

Back and forth: planning, identity and the cultural meaning of ancient, old and new infrastructure

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How can a cultural dimension be made part of a planning process which aims at creating meaningful places of identity in a globalizing world? This paper examines three infrastructural projects and seeks how in these projects design and other cultural interventions and additions provide an understanding of the changing relations and positions in a globalizing world. As such, this cultural dimension helps to create, communicate and reflect on the identity of individuals, cities and regions. This layered and reflexive identity is the basis of meaningful places. After a short introduction of the context the three projects are analysed, resulting in a comparison as the basis of some concluding remarks.

1 FRAMING IDENTITY

1.1 the paradox of culture

Globalization has many faces. Globalization has characterized almost every period in the course of history. Globalization always implied a fundamental rethinking of social organisation and cultural patterns. Yet, *our* globalization is as yet unseen, since the development of information- and communications technology led to a global economy, acting as one system in *real time* on a global scale. '*A technological revolution of historic proportions is transforming the fundamental dimensions of human life: time and space*¹', as Manuel Castells claims. Flows of information, products, money, people and information change the way we experience our everyday life and the ways we manage it. The new geography of the network-society is shaped in a constant oscillation between function and the construction of meaning and identity. Castells puts the logic of the Net on the one hand, embodying the hegemony of economy and world politics, organized through the real virtuality of what he calls the *space of flows*. On the other hand he sees the logic of the Self, the place where identity and meaning are constructed, the place of everyday life: the *space of places*. The space of flows and the space of places interact, and the outcome of this interaction is the new geography of the Information Age, a geography that is open, polycentric and ever-changing, and whose dynamic is beyond the influence of its cities and regions.

But what happened with the culture of this Information Age? Through emancipation and the rise of the new middle class the modernistic distinction between high culture and popular culture is no longer tenable. A new postmodern culture of popular consumption emerges, influenced by globalization but inextricably attached to a local background.

As a consequence of the globalization of culture, the attitude towards a local culture based on local cultural heritage and history is ambivalent. Local culture becomes a post-modernized patchwork of cultural influences, which homogenize around the world into a collage of styles and forms. Giddens named it the *collage-effect*. *Once the event has become more or less completely dominant over location, media presentation takes the form of the juxtaposition of stories and items which share nothing in common other than that they are 'timely' and consequential*² Through the mass-media, the internet and the cultural industries, but also through the flows of tourists all over the planet a more or less global, footloose culture emerges. Local identity, culture and history become a stylized icon of itself, since it is used as a source for city- and regional marketing and the leisure-industry.

Artificial landscapes emerge where underlying material constraints disappear or become

manageable through old and new technology. The environment becomes ambivalent and volatile, and enters the voluntaristic realm of taste, choice and preference. A cultural dimension has entered the purposeful action of man on the space they live in, and becomes of equal –or more- importance as physical underground, infrastructure or patterns of occupation³. Castells signals more disconnections: *Thus, people still live in places. But because function and power in our societies are organized in the space of flows, the structural domination of its logic essentially alters the meaning and dynamic of places. Experience, by being related to places, becomes abstracted from power, and meaning is increasingly separated from knowledge. It follows a structural schizophrenia between two spatial logics that threaten to break down communication channels in society.*⁴

1.2 identity through representation

Although this analysis is as fuzzy and broad as the terms *globalization* and *postmodernization* are themselves, the main issue is clear. Some call it *identity*, but I prefer to talk about *representation*. Representation is seen as a medium between the *net* and the *self*, between function and meaning, that relates these two poles. And that is what is needed: a way to avoid the bipolar dilemma of the connection to the space of flows and the world of information and a malleable reality on the one hand and the forced melancholy for the space of place of the local community on the other. Fredric Jameson analysed the way this dilemma is materialized in the architecture of Frank Gehry and came to this conclusion: *'If that space is meaningful, if you can live in it, if it is somehow comfortable but in a new way, one that opens up historically new and original ways of living- and generates, so to speak, a new Utopian spatial language, a new kind of sentence, a new kind of syntax, radically new words beyond our own grammar- then, one would think, the dilemma, the aporia, has been resolved, if only on the level of space itself'*. What is needed in the *information age* are 'maps', stories, imaginative visions- representations. Together they form a cultural dimension of the spatial development, that help us to relate ourselves to it. To relate ourselves in a purposeful and meaningful way to the rest of our world, to things we are part of- willing or not. Representations teach us things about yesterday, today, tomorrow, about here and there, us and them, who we are and who we want to be. But, most of all: representations make up a meaningful public domain.

2 THREE PROJECTS

In what follows I will analyse the way this cultural dimension is handled in three actual Dutch infrastructural projects. What relates them is their scale, the fact that their form is linear, and that they form, each in a different way and in their own period, the actual spatial reflection of a global system.



Figure 1: the location of the 3 projects. Source: www.vijfdenota.nl (modified)

The first project analysed is the *HSL-Zuid*, the Dutch part of the Trans European Network of High Speed Trains which runs from Amsterdam to the Southern border.

The second project is the *NHW (Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie)*, a still partly visible 85-kilometre long major defensive line of canals, sluices, fortifications and bunkers built in the 19th century to ward off potential invaders by inundating the surrounding land. It has been taken integrally as a design- and planning task, to structure new developments and fit in new functions. As such it is a National Project, embedded in the *Belvedere Memorandum*, the policy document that tries to connect cultural history and spatial development, with the motto: *preservation through development*. This is also the context for the third project: the *Limes*, a project which examines the possibilities of the former north-western border of the Roman Empire, which is now invisible but structured the development of the surrounding area as an urban network *avant la lettre* for centuries.

It is obvious that these projects vary highly, and that therefore their cultural dimension varies highly too. But the central point is: Do these projects or parts of them contribute to forms of representation? Do they generate new stories or biographies? Are their stories vehicles for new meanings and new identities? How does this work out in terms of a (new) public domain?

Each project will be described in two parts: (1) *description* which describes generally the context, content and planning of the project, and (2) *accents* which focus on the cultural dimension of the project or themes related to that.

2.1 High Speed Line- Zuid⁶ (HSL)

2.1.1 Description

The first idea to build a Dutch High Speed Line was issued in 1986 by the European government. The HSL-Zuid should provide a fast connection between the European cities, competitive with an airline connection. The advantage of the train is not just its speed, but the fact that it penetrates right into the heart of the old cities, whereas the airports are located in the peripheries of the cities. Another advantage is that the train generates less environmental pollution. When the line will be in use, in 2007, travel times between the main European cities will be reduced significantly. As a consequence, the travel time between Amsterdam and Maastricht, the most southern Dutch city, will be longer than the travel time between Amsterdam and Lille.

Traject	Time now (hours)	Time than (hours)
Amsterdam- Antwerp	2.06	1.07
Amsterdam-Brussels	2.53	1.33
Amsterdam-London	6.16	3.43
Amsterdam-Parijs	4.44	3.03
Amsterdam-Barcelona	14.20	7.15

Table 1: Travel Times HSL. Source: www.highspeed.nl

Large and complex projects like the HSL-Zuid require a Key Planning Decision and the procedure called for under the Infrastructure (planning procedures) Act (*tracéwet*). The Key Planning Decision (KPD)-procedure, started in 1991, comprised studies to gain insight into the feasibility of the construction of a high speed line, and how this could be done. In 1997 the government and parliament decided to go ahead with the project, and the route identified in the KPD was further elaborated. In the course of 2000 the final version of the Route Decision was made, after a public consultation process. The first contracts were awarded

and work to prepare construction started in the same year. In the meantime the requirements regarding engineering, design, landscaping and ecology were worked out. The aim of the design was formulated as: recognizable design for the whole line, international allure, and a design that displays the technology used just as it is.

2.1.2 Accents

For the HSL-Zuid three accents are important for us: 1) the design and landscaping, 2) the Hollandsch Diep bridge and the Groene Hart tunnel 3) art programme: AtelierHSL

1) design and landscaping

In 1996 the plans for the landscaping of the HSL were published. These were reviewed and updated after a choice regarding construction of the line. But the main idea remained: the quality of the design should *add* something to the landscape. Therefore there should be a sharp contrast between line and landscape. The HSL is a contemporary and autonomous addition to the landscape, and each has its own nature and form. This should not be spirited away, but be taken as an explicit and expressive starting point.

2) the Hollandsch Diep bridge and the Groene Hart tunnel

There are two quite special parts in the route. The bridge over the Hollandsch Diep is with its 1,2 kilometres the longest bridge over water between Amsterdam and Paris. The project organisation made a design, but invited architects to come up with a concept that was at least as good qua design and expressiveness towards the surroundings, and with roughly the same costs. The assignment generated some great concepts and ideas. Finally the design by the Dutch architects Benthem Crowwel was chosen, as a spectacular landmark and a symbol for the whole of the High-Speed Line.⁷

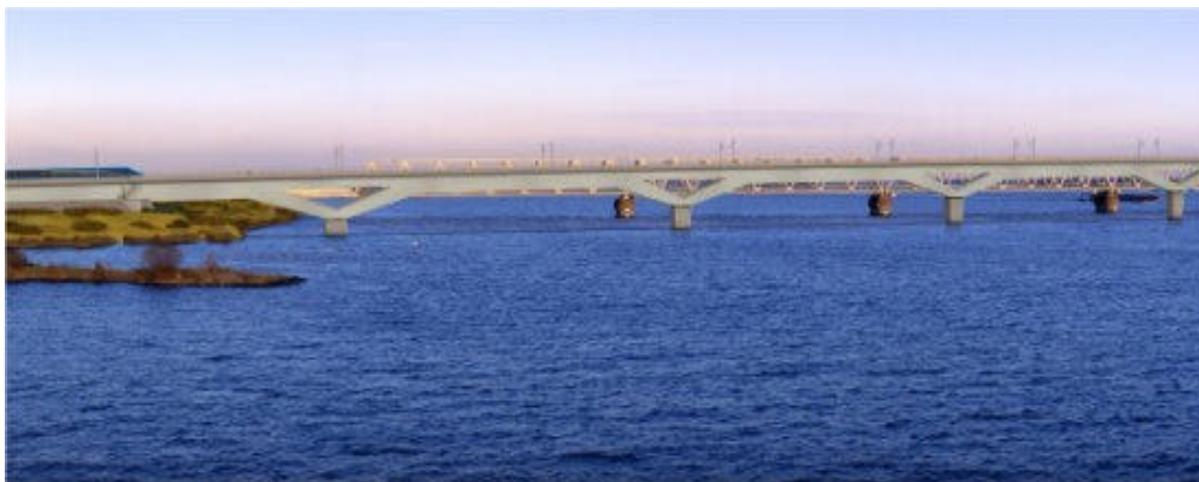


Figure 2 the Hollandsch Diep Bridge. Source: www.hslzuid.com

The Groene Hart Tunnel is in many views the antipode of this bridge. Between Schiphol Airport and Rotterdam the HSL-route cuts through the Groene Hart, an open meadow-area, around which the 4 biggest Dutch cities are located. Mainly ecological arguments led to the decision to make a 7 kilometres long tunnel under the Groene Hart. Passengers crossing one of Hollands greenest and most open spaces experience a 93-seconds darkness.



Figure 3 the Groene Hart tunnel. Source: www.hslzuid.com

3) art programme: AtelierHSL⁸

The HSL changes the way travelling is experienced. It changes the relations between European cities and in doing so it changes the way citizens perceive Europe. The HSL changes the way we experience space and time, and the way we look at our landscapes. And: the HSL project itself is an expression of our technological culture. Atelier HSL was established to translate the tons of concrete and sand of today into the cultural values of the high-speed line. Atelier HSL is the focal point where cultural projects associated with the line are initiated or accommodated. It functions at the same time as a laboratory in which research takes place into the cultural and social significance of the HSL and its future use. This is achieved by commissioning work from artists, holding exhibitions and symposia, and publishing books, brochures and articles. There are seven themes discerned that structure the activities of Atelier HSL:

- the imagination of travelling
- the new geography of Europe
- Changing landscapes
- The train as place
- HSL as work of art / artificial work
- the experience of the traveller
- travelling in time and space

The Atelier HSL has a broad scope regarding the form of art: it can be a painting but as well a temporary intervention in the public space of the city. The idea is that artists are able to provide a different view on society and its dynamics. The Atelier HSL signals that much recent art is related to the changing function and meaning of public space. The programme of the Atelier connects to that observation. Through *documentation* this change is registered just as it is, through *imagination* artists try to grasp these changes, and through *reflection* they try to interpret it.

2.2 Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie⁹ (NHW)

2.2.1 Description

The NHW is a 85-kilometre long defensive line of canals, sluices, fortifications, bunkers and land for inundation. The defence of the Western part of the Netherlands, where the most important cities with the largest part of the population are located, was from the 17th to the 20th century achieved by inundating the strip of land between the IJsselmeer in the North and the Biesbosch in the South. Fortifications were built where the line was cut with infrastructure or was otherwise thin. The inundated land was inaccessible for enemy troops: the water was too shallow for boats and too deep to walk through. The NHW was designed for a very quick inundation. As such it was a major defensive device, almost invisible in the landscape. Under the threat of war the line has been inundated three times complete or partially: in 1870 (French-German war), the period 1914-1918 (First World War) and 1939 (second World War). With the invention of heavy helicopters the defensive function of the line was annihilated.

Today still 80% of the NHW is still intact. Although all the fortifications remained intact, the fields for inundation are not recognizable anymore. Urbanization, new trees, new infrastructure: the strategic openness that once characterized the inundation fields no longer exists. The infrastructure for water management like sluices, dams and canals, once a vital part of the defensive line, is also in a deteriorated state.

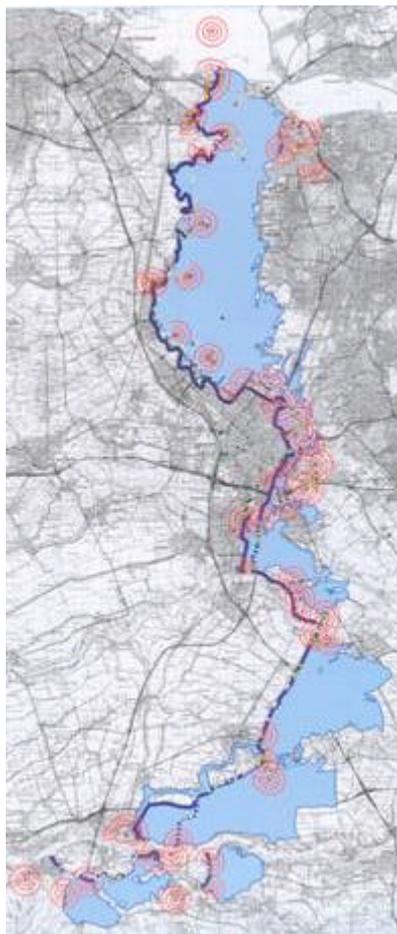


Figure 4: the NHW on today's topography. Source: Panorama Krayenhoff II

The NHW has integrally been taken as a National Project in *Belvedere*, the policy document on cultural heritage that places a great emphasis on the development-oriented utilization of existing cultural-historic values. The aim of this project¹⁰ is to (re)make the NHW, as an important part of the Dutch cultural and landscape-heritage, a recognizable spatial unity that is sustained as such. To achieve this, relevant contemporary functions (like recreation, water management, agriculture, nature, and traffic-infrastructure) will be added to the NHW. This is the materialization of the *Belvedere-motto: preservation by development*. In the project 5 provinces, 5 boards of watermanagement, 5 national ministries and 25 municipalities work together. The project has applied for a nomination for the UNESCO World Heritage List.

2.2.2 Accents

In the project NHW there are three ambitions that structure the choices regarding the project and give the NHW an actual meaning. The first is *the landscape as collective memory*, the second is *the development of the NHW as a green belt through the Urbanized part of the Netherlands (the Deltametropole)* and the third is the connection of the NHW with *new regional and national task of water management*. Another accent that is of importance for this case study is the way the old structure of the NHW is taken as a guiding principle for new development

1) the landscape as collective memory

The unification of Europe and the globalization of economy and culture result in a revaluation of a regional identity. Historical differences between cities and region provide such an identity. As such the NHW is regarded as a typically Dutch phenomenon, defence of the realm by

using the locally specific morphology of low lands and water. As such the project compares itself with the Chinese Wall or Hadrian's Wall in England. The combination of defence-engineering and water-engineering is regarded as typically Dutch. What is also different from defensive lines abroad is the way they are fitted into the landscape: as deterrent, highly visible lines- whereas the NHW is quite invisible. But: the ambition is to make the NHW better recognizable in the landscape, to prevent its structure from being further blurred by the dynamics of other spatial processes. Through the UNESCO-status further preservation is secured.

2) green belt on the Eastside of the Deltametropole

The NHW has a new meaning when it is regarded as a huge green-blue structure. The line embodies a wide range of landscapes, soils and hydrological biotopes and is as such a widely differentiated whole. The line is located on the verge between the higher and lower part of the Netherlands. This offers opportunities for further developing this differentiation of landscapes and ecological milieus. The hydrological developments can be very well combined with recreation and tourism. In the end the NHW might provide a new sort of public domain, a slow-traffic infrastructure- connecting different landscapes, with the many historical remains as halting-places along the route.

3) regional and national water management

The inundation-fields of the NHW can function very well as new part of the water-management system. Through the storage of water the dynamic of the water-balance can be mitigated. In times of calamities these fields provide extra capacity for storage- and in times of dryness the extra water can also provide its services. In this way the relation of the NHW and water is given an actual and valuable meaning.

4) Old structures and new development

The project has taken the old spatial structure of the NHW as a guiding principle for new development. The three parts of the line – the high and safe parts in the West, the line of fortifications and the inundation-fields- continue to be of great importance. The development proposed concentrates the urban programme in the West, allowing for a more open landscape with a mainly hydrological and ecological function in the East (see figure 4).

2.3 Limes

2.3.1 Description

Limes or Fines: the fortified north-western border of the Roman Empire, with ramparts, watchtowers, fortifications and the Limesroad which interlinks them. It has been in use for some three centuries, from 50 until 400 after Christ. In England it is formed by the well known Hadrian's Wall, in Germany it is reconstructed on some places but also known as a (walking)-tour. In Eastern Europe it is also recognizable, and traceable deep into Turkey. But the Dutch part is quite invisible- and quite unknown.

Yet: the Limes had some important consequences for the spatial organization and economical system of the Netherlands in the Roman era. The Limes-road, located on the south bank of the Rhine river, allowed for East-West traffic, and urban and economical development clustered around the Limes. The track of the Limes-road changed from time to time due to the hydrological conditions: the Limes was located on a sedimentary embankment. Therefore its remains today are more accurately described as a zone, a gradient, than as a line.

The hegemony of the Roman Empire rested mainly on the networks of roads they created while expanding their *imperio sine fines*. The original aims of the Roman imperialism turned out to be untenable on the scale the Empire, resulting in a cultural pluralism characterized by cultural exchange instead of submission and domination. As such, the Limes is not only of archaeological but also of cultural importance. It is the lowest layer of our landscape, but also of our culture. And because of its scale it is cultural heritage with an European dimension.

Recently, some archaeological excavations revealed new facts on the Limes. Presumptions about its location and function turned out to be wrong, and underestimated the archaeological value that was buried under the soil in the course of history. Through the high groundwater-level remains of watchtowers, the road and even ships have been conserved remarkably well. This was one of the reasons to set up a *design-atelier* which tried to formulate how this Limes could have an effect on actual dynamics and development. Because of its invisibility it requires a radically different approach than other projects which try to associate cultural history with new dynamics. The aim of the *design atelier* was though to provide sufficient information to decide whether the Limes could become another National *Belvedere project* or not. My selection of *Accents* is based on the outcome of the *design atelier Limes*¹¹, a plea for the Limes Programme. The plea proposes to combine the (inter)national archaeological importance of the Limes with contemporary issues regarding spatial development, tourism and recreation, education, art, culture and museum-functions. The distinguishing character of the Dutch Limes offers possibilities to connect the Limes as a

story of the old and new Europe with the idea of European citizenship, and to develop programmes regarding (the experience of) public space but also issues like water-management.

2.3.2 Accents

The Limes programme as it evolved in the course of the *design atelier* accentuated the ambiguous character of the Limes and the countless possibilities that emerge because – exactly- its invisibility. *Three* accents emerge as interesting focal points for a further evaluation of the programme: (1) the narrative dimension (2) European citizenship and public space (3) Archaeology as strategy for spatial continuation.

1) the narrative dimension¹²

The power of the Limes programme consists mainly of the narrative function it possesses. This makes its function as a structuring theme or principle questionable- is this the last grip in a desperate search for identity? But I don't think so- maybe it's volatility doesn't allow the simplified marketing-form of identity-creation to attach to it. What it does allow is a perspective on a *biography of the landscape*. This biography contains both the layered facts - the material relicts of ancient times that come to the surface on certain places- and also the stories and histories that contextualize these *objets trouves*. Limes could be a fruitful bearer of this approach, generating new concepts for landscapes which connect different actors around a narration that is understandable, agreeable, or maybe subversive. This fits in the new approach to planning, which focuses on *development and stimulation*, instead of *restriction and permission*. It allows the transfer from morphology to biography, a change in which every discipline related to planning has its own task.

2) European citizenship and public space¹³

One of the main narratives of the Limes is the idea of the *translatio imperii*, which interprets the European Union as the most recent heir of the Roman Empire. Extrapolation of the ambivalent themes of pluralism and imperialism can create a new programme. The pluralistic civitas requires its own space- the *public space*. It needs a public realm that permeates both urban and rural areas, and allows for re-creation and interaction. It needs a landscape filled with ambivalence, unplanned and unexpected actions and incidents, filled with possibilities for attaching and interchanging meanings and identities. Limes is the actual illustration of the existence *and* failure of the imperialism, in the past as well as today. But as such it is also at the same time an experimental space for a public domain of plurality as core quality of a European space. To experience this European scale the Dutch Limes could become used as a walking-tour that (re)connects the Hadrian's Wall with the German Limes walking tour. By walking the track it becomes reality again.

3) Archaeology as strategy for spatial continuation¹⁴

Only when new functions are given to existing phenomena they remain. When archaeology is connected with actual spatial issues, a fruitful combination is made. One of these actual issues is related to *water*. In order to preserve the Limes as a structure it can be taken as a guiding principle in the management of the water. The Romans already adapted their settlements and infrastructure to the dynamics of the water. This can be also a starting point today. This creates a situation with double gains. Archaeology benefits from water because water keeps the 'soil-archive' intact: wood doesn't rot, and soil-structures remain unchanged. On the other hand: Limes gives the watermanagement-programme a cultural identity. The archaeological dimension structures and legitimates these difficult processes. Through the realization of the watermanagement-programme the Limes becomes a new reality.

3 CONNECTIONS AND REPRESENTATIONS

First, a systematic comparison of the three projects discussed must be made. Such an attempt is contained in Table 2. Several relevant dimensions are discerned, and for each project elaborated.

	HSL-Zuid	NHW	LIMES
Visibility	High,	Medium, to be improved	Low
Permeability of line	Low	Medium	High
Embedding in landscape	Sharp contrast	Medium contrast	Low / no contrast
Form and Function	Form: concrete Function: concrete	Form: concrete Function: abstract	Form: abstract Function: abstract
Landscape	Seen from train: Reduced to 2d movie	Old structures new meanings	Biography of the landscape: landscape in layers
Art	Addition	Part of programme	Source of narratives
Technology	21st century Technological Culture	19 / 20 th century Engineering Culture	21st century Archaeological Culture
Part of	Trans European Network	Former Dutch Defensive Lines System	Missing link between German and British part of Limes
Representing	Europe	Holland	Roman Empire/ Europe
Centrality	Connecting European cities	Product of centralized nation-state	Ambivalent centralization
Decentrality	Trainspotting in the periphery	Every fortification a new function	Ambivalent pluralism
Attitude	Progressive, conservatism	Conservatism and pragmatism	Pragmatism
Public Domain	Local: stations Moving: trains	National: green belt connecting fortifications	European: extrapolating the Roman <i>civitas</i>
Controversy	Mitigated by public consultations	Watermanagement vs Agriculture. Watermanagement as new public interest prevails.	Seen as valuable part of public domain, OR pragmatism in connecting archaeology with watermanagement
Common interest	Economic/political aims	Cultural Heritage	Narratives

Table 2: comparing the 3 projects

In addition to this table I would like to make a few concluding remarks on some of the themes it contains. This might help to establish further how these projects generate new representations, as central issue or as side-effect, and how these new stories or biographies form the raw material for the construction of new identities.

Roughly, there appear to be three different types of representation: one that 1) *connects and*

relates, one that 2) *confirms and consolidates* and one that 3) *conveys and convinces*.

1) connecting and relating

The first type is the representation that makes something abstract or something bigger visible, to be experienced on a certain place. As such both the HSL and Limes reveal something of an European dimension which through them becomes a reality for its citizens. The HSL, visible and aggressive, reveals the Europe of two speeds. It is centralist by its nature, since it connects the Capitals of Europe with other main cities. But the experience of Lille and Amiens shows what the difference is between being connected or not. That is the functional, economic side of the story. But there is also another dimension: the HSL might have a further unifying effect. Through the new geography it shapes it might be literally a vehicle for citizenship on a European scale. But it is radically different in its dynamic and nuances than the Limes, which contains a more layered version of the same story.

This reveals us a mismatch in the cultural dimension of the Limes and the HSL. The Limes was characterized as a fundamental layer in landscape and culture. Because of that nature, the project/programme that is proposed around is characterized as a *cultural* project. The HSL-Zuid, as the most recent addition to the landscape, is part of the highest layer. But its impact could be as fundamental as the impact the Limes once had. It opens up new dimensions and scales of citizenship, structures economic development and is a major change in the landscape. As such, its *cultural* importance seems to be highly underestimated in the project, which is seen mainly as a project of engineers and constructors. There was no fundamental cultural consideration, and the cultural programme AtelierHSL was added as an extra. The next type of representation show us what this led to.

2) confirming and consolidating

The second type doesn't refer to something else, but its aim is to make itself visible and strengthen its position as a spatial phenomenon by doing so. This is the strategy of the NHW. As a defensive line its character consisted of its reduced visibility. In order to make it a viable spatial phenomenon, that structures other developments, the choice has been made to make it better visible. Preservation by development, which implies that preservation is more than maintaining it in exactly the same state. New functions have new requirements, and the art is how to fit them in, without losing the essence.

From this point of view, the choice regarding the HSL-line to make a tunnel under the Groene Hart is remarkable. There could have been gained much more when the HSL was fitted in the landscape of the Groene Hart. By making it visible, it could have gained more support as an open space. The tunnel represents a regressive and melancholic manner of dealing with the landscape. The way the bridge over the Hollands Diep was conceived reveals more sensitivity for the cultural dimension of the project.

3) conveying and convincing

The third representation functions like the Trojan Horse. It is used in a pragmatist way, functioning as a catalyst in processes which would otherwise reach a deadlock. The way the Limes and NHW are used to form a convincing argument when combined with issues of watermanagement is illustrative. By combining the issues they generate synergy, and each theme structures and legitimizes the other by providing a story that convinces all actors involved.

And that is the kind of story that gives meaning, resulting in a place that is comfortable, that is meaningful and liveable.

¹ Castells, M. (1989) *The informational city: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Process*. Oxford: Blackwell. P.1

² Giddens, Anthony (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity*. London, Polity Press. P.28

³ Mommaas, H. (2001) *Over de culturele dimensie van de ruimte, of hoe die te begrijpen en wat daarmee te doen*. Essay in: *Leve(n)de Stad. Lagen en dimensies, pijlers voor netwerkverstedelijking*. Den Haag: Ministerie van VROM. Pp. 142-200.

⁴ Castells, M. (1996) *The Information Age, Economy, Society and Culture vol. I: The Rise of the Network Society*, Oxford: Blackwell. P. 428.

⁵ Jameson, F. (1991) *Postmodernism, or, the cultural logic of late capitalism*. London: Verso. P.128.

⁶ See: www.hslzuid.com and www.highspeed.nl

⁷ High Speed Line Project Organisation, the four firms of architects, review committee (1999) *Bridge over the Hollandsch Diep*. The Hague: High Speed Line Project Organisation.

⁸ See: www.atelierhsl.nl , and: Kremer, M. and Schwarz, M. (2001) *Scenario AtelierHSL.Contouren voor een kunst en cultuurprogramma rond de Hogesnelheidslijn*. Downloadable from www.atelierhsl.nl.

⁹ See: www.hollandsewaterlinie.nl

¹⁰ Stuurgroep Nationaal Project NHW (2003) *Panorama Krayenhoff II Ontwerp Linieperspectief*. Utrecht: Belvedere.

¹¹ Ontwerpatelier Belvedere (red.) (2003) *De gewenste geschiedenis. Pleidooi voor het Limes-programma*. Utrecht: Projectbureau Belvedere.

¹² Based mainly on: Colenbrander, B. *Hollandse Beklemming*. In: pleidooi voor het Limes programma, p. 18.

¹³ Based mainly on: Visser, C. and Hergreen, R. : *Europa van de burger en nieuw publiek domein*. In: pleidooi voor het Limes programma, p. 21-24.

¹⁴ Based mainly on: Venhuizen, H. and Kadijk, J.: *Archeologie als ruimtelijke continueringsstrategie*. In: pleidooi voor het Limes programma, p.25-27.