From National Spatial Planning to the Remaking of State Places

Urban Policies and Projects of Railway Land Redevelopment in France and Italy

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English Summary

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Reader's note

This text is a "substantive summary" of the thesis[1]. It begins by introducing the subject, the theoretical position, the problem, the hypotheses and the methodological framework of the thesis. It then covers the general conclusions. This summary includes the main charts and analytical tables for the different chapters.

Abstract

Barracks, ports, hospitals, prisons, railway sites are earmarked for many redevelopment projects in European cities. A substantial part of urban regeneration therefore occurs on 'State places'. This research contributes to explain such an urban restructuring process that reshapes the material base of the State. It questions the reasons and the modalities of the reorganisation of a specific sector, railway firms, in urban areas. The comparative enquiry carried out two countries (Italy and France) and four cities (Milan, Bolzano Paris and Nantes) distinguishes two main factors. On the one hand, urban governments question the way the railway network has occupied central and pericentral urban areas since the 1970s, in relation to their increasing strategic power in urban development. On the other hand, real estate logics and skills have expanded within theses publicly owned firms since the beginning of the 1990s, due to their greater accounting autonomy and their need to face a rising financial pressure. Since then, the reorganisation of the logistical power (i.e. the capacity to order the flows of things and people) of this sector in cities is explained by the adjustment of three main 'conceptions' regarding the motives for the redevelopment of urban railway sites: real estate, urban planning, and industrial. This adjustment is carried out through urban redevelopment projects and follows different paths in Italy and France. In Italy, the loose institutional frame regarding railway land handover generates differentiated agreements between operators and urban governments whereas in France processes and outcomes are more homogeneous from one city to another. The double shift from conventional approaches – toward the operator and the material base of the State – sheds light on new relationships between State and urban restructuring.

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[1] John Crisp translated the French version of this summary.

Introduction

The State possesses infrastructures through which it conducts its activities across its administrative territory. Transport networks and energy grids, together with educational, health and penal institutions or defence facilities, occupy significant amounts of space in urban areas. In the last 30 years, however, this presence has come to be disputed. Postal sorting offices, stations, gasometers, barracks, universities, hospitals, courts and prisons are a target of innumerable redevelopment plans in Europe's cities. The material base of the State is thus changing. The purpose of this thesis is to explain that change. We will begin by observing this process in a handful of French and Italian cities.

In Paris, for example, the Assistance Publique - Hôpitaux de Paris is selling a whole dispensary to the municipality for conversion to housing (APHP and Mairie de Paris 2015). At the same time, a star chef is seeking to set up a commercial project in the Navy headquarters (Facon 2015). For its part, RATP (independent Paris transport board) is demolishing a bus depot and moving it underground, in order to exercise its right to construct a five-storey building on top of it (Jacqué 2015). A railway site belonging to SNCF (national railway company) and RFF (French Railways) is slated for conversion to thousands of housing units, hundreds of thousands of square metres of office space, a public park and a new Paris High Court. And these processes of redevelopment on State land are not only to be found in the capital.

In Nantes, the gendarmerie, the court and the prison used to face each other around Aristide Briand Square. The words "Gendarmerie Nationale" still adorn the front of the barracks, but the developer Kaufman and Broad has hung a board below it announcing a program for housing and shops *"around designer furniture, contemporary art and organic products and a wellness centre"* (Defawe 2011). For its part, the courthouse has been bought by Axa Insurance's investment fund and converted into a four-star hotel, part of the Radisson chain (Gambert 2011). The prison has been moved to the outskirts, but the old building has failed to find buyers. Elsewhere in the city, the army has undertaken to free up a site in 2016 for a Department of Housing "Public land use programme". A thousand dwellings, including 300 social housing units, will replace the barracks. Finally, the huge Nantes État railway site has been incorporated into the large-scale Île de Nantes urban development project. The rails are gradually being replaced by hundreds of dwellings, cultural and educational facilities and,

eventually, by a 14 hectare park. These plans for the conversion of State places are not only to be found in France.

In Milan, the head of the Italian Postal Service's Regional Real Estate Department is delighted about the sale of the fine central post office building.[2] On the other hand, there is no rush by investors for the gigantic Piazzale Lugano postal sorting office, abandoned 15 years ago. The nearby Bassi Hospital, unoccupied since the 1970s, is the target of rival projects. The regional agency wants to set up its headquarters there, while a neighbourhood committee would prefer a health museum (Regina 2002; Bonezzi 2014). The future of the city's military land seems clearer, now that the municipality and the army have come to an agreement. As part of a programme that also applies to Turin and Rome, the army has agreed to transfer three unoccupied barracks to the Agenzia del Demanio, where the municipality will install services and social housing (*Corriere della Sera* 2014). On the other hand, the municipal executive has not succeeded in persuading the national railway company, Ferrovie dello Stato (FS), that such an agreement could be reached for the 300 ha that the firm wants to sell on the outskirts of the city. Similar changes can be seen everywhere within the confines of the peninsula.

At the foot of the Dolomites, in Bolzano, the Autonomous Province of Haut-Adige had been trying to get its hands on unused military land since the 1980s (Benedikter 1981). This question was finally settled by a province wide agreement in 2007, providing for 12 sites to be gradually transferred to the regional authority for €420 million. Since the interwar period, the Bolzano municipality has been talking to FS about their *Areale Ferroviario* site, which covers almost 50 ha near the town centre. Having been doubled in size during the fascist *ventennio* as part of the city's industrialisation and Italianisation policy, this land is now largely abandoned. The rail operator, the municipality, the Province, local newspapers and the region's entrepreneurs and investors agree on the need to redevelop the site, but not on the aims of that redevelopment.

Each of these changes is a reflection of the strategies of multiple stakeholders and in particular of interinstitutional arrangements. Yet they are all part of the same process: the reshaping of the presence of public operators in cities. In fact, a substantial proportion of urban renewal in European cities takes place on *State places* – functional sites from which the State conducts its activities across the country. This process does not equally affects all cities,

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but it is taking place in cities as different as Paris, Nantes, Milan and Bolzano into national territories. It is a critical political issue both for the State and for contemporary urban societies. That is why this thesis seeks to investigate the reasons and methods for the redevelopment of the sites held by public operators, the railway companies, in French and Italian cities.

Why are these places undergoing a process of urban restructuring? The answer to this empirical question is not to be found in the field of urban studies. A literature review shows that this process has not been tackled as such by the three main groups of literature interested in large-scale development projects. Indeed, they advance theories on urban restructuring that do not explain why State places are the medium of those projects.

A cinderella issue in urban studies

The first research stream to look into urban development projects follows the neo-Weberian concept of the *"return of European cities"* (Le Galès 2002). It explains these projects in terms of changes in the methods of coordinating public action. *"Government by project"* has become a primary method of intervention in urban space (Dente et al. 1990) and *"city projects and urban projects are one of the ways for municipalities to respond to a new structure of opportunity"* (Pinson 2009: 61). This structure is shaped simultaneously by (i) the change in systems of production; (ii) the reorganisation of scales of government, in the direction of both supranational and infranational levels, leading to the loss of State centrality in political regulation; and (iii) the expansion in the number of stakeholders and institutions from outside municipal governments involved in urban governance. In its approach, this stream focuses on the contexts and procedures of the exercise and redistribution of urban powers, rather than on what is governed. State restructuring is therefore treated as a contextual element. The reasons why the State's material base is the target of development projects are not a part of this explanatory framework.

For its part, the structuralist approach seeks to explain why urban restructuring takes place in particular sites. The power of the thesis of the "post-Fordist city" at the heart of this approach is that it explains both what is disappearing (industrial activities) and what is emerging (centres of consumption, leisure and tertiary activities). In this view, big development projects are the outcome of economic restructuring caused by a change in the mode of capital accumulation:

these projects tend to be in locations which, as a consequence of urban restructuring, have lost their previous uses but have potential to be once again profitable within the post-Fordist urban economy [...]. *They are* [...] *frequently mixed-use, and cater to the needs of office-based businesses and tourism and leisure services.* (Orueta and Fainstein 2008: 760)

It is therefore tempting to see the process that interests us as part of this transition. However, the thesis of the post-Fordist city cannot be extended to all urban areas, in particular State places. The fact is that

the idea of the Fordist city, beyond the strong image, is a misleading oversimplification of the history of most cities [...] *and the notion of "flexible specialization" can even less be applied to the complex set of economic activities of any large city without further examination of the specific characteristics of its work processes.* (Préteceille 1990: 32)

So the thesis of a post-Fordist transition perhaps applies to sites where mass consumption goods are produced, but not so easily to those in other sectors. Moreover, the failure to make an analytical distinction between land held by central government departments and operators and that held by industrial firms is problematic, because it constitutes not a finding, but a factor that has been left out of the equation.

The third literature group is not united by theory, but by its perspective within the sectors of urban production. It explains the emergence of large-scale urban projects by *professional, industrial and financial changes* in the development sector over the last thirty years (Dente et al. 1990; Kaika et Ruggiero 2013). It provides valuable insights, especially into the strategies and professional skills developed by big industrial firms in possession of huge land and real estate assets in order to redevelop their sites. These offer interesting avenues for tackling the management of assets held by public operators, but this is precisely in area where work remains to be done.

So the available urban theories do not provide an entry into the process of our interest. Either they take no account of the nature of the sites in their analysis, or they confuse State places with sites held by Fordist companies or subsumed into broader categories. In the latter case, urban development project sites are described in terms of obsolescence (Weber 2002). This description, for which each country has its own term (*"friches urbaines"*, *"vuoti urbani"*, *"brownfield sites"*), produce a potentially damaging lack of precision. For example, in one of the rare attempts to reach a general theory of urban development in France, Alain Bourdin (2001) includes amongst the four main types of urbanisation, *"big urban development projects in areas abandoned by highly space-intensive activities"* (p.148). For the author, this encompasses brownfield sites in ports, railway yards and on military land, but also car production sites and wine warehouses. This type of classification makes no distinction

between activity types, ownership, land status, etc. Will a stock market listed multinational treat its land and real estate holdings in the same way as railway companies with their property? At present, there is little likelihood of progress on the reasons that prompt the different actors to see these zones as obsolete, and to agree on what should replace them and to exchange ownership. This thesis will demonstrate the utility of an analysis that isolates land held by public operators, in order to understand both the processes and the outcomes of these urban restructuring processes and – *vice versa* – to understand State restructuring.

To do this, these processes need to be linked with State restructuring and reforms affecting public operators. Three groups of literature can cast light on these links. Each gives us a specific insight into one axis of the triangle formed by the three political centres – central government, public operators and municipal authorities (Artioli 2014) (see Figure 1). First, the rich debate between neo-Weberian and neo-Marxist currents on State rescaling shows the link between State restructuring and the growing influence of infra-national levels of government in territorial administration. Next, the sociology of State restructuring establishes bridges between changes in the activities of the State and the restructuring of public operators. Finally, research into the relations between networked infrastructure and territories and into urban planning explores the interactions between public operators and municipal governments. However, in each case these relations are tackled in pairs. Yet what we see here are changes in the material presence of an operator in cities, within the context of its own restructuring. This implies that these three relationships have to be handled together. We therefore put forward a proposition to consider railway sites as an integral component of the materiality of the State.

Figure 1: State places at the intersection of the restructuring of the State, its operators and municipal authorities
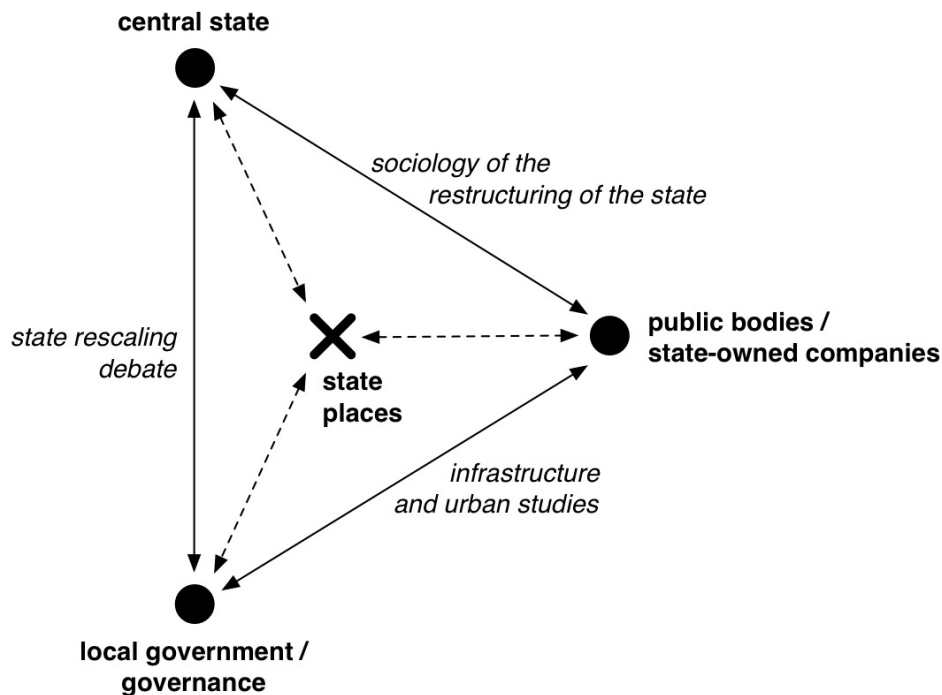
The basis of the State's logistical power

While the material dimension of the State is not examined in the sociology of State restructuring, it is a subject tackled by the historical sociology of the State. The central idea of the literature on which we draw to explore this dimension of the State is that *"the State is both materially produced and represented through the built environment"* (Molnar 2013: 9). Therefore, "*since modern States must be materially engineered* [...] *across land"*, they are not simply imagined or organised (Carroll 2002: 78-80). This material approach represents a shift in the view of the State compared with the neo-Weberian and neo-Marxist currents.

It is not to say that the territorial dimension of the modern State has been ignored in Weberian and Marxist approaches (e.g. Mann 1993; Poulantzas 1978).[3] However, as Chandra Mukerji (2010b) has pointed out, these theories generally envisage land as a pool of available resources and an asset to be taxed. This focus on the military and fiscal aspects overlooks a

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[3] The concept of infrastructural power advanced by Michael Mann (1984) refers to "*the institutional capacity of a central State, despotic or not, to penetrate its territories and logistically implement decisions*" (Mann 1993: 59). This power thus includes a material dimension. However, although he cites a few examples (1984: 192), Mann does not study the formation of this logistical infrastructure. For Poulantzas (1978: 115), the capitalist State "*tends to monopolise the processes of spatial organisation. The modern State gives material form in its apparatus (army, school, centralised bureaucracy, prisons) to this spatial matrix.*" However, he is more interested in the effects of that matrix – i.e. the formation of a nation through the homogenisation of the population – than in the way this 'material apparatus' is constituted.

major dimension in the development of the power of modern Western States. In fact, this power

> *has involved more: the construction of a built environment* […] *in order to implement political objectives.* […] *These places produced by engineering – ranging from cities to reservoirs and military installations – are places where power is exercised and where the technical capacity to use it is visibly demonstrated. They are therefore places where power and its legitimacy can be challenged.* (Mukerji 2009b: 223).

Drawing on Max Weber, these approaches recognise the fact that State power relies not only on its monopoly of violence, but also on legitimacy. They add that this legitimacy implies the constitution, reproduction and transformation of the material base of national societies.

The formation of this material infrastructure is the central object of the stream of research that focuses on science and technology and on the social and spatial engineering that underpin them: changes made to the land (registry, mapping, consolidation, forestation, etc.), to the population (censuses, confinement, social engineering, etc.) and to the built environment (construction of monuments, infrastructure and networks, urban planning and regulations, etc.).[4] These material policies of the State are what constitute its *"logistical power"*, defined by Chandra Mukerji (2010a: 402) as the capacity to mobilise and organise social and natural resources *"for political effect"*.

Patrick Carroll has developed the most advanced concept of the State in that vein. First, he shares the previously cited idea that it is through material factors that modern States *"are artfully, ingeniously, and often quite forcefully contrived, designed, and materially constructed"* (Carroll 2006: 168). Next, he offers an original way to think relationally about the State as an idea, in the Hobbesian tradition, the State as organisation, from the sociological perspective, and the materiality of the State. In this way, he comes to define the State *"simultaneously as an idea, a system, and a country as a complex of meanings, practices, and materialities"* (2009: 592). The State as idea refers to cognitive structures, institutions and discursive forms. The State as organisation (and activity) includes labour, interests and beliefs. The State as a materiality refers to the built environment, to technologies and to populations (see Figure 2). Finally, having defined these three analytical categories, he explores their relations. For example, material designs stand at the intersection between the organisational and material dimensions of the State. They are therefore the preferred objects of analysis in seeking to understand the rationales and

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[4] It should be noted that a historical current headed by Bernard Lepetit (Lepetit 1984) and Antoine Picon (Desportes and Picon 1997) developed in France in the 1980s and 1990s on the question of France's infrastructure in the pre-revolutionary period (see Chapter 1). However, they are less explicit in linking their work with the question of the formation of the State and with the theory of the State than is the historical sociology on which we draw.

meanings that underpin the processes of State formation and, we would add, of State transformation.

The advantage of this approach is that it provides a picture of the State that is neither unified nor fragmented, but aggregative. Thus, at the end of this integrative rather than divisive conceptual effort,

> *the State idea has become a powerful discursive formation, a cognitive structure, an assemblage of institutions; the State system has become a vast organizational apparatus that is practiced with varying degrees of coherence (and indeed incoherence) from the heads of executive agencies to the most mundane aspects of everyday life* […]*; and the State country is constituted through the materialities of land, built environment, and bodies/people.* (Carroll 2009: 592)

One can now understand how shifting the focus to the materiality of the State has consequences for the way the State is conceived and studied.

Figure 2: The transformation of State places, a research topic at the intersection of the three dimensions of the State defined by Patrick Carroll.
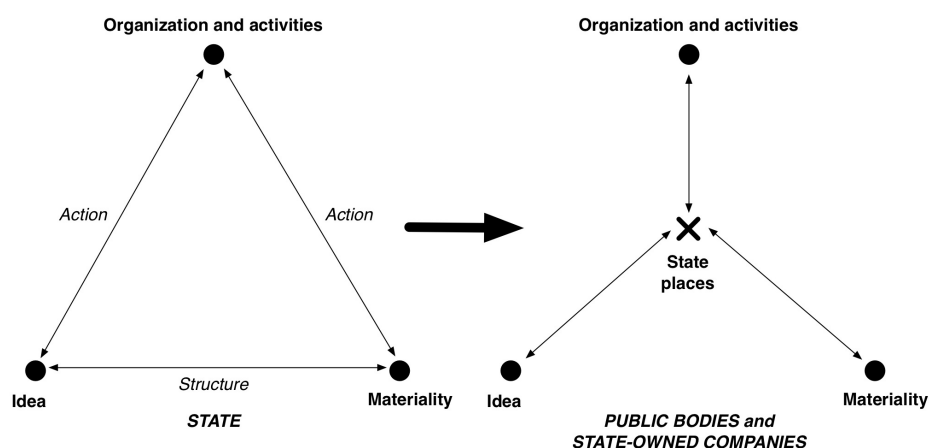
Source: Patrick Carroll (2009), adapted by the author.

The present thesis builds upon the shift of focus brought about by such analysis of the State. Nonetheless, we identify two limitations in this approach, one theoretical, the other empirical. First, these works tend not to take into account the conflicts, negotiations and arrangements that shape the State's material designs. The cultural shift on which these authors embarked (at the same time as a portion of American sociology) focuses attention on the production of meaning, the dissemination of visions of the world and the emergence of patterns. In so doing, they are nevertheless diverted from the priorities, resources and power relations that shape the material designs of the State in cities and territories.

Second, most of these works of *historical* sociology are concerned with the *formation* of the material base of modern States. They describe the processes whereby the State's logistical

power spreads across its administrative territory. However, our interest is in the ongoing *trans*formation of that base. In other words, the subject of our study is not the way in which the State's different political centres act upon a territory through infrastructures. Instead, it is how this basis is *acted upon* by organisations internal and external to the State. The theoretical advances in this work on the material designs and logistical power of the State allow us to establish a conceptual link between different States places within cities – barracks, hospitals, postal centres, universities and schools, large technical networks, etc.

State places can thus be defined as the material base *through* which States are constructed and maintained and *from* which they exercise their power over a territory. They underpin the symbols, the functions and activities of the State. They therefore constitute nodes on the State's organisational network in its territory, from which its logistical power is exercised. Following Patrick Carroll (2009), State places would seem to be the points at which the ideational, organisational and material dimensions of the State come together (see Figure 2).

However, it should immediately be added that courts, hospitals, schools, and *a fortiori* factories, reservoirs, canals, slaughterhouses, gasometers and railway networks are neither intrinsically nor essentially State places. We must avoid naturalising these *States of affairs*. We need to be careful not to reify the State by making the production and use of its material base the sole factor in the construction and appropriation of a territory (Raffestin 1980). These places are the outcome of assemblages of land, capital, materials and technologies, regulations, knowledge, know-how and labour. Whether they have been built, converted or taken over, it is following processes that bring them under processes of *State incorporation* that these facilities and networks become attached to the State complex. In return, idea, organisation and materiality are embodied, transformed and deployed through and from these places. One can therefore argue that, if the logistical power of the State is constituted through these places, then it is restructured through their changes.

Research hypotheses: The transformation of State logistical power in cities

On the basis of this conceptualisation of State places, we can drive into the issue of the redevelopment of railway sites currently underway in European cities. The enigma we seek to solve is this: if State places underpin the existence of the State symbolically, practically and materially in its territory, how do we explain the fact that they are the target of redevelopment

projects? For what reason(s) is the logistical power of the State operators – we will define narrowly as the capacity to organise the flows of things and people in a given territory – being challenged and restructured in European cities? This problem can be broken down into four types of question.

The first relates to the *reasons* for changes to urban railway sites. What is causing the change in the medium through which the public operators exert their logistical power? Why is the existing spatial, social and technical order is being challenged? What confrontations of interests and meanings does this imply?

The second type of question relates to the *processes* whereby these sites are changing. What alterations are at work in the status, ownership and management of State places? What resources, tools and modes of action and regulation are employed to evaluate, value and redevelop these sites? To what extent does this depend on the local and national systems of urban production in which they are embedded?

The third kind of question deals with the *actors* and *institutions* involved in these processes. Who conceives and who governs these material designs? What institutions decide what these places are and are to become? Are the pressures on these sites internal or external to the operators, to municipal authorities or to the central State? What are the roles of the different stakeholders and how are they coordinated?

Finally, the fourth group of questions is concerned with the *outcomes* of these processes. How are the profits and costs of redevelopment distributed? What supersedes the railway sites?

These four types of question are kept separate for analytical purposes. However, the fact that the processes are spatially and temporally situated mean that the why (explanatory) cannot be dissociated in their interpretation from the who, the what and the how (descriptive). The actors position themselves and interact *in relation* to a space (railway sites) and an objective (deciding on their redevelopment). In other words, it is impossible to *explain* what the actors do without speaking of *the subject* of their action and *how* they go about it.

On the basis of the above definition of the research question, we can formulate three hypotheses. The first links the process of State place remaking with the larger process of State restructuring. The second seeks contribute to an explanation of the changes to central and pericentral urban areas in European cities. Given that we are analysing an urban process

relating to land held by a public operator in European cities, the third hypothesis regards the role of national and local variables in differentiating these processes. Based on the literature relating to the research topic, each hypothesis is formulated in terms of findings and problems or gaps (see Table 1).

Table 1: Formulation of the research hypotheses

	Hypothesis 1	**Hypothesis 2**	**Hypothesis 3**
Finding from the literature	State restructuring re-scales and transforms its spatial planning activity	Restructuring of urban spaces takes the form of urban development projects that involve multiple actors and resources	Loss of centrality by the State in favour of the infra-or supra-national levels in urban transformation processes
Problem/gap	How are sectoral reforms changing the ways public operators intervene on their sites?	Why do a large proportion of urban development projects relate to State places?	How does the involvement of public operators and places reintroduce the national scale into the regulation of urban transformation processes?
Hypothesis	The redevelopment of State places in cities is a result of the adoption of real estate objectives, strategies and tools by their operators.	Urban development projects targeting State places release a capacity for collective action on the State's material base.	The national dimension of the operators reinforces differences between countries and homogeneity within countries.

The first hypothesis draws on two observations in the literature. On the one hand, State restructuring leads to a rescaling and alteration in its spatial planning activity. On the other hand, this reorganisation reinforces managerial and entrepreneurial approaches on the part of public operators, relating within projects that are financially too large for them to tackle alone. The aim of this hypothesis, therefore, is to shift the focus away from examining the vertical redistribution of power. It directs attention not to the relations between centre and periphery, but to the change in the relations between public operators and municipal authorities. We argue that sectoral reforms have effects on the ways in which public operators intervene on their sites. More specifically, that they adopt real estate perspectives, strategies and tools that alter the way they manage their presence in urban space. However, the embeddedness of these sites both in larger functional ensembles – for example the rail network or the regional hospital network – and in territories implies that this real estate perspective is open to dispute. A further factor is the public nature of the sites concerned, or

even their State-owned character, features that can be conducive of criticism and generate inertia (regulation, administrative procedures, valuation, etc.). We therefore argue that the departure of public operators from urban space is caused by the *controversial* treatment of State places as real estate assets.

The second hypothesis is based on the idea that these sites are subject to pressures that emanate equally from central and local governments departments, public operators, and real estate companies and urban social groups and institutions. Here, we draw on findings from research on urban governance showing that the State has become one player amongst others and that there has been a broadening of the stakeholder base in collective urban action (Le Galès 2002). We assume that the public operators are not sovereign in reorganising their presence in cities. Their materiality is enacted through material designs. Urban development projects constitute both the space of interaction and the mode of action on these sites (Pinson 2005b). They are used to mobilise actors, to assemble resources, to negotiate arrangements and to generate the revenue necessary to convert these complex structures. The hypothesis is therefore that urban development projects that target State places are able to release a capacity for collective action, a power to act – understood in the productive and relational sense (Stone 1989) – on the foundation of the State's logistical power.

The third hypothesis runs counter to previous comparative findings in the field of urban studies, which claim that national factors are becoming less influential in the differentiation of urban processes. Some emphasise infra-national differences linked with the increasing power of municipalities in the regulatory process, and suggest intra-European parallels (Jouve and Lefèvre 1999; Pinson 2002). Others highlight the direct relationships between local and global actors which bypass national regulation, whether in the dissemination of urban policies (McCann and Ward 2011) or in urban development projects (Moulaert, Rodriguez, and Swyngedouw 2003). However, in the case of sites held by public operators, we are potentially dealing with centralised actors and with national modes of regulation and scales of reference. Our comparative hypothesis is therefore that this type of site reinforces both the differences from one country to another and the homogeneity within a single country, in terms of processes and outcomes, compared with urban redevelopment projects on land held by Fordist industrial firms.

In putting forward this triadic set of hypotheses, we are pursuing two objectives in this thesis. The first is to provide an explanation specific to a substantial proportion of changes to central and pericentral areas in European cities. We wish to explain why, how and with what

effects land held by public operators is the target of urban development projects. The second is to contribute to the evolution of ideas on the material aspect of State restructuring. We therefore identify the mutual influences between State restructuring, the restructuring of public operators and the redevelopment of their sites.

The research will show that two primary factors are responsible for the reorganisation of railway company land: (i) the development of real estate activities by railway companies, against a background of restructuring in the sector that goes back to the early 1990s; (ii) the formulation of plans by municipal authorities to reorganise the presence of public operators whose large land holdings are increasingly constructed and targeted as problematic, in circumstances where those authorities hold increasing power in the steering of urban affairs since the 1970s. However, these reasons for intervention do not supplant the railway companies' industrial objectives to modernise and rationalise their operations. Consequently, the redevelopment of State places occurs through local adjustments between these competing motives for intervention on the operator's material base. In these arrangements, the national variable is decisive. More specifically, the differences between the two countries in terms of the institutional context of the operator, the financial resources of municipal authorities and central government intervention explain the disparities observed. In France, they result in procedural regularity and homogeneity of outcomes, whereas in Italy they lead to *ad hoc* inter-institutional arrangements and heterogeneity.

Choice of rail operators and case studies

Three reasons led us to choose land held by rail operators as the subject of our investigation: (i) the State ownership and national scale of the rail network; (ii) the profound restructuring in this sector since the 1980s; and (iii) the large-scale presence of the railway network in urban areas. These factors make the urban transformation of railway land a fruitful case against which to assess our general hypotheses about the links between State and urban restructuring.

The method used in this enquiry is the comparison of case studies. It compares processes situated in four cities (Paris, Nantes, Milan and Bolzano) and two countries (France and Italy) (see The third requirement related to the redevelopment *projects* on the yards. On the one hand, we wanted cases that would be as empirically rich as possible, so that they could fulfil their heuristic function (see Table 3). On the other hand, we chose parallel timeframes, again with the aim of providing the most unified possible comparative framework in order to highlight the spatial variable (national and local contexts).

). This system forms a double-paired comparison (see Table 2). Each case is compared with two other cases. The first is situated in the same country in a very different urban context, the second in another country, in a similar city.

Table 2: The comparative matrix as a heuristic system

	France	Italy
World-ranking city, rail centre of the country	Paris (planned)	Milan (laissez-faire)
Mid-sized city, end of the national network	Nantes (negotiated)	Bolzano (planned)

On the basis of this system, the case studies selected had to meet three requirements. The first was to fit into the comparative matrix. The cities of Paris and Nantes on one side, and the cities of Milan and Bolzano on the other, are characterised by distinct regimes of urban production. Paris is a world-ranking city, operating under a "planning" regime, i.e. enjoying a very favourable position in international markets, strong municipal control of development and support from the State (Kantor, Savitch, and Vicari Haddock 1997; Pradella 2011). In comparison, Nantes is a mid-ranking urban area (Halbert, Cicille, and Rozenblat 2012) where the "*urban planning system introduced since the end of the 1970s can be described as negotiated and evolving*" (Dormois 2006: 844). The municipal authority shares control of

development to a greater degree, both in decision-making and implementation. It draws on both the metropolitan institutions and regional players in the real estate sector (Pinson 2002; Dormois 2004). Milan is a world-ranked metropolis which, like Paris, is present in several international markets. It was characterised by an interventionist and partisan system of urban production until the 1990s (Vicari and Molotch 1990; Kantor, Savitch, and Vicari Haddock 1997). Between 1997 et 2011, successive municipal authorities pursued a policy of urban development guided by the ideology of urban growth (Bolocan Goldstein and Bonfantini 2007; Anselmi 2013), until the election of a left-wing municipality challenged this approach. Laissez-faire and Milan municipality's low level of involvement in urban changes are in sharp contrast with the control and stability of the structures of the urban and building provision exercised by the municipality and Autonomous Province of Bolzano. Here, therefore, the urban production regime can be described as planning-based. This is all the more accurate to the extent it is part of a "model" of territorial administration characterised by strict limitations on urban sprawl, policies to protect the environment and the landscape, and significant financial, technical and operational resources, especially in the sphere of urban services (Pasquali et al. 2002; Diamantini 1998; Zanon 2013).

The choice of railway *sites* was the second selection criterion. These are as similar as possible so as to facilitate understanding of how municipal and railway stakeholders tackle the redevelopment of similar sites in different urban and national contexts. In terms of rail system management, this means that the sites have an equivalent role within the network. They are railway yards located at the hub of radial rail webs,[5] which provide a series of ancillary passenger station functions (parking, marshalling, washing and maintenance of trains, base for preparation of track engineering works, freight activities and rail/road interchange platforms). From an urban perspective, these yards are large sites covering several dozen hectares situated in central or pericentral areas, within a dense urban fabric formed in the 19th and 20th centuries. Furthermore, we were careful to select sites within the administrative perimeter of the urban area's central municipality, so as to make the institutional context of the different operations both comparable and simple.

The third requirement related to the redevelopment *projects* on the yards. On the one hand, we wanted cases that would be as empirically rich as possible, so that they could fulfil their heuristic function (see Table 3). On the other hand, we chose parallel timeframes, again

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[5] A railway hub corresponds to the different branches linked to one or more stations within a conurbation.

with the aim of providing the most unified possible comparative framework in order to highlight the spatial variable (national and local contexts).

Map 1: Location of Paris, Nantes, Milan and Bolzano in the railway network
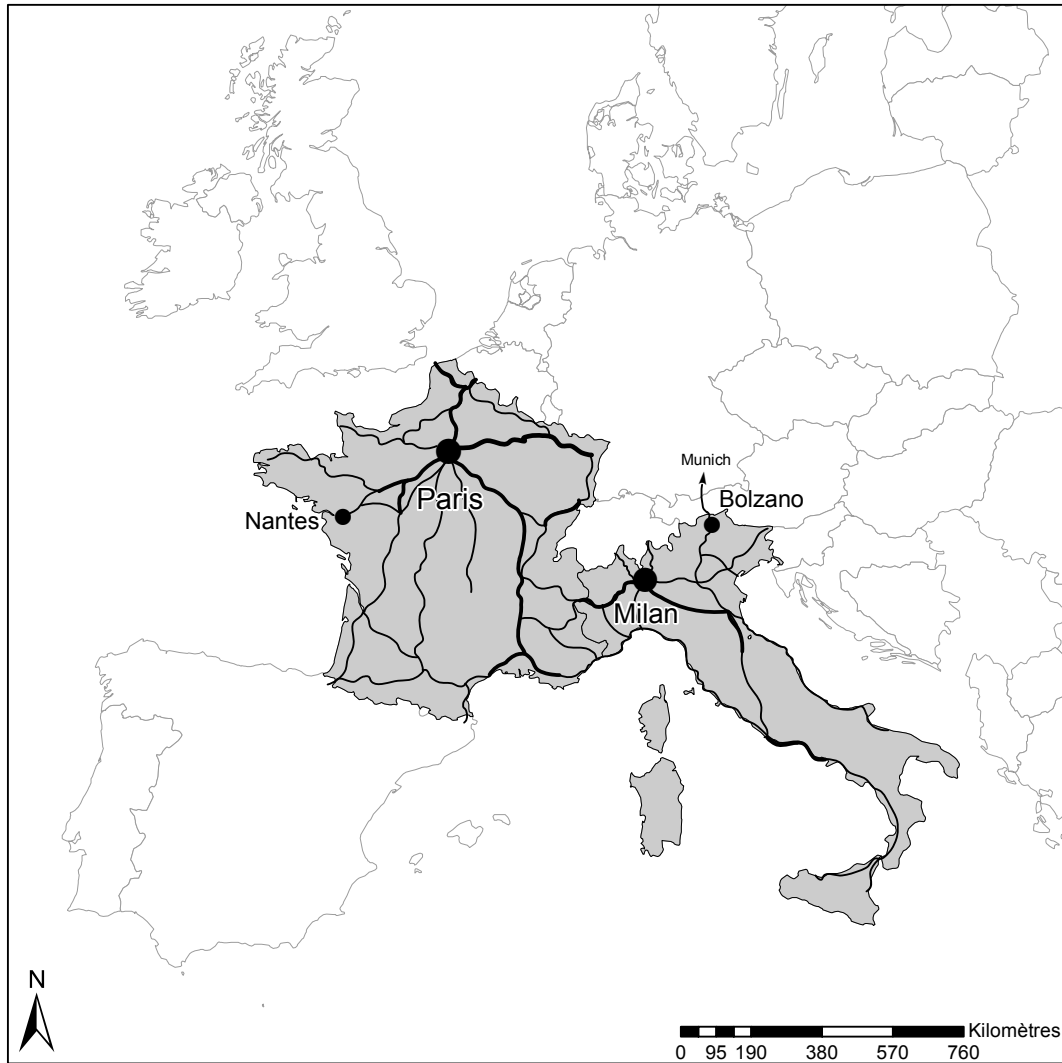
Table 3: Features of the four urban development projects

	Batignolles (Paris)	Nantes Etat (Nantes)	Scalo Farini (Milan)	Areale (Bolzano)
Surface area (% of municipal area)	52 hectares (0.5%)	27 hectares (0.4%)	54.4 hectares (0.3%)	47.5 hectares (0.9%)
Type of interinstitutional agreement	Purchase of land and replacement facilities financed by the municipality	Purchase of land and replacement facilities financed by the Urban District (with departmental, regional and national assistance)	Replacement facilities financed by the railway company, land bought by private investors, reinvestment of land revenues in the Milan rail hub	Purchase of land and replacement facilities financed by the developer(s) (private or mixed).
Type of rail conversion	Reestablishment and modernisation of railway yard functions on the site	Transfer of marshalling yard functions to the Grand Blottereau site	Demolition and transfer of maintenance workshops to Rho	Reestablishment and modernisation on the station site (tracks and functions)
Programmes				
Type	Mixed (housing dominant)	Mixed (undecided)	Mixed (undecided, housing dominant)	Mixed and flexible
Housing	50% social	around 30% social	65% subsidised	34 % subsidised
Offices	140,000 m²	undecided	undecided	between 118,000 and 237,000 m², hotels
Amenities	park (10 ha), new high court (100,000 m²), multiplex cinema	park (14 ha), hospital (270,000 m², abandoned), education, culture	park (35 ha), undecided	park (6 ha), multimodal hub
Progress (2015)				
Start of discussions	2001	1999	2003	2000
Interinstitutional agreements	2007 (global agreement)	2005 (agreement in principle)	2005, 2007 (agreements in principle)	2006, 2014 (agreements in principle)
Land transfers	In final stages	Completed, negotiations underway	No	No
Rail facility replacement	In final stages	Negotiations underway	Completed, negotiations underway	Planned
Urban programmes	In progress	Completed, underway, planned	Negotiations underway	Planned

Figure 3: Aerial view of the Batignolles railw site in Paris

Source: Philippe Guignard (Clichy Batignolles, « Brève histoire du site » [en ligne], http://www.clichy-batignolles.fr/breve-histoire-du-site).

Figure 4: Aerial view of the Ile de Nantes and the railway site of Nantes Etat right in the middle

Source: SAMOA, 2005

Figure 5: Aerial view of the railway site of Farini in Milan

Source: Stefano Topuntoli (Protasoni 2009).

Figure 6: Aerial view of the railway site of the Areale in Bolzano

Source: Areale Bolzano ABZ S.p.A. (2011).

Part 1: From State incorporation of the railway sites to the contestations of their footprint in the urban fabric by local governments

The first part of the thesis can be interpreted as a rerun of the narrative of the *return of the European cities*, proposed by the urban governance research stream (Bagnasco et Galès 2000). The first chapter puts the research question into context through the history of the railway sites in Paris, Nantes, Milan and Bolzano. It describes how French and Italian railway sites *became* State places, between the mid-19th century and the early 20th century. The arrival of railways in cities was the outcome of territorialisation that encompassed the local, regional, national and international scales. Its position was negotiated between municipal governments, local institutions, central administrations and the railway companies. A wide range of short, medium and long-term resources (land, legal, financial, technical, etc.) were assembled to form the railway sites.

However, between the creation of railway land as a legal category (1845 in France and 1865 in Italy) and the nationalisation of the railway companies (1905 in Italy and 1937 in France), these resources were gradually absorbed by the State and allocated to an operator, resulting in railway land being incorporated into the State's material base. This process supported the "State's spatial plan" which was to structure (in Italy) or reinforce (in France) the nation-State through the spread of the railway network. The State therefore used the railway network to integrate the cities into a single national space.

This picture particularly well corresponds to the idea of the appropriation of urban spaces by modern States in that the decisions, scales and resources associated with railway sites became gradually concentrated. Initially comprising multiple organisations and scales that produced distinctive assemblages, they gradually "crystallised" into a single national territorial network. This network was operated by a State-owned company and incorporated into the material base of the State. This process led to a twofold "isolation" of railway sites. First, they were excluded from the commercial sphere, through their classification as public domain. Second, they were cut off from the urban contexts in which they were embedded. Railway sites became State places, through which the public operator could deploy its logistical power over the cities. This *historical* process of "State incorporation" (*"étatisation"*, Offerlé 1997) leads

to interpret the *current* urban redevelopment of these State places as a reorganisation of that logistical power.

The second chapter goes on to explore the emergence of the 'public urban problem' posed by the scale of the presence of railway land in urban areas. It comes to be formulated by local authorities within the context of the growing power they acquired in urban planning between the 1970s and 1990s. The public problems approach is adopted to investigate this challenge (Payre et Pollet 2013; Zittoun 2013). Our study reveals the particular role of one professional group, town planners, in framing the problem and the *urban planning* solutions to this large-scale presence. Present within municipal administrations (in France) as well as outside them (in Italy), they were the instigators of this opposition 'from below' and applied their professional skills to the issue. However, without political and institutional encouragement and support, that opposition would not have emerged. It therefore needs to be seen in the wider context of the development of the agency for local public action in the planning sphere. Moreover, while the arguments are similar, the way this problem has been institutionalised differs from one city to another (see Table 4). It depends on the capacity for action of municipal authorities, which is limited. We have observed the difficulties municipalities have in enlisting the rail operators into their urban projects. In fact, during this period, there was a significant gap between the methods whereby railway land was actually managed and developed, and the approaches recommended by town planners. Nonetheless, what we will call the *'urban planning conception'* of the urban conversion of railway land became institutionalised.

In writings on urban governance, the "*loosening*" of State constraint has been advanced as an explanation of the growing power of cities and metropolitan regions (Le Galès 2002). However, when it comes to land held by public operators, it has to be acknowledged that they did not give up, despite pressures from municipal authorities. The railway companies did not join urban coalitions and adopt project dynamics. Paris stands as an exception, because the urban redevelopment of railway land there took place between the 1960s and 1990s. It shows that the SNCF initially became involved in urban affairs in order to test its own landholding policy, and then because it was forced to by central government and an interventionist municipality. Our findings therefore do not match the account given in the urban governance approach since it is the more dirigist and central State-supported urban regime that produced substantial changes in the railway land. One would expect to see coalitions emerging between operators and territorial institutions around projects that produced a shared vision. In fact,

however, our findings show resistance and discretional power on the part of the rail operators with regard to changing their modes of urban occupancy. In Italy, this behaviour was followed by the sudden proposals by the FS in the early 1990s to redevelop their sites in ways very different from locally expressed demand.

Table 4: Comparison of the reasons for and characteristics of the challenge to railway presence in the cities of Paris, Nantes, Milan and Bolzano

	Paris	Nantes	Milan	Bolzano
Initial challenge	1975	1991	1975	1920; end 1970
Problems of the railway presence	Renewal of brownfield zones Urban barriers Use of State land Land opportunity Housing construction	Bad location for the technical system Heart of the metropolitan urban plan Brownfield redevelopment Land opportunity Heritage issue (station)	Brownfield redevelopment Bad location for the technical system Urban barriers Use of public land Land opportunity Establishment of parks Coordination between urbanism and transport	Bad location for the technical system Urban barriers Use of State land Land opportunity Preventing urban sprawl Coordination between urbanism and transport
Mode of urban development governance	Planned	Negotiated	Interventionist ➞ managerial	Dual interventionist (municipality/province)
Actors and institutions involved	Municipality (Urban planning agency and department), SNCF, central government	Local government and metropolitan partnership bodies	Municipality, town planners, FS, State (Ministry, Council of State) 1990: Metropolis	Local governments, economic interests, town planners (INU), 1990: Metropolis
Resources and instruments	Strategic, regulatory and operational documents, interinstitutional partnerships	Strategic documents	Strategic and regulatory documents, legal procedures, events	Real estate, planning and railway studies, Strategic and regulatory documents, events
Substantial effects	Urban redevelopment of municipal controlled railway yards, with central government support	No change in public land areas, no interaction with the operator.	No change in public land areas, competing projects by the municipality and the operator	No change in public land areas, bilateral relations province-FS, municipality-FS

Here we reach the limits of a strictly urban-centred approach to the redevelopment of rail company land. The promptings of municipal authorities were not enough to change how these firms used their land. We therefore need to understand what has changed, to explain why – from the 1990s onwards – the rail companies began to get involved in redevelopment projects on their land. For this, it is necessary not only to understand the new forms of intervention by these firms on their sites, but also what structured those interventions. This means that we will need to analyse the changes in the political economy of the rail sector. The aim of this shift of focus is to shed light on the effects of national and European neoliberal sectoral reforms on the status, ownership and management of the big public assets built up by modern European States? What resources and what strategies does a public network company develop in order to manage these assets and respond to approaches from municipal authorities? What control do central governments and central government departments have on their operators' assets *after* the reforms (and first, do they want to have any?)? The answer is to be found in the second part of this thesis, which 'deterritorialises' our questions. In fact, not *everything*, including material and spatial priorities, is governed and regulated territorially. A restructuring of the State can even marginalise the territorial question (Le Galès 2013).

Part 2: The emergence of the real estate issue in public transport operators

The difficulties experienced by municipal governments in enlisting the rail companies into redevelopment projects on their sites prompt us to abandon a territorial perspective 'from below', and to look instead at the restructuring of those companies from the 1980s onwards. The hypothesis of this second section is that in order to understand the reshaping of the logistical power of the public operators in French and Italian cities, one must analyse not only the actions of municipal authorities, but also the effects of restructuring in the rail sector on the ownership and management of the assets of these operators. This hypothesis arises from the conclusions of the first chapter: if the State-owned nature of railway land kept it isolated from the commercial sphere and from its urban context, we can assume that the sectoral reforms accordingly led to an end to this isolation. We therefore change the scale of our analysis to study the relationships between the transformations in the status, ownership and management of railway land, on the one hand, and restructurings in the rail sector, on the other.

The third chapter thus shows that railway assets were used to provide a formal guarantee of the financial autonomy of France's and Italy's rail companies. Drawing on the sociology of quantification (Espeland et Stevens 2008), it reveals a twofold process of inventory and valuation of the assets. This process was conducted in both countries in order to transfer these State assets to the operators. The railway networks were disaggregated, in order to allocate net book values to their multifarious component parts, then re-aggregated in order to constitute assets within a balance sheet. In this way, they could be set off against the liabilities of the companies in cost accounting systems. This 'assetization' of the railway system's constitutive entities brought State railway land in cities within the ambit of real estate. By analysing a previously unexplored aspect of the restructuring of the material base of the State – the conversion of public estate into an asset – we show that railway land was used to implement the plan to make railway companies financially autonomous. This change in the nature of railway sites becomes problematic when the possibility of redevelopment arises.

The fourth chapter completes such analysis, by looking at how railway assets are actually managed. It explores how national rail companies – in parallel with and following the reforms – took control of the transferred assets. These firms of flows did not only 'inherit'

railway assets. They actively contributed to the creation of their real estate status. Furthermore, their real estate departments revealed that railway lands and buildings were both a problem for the firm (through the quantification of its 'cost' in the balance sheets) *and* a potential financial resource to tap into in order to improve their balance sheets. This is how public firms were able to legitimise real estate activities. In each of these companies, organisational, professional and informational resources were developed to manage a new sphere of activity, real estate and land development. This professionalisation entailed importing real estate standards, instruments, knowledge and practices from other big private and public companies. The aim was to maximise the profits obtained from selling railway land that had become obsolete. However, this did not take place independently of the firm's environment. Firstly, pressure from municipal governments encouraged these firms to organise. Secondly, the purpose of structuring these activities was to establish relations with actors from different sectors of real estate production and management to which the railway assets were sold.

In other words, chapters 3 and 4 show how, in the context of the rising importance of entrepreneurial and financial perspectives in this transport sector, public railway land was taken over by real estate management methods designed to exploit its new "nature" as an asset. Nonetheless, this structuring of real estate activities was not linear and unambiguous. An examination of the approaches reveals a realignment in the strategies of the SNCF (from urban planning to real estate management) and FS (from urban development activities to narrow asset allocation practices) between the 1990s and 2000s, and the distinctive 'territorial planning' approach taken by the RFF on this issue (see Table 5). Following on from the earlier definition of the urban planning conception, these two chapters describe the institutionalisation of what we will now call the *'real estate conception'* of the urban redevelopment of railway land (we should write 'financial conception of the real estate'). The aim then is to understand how this activity, weighted with financial and accounting requirements, is reflected in the *actual* management of the urban redevelopment of railway land.

Table 5: Comparison of the features of the real estate activities of SNCF, RFF and FS

	SNCF	RFF	FS
Organisation	Local �![6] Centralised, 'Branched'	Centralised ➔ Centralised strategy decentralised operations, externalised management	Decentralised ➔ Centralised strategy and decentralised operations, 'subsidiarised'
Professional skills	Developers, train fanatics ➔ Managers	Developers	Managers ➔ Train fanatics
Informational resources	CAD ➔ Operations and maintenance system[7]	GIS + Operations and maintenance system	Operations and maintenance system
Objectives	Development, revenue (capture), good management ➔ Liquidity (purpose not defined), good management and outsourcing	Liquidity (for network maintenance) and spatial development	Growth in assets and revenue (creation) ➔ Right sizing and liquidity (debt paydown)

Insofar as the railway companies acquired skills and developed strategies to manage the redevelopment of railway land, the question that arises is how much control their supervising central government departments have (or would like to have) over these processes? Does the State have a plan for the use of its operator's sites? This question is particularly salient in that research has indicated renewed State involvement in territorial management. The suggestion is that the managerial reforms of the 2000s restored control in urban affairs to the central administrations of public works and housing departments, to the detriment of the decentralised State and municipal authorities (Epstein 2013). The programmes and results of some municipal authority actions are now subject to monitoring at central level.

However, the findings of the previous chapters do not reflect this view. First, we have seen that municipal governments have developed their own town planning approach to the presence of the railways in the areas they administer. Next, we have observed how the rail companies acquired autonomy and resources in the management of railway land. In addition to this, there is a further tension, this time internal to the State, revealed by studies on housing policies (Bourdieu and Christin 1990; Zittoun 2001). These tensions are between the 'planning

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[6] The symbol "➔" indicates a change over the period.
[7] The operations and maintenance system is linked to the companies' cost accounting system.

departments' of central government (Housing and Facilities in France, Infrastructures in Italy) and the 'financial departments', which formulate competing policies on the reuse of State land (see Table 7: Comparison of the action of finance and planning departments on railway land). Evidence therefore suggests that the vertical relations between centre and periphery are not sufficient to fully explain the material policies that affect land held by a public operator. One can therefore argue that there is a dual tension between, on the one hand, the autonomy of rail companies and municipal authorities and their oversight by central government departments and, on the other hand, between the public works/housing and financial departments at central government level. In order to investigate this hypothesis, the fifth chapter compares the three main policies conducted in the 2000s by the French and Italian States to govern the redevelopment of railway sites: the creation of the public company SOVAFIM to transfer the assets of RFF, the *Programme de mobilisation du foncier public* (public land use programme) in France and the *Programma Porti e Stazioni* (docklands and stations programme) in Italy (see Table 6). Figure 7 outlines a positional space which situates these policies in terms of the opposed pairings of autonomy/control and financial departments/development departments.

Table 6: Comparison of the three policies on railway real estate assets.

	SOVAFIM	*Mobilisation du foncier public*	*Porti e Stazioni*
Central government departments	Financial	Development (supported by the financial departments)	Developers
Main objective	To release revenues for the central State budget	To meet housing shortages in areas where the market is stretched	To coordinate the strategies of the FS and local authorities
Selection of assets	High-value assets that can be sold quickly	Land that can be developed within 5 years	Infrastructures, buildings or sites for restructuring
Spatial selectivity	Areas where the real estate market is active	Areas where the housing market is "stretched"	Difficult socio-spatial situations in coastal cities
State funding	ø	ø	€37.2 million
Revenues to the State	€220 million	ø	ø

Figure 7: Central government policies on railway sites
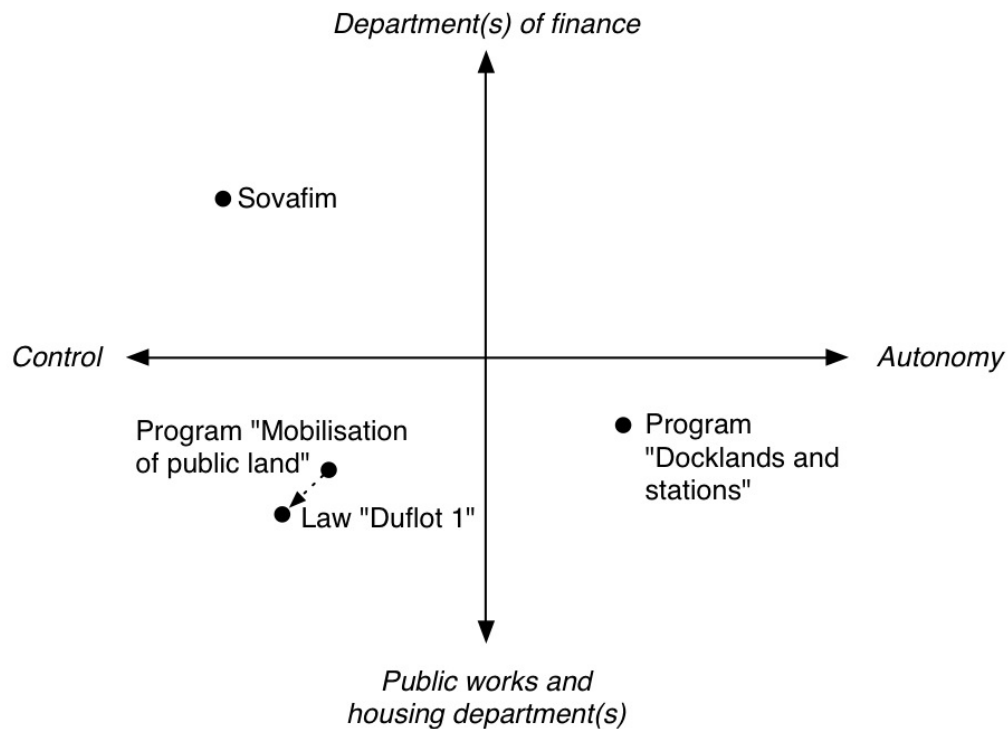
An analysis of the principal French and Italian policies targeting this land since the early 2000s suggests that the answer to the question of the "return of the central administrations" in urban affairs is a negative one, although with due qualification. It is true that typical New Public Management perspectives and instruments underpinned the formulation and the conduct of these policies. However, central government departments have limited capacity to decide how this land is developed. More specifically, we have shown that Italy's central government departments maintain a principle of autonomy with regard to the railway company's real estate activities. In France, the position is more ambivalent: the public works and housing departments and the finance departments each put forward different policies setting legitimate aims for the development of these spaces, but have failed to fairly impose them. So it is the operator which, in terms of real estate, has established the capacity to act on its land assets. These findings suggest that the idea of "government by steering at a distance" (Epstein 2006) does not apply in our case. It remains to be seen how the central and decentralised State intervenes in the processes of reorganising the railway yards themselves, and how those institutions frame and validate those processes.

Table 7: Comparison of the action of finance and planning departments on railway land

	Use of assets	Action	Land targeted	Relation to the real estate market
Development departments	As a land resource	Territorialised	Abandoned	Correct
Finance departments	For their high commercial value	Centralised	All	Imitate

It is on the basis of this threefold conclusion – (i) that the railway companies have become stakeholders in real estate and development; (ii) that there is tension between real estate, urban planning and industrial conceptions of the future of railway land within the rail companies and central government departments; and (iii) that national government does not play a central role in deciding the future of railway land – that we embark on the third part of this thesis. Bearing in mind these results, we thus return to the primary level at which the development of State land is regulated: the urban level. It therefore explores the processes and concrete effects of the redevelopment of railway land in French and Italian cities since the beginning of the 2000s.

Part 3: Relocating a State network in European cities

"Part of the inertia of the structures of social space results from the fact that they are embedded in physical space and that they could only be altered by means of a process of transplantation, by a displacement of things."

(Bourdieu 1993: 161)

The first two parts of this thesis has led us to the following provisional conclusion so far: municipal governments, rail companies and their supervisory central government departments agree on the desirability of redeveloping specific railway sites, but diverge on the purposes of that redevelopment. In other words, a set of opportunities exists but it is entrenched with different conceptions of how this land should be redeveloped. Under these circumstances, how – in practical terms – do railway sites get redeveloped? To find out, the third part provides a comparative analysis of actual railway yard redevelopment projects in Paris, Nantes, Milan and Bolzano.

The investigation into these projects is covered in four chapters. Chapter 6 deciphers the dense web of technical, political and financial relationships that has developed around deciding the future of these sites since the early 2000s. It shows that these relationships take the form of negotiations to which access is selective. Contrary to our initial hypothesis, the redevelopment of State places is first of all a problem internal to the State, that involve the operator and different levels of government, but not (or secondarily) urban social groups or institutions. Chapter 7 goes further into the roles and positions of the stakeholders in the different contexts studied. It appears that there is a dual problem of coordination between the different segments of the State responsible for these material projects (regional authorities, rail companies, central and decentralised government departments). On the one hand, the stakeholders find themselves in situations of mutual dependence, since they hold resources that are scarce, even monopolised (land, legal, technical, financial, political resources). On the other hand, divergent motives drive their respective intervention on railway land (for example, the rail companies are simultaneously motivated by real estate and industrial objectives). In order to resolve this dual problem, the segments of the State do not get involved in deliberative procedures or in the construction of a shared vision of the future of railway yards. Instead, they act in mutual recognition of each of the parties' interests and objectives.

These interests and objectives can be assimilated to three 'dominant conceptions' of the redevelopment of railway land (industrial, real estate and urban planning). The genesis of

which was retraced in the first two parts of this document. Their 'stylisation' shows that they establish a connection between a categorisation and classification for the railway sites. For example, in the urban planning conception, the railway site are categorised as brownfields and are related to their urban context, while following the real estate conception they are classified as assets belonging to asset portfolios and balance sheets. The conceptions also determine a causal explanation for the reasons and purposes of the redevelopment of the railway sites. For example the industrial conception explains their obsolescence by technological and commercial changes and their remaking as an opportunity to improve the performance of the rail system, while the real estate conception compare the use and the exchange value of the land in order to justify its sale and seek to maximize financial gain thanks to this sale. In addition, the conceptions carry weight: they are not just 'ideas' or 'representations', insofar as they are embedded in highly material administrative, financial or technical systems (see Table 8 and Figure 8). In this research, the process of urban restructuring is thus explained as the outcome of localised adjustments between the three dominant conceptions of the redevelopment of railway land.

Table 8: The three dominant conceptions of railway land development

	Industrial conception	Real estate conception	Urban planning conception
Categorisation of the land	Railway yard	Real estate asset(s)	Brownfield site
Classification	Railway hub, large technical system	Real estate asset portfolio, balance sheet	Neighbourhood, city
Reason for redevelopment	Technical and commercial changes	Use value < exchange value	Urban problem, land requirements
Redevelopment priority	To modernise facilities	To extract liquidity	To implement urban development policies
Redevelopment objective	To improve technical performance	To obtain financial gains	To upgrade isolated urban areas
Objectifications	Industrial plan, functional dependencies	Real estate databases, balance sheets, business plans	Town planning regulations, urban projects and strategies
Associated resources	Legal, political, professional	Legal, informational, professional	Legal, political, financial, professional

Figure 8: Positioning of the stakeholders in terms of their conceptions of rail yard redevelopment
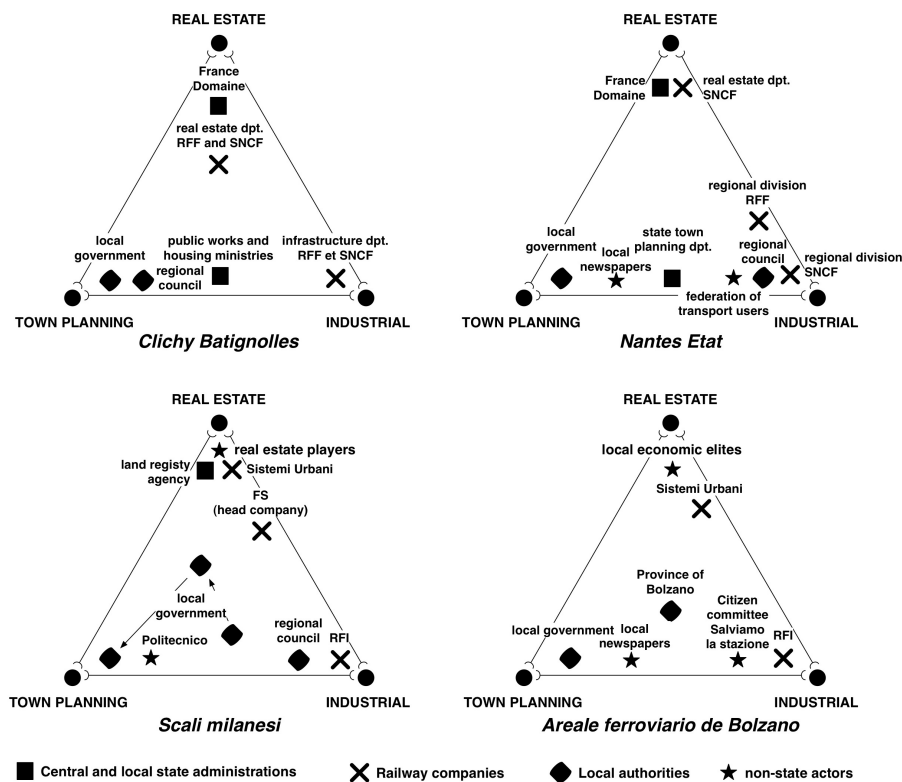
Chapter 8 demonstrates that the adjustment between these conceptions mainly takes place through the construction of the exchange value of the land. It argues that this value is not the outcome of negotiations: it is *through* the construction of the value that a compromise between the stakeholders is reached. They develop formulae that respectively correspond to the dominant conceptions, set against a monetary standard. However, this correspondence is not neutral. The formulae employed and their strategic handling by the stakeholders influence the conditions of the transformation of State places, especially when those formulae commit them to a principle of capitalisation.

Having explored the reasons for intervention, the types of coordination and the interinstitutional arrangements, Chapter 9 looks at the substantive content of the redevelopment projects. It is organised around the analysis of three *strata* of the emerging landscape of the rail yards: the rail infrastructure, ownership, and the programmes introduced to replace the network. Following on from the previous chapters, these strata reveal (i) the scale of industrial and financial factors in the reorganisation of the infrastructure and the restructuring of its properties; (ii) the intermediary role played by the municipal governments in in the reconversion State places into real estate products that can be assimilated into urban production processes; and (iii) the role of the national level and the "second rank institutions"

associated with it (instruments, legal rules, technical standards, see Lorrain 2008) as a key explanatory variable of urban restructuring.

Table 9: Comparison of the strata of reorganised landscapes on railway land in France and Italy

Thematisation Objects of analysis	France: management by municipal authorities with State support	Italy: municipal authorities seeking financial investors
Priorities in the construction of railway land value	Setting a sale price between the operators and municipal authorities, approved by France Domaine	**Milan:** distributing the capital gains **Bolzano:** demonstrating the feasibility of the operation, attracting financial investors
Principles for reconstituting the rail system	Rationalisation, modernisation and reconstitutions on the principle of functional equivalence, financing out of local public expenditure **Nantes:** relocation to the outskirts	Rationalisation, modernisation **Milan:** relocation to the outskirts and funding by a levy on revenues **Bolzano:** regionalisation, financing by investors
Stages of ownership restructuring	(i) separation between operators, (ii) intermediation by municipal authorities, (iii) insertion into urban production systems	**Milan:** (i) separation between operators and removal from State ownership, (ii) subsidiarisation and allocation of assets, (iii) sale to investment funds **Bolzano:** (i) removal from State ownership, (ii) subsidiarisation, (iii) sale to Tyrolian investors
Characteristics of urban planning	Upgrading State facilities, metropolitan facilities (including park), social housing, attracting institutional investors (Paris) and the "creative class" (Nantes).	**Milan:** parks, social housing, attracting institutional investors **Bolzano:** provincial-scale facilities, internationalisation and territorial economic development

The urban reorganisation described in this part depicts the redeployment of the public operator in French and Italian cities. This restructuring is driven by the encounter between urban development policies and real estate perspectives. However, the urban redevelopment projects on railway sites prove to be an opportunity to modernise and rationalise the facilities on the technical system. In addition, the operators obtain an "urban land levy" (the share of the capital gain taken by the owner, see Lipietz 1974) on the land released by this rationalisation, which they use to upgrade the rail network at metropolitan, regional or national scale. Thus, the public operator does not withdraw, but instead remodels the basis of its logistical power over the territory. Better still, through these material designs, it expects to adapt its facilities to changes in the rail service, reduce its operating costs and increase the

productivity of its installations. In short, industrial and sectoral interests seep through in railway land redevelopment projects.

However, the operators do not play a sovereign role in this reorganisation. Their role is contested and they need to negotiate their repositioning. Municipal authorities are therefore the steering actors in the reorganisation of the presence of the State network in urban space. They do not simply challenge the forms in which the operator occupies urban space: they commit considerable resources to govern and, in France, to take charge of the relocation of the facilities and the redevelopment of the sites. In addition, the rail companies and municipal authorities are asked to involve the regions and, in France, central and local government departments in their discussions. Finally, both the companies and local authorities are dependent on the financial resources of property investors to conduct this relocation, especially in Italy. There is therefore no dominant protagonist in the redefinition of the position of the railway network and in the reallocation of its facilities. They are managed at multiple levels. The interdependence between the stakeholders demands reciprocal adjustments, which are not managed remotely. The operator and, in France, central government departments, are directly and lastingly involved in the different phases, whether in establishing frameworks, in negotiations, or in the implementation of the process.

Just as there is no pre-eminent protagonist, there is no single motive for the redevelopment of railway sites. Several organisational and material objectives jostle in these processes. However, they are not unlimited. They can be reduced to three primary conceptions – industrial, financial and urban planning. In order to coordinate given the conditions of mutual dependence and divergent motives for intervention, the segments of the State commit to reach a balance point in 'scenes of negotiation'. In order to find this point, "skilled social actors" (Fligstein 2001) engage in a process of quantification in order to reach a minimum agreement on the monetary value of the railway sites. They develop value formulae that reflect the three dominant conceptions of the futures of State places. This form of coordination, of "government *by* value" (Piganiol 2014), influences those futures. In fact, the systems for justifying land prices shape what can and cannot be done, what needs to be paid for out of public monies, or else the "urban land levy" that goes to the operator.

The results also help us understand to what extent the negotiations on the relocation of the network are embedded in their local and national institutional contexts (see Table 9). The way that the redevelopment of State land is managed is directly linked to the system of urban production in the city where it is located. Furthermore, Chapter 9 shows that municipal

authorities shape redevelopment projects for State places in such a way that they can be absorbed into the different real estate systems present in the territory. The urban production regimes in Paris, Nantes, Milan and Bolzano not only shape the way the redevelopment of State places is tackled – they also draw on this land resource. However, the complexity of these redevelopments, because of the inertia of the technical system, the financial costs and the coordination problems, has challenged the existing regimes in all the cities studied. The municipal authorities have been forced to change their routine procedures in order to find the resources, in particular the financial resources, needed to relocate the railway network. Furthermore, the State-owned nature of the sites framed the arrangements reached on the value of the sites, the distribution of the capital gains or the rail and urban programmes. Together, these findings confirm the specificity of the redevelopment of State places and the added value of distinguishing them analytically from other types of land, notably land occupied by Fordist industries.

The public nature of the railway sites, just mentioned, relates to the national scale, whose role in distinguishing the urban redevelopment processes is gradually reassessed in the course of the third part. In the general introduction, it has been discussed how some authors have emphasised the homogenising impact of globalisation on urban policies, town planning models, and stakeholders, and of financing systems on the processes of urban redevelopment (Moulaert, Rodriguez, and Swyngedouw 2003). Others, in contrast, have stressed the diversification of processes and results, arising out of increasing autonomy from the State and the proliferation of territorial stakeholders (Pinson 2009). In this view, the national dimension does not really matter in terms of the difference between urban processes. The double-paired comparative system we have followed leads to a more refined result on this question. Indeed, the redevelopment of the State's railway land follows procedures and leads to outcomes that are homogeneous in France whereas heterogeneous in Italy.

The homogeneity of the French cases is explained by the regulatory role played by second-rank institutions linked to central government and to public land. They set the rules for assessing value, for railway reorganisation, for allocating capital gains, for the priority of municipal authorities in acquiring sites. They enable municipal governments to assume these processes. This position of authority itself generates homogeneity in procedures and outcomes. Although by different means, the City of Paris and Nantes Métropole develop similar programmes and planning configurations. Through development companies under

their control, they play the same intermediary role between the railway land and its integration into real estate production systems.

The national institutional framework also explained the heterogeneity of the Italian cases, but in this case because of its flexibility. In fact, it leaves local authorities and rail operators more latitude in the agreements they reach. Because the municipal authorities use this room for manoeuvre to provide distinctive responses that reflect the issues they face, the procedures and outcomes vary from one place to another more than in France. So the methods of financing railway reorganisation, the scales to which capital gains are reallocated, and indeed the role of the municipal authority, are not the same in Milan and in Bolzano. Ultimately, the reorganisation of the logistical power of the public operator is a process that is more managed in France than in Italy, where real estate actors and market rules govern the conditions of redevelopment of this land.

Conclusion

Over the last twenty-five years, different segments of the State have been involved in the redevelopment of land occupied by public operators, based on conceptions that are functional, financial and urban planning. Despite the inertia of this process, the process is real. It involves regional and local authorities, public enterprises, State agencies and central and decentralised government departments, not to mention numerous engineering, consultancy, design and construction firms. In this way, State facilities and infrastructures are being adapted to new functions that government departments and operators are required to fulfil. This movement is also driven by the quest for financial revenues, for an "urban land levy" (Lipietz 1985) on the part of the public operators. State-owned land is superseded with new urban landscapes. The change in the ways that government departments and public operators occupy urban space is in fact as much driven by functional and pecuniary motives, as by the municipally-backed redevelopment projects on this land. Moreover, it is often these projects that make the reorganisation of the logistical power of public operators politically and financially feasible.

The redevelopment of State places is an important process, since it affects the day-to-day functioning of European urban societies. It undoubtedly constitutes a political issue in that it shapes the production of the built environment. A built environment which shapes who inhabits, works, owns and has the use of urban spaces. The future of European cities therefore partly depends on what is built on State land. Astonishingly, this process has not been specifically dealt with in urban studies. Hence this research which, given the scale of the process, focused here on the rail sector and a detailed analysis of four urban redevelopment projects on railway sites. The conclusions of this enquiry are organised around the two objectives of this thesis. The first was to explain the urban restructuring process under study in terms of State restructuring. The second was to show that this urban restructuring contributes to the material reorganisation of States.

An urban process linked to State restructuring

Two primary factors are behind the urban process studied in this thesis. The first is the challenges by municipal authorities – at a time when they hold increasing power in the steering of urban development – to the large-scale occupation of urban land by public operators. The second factor is the real estate stance and skills acquired by the rail operators

in order to manage the assets they inherited following reforms in the railway sector. These two processes can be linked with State restructuring.

Redevelopment of State places led by urban governments

The capacity for action acquired by municipal governments in developing State land is connected with the transfer of skills, the professionalisation of elected representatives and local administrations and to new selective and *"project-based"* forms of intervention on urban space (Pinson 2009). This capacity is built upon the *"loosening"* of central government control and, in Italy, of control by the party system, over cities (Le Galès 2002). It is therefore the outcome of State restructuring.

These conditions favoured the construction of a public problem by municipal authorities relating to the occupation of central and pericentral urban space by public operators. For these authorities, the problem is essentially formulated in town planning terms. They see these places as a problem *per se*, because of the urban barriers and divisions they create, but also as a source of development land. As a result, these sites are both a target and a medium of urban development policies. While this formulation of the problem is similar in the case of industrial brownfield sites, it is nevertheless more restrictive. The sites we studied do not, for example, raise issues of noise and atmospheric pollution or the need to maintain employment. Moreover, while the removal of a railway line, like the closing of a barracks or a maternity hospital, is perceived as the withdrawal of the State from an area, this is not the case for the shutting down of a railway yard in a large or medium-sized city in France or Italy. To sum up, State restructuring has encouraged municipal governments to challenge the ways in which public operators occupy areas of cities, in other words have encouraged the reorganisation of the State's material base.

Urban restructuring led by public operators

Another explanation for the redevelopment of railway sites lies in the new ways in which railway assets are handled by actors, systems and tools drawn from the real estate sector. That can be linked to State restructuring, too. The change of legal status, ownership and accounting rules for railway assets made possible the private-like forms and managing of the railway companies in France and Italy, in line with the requirements of the European Commission. Indeed, the acquisition of these assets has brought the historical operators financial autonomy. But the SNCF, RFF and the FS have not been passive players in this transfer. They have acquired these assets and carefully inventoried and valued them according

to real estate criteria. Following administrative and commercial ("tests", Lemoine 2011), they have redefined the nature of the State networked infrastructure as a set of real estate assets. These firms have made the management, exploitation and sale of real estate a new component of their activity, by acquiring and structuring organisational, professional and informational resources. Real estate professionals have thus penetrated the world of the railway. They have developed and obtained responsibility for the real estate issue posed by the railway network and its operation, thereby giving the rail companies a capacity to participate in the reshaping of the urban fabric.

Paradoxically, this new activity entails the public operator disposing of part of its material base. This new approach to infrastructure management is explained by the emergence of entrepreneurial and financial perspectives within the rail operators, which legitimise real estate activity as providing liquidity to heavily indebted companies. Moreover, they neither run counter to, exclude nor take precedence over industrial priorities. Operating costs can be cut by reducing the scale of maintenance requirements. Productivity gains can be achieved by modernising and rationalising facilities. A further advantage is that rail functions can be adapted to the new services and methods of maintaining the infrastructure and the trains, and the location of facilities can be optimised. Yet, the new status of railway sites as real estate assets reduces the time horizon of industrial thinking. The functional use value is now compared to the real estate exchange value established by the real estate departments and subsidiaries. Their staff look for components of railway assets that can be extracted from the rail system, valued and sold. The purposes and management practices of the huge State railway assets inherited by these companies could be envisaged differently. In fact, the case of RFF affords a glimpse of a less sectoral and managerial approach, more oriented towards local authorities and associated with spatial planning objectives, than those employed by SNCF and the FS.

New relationships between operators and municipal authorities with regard to State land in cities.

Railway sites have thus elicited new relationships between municipal authorities and railway companies. The essence of these relationships consists in establishing the reasons and purposes for the redevelopment of these places. Three dominant conceptions of the future of this land are present in these relations. First, in the urban planning conception, these places are viewed as isolated brownfield sites where redevelopment is both an objective in itself and a means to implement urban development policies in the interests of the city (or more precisely, the interests of the city as perceived by certain players). Secondly, according to the

real estate conception, these areas are defined as assets on the company balance sheets. Their development and sale is a means to generate revenue streams. Finally, in the industrial conception, these sites are seen as railway hubs whose operation can be improved through reorganisation. This latter conception is also taken up by regional authorities which, as restructuring takes place within the sector, have acquired prerogatives for the organisation of regional transport. For the stakeholders, the aim is not to circumvent these conceptions at the conclusion of deliberative processes or processes of shared meaning construction, but to proceed to mutual adjustments them within a development project.

This adjustment takes place in scenes that are selective as to the organisations that participate. Besides, the rail companies, the public institutions and their satellites, such as development companies which possess resources of this kind are represented. Within the framework of multilevel territorial management, the adjustments take the form of negotiations which seek to find a degree of consensus between the stakeholders, mainly by constructing the value of the land. This value reflects and balances the dominant conceptions, according to a monetary standard. The urban process that has concerned us in this thesis is therefore the result of localised compromise between these conceptions. These adjustments take different forms in the two countries. In France, the national institutions that oversee and approve redevelopment operations on railway land generate homogeneity between local processes, a homogeneity reinforced by the similar role played by municipal authorities that set a framework and validate the negotiations. In Italy, the arrangements are much more territorialised. This is explained by an institutional framework that reflects processes of commercial regulation and the formation of local solutions between the municipal authority and the operator.

The material dimension of State restructuring

In the introduction to this thesis, railway sites were conceptualised as States places, in other words the material base *through* which States function and endure, and *from* which they exercise their power over a territory. In order to approach our research topic in these terms, we have drawn on a research stream in the historical sociology of the State which emphasises the material dimension of the State. We therefore explored the reorganisation of this logistical power in cities by studying material designs that seek to redevelop State places. These material designs connect the activities and organisational dimension of the State with its material base. By contrast with the approach of historical sociology, however, we have not focused on the territorial deployment of infrastructure by the State, but rather on the transformation of that

infrastructure. It has become a target of public policies. In other words a State problem, or rather problems for different segments within the State (government departments, public operators, territorial authorities).

This entails that State places needed to be redefined. They are no longer just places from which the logistical power of public operators was exercised, but also places from which the operators could extract financial resources and, for municipal authorities, targets of financial, political and technical investment. In order to coordinate these strategies, the different segments of the State involved have tended to develop purely property relations between them, which notably entails constructing the value of the land. Increasingly in France and invariably in Italy, this valuation is done by methods that treat these sites as financial assets.

The programmed future of State places

These newly dominant financial methods have had the effect of locking the development possibilities of the sites by valuing them in terms of their ability to generate profits. The same holds true for the distribution and allocation of the capital gains generated by redevelopment. In France, the use of the profits allocated to the owners of the land cannot be subject to negotiation, since the legislative framework guarantees to the railway firms a total autonomy in how such gains are allocated. The case of Milan show the possibilities that emerge when there is discussion on the reallocation of these capital gains, in this case to the local railway network. It also shows the influence of financial perspectives in the framing of that discussion.

The range of possibilities is not only circumscribed by issues of value. It is also reduced by restrictions on the scenes of negotiation. This is particularly salient in that the technical community which plans the development of these sites, composed of rail, town planning and real estate experts is, it must be said, fairly unrepresentative of the urban societies concerned. Here, our research echoes the conclusions of Susan Fainstein (2001), who shows that civil society is largely excluded from decisions relating to the ownership and distribution of socially created value. This observation takes on particular salience in the case of land which is (or was in the Italian case) "public". If State places have become an issue *of* public policies for different segments of the State, this thesis hopes to contribute, in a modest way, to make it a political issue *in its own right*.

Discussion

Eventually, these findings allow us to reconsider work in two currents of research on the relations between State and urban restructuring. The general introduction stated that this thesis was situated in the interstice between postulates about State rescaling and the return of European city. The research conducted in this interstice suggests two shifts away from these prevailing explanatory models.

A process distinct from post-Fordist transition, but with similar effects?

The first model explains urban restructuring in terms of the rescaling of State places for the purpose of adjusting national territories to the post-Fordist system of flexible accumulation (Brenner 2004). Three reasons prompt us to rule out this postulate when seeking to explain the process of the redevelopment of State places in cities. First, while the process that we have identified can, in respect both to municipal authorities and to the railway operators, be linked with State restructuring, it is more risky to link it with a change in the method of capital accumulation. The reasons for the restructuring of State places, whether those reasons relate to town planning, revenue capture or, *a fortiori*, to industrial priorities, are not functionally linked – indeed they are even independent of the changes in capitalism that underpin the thesis of the post-Fordist city.

Next, the material changes we have described are the result of power relations internal to the State (broadly speaking). The cooperation between levels of government, on the one hand and, between those levels and the operator on the other hand, is not an input into the processes. In fact, there needs to be coordination within each of these levels and within the companies, where the different conceptions of the future of railway sites are all present. In short, we are dealing with contested processes, which arise from the actions of stakeholders and organisations with divergent aims. Neil Brenner explains the changes in the forms of State intervention as the result of a "spatial plan" to integrate State institutions – situated in different places and at different scales – into a consistent geography. Our thesis has shown that the redevelopment of railway land cannot be reduced to *one* single spatial plan. It is a result of the adjustment of organisational, political and material plans sponsored simultaneously by different segments of the State. Even less does this redevelopment correspond to *one* single "spatial strategy" to adjust the nations State to the new geography of post-Fordist accumulation. On the basis of such findings about State-owned land, questions arise about the State's capacity and consistency of action on other spaces.

Finally, it is not possible to link the process under scrutiny with a process of "creative destruction", a dynamic of capitalism identified by Joseph Schumpeter and adopted by advocates of the thesis of the post-Fordist city (Zukin 1991). It is true that it can describe the metamorphosis of the material base of the Fordist economy – in particular industrial brownfield sites – into new urban environments dedicated to consumption, to management functions, to culture and creativity (Harvey 1989). However, in our case, such an interpretation raises two problems. Firstly, in the thesis of the post-Fordist city, this transition is very rapid (Le Galès et Harding 1996). However, the changes that we have analysed cannot be dictated. They are the culmination of long and disputed processes. Turning railway land into capital assets required a process of quantification that took several years and, in the French case, was highly conflictual. The redevelopment of the railway sites has entailed negotiations, administrative procedures, infrastructural work, which in the cases we studied have been going on for ten years, if not more. The problems of knowledge, coordination, functional relations and financing generate considerable inertia in the reorganisation of railway sites. Moreover, and this is the key point of our argument, *the railway operator does not withdraw from the cities, but redeploys its logistical power.* By contrast with Fordist industries, railway activities cannot be relocated around the world to take advantage of labour costs and capital accumulation. In short, the transformation of the logistical power of the State is a social, technical and political process that cannot be interpreted as the process of creative destruction associated with capitalism.

We are, however, less categorical regarding the shape of the landscape brought about by the redevelopment of State places. Urban development projects introduce programmes (services, leisure, consumption, etc.) which mimic the landscape of the post-Fordist city. These programmes are the outcomes of political strategies that seek to attract different types of capital, activities and populations. However, under closer scrutiny, the capital, activities and populations targeted differ from one city to another. Policies intended to enhance urban attractiveness are juxtaposed with other urban policies (social, environmental, economic, transport) on these sites, and these policies are constrained by the economics of urban development. What we are seeing is not a change in the method of capital accumulation *causing* the redevelopment of State places, but redevelopment that is caused by changes within the State. The structure of opportunity that it opens up is seized on by municipal governments, which develop urban policies within the framework of the existing systems of urban production. Some elements of the resulting landscape favour the emergence of new socio-economic arrangements consonant with the post-Fordist city.

Our enquiry also prompts us to suggest a shift of focus away from neo-Weberian studies into horizontal and vertical State restructuring. Regarding the urban governance thesis (Le Galés, 2011 [2002]), three remarks can be made. First, the scenes in which the future of State places is decided are selective and restricted to representatives of public institutions at different levels of government, flanked by their experts. It is difficult to see in it a broadening of participation by urban stakeholders and institutions in the decision-making process on urban restructuring. When, in the case of Bolzano, 'urban society' took part in the process, it was outside the scene of negotiation and in opposition to the decisions that proceeded from it. Second, if municipal governments have become partially free of central government constraint, this does not mean that they can impose their choices on public operators. Finally, urban projects are not the locus where a shared meaning on the future of State places is constructed. They are not deliberative spaces. Those pillars of urban governance – horizontal expansion, project-based government and deliberative public action – do not correspond to the processes that we have analysed.

Conversely, these processes do not signal a return of the central State into urban affairs, either despite the opportunities provided by the land held by public operators. The analysis of public policies on railway land initiated by central government departments, both on the development and financial sides, revealed some attributes of remote neomanagerial government (Epstein 2013). While the central government public works and housing departments have not stopped producing "instituting policies" (aiming at fuelling the relationships between spectral operators and urban governments) in France and Italy, the influence of these policies on the negotiations between operators and municipal governments is weak. In other words, these processes do not point to a new episode in the relations between centre and periphery. They reflect a lateral movement, whereby railway operators are building influence in urban affairs.

The fact that urban infrastructure and service firms are becoming more powerful in the cities has been clearly demonstrated (Campagnac 1992; Lorrain 2002). However, existing studies have generally focused on private firms and their spheres of influence. We are concerned with public operators which step outside their sphere of activity. This process has important consequences for cities, but it nevertheless requires qualification, for two reasons. First, this new activity is restricted to land occupied by public operators. The rail companies are keen to exploit and sell their assets in order to generate revenue streams, and some of their

real estate activities involve partnerships with big development firms, as in Batignolles. However, they do not act outside the perimeters they inherited following the reforms. Second, while municipal authorities cannot impose their choices, the companies similarly lack sovereignty of action within the urban space. This is not only true for their land sales, but also with regard to the nature and location of their replacement facilities.

Relative to studies on urban governance and on central government housing and public works departments, attention therefore needs to be shifted to the orientations and sectoral priorities of the operators. With regard to orientations, even on a subject as cross cutting as land assets, the timeframes of rail company involvement in the issue differ from those of the municipal authorities and central government departments. This issue is not unrelated to the pressure exercised by municipal governments in the 1970s and 1980s. However, it really came to the fore in the 1990s, at the time of the reforms in the sector, within the wider context where corporate real estate became a hot topic for large firms. And this come early by comparison with central governments in France and Italy, for which real estate only began to become relevant in the early 2000s. As for sectoral priorities, the requirements and choices of the rail companies are strongly influenced by their industrial activity and the functional relations between railway sites and the network. All in all, the redevelopment of State places reflects neither a growth in local power nor a revival of central executive power in urban affairs. Rather than the "return" of the cities or of the State, what we are seeing is a reinforcement of the urban role of public operators, which are investing in new activities because of the financial pressures they are subject to.

Relocations: horizontal reorganisation at the centre and State materiality

Neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian studies highlight the role of State restructuring in explaining the changes in European cities. Our results align with these approaches, while putting forward two shifts in the analysis of the relationships between State and cities. The first is a switch of focus to the operators. To concentrate on the oscillations between State levels is to ignore the urban consequences of the restructuring of public operators. Yet it is the relationships between these operators and municipal authorities that explain the changes in the role of the State in cities.

The second shift involves taking into account the material dimension of the State. The State is not only an urban stakeholder, an ensemble of organisations that participate in urban affairs, or of institutions that regulate them. State restructuring is not simply a context, or an

explanatory variable. The State's material base *is* transformed *in* the cities. The State, in its material dimension, changes through an urban process. The outcome of this process partly determines its activities (their location, their form, their technology) in the cities and, reciprocally, the functioning of urban societies. We hope that this study will contribute to understanding and discussion about this dimension of State and urban restructuring.

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