation of social actors	participation of social actors	participation of social actors	participation of social actors
	<i>agglomeration projects</i>	<i>integrated approach</i>	<i>European Metropolitan Regions</i>	<i>Barcelona model/ second renovation</i>
<b>environmental benefits</b>				
	transport substitution	transport substitution	transport substitution	-
	-	compact city	compact city/ <i>city of short distances</i>	-
	-	curb sprawl/ <i>economic use of space</i>	curb sprawl <i>brownfield recycling</i>	-
	-	<i>safety increase</i>		-
<b>global-local dualisms</b>				
	sustainable development/ environmental protection	sustainable development/ environmental protection	sustainable development/ environmental protection	sustainable development/ environmental protection
	<i>double ambition/ objective</i>	<i>double objective</i>	<i>mutual conditioning/ compatibility</i>	<i>mutual conditioning</i>
	<i>everyday-life environs</i>	<i>everyday-life environs</i>	-	<i>logic of heritage</i>
	<i>internationalization vs. quality of life</i>	growth vs. quality of life	growth vs. quality of life	growth vs. quality of life

Fig.V. 2: Synopsis - Metropolization discourse: Concepts for the integration of the HST; source: author

Key: identical concepts / *similar concepts* / **specific concepts**

## 2 Transformations of the institutional framework

Without pretending to dissolve the “mirror relation” between text and context, the focus here will be on the significant institutional (i.e. contextual) changes that have emerged in all cases, from the national to the local level. Without the conceptual frame of the metropolization discourse, these changes might have been different in content, more difficult to achieve, or not even have taken place at all: It is this framework that has shaped their particular realization and the interweaving with the integration of the HST.

A direct mutual influence between institutional change and the HST is obvious regarding the different formulas for a transformation of the railways from a public administration into a “competitive” private transport enterprise. But also the revisions of national spatial planning policies and legislation, the institutionalization of the urban-regional level, and lastly the appearance of new intermediaries and cooperation in planning practice (with or without a general legal framework) present important correlations with the deployment of the HST and its discursive construction.

### 2.1 Restructuration of the railways

The planning process for the integration of the HST in Europe is equally the process of restructuring and privatization of the railways as a public transport means. The new organization of the railway companies is based on the prime goal of enhancing the management efficiency of the railways, which had become notorious for their deficits. With the HST as the new railway “flagship”, the operational objectives are to increase market shares, to contribute to transport decongestion (air and road) and environmental impact reduction, to facilitate the technical integration of the different national networks and, last but not least, to allow the open competition of operators on the transeuropean networks.

Beyond the obligatory separation of infrastructure provision and operation, all nation states have adopted additional structural changes that have not only improved efficiency, but also affected the role of the railway companies in the planning processes and projects for HST integration in a particular way. On the one hand the conditions of privatization or private management and profit orientation appear to cause conflicts with public authorities in respect to their targets and financial responsibility. On the other hand, the separation of business divisions within the railway companies lead to frictions as their respective objectives and enterprise-logics do not always harmonize.

Some basic differences between the different railway company structures should be highlighted here. Contrary to France and Spain, where the task division only comprises entities for long distance and regional passenger transport, freight transport and infrastructure planning/maintenance, in the Netherlands and Germany it additionally includes the creation of a *real estate branch* that assumes the management of the “inherited” land, infrastructures and buildings. Furthermore, NS and DB formed a separate division for the development and management of *stations*, a solution that has been adopted by the SNCF in a second step, but not yet by RENFE. The corresponding reinforcement of the railway companies’ interests in the station location development is reflected in the controversies that come out in the cases of Amsterdam and Stuttgart.

Moreover, only in Spain do we find both the infrastructure planning (GIF<sup>17</sup>) and the operation of the HST (AVE) separated from other railway services and directly controlled by the government. Together with the introduction of the international gauge, this constellation reinforces the functioning of the HST as an independent transport mode (“low flying airplane”) which has notably contributed to the aggravation of the disputes over basic infrastructure and station location options in Spain.

Regarding these different organizational settings, five typical conflict constellations can be identified that are immediately related to the new structures of the railway companies and the implicit role of the HST:

*1) Station location choice: Railways vs. authorities and operators* - Where the HST should stop depends for the operator on the transport demand that can assure the profitability of the service, and this already in short-term perspective since deficits are pressing. In contrast, for the public authorities the stop conditions long-term development objectives such as the creation of a new centrality, station area development or spatial decentralization linked to further public investments in public transport, facilities, project partnerships, etc. This is the case of Amsterdam, where the decision of NS in favour of the Zuidas contributed to a policy shift of the city. In Stuttgart the DB initially calculated a main station at the Rosensteinpark and later used this option to put the city under pressure, and in Barcelona the government (responsible for RENFE) promoted Sants, but questioned the Sagrera station. Also the regional stops in Rhône-Alpes and Catalonia belong to this conflict pattern since here the transport demand potentials are juxtaposed with regional development objectives.

For the airport stations in particular, the concrete development prospects of the airport and the relationship HST/air identified by expert studies are determining the willingness of the operator(s) to support the airport connection. This can be observed at Satolas, where the SNCF has limited its services to a minimum after the agreement to build the station, but also in Stuttgart, where the DB first only proposed a terminus station at the airport and finally made the region pay for the through-station variant. It equally appears in Barcelona, where a fully-fledged connection failed due to the resistance of the government.

*2) Station area development: Real estate branch vs. local authority* - The maximization of HST use and real estate profit at HST station locations is not fully compatible with the objectives of the local authorities for “urbanity”, mixed use, architectural and public space design quality or even open space (e.g. Barcelona Sagrera). It rather points to the development of massive office concentrations with a limited share of “other” functions selected to keep the area lively. Even though the same arguments might be employed in favour of the urban development as such, the actual orientations turn out to be quite divergent when it comes to define the fine grain — as has been shown for Amsterdam Zuidas and Stuttgart central station.

*3) Internal: Real estate vs. passenger transport* - In the Netherlands and Germany, the objective to maintain flexibility for future infrastructure extensions demanded by the operator contradicts the orientation at creating and exploiting a maximum building surface, defended by the real estate divisions.

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<sup>17</sup> Gestor de Infraestructuras Ferroviarias

This “internal” conflict of the railway companies appears more (Amsterdam Zuidas) or less (Stuttgart central station) openly.

4) *Internal: HST vs. regional transport* - The two services appear to compete for infrastructural investments and capacities where priorities have to be set, since the operation of the HST decisively restricts the schedules for regional services. The problem is aggravated where infrastructure is planned underground and reversibility constrained. This conflict has resulted in the provisional solution for the Lyon Satolas station, but also marks the debate in Amsterdam and Stuttgart about the limited capacities of the Zuidas tunnel and the central station respectively. However, the solutions indicate that the HST has always been given priority.

5) *Internal: Passenger vs. freight transport* - Similarly, also the services for passengers and freight enter an internal competition for infrastructure investments and capacities. In Lyon and Barcelona the infrastructure question has been decided in favour of a prior realization of the HST lines, which in the case of Spain will also be used for freight services. Regarding the divergent profitability prospects, a corresponding decision can be expected for operation.

## 2.2 Revision of national policy frameworks

In all cases the HST has become characterized as a constitutive element of the envisaged territorial structure laid down in renewed national policy guidelines during the 90s. With this, the HST has not only become established as a national policy, but the modified planning frameworks also imply changes in the political-administrative structures and planning practices at different levels. These changes are closely connected to the concepts that define the relation between the HST and spatial development, certainly beyond a mere organization of railway infrastructures.

*France* has experienced two revisions of its national spatial planning act within four years. The first one brought a strong national impulse for infrastructural development aimed at the principle of “overall accessibility” that enhanced the plans for the construction of the HST network. Yet, it also defined a new procedure for a state-controlled development of structure plans for urban regions (DTA<sup>18</sup>) that allowed the consideration of a “metropolitan” scale — as in the case of Lyon.

With the second revision, the concept of “sustainability” has emerged as an overall aim, reflected in a general concern for environmental implications, integrative planning and subsidiarity. The new guidelines have reinforced regional and local autonomy, especially for transport planning, and encouraged the cooperation of authorities for the elaboration of common development objectives and strategies. Although the state maintains the control over major infrastructure investments through the negotiation of “contract plans” with the regions and, at least formally, the elaboration of the DTA, the strategic orientation is now provided by those regions and agglomerations which have successfully promoted their “metropolitan” projects. In this, the interconnection of the cities by HST represents an implicit condition regarding the government’s emphasis on the required “international orientation” of the agglomerations.

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<sup>18</sup> Directive Territorial d’Aménagement



Therefore, the institutional change has been strongly motivated by the conception of “metropolitan” territories and their articulation, including a component of reinforced subsidiarity derived from the goal of “sustainable development”. The fact that the envisaged “agglomeration projects” apply also to other types of urban concentrations that may not (yet) share any “metropolitan” ambitions also supports a further dissemination and reproduction of the concepts suggested.

In the *Netherlands*, government policies have equally modified the practice of spatial planning at the scale of the urban regions, and in particular the concrete settings for the realization of HST station area developments. The 4<sup>th</sup> spatial planning report first attributed a particular importance to the development of the large urban centers (“urban nodes”) and their accessibility without yet modifying the ways of policy implementation. Then, first institutional transformations were mainly motivated by the concern for the deteriorating situation regarding location competition and road congestion within the four major urban regions. The creation of the skeleton law for intermunicipal cooperation (kaderwet), and of the “transport regions” pragmatically targeted these issues and paved the way for the formation of the ROA<sup>19</sup>, responsible for the regional transport planning.

With the conception of the “new key projects” policy the ideas of a “pro-active” planning approach and the integration of sectoral policies then became crucial. The direct intervention of the government in the HST station area developments in a special planning procedure is justified with their importance for national competitiveness as well as transport, spatial and urban development objectives, while the lower tiers are responsible for the formation of the required (public-private) project partnerships. Finally, the interconnection of both policy directions has become elaborated with the 5<sup>th</sup> spatial planning report, where the development of “transport nodes” and the coordination of locations within “urban networks” have become primary orientations. In particular, the apparent cooperation forms between the responsible authorities of the “Deltametropolis” (cities, kaderwetgebiede, and regions) and the government have become intensified, including the emergence of new intermediaries (see below).

In *Germany* the government has abandoned the former practice of development control through overall national structure plans (BRP, BVWP<sup>20</sup>) in favour of a more federal planning approach that grants further autonomy to the regions and agglomerations. The territorial model with decentral “European Metropolitan Regions” (EMR) interconnected by HST defended in the new spatial development guidelines (ORA, HARA<sup>21</sup>) implies that the concrete formulation of strategies and formation of coalitions is attributed to regional and local actors. This includes an attempt to actively integrate sectoral policies for economic promotion, transport, spatial and urban development as well as environmental protection. Therefore, the government encourages new forms of cooperation within the metropolitan regions that target increased competitiveness as well as transport congestion and intermunicipal planning control. Furthermore, it has

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<sup>19</sup> Regionaal Orgaan Amsterdam

<sup>20</sup> Bundesraumordnungsprogramm; Bundesverkehrswegeplan

<sup>21</sup> Raumordnungspolitischer Orientierungsrahmen; Raumordnungspolitischer Handlungsrahmen

also introduced the overall aim of a “sustainable spatial development” with the revision of the spatial planning act (ROG<sup>22</sup>).

In *Spain* a specific national spatial planning policy has not yet been designed. The principal orientations for the development of the territorial structure are still based on the national infrastructure plan (PDI<sup>23</sup>). However, this plan already envisaged the direct intervention of the government in “state operations”, justified with their relevance at the “metropolitan” and international level. In the case of Barcelona, this has been the case of the airport/port area (“Delta plan”). However, the plan did not resolve any of the frictions between the participating authorities in respect to the HST connection and the airport development. These could only be overcome in long negotiations for a political compromise.

Nevertheless, according to the existing legislation, the region has filled the gaps in terms of spatial planning with the structure plans for the regional territory (PTGC) and the metropolitan area (PTMB).<sup>24</sup> Yet, the preparation of both plans reflects a strongly authoritarian approach that leaves little margins for cooperations with local actors. In this respect, Spain represents an apparent exception.

### 2.3 Urban-regional institutionalization

Different forms of institutionalization of the urban-regional level appear as a crucial feature in planning the integration of the HST. However, the constitution of these new entities differs from case to case: A change of national legislation, the intervention of the regional government, a strong local actor coalition and initiative, or combinations of these motives stand at the beginning of their establishment. Most importantly, the new entities strongly support the integration of the HST and the related developments as well as the project of “metropolization”, although with different local accents.

In *Lyon* the creation of the Communauté Urbaine de Lyon (COURLY) as a planning authority was the result of a national law, based on the policies of decentralization and rationalization of spatial planning in the large agglomerations, and long before the introduction of the HST. However, the COURLY has increasingly assumed a key role in strategic planning and in economic development matters for the agglomeration, partly in competition with the chambers of commerce. On the contrary, the emergence of the urban-regional entity Région Urbaine de Lyon (RUL) has followed a different logic, where the state, the city of Lyon and the chambers of commerce tried to create a common forum to coordinate developments at a larger scale. Both actors then started to support the “metropolitan” development model with a strong emphasis on economic promotion, yet based on different territorial and political constitutions. Despite the similarities of their approaches and the occasional strong influence of the COURLY on the RUL<sup>25</sup>, the two entities therefore developed a relationship of cooperation *and* competition. In the COURLY the “central” interests of Lyon prevail, while the RUL reflects a stronger counterweight of “edge” municipalities as well as the interests of the chambers of commerce, especially

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<sup>22</sup> Raumordnungsgesetz

<sup>23</sup> Plan Director de Infraestructuras

<sup>24</sup> Pla Territorial General de Catalunya; Pla Territorial Metropolità de Barcelona

<sup>25</sup> During the term of office of M.Noir.

concerning Satolas airport. With respect to the HST, it is therefore precisely the airport location that is subject to different interpretations and priorities. Nevertheless, it is the state, the region and the operators that actually decide on the future development of Satolas.

In *Amsterdam* the early cooperation forms that preceded the foundation of the Regionaal Orgaan Amaterdam (ROA) were mainly concerned with the problems of urban agglomeration. The skeleton law has provided the ROA with orientating competencies for urban planning, housing policy, environmental and economic development, and fixed its indirect constitution through the municipalities. In spite of being a public entity, the only authority competence of the ROA lies in transport planning, which is also the field where the ROA has been most important for the integration of the HST. The public transport projects in the urban region as well as the critical confrontation with the railway company (NS) regarding the role of regional rail transport in the new infrastructure layout have been essential contributions. Although the ROA depends in other sectoral policies on the willingness of the municipalities, its space-economic development strategy and the definition of urban-regional priority projects can be considered influential conceptions that have discursively put forward the “metropolitan” role of HST integration.

In *Stuttgart* it was the regional government that decisively fostered the creation of an urban-regional planning entity, legitimized even through a directly elected parliament. The strategic competencies transferred to the Verband Region Stuttgart (VRS) — i.e. transport and spatial planning, S-Bahn planning, economic and touristic promotion, trade fair planning — and its institutional interweaving with important economic actors underline the vocation of this entity to enhance competitiveness and resolve the problems of intermunicipal coordination in the sense of a “European Metropolitan Region”. In turn, immediately after its creation the VRS contributed to the acceleration of the trade fair project, as well as to the legal regulation of HST integration and the project “Stuttgart21” as a whole. The VRS is therefore an institutional materialization of the “metropolitan” project in the Stuttgart region.

In *Barcelona* the starting point of the institutionalization process has been the central city and its ambition to better defend its interest at the regional and national policy levels. Through the elaboration of the strategic plans a broad coalition between social and economic actors as well as public authorities, all belonging to the central agglomeration (AMB<sup>26</sup>), has been created. Its basis of legitimation is therefore fairly broad within this perimeter, whereas the rest of the urban region has not been represented in the process. This coalition strongly supports the different projects of “metropolitan” development, including the envisaged integration of the HST.

However, the urban region (BMR<sup>27</sup>) and the question of its institutional recognition have finally become the main subject of the planning discourse, dominated by the central agglomeration with its concentration of key actors. The case of Barcelona is also the only one where the integration of the HST is accompanied by the development concept of “recentralization”, whereas the notion of “polycentricity” hardly plays a role — in spite of the existing polycentric settlement structure of the BMR. In the

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<sup>26</sup> Àrea Metropolitana de Barcelona

<sup>27</sup> Barcelona Metropolitan Region

confrontation over the integration of the HST, however, the unfavourable political power constellation among local, regional and national authorities has limited the success of the “metropolitan” actor coalition.

#### 2.4 The role of new intermediaries

Apart from the new institutional structures that represent the urban-regional level, it has also become clear that certain intermediaries between authority levels as well as between public and private actors have played an important role for the integration of the HST. Some have been created anew and with an explicit relation to the HST, others have appeared to be existing institutions that assume new tasks. These intermediaries are neither the concrete partnerships that define the development projects, nor independent “mediators” with the task of facilitating compromise. Rather, they have been constituted as cooperations of key actors or authorities that prepare the necessary coalitions for projects and/or the conceptual framework that underpins them.

In *Lyon* this has certainly been the case of the GIP transalpes, created at the request of the government. The GIP unites the region and the SNCF, but also the airport Satolas and the exploitation companies of the existing tunnels and motorways across the Alps. Its task is the study of the regional insertion of the project Lyon-Turin in all its dimensions. Yet the main achievement of the entity is probably the approach between the positions of Rhône-Alpes and the SNCF, last but not least against the background of the still recent regionalization of the railways. This is reflected in the conceptual commitments of the GIP that reflect both the new regional structure plan and the former national railway structure plan supported by the SNCF.

Furthermore, the government’s regional administration (SGAR<sup>28</sup>) has also taken over a new function as a strategic intermediary. Reinforced by the changed legislation (DTA) the SGAR has opted for an open cooperation with the Départements and the COURLY in the elaboration of this new kind of urban regional structure plan. The draft plan indicates that the SGAR strongly supports the concepts of the COURLY, yet applied to a different territory that rather coincides with the delimitation of the RUL. Through this process, the open question of the development control at Satolas airport could finally approach a solution.

At the local level, another important intermediary function has been fulfilled by the COURLY in the preparation of a strategic plan for the agglomeration (“Millénaire 3”). Through the moderation between public administration and inhabitants, the COURLY has contributed to the creation of a broad acceptance for the concepts of metropolization and the role of the HST in urban development.

In the *Netherlands* it has been first of all the ICES<sup>29</sup> that has decisively contributed to the design of government policies related to the HST. This commission, consisting of members from different ministries (economic affairs, spatial planning, and transport) originally had the task of identifying strategic investments for the increase of the Netherlands’ competitiveness. It then effectively promoted its own approach to spatial planning, focused on project planning and the improvement of the “general business

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<sup>28</sup> Secrétaire General aux Affaires Régionales

<sup>29</sup> Interdepartmental Commission for the strengthening of the Economic Structure

environment”.<sup>30</sup> These concepts then appeared to influence spatial policies, in particular with the inception of the “new key projects”.

Furthermore, some new institutions have increased the relevance of the Randstad as a distinctive policy level. These institutions are the RegioRandstad, created by the cities, urban regional organizations and regions, and the Deltametropool association, founded by the four Randstad cities. In reaction, the government created the Randstad policy commission (BCR<sup>31</sup>), specifically responsible for the coordination of policies with a corresponding scope, that brings these actors together with the government. In consequence, we find the concept of “Deltametropolis” promoted in the 5<sup>th</sup> spatial planning report, which reflects the effective cooperation between these entities.

In *Germany* an intermediary function can be attributed to the regional/national spatial planning commission MKRO<sup>32</sup>. Although this commission is a long established mediator between the government and the regions, it was in the policy shift performed during the 90s that it obtained an important protagonism due to the emphasis on decentral and regional approaches. The fact that the institutionalization of the Verband Region Stuttgart (VRS) was initiated already two years *before* the adoption of the orientating framework for spatial planning (ORA) reflects the changing direction of spatial policy making. With the “European Metropolitan Regions” the MKRO has finally helped to introduce the conceptual framework for this kind of urban-regional institution into national policy guidelines.

However, at the concrete level of the projects for HST integration, an appropriate intermediary to resolve the conflicts of interest between public (authorities) and private parties (railway company) has not been established. This conflict finally even turned out to endanger the realization of the projects, which points to the importance of structures such as the GIP transalpes in the case of Lyon.

In the case of *Barcelona*, it is the planning agency Barcelona Regional that has fulfilled an important role as an intermediary between the central administrations, local authorities, infrastructure operators and providers — all represented in its shareholder structure. It functions as a “think tank” for new urban regional projects with a strong conceptual affinity to the city of Barcelona — last but not least due to the exchange of executives. The agency has turned out to be particularly important for the negotiation of the HST projects between the state, region and local authorities as it provided the necessary concepts and technical arguments to defend the position of Barcelona. In this, it has benefited from the appearance as a source of independent expertise, although it cannot be mistaken as such (Fig.V.3).

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<sup>30</sup> cf. Hajer/ Zonneveld 2000, 347

<sup>31</sup> Bestuurlijke Commissie Randstad

<sup>32</sup> Ministerkonferenz für Raumordnung

	LYO	AMS	STR	BCN
<b>railway restructuring</b>				
	public capital public enterprise	<i>public capital</i> <i>private holding 1995</i>	<i>public capital</i> <i>private holding 1994</i>	public capital public enterprise
operation	SNCF grandes lignes SNCF regional SNCF fret	<i>NS Reizigers</i> <i>NS Cargo</i>	<i>DB Reise- und Touristik</i> <i>DB Regio</i> <i>DB Cargo</i>	AVE (HST) RENFE pasajeros RENFE cercanías RENFE mercancía
real estate		<i>NS Vastgoed</i>	<i>DB Imm</i> <i>EIM</i>	
stations	SNCF gare	<i>NS Stations</i>	<i>DB Station und Service</i>	
infrastructure	RFF	RailNed <i>(Holland Railconsult)</i>	DB Netz	GIF (only HST) RENFE infraestructuras
regulation	RFF	RailNed <i>(Holland Railconsult)</i>	EBA	GIF (only HST) RENFE circulación
<b>national policy frameworks</b>				
	DTA 1995 LOADT 1999	4 <sup>th</sup> planning report 1988 Kaderwet 1994 New key projects 1996 5 <sup>th</sup> planning report 2000	ORA 1993 HARA 1995 ROG 1998	PDI 1993
<b>urban- regional institutionalization</b>				
	COURLY 1966 ADERLY 1970 RUL 1974	ROA 1992	VRS 1994	AMB 1987 APEB 1990
<b>new intermediaries</b>				
	GIP transalpes 1995 SGAR (due to DTA) RUL 1974/ 1994 COURLY (Millénaire 3)	ICES 1996 RegioRandstad 1996 BCR 1996 Deltametropool 1998	MKRO (due to ORA)	Barcelona Regional 1993

Fig.V. 3: Synopsis - HST integration and institutional change; Source: author

Key: public sector / *private sector* / **partnership**

### 3 Transformations of urban projects and partnerships

The implications of the integration of the HST for spatial and urban structures cannot be limited to single development projects at the main railway stations of the large agglomerations and their potential intersectoral repercussions, although these are certainly the most evident examples. Rather, the HST has to be regarded as a structural element of the “metropolitan” development model that implies various types of urban projects with a direct or indirect dependence on the HST. This perspective guides the view beyond the scale of a single station area towards the urban-region and different station locations.

Four location types for HST stops can be distinguished in this respect that, in spite of their distinctions at detail level, show similar characteristics in respect to their discursive construction: Airports, new centers in the city area, downtown areas, and regional transport nodes. These locations are promoted by diverse partnerships and cooperations that reflect the particular interests at stake while sharing the same discursive framework.

#### 3.1 “Airport cities” or “transport hubs”

For the airport locations two basic development options can be distinguished. At Lyon Satolas the present objective is to develop the airport as a “transport hub” thus focusing on logistic and changeover functions that support the regional economy. In Amsterdam and Barcelona, however, the development of an

“airport city” is envisaged with specific constitutions and business orientations. Both locations are considered to be “growthpoles” and of crucial importance for the regional economic development, establishing a new centrality through workplace concentration. Stuttgart represents a combined solution here since the relatively small airport itself remains a mere transport hub, while its surroundings will be transformed into a multifunctional regional growthpole. Although the concept of the “transport hub” also has its justification in the metropolization discourse, the tendency seems to be rather towards defining the airport locations as new “growthpoles”, including the case of Lyon.

In *Lyon Satolas*, the decision for the HST connection had been taken almost independently from the airport, since the basic idea was the interconnection of HST lines. The region and the SNCF achieved a provisional compromise with the construction of the HST-stop, while the regional railway station became suspended. For Rhône-Alpes, however, Satolas represents its “central station” with multiple connection possibilities and is therefore regarded a development priority. Yet, all other actors consider Satolas a “multimodal platform” with an emphasis on the logistic functions of the airport.

Apart from the actual transport demand, the expansion of Satolas depends in particular on the respective positions of AirFrance (or possibly other airlines) and the SNCF for the HST, while the development of a third airport in Paris can also still undermine growth expectations. Therefore, further functional development is not yet envisaged since the main concern is the consolidation and extension of the transport offer. However, substantial changes in this respect e.g. the regional rail access and the connection to La Part Dieu could quickly result in the development of further facilities, as supported by the chambers of commerce and the RUL. In the meantime the struggle about the discursive definition of Satolas is still to be decided. The airport remains a contradictory *hot spot*, better accessible from abroad than from its own region, and with little developed activities regarding the ca. 3.000 direct employees.

For *Amsterdam Schiphol* the strategic development orientations have been defined directly by the government. The airport company takes advantage of the policy priority Schiphol enjoys and has effectively planned and realized a multifunctional “airport city” over the recent years, maintaining its position as the principal hub of the Dutch airline KLM. The private management has successfully established a broad array of functions that complement the transport and logistic activities – congress, hotel, offices, retail – which will be further extended in parallel to the arrival of the HST.

With ca. 50.000 employees Schiphol is already the biggest workplace concentration in the Amsterdam region and provided with good road and public transport access that will be further improved (Zuid tangent). Its recognition as national “mainport” constitutes an invariant in the Dutch planning discourse, since the growth of Schiphol is regarded an indispensable condition for the national, regional and local economic development.<sup>33</sup> Unlike the other cases, the station at the airport was the starting point for the integration of the HST in the Netherlands, aiming to assure the international accessibility and to safeguard a sufficiently large catchment area of Schiphol.

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<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, including all direct and indirect airport dependent activities and the maximum growth horizon (2003: 44mio. passengers), Schiphol airport is estimated to account for only 2.8% of the national GDP (Groene Amsterdamer 15.10.1997)

At *Stuttgart* airport it is primarily the region that has promoted its development. The DB has adapted its plans to the demands of the region that also covers the cost increases caused by the through-station solution. In parallel the region also supported the relocation of the trade fair, enhanced by the constitution of the Verband Region Stuttgart (VRS). It is the starting point for a further expansion of the Filder area as an urban regional development axis. The new trade fair and congress center will add approximately another 1000 employees to the 7.000 of the airport and reinforce the significance of the location as a regional and urban-regional centrality.

With the envisaged establishment of further administrative functions and a “business park”, a major centrality is planned that will also modify regional and urban regional mobility patterns. In this, the double use of the station for HST and regional trains can play an important role, while the road transport volume is also expected to rise considerably (extension of the A8 motorway, 6.750 parking lots). These changes are hardly reflected in the planning discourse that has above all highlighted the relation of HST and air transport, improved regional rail services and the fast link to the central station. Apparently the key actors feel that an open (discursive) designation of the Filder area as a regional “growthpole” would still encounter massive resistance from the local authorities and the population.

In *Barcelona* important expectations have been created due to the envisaged connection of the airport to the HST. The enlarged catchment area should contribute to a massive increase of employment (from 8.000 to 28.000) and the development of diverse business activities. Additionally the connection of the port and the adjacent logistic center are expected to make the Llobregat river delta a major transport hub in the Mediterranean.<sup>34</sup>

After the master plan of the national airport administration AENA<sup>35</sup> had met the resistance of the city and Barcelona Regional (BR), they achieved modifications in favour of the development of an “airport city” and improved public transport connections. However, the local actor coalition finally failed to obtain an HST connection of the airport on the main track against the coalition between the central administrations (government, AENA, RENFE, Iberia). Here the emerging conflict about the control over the airport development between state, region and city is reflected in the divergent concepts used. While the city and BR consider the “airport city” a necessary extension of Barcelona’s employment market with positive local economic effects, the region would prefer to see the airport integrated into a regional “airport system” including Reus and Girona. In turn, for the government and the operators, a reinforcement of Barcelona as an intercontinental hub would negatively affect the position of Madrid. Thus the “airport city” development objectives actually formulated by the Barcelona AENA office in coalition with the local actors is not taken up at all.

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<sup>34</sup> However, in November 2001 Barcelona airport has lost 17% of its passenger transport volume and its intercontinental flights as a consequence of the WTC attack (El País 31.11.01).

<sup>35</sup> Aeropuertos Españoles y Navegación Aérea



### 3.2 New city centers – “Central Business Districts”

These are the projects that genuinely represent the fusion of HST access and urban development. For these locations the concepts of “internationalization”, “competitiveness” and the “attraction of business activities” form the main guidelines for the definition of the space-functional programme, expressed in their designation as new “central business districts” (Lyon) or “top-locations” (Amsterdam). Therefore, the development of offices and facilities turns out to be the most outstanding subject both in quantitative and qualitative terms, since the desired services are attributed a “high-grade” character. Emphasis is thus put on the quality of the building design and public space that should contribute to make the place an attractive business location.

A crucial aspect of these projects is their changing transport accessibility apart from the HST, since they initially present comparative deficits in terms of public transport access but are provided with advantageous road connections. Thus, new public transport links are planned with a focus on the connection of the area with the city center, but also with other relevant centralities and major housing concentrations in the urban region in order to match with the changing mobility patterns.

*La Part Dieu station* represents the first example for this location type in Europe, although the development has undergone different phases with changing motives and actor constellations. The location was chosen even before the creation of the railway station and supported by the state, the COURLY and the city at a time when the HST did not yet play a role. However, due to a weak public control the project resulted rather in an obstacle for the further development, especially regarding the dominant position of a major shopping mall.

With the decision for the HST stop, the SNCF, the COURLY and the city initiated a close cooperation for the realization of the station building, offices, public spaces and a number of dwellings. Controlled through a partnership development plan (ZAC<sup>36</sup>), this second project responded both to the emerging designation of La Part Dieu as an international business district (first high-rise building in Lyon) and the need for an improvement of the urban design and physical integration of the area. The leading actors for this orientation have been the COURLY and the city, while the SNCF hesitated to recognize the development potential of the area.

Since the realization of the ZAC, the concept of developing a high-grade international business environment has been reinforced — supported by city, COURLY and the SNCF. The city now carries out an extended program of densification and urban design qualification towards the East side of the station through regular municipal plans. Moreover, the creation of new tramway lines has improved the connection between La Part Dieu and the downtown area (Perrache), and also connect with the principal university areas and technopoles within the COURLY.

In Amsterdam the development at *Zuid/ WTC station* has been motivated by parallel developments that have increased the focus on this area as the “top-location” of the Randstad. The infrastructure options for the HST connection defended by government and NS, the steady growth of Schiphol, the preferences of

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<sup>36</sup> Zone d'Aménagement Concerté

private investors and the development potentials of the area finally also made the city support the promotion of this new business center.

The city and the districts as the leading actors have created the project partnership, incorporating government, NS and private actors.<sup>37</sup> Also the urban design proposal (master plan) that manifests the discursive identity of the location through high-rise offices, large-scale facilities and a share of high-grade housing, has been elaborated by the city. The plan allows the different architecture projects of private investors to “fit in” with relative flexibility. New metro lines are envisaged that will connect Zuid/ WTC with the downtown area, Schiphol and the main development areas along the ring line, as well as express bus lines to the centers in the urban region (Haarlem, Almere).

Although the government has provided additional support with the attribution of the “new key project” status that includes supervision and subsidy, an essential conflict remains here the financing of the underground infrastructure solution, so far excluded from the project plans. The advantages for the continuity and integration of urban space defended by the city are juxtaposed to considerable cost increases that neither the government nor NS are easily willing to cover, even though the real estate division of NS has the development rights above the infrastructure.

In the case of the *Hauptbahnhof* Stuttgart we find a combination of this type of “new city center” project with a continuation of the downtown area, since only one central HST station location is planned. The project has been promoted initially by a coalition of the DB with the city, region and the government. All partners soon agreed upon a financing mode based more on previous infrastructure schemes than on urban development objectives. Yet the role of the DB that has sped up the plans through a separate project company appeared to be dominant due to its strong implication in the financing of the underground infrastructure.

Therefore, the HST has turned out to be less important for the discursive definition of the urban development, but was crucial for the support of the (infrastructure) project as a whole. The question, if a connection to the transeuropean network could be achieved and in which quality (travel times), decisively influenced the decisions. In the end, this issue equally conditioned the space-functional structure of the urban design. The programme shows a strong concentration of workplaces and facilities in the development area, while the sequential introduction of urban development objectives (design quality, mixed functions, park extension) had to deal with the limitations created by the outline agreement. Due to the central location, the subject of accessibility appears here vice versa since the station is already the main public transport node of the urban region, whereas road access is constrained by congestion in the central city area. This has, however, not modified the development plans at all.

In Barcelona the urban development at *Sants and Sagrera* is being controlled through regular municipal plans without any particular partnership constructions. However, private actors, academics, and the city had endorsed the initial debate about the development at Sagrera through parallel development proposals. The early projects have helped the city to define objectives for the sector and contributed to

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<sup>37</sup> Similar to the Zuidas, also for the other HST stations within the Randstad multi-level public-private partnerships have been established.

the quality of the urban design plan. Therefore, in respect to the functional development Sagrera has formed an exception so far since the city has consciously chosen to avoid a focus on the HST as development incentive and an excessive office concentration. Instead the accent is put on the urban park and a substantial housing share (55%). Furthermore, the accessibility of the location by public transport is envisaged to be improved with the construction of a new metro ring line that will also connect the HST-station with the area of the “Forum 2004”.

Yet these hypotheses have been modified as a result of the financing negotiations with the state and the region. Both authorities have had a major influence on the project due to their contribution to the costly underground infrastructure solution. The reservation of the government to recognize the location as new main station and to accept certain risks in respect of lower HST operation revenues has especially curbed the advance of the project. Finally, the required changes in the urban plans that should assure the feasibility of the HST integration as a whole might also lead to a reconsideration of the initial design principles, as they imply not less than a doubled floor-space index for the station area (Fig.V.4).

	LYO	AMS	STR	BCN	
Functions	La Part Dieu <sup>1</sup>	Zuidas	Stuttgart <sup>21</sup>	Sagrera <sup>3</sup>	
% offices	37	65	45	45	
% public and private facilities	27	13.5	70		
% retail, hotel, leisure	32		20		
% housing	4	21.5	30	15	55
total surface / mio.m <sup>2</sup>	0.9	1.0	1.4	1.4	
average FSI	2.0	2.8	2.8	1.5	

Fig.V. 4: Synopsis - Floorspace distribution in new HST station area developments; sources: Decoutère et al. 1993; dRO 1998b; Stadt Stuttgart 1997a

<sup>1</sup> first and second phase of the project

<sup>2</sup> total area / station area only

<sup>3</sup> before modification

### 3.3 Extension and specialization of downtown areas

For the city centers of Lyon, Amsterdam and Stuttgart the development of the central HST station areas are the principal urban projects. Barcelona is an exception here since the stations are located outside the city center. The discursive relation of these projects to the HST differs, however, depending on the actual connection quality of the downtown areas.

While in Stuttgart the central station is the only HST stop in the city area and therefore of highest importance, Amsterdam central station is only an alternative stop parallel to the future main HST-station Zuid/ WTC. In Lyon, Perrache has already lost its importance as against La Part Dieu and fulfils mainly regional functions, even though the HST will still serve it. Finally, in Barcelona the closure of the remaining central station (*França*) has left the downtown area with the option for an optional stop at *Paseig de Gràcia* as only direct HST access, half way between Sants and Sagrera.

Thus only in Stuttgart the project in the city center is dominated by arguments related to the HST, while in the other cases it plays a secondary or, as in Barcelona, almost no role at all. With the new HST station

developments in other parts of the city, the decrease in significance of the downtown areas as principal business locations has become accelerated. What remains is their indisputable position as primary public transport nodes and location of cultural and public facilities, as well as a concentration of retail and services. Consequently, the city centers are understood as more and more specialized centers in complementarity to the newly created “central business districts”. Thus, their interconnection by public transport is considered an important condition in order to ensure the future development of both the downtowns and the new centers.

The plans therefore envisage a continuity of the urban structure in the centers with mixed functions and certain complements through large scale facilities, but with an additional effort to increase the share of housing. The main focus is on privately financed high-grade dwellings that should attract the higher income groups, while a percentage of social housing is always fixed (20-25%). Yet, due to the different conceptual frameworks of the projects the total housing share turns out to be considerably lower in Stuttgart than in Amsterdam and Lyon.

At the same time, the orientation at touristic and leisure functions plays a particularly important role in all cases. Above all, Barcelona has chosen to strengthen these features with the development of the old port into a large-scale entertainment center and the facilities added to the urban fabric of the downtown area. Lyon and Amsterdam also dedicate a big part of their re-development programs to new facilities with a leisure and tourism content, characterized as project “anchors” or “founding acts”. In Stuttgart, this functional dimension is more limited in the downtown area as only two major facilities are envisaged. In contrast, the city supported the creation of a large-scale entertainment center close to the airport. Amsterdam additionally decided to develop a second focal point for sports and leisure at the Bijlmer station in the southeast (ArenA). These new poles appear in parallel to the redevelopment of the downtown and underline the envisaged process of “specialization” between different centers in the urban region.

Regarding the project control, in Lyon the city, the COURLY and the Département (Rhône) are the leading actors for the development of Confluence/Perrache, while also local banks, developers and the chambers of commerce (together 31%) participate in a public-private partnership. The SNCF does not have any shares and is mainly involved at the level of technical planning. The city has made a considerable effort for citizen participation and step-by-step development that has improved the project quality and support for the project. Since the envisaged urban transformations still depend on major national investments (removal of the motorway), the development pressure has also remained moderate.

In Amsterdam, the public-private partnership attempt between the city and private investors failed as the city maintained its plans to develop the central station area as its principal business district. Most other actors involved in the planning discourse already attributed this position to Zuid/WTC, so the private partners finally withdrew. After the policy shift, the city successfully returned to a regular municipal planning frame to develop the location.

The discursive situation in Stuttgart has remained unchanged. The development pressure on this “high-grade” location will continue to be an essential feature of the project and can only be compensated by further public investment. With the purchase of the development land the city already took the necessary

steps in order to overcome the impasse. However, based on the station configuration for the HST the project “Stuttgart 21” has to combine the objectives for a “new city center” and a “downtown extension”, which makes this location especially conflictive.

On the whole, these development orientations underline the envisaged distinction of the downtown areas from the other centralities in the urban region. Precisely because of its role for the new city centers, the HST in Amsterdam, Lyon and Barcelona has indirectly contributed to reduce the development pressures and expectations in the downtown areas and to allow an urban development better adapted to the local requirements. This pattern will therefore not work in the case of Stuttgart where both location types coincide. Nevertheless, in spite of the concrete and detailed plans elaborated in all cases, a considerable uncertainty with respect to the future role of the downtown areas is also noticeable. The difficulties and delays in defining a programme (Stuttgart, Lyon) and implementing it (Amsterdam) may serve to illustrate this perception (Fig.V.5).

	LYO	AMS	STR	BCN
Functions	Confluence	Ij-oEVERS	Stuttgart21 <sup>1</sup>	-
% offices	20	40	45	-
% public and private facilities	25	10	20	-
% retail, hotel, leisure facilities	10	10	20	-
% housing	45	40	30	-
total surface / mio.m <sup>2</sup>	1.2	1.1	1.4	-
average FSI	0.8	-	2.8	-

Fig.V. 5: Synopsis - Floorspace distribution in central HST station area developments; sources: COURLY/

Ville de Lyon 2000; dRO 1999; Stadt Stuttgart 1997a

<sup>1</sup> total area / station area only

### 3.4 Regional “growth poles”

HST stations at the intersection with regional railway lines but without any urban integration have appeared only in the cases of Rhône-Alpes and Catalonia. They are promoted especially by the regions that consider them to be an important contribution to the international/-regional connection of the respective areas, as well as to the inner-regional accessibility providing fast connections with the main centers. Consequently, the new accessibility potential is also interpreted as an economic development prospect for the connected areas, assuming that they could attract new investments and retain existing activities. However, references to these locations by other actors are either not made or remain indifferent, which leaves these developments in a weak discursive position.

In the case of RoValTain, the expectations concerning the HST have resulted in the creation of a large-scale partnership development plan (ZAC) controlled by a cooperation of the surrounding municipalities. This project envisages the development of a “theme park” possibly oriented at gastronomic issues, and a “business park” for the location of enterprises, and counts on the support from the region. In contrast, the new HST station at Montmélian has not yet been subject to speculation about functional development. The common HST development agency of region and SNCF (*GIP transalpes*) rather attributes a “hub” function to it, but this does not exclude future expansions.

A regional stop of a different kind represents the HST station in the Vallés area. Since it has been defined as the future “central station” by the regional government, it has also become the focus of much guesswork regarding its future urban development. Apart from the hypotheses about the regional railway network, the region has a particular interest in the development of the location due to its considerable land ownership in the unrealized “directive center”, designated in the intermunicipal structure plan (PGM<sup>38</sup>). The proximity of important large-scale facilities and attractive housing areas could make the location a future urban-regional “growthpole”, similar to the Filder area in Stuttgart. However, the government and the authorities from the central agglomeration give this location a low priority and have shown little interest in contributing to the required investments.

### 3.5 Overview: Station locations, projects, and partnerships

As a common feature the described constellations illustrate an increasing strategic importance of the airport locations that emerge in the reticule of all authority levels. Also the development of second city centers around new HST stations is granted a strategic importance, yet, except for the Netherlands, with a more urban-regional scope. In contrast, the central station area developments appear to be projects of a rather local interest, where the specific feature of “HST access” stands back against objectives of urban rehabilitation and revitalization. The opposite is true for the regional stops in Rhône-Alpes and Catalonia, since here development prospects are almost exclusively based on the HST, while strategic objectives are also of a local and regional character (Fig.V.6).

	LYO	AMS	STR	BCN
<b>airport</b>	Satolas	Schiphol	Leinfelden/E.	Prat
	<i>CCI</i> RUL COURLY Region	<i>Government</i> Schiphol group Harlemmermeer ROA Region	<i>Region</i> City of Stuttgart VRS	<i>City of Barcelona</i> <i>Barcelona Regional</i> AMB AENA Barcelona
<b>downtown</b>	Perrache	Central station	Central station	
	<i>COURLY</i> <i>City of Lyon</i> private partners	<i>City of Amsterdam</i> private partners	<i>City of Stuttgart</i> <i>DB</i> <i>Region</i> VRS Government	
<b>new city center</b>	La Part Dieu	Zuid/WTC		Sagrera
	<i>City of Lyon</i> <i>COURLY</i> SNCF	<i>City of Amsterdam</i> NS private partners		<i>City of Barcelona</i> private partners Region Government
<b>regional node</b>	RoValTain			Vallés
	<i>local municipalities</i> <i>Region</i> SNCF			<i>Region</i> local municipalities

Fig.V. 6: Synopsis - Projects and partnerships at HST station locations; Source: author

Key: partners / *leading role*

<sup>38</sup> Plan General Metropolitano