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## Pan-European Corridor V

Franco Migliorini

The acceleration that has been a characteristic trait of the western world for over a decade now has, on more than one occasion, underlined how useful the network paradigm can be in interpreting or determining evolving systems of relations in various fields. The transport field is definitely one of the most appropriate and prolific in applications at various scales. Here, we will be investigating, above all, the progress of European planning in terms of transport networks at the service of the process of political convergence and socioeconomic cohesion of the Union continent-wide.

### Economy and territory in the European Union

The history and geography of contemporary Europe issue the European Union with a common space featuring a stark lack of balance between the centre and periphery in terms of income, employment and accessibility. In terms of GDP per capita in this Europe of fifteen states, there is a gaping sixfold-plus difference between richer regions and the poorer ones. With new countries joining, this difference is set to increase to approximately eightfold, strengthening percentagewise the weight of the regions bringing up the rear. For the most part, the distribution of GDP per capita coincides directly with the rate of employment recorded by the European regions. However, the indicators of the countries' and regions' accessibility form an even better link between the structure of the economy and organization of the European space. A rich and accessible continental heart appears surrounded, based on a

virtually linear function, by a series of concentric rings of decreasing income and accessibility. We could define these rings as corresponding to semi-central, semi-peripheral, and peripheral regions. The centre consists of the Germany-Benelux system and the two 'world' cities, London and Paris. The semi-centre encompasses the central core on practically all sides and so on as far as an extreme peripherality, which can be discerned in the Iberian peninsula, the outer regions of the British Isles, central-north Scandinavia, southern Italy and Greece. The majority of the eastern countries share a similar lot, their peripheral status further accentuated by factors of an infrastructural nature. A peripherality coinciding with the slow economic transformation in progress in the various regions, which proceeds from West to East. In Italy's case, it appears characterized by the conditions of semi-centrality (North), semi-peripherality (centre), and peripherality (South), respectively. The northern Italian regions owe their semi-centrality to the Alpine barrier. Here, the mountainous conformation becomes a penalizing factor affecting real distances. This places great emphasis on the issue of infrastructural facilities and how they compare to the demand expressed by a manufacturing economy geared strongly towards exports to central Europe, i.e. towards the continent's rich, accessible centre of gravity. During the course of the last fifty years or so, intra-European relations have developed, encouraged by the market economy and channelled by a parallel Community institution construction process. During this period, every part of the European

territory has exploited its competitive advantages starting with the individual, regional and local subsystems. Compared to the regions facing or gravitating around the North Sea, the regions closely associated with the Mediterranean (the Latin Arc stretching from Spain to the upper reaches of the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic seas) suffer from a series of gaps attributable to an enclosed sea, an amount of fragmentation induced by the mountains (Alps, Apennines, Pyrenees, Balkans), fewer infrastructural facilities and delayed industrialization. Today, however, this delay has been compensated by the recent spread (in some semi-central regions) of the small and medium enterprises and densely organized tourist industry, especially along the coastal Mediterranean Arc. This is the configuration of the economic space on which Community Europe is attempting to apply structural policies. Policies are aimed to strengthen cohesion (of socioeconomic kind) by means of support measures in the face of an unfolding market economy (competition) that tries to attenuate disparities and to foster (through networks) good opportunities for all members of the Union to access the market in question.

### Corridors and domestic market

To sum up the scope of the corridors strategy, the idea is to determine various European-level routes and infrastructures capable of filling these accessibility gaps (detected on a national or regional level) so as to encourage the material circulation of people and goods to accompany the mobility of capital, services and ideas. The aim is to redistribute opportunities in an enlarged

economic space, to even out its income growth and employment development (1).

The corridor concept actually expresses an option that is rather broader than that linked merely to infrastructure. Moreover, its transnational dimension puts emphasis on the need to overcome the natural national barriers, whether of a physical or organizational nature or, as is often the case, both combined. The corridor idea essentially consists in:

- the presence of linear infrastructures (more than one) with the option of a multimodal system that incorporates intermodality;
- a spatial reference framework, i.e. a basin of relations served by the corridor;
- a privileged exchange of economic and trade relations, through which the corridor's "convergence" theme transpires;
- a series of long term investments by many actors, as a result of which the problem of continuity and interinstitutional collaboration between the parties, in the long term, increases in importance. Hence what we have is a mobilizing option, one which comes from the top but which lacks specifications in terms of contents as well as what funding programme it is expected to be backed by.

A corridor, therefore, should be interpreted from the bottom up, first of all in terms of what opportunities it offers the territories it runs through: from the regions and cities, and from the production and business systems that are both part of it and set to benefit from it; from the economic operators; from the infrastructure providers and, not least, from the local communities of citizens directly affected by the route. Nonetheless, the corridors proposed do not

spring from nowhere. They largely trace historic routes on which intra-European relations have developed, to a greater or lesser extent, in a spontaneous manner. In many cases, they propose to innovate the infrastructure of previous routes, road or railway routes, which no longer meet the performance needs, in terms of time and volume, demanded by the trade flows of modern economies. Rather than redrawing the continent's relational geography, the corridors reconfirm it wherever the market force, or existing political and administrative system powers, have not yet set new investments in motion. Economic delay also incorporates infrastructural delay, in the East much more than in the West, whilst it is above all the European peripheries and semi-centres that highlight the problems of accessibility related to missing links or saturated sections of today's existing infrastructural system. Moreover, it is not hard to see how the European centre of gravity ends up growing stronger, if for no other reason by virtue of the very morphology of the continent, which has Germany and Benelux snuggled in the centre through which all East-West or North-South flows run. From this point of view, we can hardly help but appreciate that the opportunity for greater relational balance in the continent is an inherent trait of the corridors. However, this fact has to contend with the force of the existing system of interests (investors, institutions, market) in the economy's arena of dynamic competition, which operates on a short or medium term basis. The response to this is a long or extremely long term plan to restore balance to the European Union, i.e. where

only policy and institutions can express options with the intention of maintaining them in the long run. The scale dimension and dynamics of the forces in action in Europe therefore make territory-based competition an extremely current concept, in addition to the better known forms of competition: company-based and city-based. Territory-based competition is actually the scenario that fits the corridors. Sets of individuals, numerous and diversified on a regional and supra-regional basis, are called on to express their support for an option of common interest. This, however, entails an organized, cohesive form of action, not just on the political and institutional front, but on the technical and financial front as well. The aim is basically to outline the evolutionary profile of the territorial (openly supranational) systems that decide to pool considerable financial resources to make common investments (infrastructures) thus strengthening various links of a common lot: a lot that is based on convergence but, despite this, does not rule out options also related to scenarios where relations are established between countries that may be different or different in part. Convenience, propensities, affinities, precedents, complementariness, and sometimes even mutual prejudice, between governments and between countries, all have a part to play in this. What we mean is that system relations intervene in territorial competition and, as such, involve every sort of resource present: not just financial means but also historical and cultural resources, with all their roots and antecedent facts. This is why the systems involved need to represent themselves as parties

bearing ideas and plans, as complex all-round interlocutors, the expression of a basketful of opportunities rather than a single interest (for the corridor). Not all opportunities may be explicit or evident, but they must promise to produce a process offering a wealth of supplies and one that is open to interpretations and outside contributions. The corridor concept is essentially a kind of scene seeking actors to perform there, based on an initial identified and reliable aggregated core of promoters. This seems to be a realistic interpretation of the current state of the European Corridors: a mobilizing option based on a core of persuasion, which needs to form a critical mass around it in order to become political action, financial investment, economic growth and employment prospects.

#### **Centre and periphery in the enlargement and reunification of Europe**

Territory-based competition, which is a structural property inherent to European construction, is now contending with the issue of Europe's enlargement and reunification. With reference to Community Europe, which has been under construction for decades, enlargement means a territorial expansion of a set of principles and procedures already in progress, which is now to be extended to a group of new countries, as the end result of the events of 1989. In this regard, therefore, it comes down to new members joining an existing system, one established on a voluntary basis and which continues to work as such. The arrival of the newcomers, though, could easily be seen as something akin to 'annexation', a somewhat

unpleasant definition, which recalls the past dramatic events of 20th century history. Hence the concept of 'reunification' proposed to underline a new union instead conceived based on the new partners' equality and reciprocity, partners sharing common denominators: geographic (all belong to central-eastern Europe) and economic and institutional (the transition from a planned economy system to a market economy). One particular problem has come to light. When limited to economic and territorial aspects, it emphasizes the issue of coexistence of a set of common initiatives and rules, one applied, however, to an extremely uneven infrastructural and economic base such as that between the western and eastern regions. Of all the various considerations, the difficulties the new European Treaty has come up against bear the most eloquent testimony to the real complexity of this problem. Corridor V, the South European, transpadane corridor, is highly representative, on an infrastructural level, of the difficulties posed by the issue of Europe's enlargement and reunification with the East. It also incorporates the South issue, by which we mean the Community initiative's projection towards Europe's other great problematic area: the Mediterranean, with all its implications for European policy. In conclusion, the Corridor V route between Lisbon and Kiev, passing through Turin and Trieste, proves to be not just a transport and infrastructural problem, but the vision of a welcome evolution of economic and spatial relations on a continental level: enlarging the centre and reinforcing the periphery, to the East as well as to the South. On the

other hand, the vision of this corridor, subtended in its central stretch between Strasbourg, Munich and Vienna, as an expression of various legitimate transalpine Austro-Franco-German interests, might nonetheless espouse the cause of transport and infrastructural efficiency. However, all improvements will be to the benefit of the already better equipped central areas and won't encourage extension towards the Mediterranean periphery. Hence it would merely be a means of reinforcing the current hierarchical structure of the European space.

### **Spatial continuity and functional integration**

The corridor theme, spawned as a transport policy to back development of the domestic market, actually refers to the infrastructural reorganization of the countries affected by the corridors, and hence to the urban, industrial and tourist systems served. The corridor, as a means of fostering development of more intense relations between the areas it crosses, also reveals a need for organic completeness in its geographical development with respect to the areas involved. In other words, a corridor can only be labelled as such if considered along its entire length, whilst it loses its corridor meaning if limited to its individual component segments, namely becoming a local matter and no longer a trans-European matter. Likewise, the value of a corridor is directly proportional to the size of the demand served, i.e. the density of existing and potential relations, necessarily referable to indicators such as GDP, population, number of enterprises etc. of the regions it runs through or,

more precisely, of the traffic basins served. This leads us to consider not just the fundamental backbones of a corridor, which might be over land or sea, or both together, and hence based on railways, motorways and port systems, but also, and above all, the network of minor infrastructural systems regarding a given corridor, with their ability to integrate and interchange with local systems affected by the route. Having network junctions and combined transport systems established is hence an essential prerequisite for the support and development of trans-European corridors. They thus become natural transnational projections of existing functional systems, relating to whole countries or groups of regions. European acknowledgement of corridors is thus an added value attributable to existing local or national systems. However, those systems must already boast competitive capacities and independent functional specializations, which might gain an additional competitive edge, within the sphere of a corridor policy, by virtue of the relational extension resulting from improved accessibility to the system of locally produced services. This implies a relationship of reciprocity between the corridor and the industrial, urban and tourist centres becoming part of it. Each is put in a position whereby it can boost its own positional advantages through appropriate local policies, which manage to relate to the presence of the corridor in an active, innovative manner on both quantitative and qualitative levels. Activities associated with mobility of goods, people and carriers obviously benefit directly, though an extension of economies of scale brought about by the

corridor can generate a whole series of induced services.

In short, apart from the beneficial flows of materials, the areas of a corridor also benefit from opportunities to develop new non-material by-products.

### **Corridor V as an East-West link**

Unifying the many and varying special interests of a corridor certainly does not look any easier than organizing the procedures and resources required to go from words to action (feasibility, routes, projects, financing, etc.). The Corridor V affair, now a decade old, reflects this complexity. With its plan for the transpadane union of the Iberian peninsula with the Danubian area and beyond, critical profiles have come to light as much to the West of the Po area as to the East.

To start with, the issue of the mountainous barriers, one pass through the Pyrenees and two passes through the Alps (Mont Cenis and Trieste), which, on the railway front, entails a much greater commitment financially speaking than the corresponding motorways through the passes since neither the states nor the market seem able to tackle the problem with their own individual efforts right now. Secondly, a cost-benefit analysis, which, rather than the assessment of an individual infrastructure, is part of a broader strategic vision involving a whole host of infrastructures, a vision however that is above all economic and territorial at a transnational scale. Thirdly, the prospect of performing the work over a lengthy period, which calls for institutional supranational and transnational supervision to assure coherence and continuity of the goal pursued for the duration and throughout. Fourthly, the

fragmentary perception of the problem by the states, regions, cities and local communities involved, in which the many and often legitimate partialities must be ushered towards a common solution that is not likely to be the result of a spontaneous process, entrusted to the willingness of many or to just the pressure of the market. This is a subject in which there is likely to be a lot of reference, at both a broad and restricted scale, to the typical customary Eurospeak terms such as 'cohesion', 'competition' and 'development sustainability', in the constant pursuit of compromise between particular aspects and general vision.

### **The Italian position in Europe**

The Italian territory of the northern regions offers a bond to the prospect of Corridor V as just a geographical nexus for direct Iberian-Danubian relations, regarding which European history in modern times has not yet recorded any significant developments. This bond is at the same time both historical and geographical, being the result of relations that the various components of the economic and settlement system of the Friuli-Veneto-Po area have developed and continue to keep up with the other parts of the corridor, both by land and by sea. The area of the plains encompassed by the Alpine range, the northern shores of the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas and the start of the Apennines ridge is indeed home to one of the densest and most diversified settlements and production complexes (industrial, tertiary, tourism and farming) in the whole of Europe. It includes eight Italian regions (Piedmont, Valle d'Aosta, Lombardy, Liguria, Emilia-Romagna,

Veneto, Trentino-Alto Adige and Friuli-Venezia Giulia), for a total of approx. 26 million inhabitants-producers. When it comes to production and settlement, this is not a unitary system, of course, but a set of economic and functional subsystems, all boasting strong external relations whilst sharing a common geographic location, between central Europe and the centre-North of the Mediterranean. A sort of macro-region whose relations with the outside world, which in all cases take place through ports or Alpine passes, have historically consolidated bonds with the respective bordering countries. This relationship is based on trade that is directly proportional to the growth of the modern market economies. This means that the dominant relations today, in terms of volume, are the North-South kind, with the great continental heart (Germany, Benelux and Switzerland). Those towards the West, on the other hand (France and Spain) though equally consolidated, appear to be of lesser weight, when it comes to absolute value, in proportion to the smaller size of these outlet markets. Moreover, eastward relations have experienced considerable growth in recent years, a direct consequence of the markets' opening in the 1990s. In practice, we can consider the Veneto-Friuli-Po area system as being made up of two large production and settlement subsystems: the North-East (Veneto, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Trentino-Alto Adige, and Emilia-Romagna) featuring medium to small cities and SMEs organized in specialized districts over the last thirty years or so; and the North-West (Lombardy, Liguria, Piedmont) where great

traditional industry, now that it has also forged the urban system around major metropolitan areas, is today evolving towards more decentralized production models on the manufacturing front, though still centralized on a service level. Of course, these two macro-aggregations in turn host smaller settlement-production units with their own particular specializations. This sort of large enclave, encompassed by the Alps and the Mediterranean, namely constitutes a business container, businesses compressed in an enclosed space, which keeps up external relations in every direction and is now observing a progressive percentage growth in the weight of the East-West axis. Supporting a similar process, which is the product of the market economy, entails readjusting the orientation of infrastructural programmes, whose very nature meant they were all based on the long term to serve the dominant flows of trade. This is why the more mature, metabolized infrastructural proposals to come from the local systems involved are all North-South oriented, whilst many of the new works progressively being appreciated as necessary instead take an East-West orientation, towards neighbouring countries and regions with which flows of trade are increasing. It is high time, therefore, that the geopolitical vision supporting the presence of the northern Italian regions in Europe be thoroughly updated.

#### **European vision of Italian interests**

The plan to establish new links towards the East and towards the West should be seen as adding to the existing strong links with

central Europe, the result of post-war evolution, and not as detracting from them. This all goes well beyond the transport and infrastructural issue. Indeed, it falls within the sphere of international relations and strategic positioning of the country with respect to the relationships of geographic proximity and complementarity it has with the bordering areas and countries in light of the changes in progress. Hence there is a need to amend prevailing viewpoints and programmes at various administrative levels: the new issue to be addressed consists in determining the range of the new developments, overcoming the very inertia of the consolidated platforms of interests to be served, formulated from the end of the last World War on. The aim is to submit new forms of transnational integration, of an economic and functional nature, that interpret the 'European territory' concept in the right historical and geographical perspective. For this is the concept destined to support the domestic market's growth, in an organizational logic corresponding to the emergence of new transnational 'Euro-regions', defined by new traits and common interests and equipped with comprehensive accompanying policies. These are long term processes, destined to go beyond the administrative life of the actual proponents, whose binding element is better measured with the yardstick of future convergence than with a past of conflicts. So how should the Italian regions and local systems directly or indirectly concerned interpret the impact of Corridor V? The corridor features two distinct traits: to the West, with the high-speed, high-capacity

railway, it strengthens an already satisfactory system of links between areas with a fully developed economy, Italy's North-east with the South of France and Catalonia. By bringing two cities like Turin and Lyon closer, each would reap the benefits of an easy opportunity to integrate economies geared towards post-industrial production. To the East, the problem is entirely the opposite: creating a system of efficient connections to link the Danubian Basin and areas beyond by completing a motorway backbone that, as things stand, does not even reach the Hungarian border and modernizing an obsolete railway network, many stretches of which are not even electrified, posing major interoperability problems given the close succession of different borders (Italy, Slovenia, Croatia, Hungary). The foreign economies due to benefit from the corridor are all transitional economies, which have yet to determine their industrial and tertiary role in the new international division of labour and whose geographic location is half way between the advanced western countries and the underdeveloped eastern countries (Ukraine, Russia). The SME production model is one of the greatest opportunities the Italian economy can really offer these countries. Lombardy lies in the middle. The most important of all the Corridor V regions, it has solid channels of communication with the European centre of gravity to the North of the Alps. It also features a strong, dynamic services economy component, which exploits both overland and air connections: historically speaking, it is northern Italy's greatest transport hub, though this does not make it its most efficient. This means that the perception of the

importance of the corridor for the Italian regions is much stronger on the wings (i.e. to the West and East) than in the centre. Moreover, the greatest foreseeable increase in flows over land is expected to the East, precisely where the existing infrastructural system is historically much weaker as a result of the direct effect of the historical and political events of the last fifty years. The apparent clarity of the corridor project is thus countered by a series of local interests and basic infrastructural facilities that is fragmented and unbalanced respectively, in an administrative and entrepreneurial context that has yet to fully metabolize the usefulness of the corridor plan as a great geoeconomic 'opportunity-cum-necessity' of the near future. Whilst the central issue is that of the routes and financing of the infrastructures, an issue common to all corridors in the TEN-T network, we should point out that the problem does not end here. Indeed, we are required to make the effort to determine a whole series of intermediate stages that associate the final objective with all the supporting policies required to confirm its importance, and to reveal its mobilizable and mobilized interests. This field of initiatives requires the efforts of public administrations as much as private firms, who may benefit from the corridor, stimulating above all the role of foreign partnerships that can be associated around the tangible advantages of common interest. The sectors of industrial and business integration, in particular, are set to reap the most direct benefits from facilitated overland communication. Land transport is to be improved with the redrawing

(already under way) of the network of platforms and combined transport hubs, due to support the distribution system for the European domestic market flows, which is restructured organizationwise and expanded geographically. These are high-level political actions (intergovernmental, European Council) aimed to ensure that the Community priority attributed to the corridors is acknowledged.

#### **The AlpenCorS project: Corridor V's thematic development**

The European Union sets up funded programmes for member states, and states about to join, to encourage the development of common initiatives of a transnational nature, aimed to emphasize contents of 'Community' significance. One of these programmes is Interreg IIIB 2000-2006. It identifies a large sub-area known as the 'Alpine Space', which includes the mountain range and its surrounding plains, like a large area of integration positioned between the Mediterranean and central Europe. As a result of the priority given to the transport issue, prescribed by this programme, the AlpenCorS (Alpen Corridor South) project was approved in 2002. It was proposed by the Veneto regional authorities as a strategic approach to the trans-European Corridor V issue, considered limited to its central segment, between the French Rhône-Alpes region and Slovenia's border with Hungary. Five different disciplinary approaches preside over the development of the whole work. First of all, a multisectorial analysis of the economic structure of the regions concerned, with forecasts of their evolution from 2010 to 2015, associated with the transport demand induced

by the estimated growth in GDP on a regional basis owing to the effects it will have on mobility and on the use of infrastructures. Secondly, a thorough investigation into today's existing transport demand, to include the creation of a model to simulate corridor mobility (between Lyon and Budapest), by road and rail, based on data produced by a specific field survey conducted during the course of 2003 (volume counts and OD surveys) in dozens of locations. This enables us to determine in detail the critical aspects, the existing ones, and those expected for the future, to the end of 2015 at least, with a direct estimation of the future demand generated by the economic growth (GDP) of the corridor's various regions. Thirdly, a close examination of the supply of technology (RTI-ICT) available to the transport sector with the range of services in favour of mobility efficiency and safety. The end purpose is to serve both the demand and the supply, on the supposition that there will be a growing integration of common technological standards characterizing the mobility of European countries in years to come. Fourthly, the construction of an intermodality and logistics scenario as part of the corridor project, as an internal approach to the organizational and entrepreneurial dynamics and interests of a sector (haulage) that constitutes the necessary complement to the development of the European domestic market. It is a question of seizing opportunities both in and outside the sector, with an entrepreneurial approach intended to determine opportunities and needs, interpreting all those cues required to create intermodal platforms as well as innovative services characterizing the radical

reorganization of continental mobility, which is already well under way. Lastly, the construction of the territorial background against which the corridor is set. By this we mean the programmes and actions to be carried out by the parties (states, cities, regions and local communities, as well as motorway authorities, railways, freight centres, etc.) determining how the physical transport infrastructure is altered and influencing the course of its flows, producing tangible impacts on the spatial organization of the countries involved and on the points of view expressed by the local communities.

#### **Corridor policy profiles**

A corridor, unlike an infrastructure, must be interpreted as a long term territorial programme. A programme in which many actors take part, requiring a sequence of actions to be carried out in various places at different times, whose goal nonetheless converges on its fundamental lines of inspiration. Each corridor features its own theme. Hence it is a programme in its own right, developing around an initial core of assumptions that are then verified, extended, translated into measures, into actions and into forms of management. It is helpful to draw up a list of general assumptions for a corridor policy that are confirmed with the pan-European Corridor V, in its transpadane version: - first of all, a corridor must be considered akin to a territory. It is home to urban and industrial systems and, in some cases, tourist systems, which are the corridor's primary beneficiaries as well as being an integral, component part of the corridor itself. Each system has everything to gain from making a contribution to the creation of the corridor, so

as to get benefits for its enterprises (accessibility and profits) and for its citizens (income and employment);

- a corridor is actually an infrastructural grid, made up of junctions and shafts. Within it, importance is attributed to the service rendered to flows in a given direction, though it also exploits all the relations that the actual corridor keeps up with the set of areas crossed (local systems) and with other major national and European routes intersecting it (TEN-T network and such like);
- the prerogative of a corridor is to be extremely permeable and to allow short and wide-ranging exchange. In this regard, it resembles a sort of sponge, absorbing and releasing along its path, rather than a pipeline, which instead transfers whatever is introduced into it from one end of its route to the other, without any relationship with the space crossed;
- a corridor is in itself multimodal and takes advantage of every possible form of intermodality: from road-rail, the first prerogative of land routes, to landwater intermodality, an essential component of sea routes, to the point of including all links with other intermodal technologies, including air transport: a corridor actually has the chance to connect the network of European airports with the major overland distribution axes;
- creating a corridor entails a process of convergence between national communities and local communities. The process progresses in programmatic and institutional terms, finally evolving into an investment, infrastructure, economic and cultural exchange, integration on a transnational level. All this adds up to a long term process requiring joint, permanent institutional

supervision;

- the convergence process within a corridor is necessarily expressed through various forms of collaboration: of an interinstitutional nature between states, regions and cities falling within the geographic areas affected by the routes; of an organizational nature between firms in charge of infrastructures (motorways, railways, waterways, ports, freight villages, airports, etc.) managing transport flows; of an operational nature between transport firms (traditional, intermodal, logistics operators), which ascribe added value to the chain and make the flows profitable; and of an economic nature between firms capable of exploiting, in terms of profits, the productive complementariness introduced by the corridor;
- the complexity of the programmes and extent of financial commitments mean a corridor has to contend with the issue of partnership between the public and private sector. This applies both from the point of view of investments to be made and from the point of view of shared infrastructural and tariff policies established to ensure investments are both effective and profitable;
- all this leads us to the conclusion that a corridor is the product of a process involving the strategic sharing of mobility policies, convergence on investments, the creation of integrated forms of transnational traffic flow management. In this context, infrastructural orchestration is certainly the most significant commitment, given the financial burden involved, but is not the entire essence of the problem;
- in addition to transport and infrastructure policy, the process for the implementation of a corridor

can give rise to economies of scale encouraging secondary actions. Possible examples include the creation of energy corridors, infrastructural reordering, forms of environmental protection or complementary organizational forms between local cross-border systems, such as firms taken over by the municipality, health systems, university networks, tourism firms, etc. Within the European corridor notion, conceived as an interaction between market economy and transport systems, the trans-scalability of the large infrastructures involves a new kind of territorial planning process, with a strong local basis.

#### Notes

1. All material regarding the subject of European corridors (Trans Europe Network-Transport, TEN-T) is derived from work by the European Union on the subject of transport, economy and territory, in a period from 1990 to 2003. Both the events and relevant documents can be split into thematic groups: Pan-European transport conferences: Prague (1991); Crete (1994); Helsinki (1997); European Councils: Copenhagen (1993); Essen (1994); White Papers on transport: Delors (1993); Loyola de Palacio (2001); European Spatial Development Perspective (1999); Van Miert report (June 2003) on revision of the TEN-T network; European document on 'Growth' with revision of the TEN-T network (Quick Start List, December 2003). Note that by the term Trans Europe Network-Transport (TEN-T), we mean the network inside the European Union, whilst the term Pan-European Network is used to refer to

the geographic extension of the network to the whole continent. With the enlargement of the Union, part of the pan-European network will therefore become trans-European.