

Constructing a World-Class Tramway System: Building Identity through Innovative Urbanism in the “Glocal” City of Strasbourg, France

Originally published as undergraduate honors thesis, Environmental Studies Program, Lewis & Clark College, April 2017. Inquiries: envs@lclark.edu (503-768-7790).

Suggested citation: Williamson, Andrew A. 2017. “Constructing a World-Class Tramway System: Building Identity through Innovative Urbanism in the ‘Glocal’ City of Strasbourg, France.” *ENVX: Environment Across Boundaries* 1 (May): 195–245. ds.lclark.edu/envx/2017/05/15/williamson2017/.

Andrew A. Williamson

Environmental Studies Program
Lewis & Clark College
0615 SW Palatine Hill Road, MSC 62
Portland, OR 97219

Abstract: In this essay, I explore the city of Strasbourg, France and efforts the city has made to boost its standing on the global scale while also seeking to provide a higher quality of life for its inhabitants at the local level. In the study, I utilized ethnographic (on-site, interviews) and historical (archival documents) methods to investigate the cultural role of public transportation development in Strasbourg. To better understand the purposes and constituencies that have been served by the city’s efforts in urbanism, I invoke relevant concepts of global (world) city theory; urban amenities; city branding and place promotion; and social implications of transportation infrastructure situated on a singular object—Strasbourg’s tramway system. Despite the city’s relatively obscure status, it is home to multiple international organizations, most notably the European Union Parliament—giving rise to a self-appointed brand and identity as the “European Capital.” Starting in 1989, the city’s government undertook radical, concerted action to improve local environmental conditions by constructing a tram network and banning most cars from the entire historic downtown to “return the city to its people.” Though highly contentious at first, in the twenty years up to today, the tram has rapidly reshaped how the collective of Strasbourg’s residents see themselves. I argue that Strasbourg’s tram network has catapulted the city into contention for ‘world city’ status, as a result of transportation innovation and subsequent global influence in matters of urbanism. Framed by this noteworthy example, I demonstrate that the (re)-creation of public space via shared amenities (i.e. public transportation) on a localized scale can result in significant positive impacts at multiple scales, be they spatial, temporal, societal or political. I posit that even while existing within a global neoliberal framework, cities—as our greatest human social constructs—should be designed and run more democratically. I argue that maintenance of the public sphere can enhance a city’s “glocality,” and that such efforts should be the focus of development as “the city” continues to grow in importance in the 21st century.

Table of Contents

PART ONE	198
<hr/>	
<i>Homo urbanus and Movement as a ‘Mode of Being’</i>	
<i>The Modern Economic Mandate of Privatized Perpetual Motion</i>	
<i>Investigation and Methodology</i>	
<i>The World City Framework: Concepts and Critiques</i>	
<i>Self-Promotion and the Need to Compete: Identity Politics in the Era of Globalization</i>	
PART TWO	203
<hr/>	
Global & Local Historical Developments in Strasbourg, Aspiring World-Class City	
<i>Medieval Encampment to Futuristic City: 2000 Years of History</i>	
<i>Crossroads of a Continent: Strasbourg and International Symbolism</i>	
<i>Strasbourg: Global City, Local City, both? A Closer Look at Creating Identity</i>	
<i>A City on the Move: The History of Mobility in Strasbourg</i>	
<i>Present Paradigms and the Rise of the Privately Owned Vehicle (POV)</i>	
<i>Near Total Succession, Whereby The Private Car Overrides “The Public”</i>	
<i>Diversification in Modern Transportation Ideologies</i>	
PART THREE	212
<hr/>	
The Tram’s Return to Strasbourg	
<i>Strasbourg and UNESCO: City of World-Class Amenities</i>	
<i>The Beginnings of the Tram & Its Discursive Construction as a Local Amenity</i>	
<i>The Tram and VAL Face Off in Battle</i>	
<i>Victory Comes; Strong Opposition to the Tram Remains</i>	
<i>The Unsuspected ‘World-Class’ Tramway Arrives: From Discourse to Reality</i>	
PART FOUR	220
<hr/>	
Strasbourg, Emerging Global Leader in Transport	
<i>Innovation and International Influence</i>	
<i>The Tramway Becomes a “World-Classing” Political Agenda?</i>	
<i>The Tram Expansions: Implementing the New Political Agenda</i>	
<i>Strasbourg’s Citizens Adjust and Accept—or Perhaps Embrace?</i>	
PART FIVE	229
<hr/>	
What We Can Learn from the Strasbourg Example	
<i>How Did They Do It? Historical & Legal Frameworks, Explained</i>	
<i>Balancing the Dichotomy Between Local & Global: Difficult, But Possible</i>	
<i>Reformist Approaches to Capitalism at Work in Present Urban Development</i>	
<i>Social Connections and Sense of Place in the Glocal City</i>	
Conclusions	237
<hr/>	
Bibliography	239
<hr/>	

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map Showing Strasbourg's Location in Greater France	204
Figure 2: Tram with "European Capital" Branding Scheme	205
Figure 3: The Old Tram in Strasbourg, May 1, 1960.	209
Figure 4: Place Kléber in 1989, Before the Tram	210
Figure 5: Grande-Île from Above, Strasbourg's Historic City Center	213
Figure 6: The Contentious Choice: Light Metro or Tram for Strasbourg?	215
Figure 7: Political Cartoon Mocks Mayor Catherine Trautmann	217
Figure 8: The Urban Landscape Before/After the Tram	219
Figure 9: The Greening of Hautepierre with the Tram	222
Figure 10: Tram 2006, "New City Style"	225
Figure 11: Present-Day Tram Network with Planned Extensions	226
Figure 12: <i>Homme de Fer</i> (Iron Man), The Central Tram Hub	228
Figure 13: Global Urbanization vs. Local Urbanism: The Glocal City?	236

Part I: *Homo urbanus* and Movement as a ‘Mode of Being’

The Modern Economic Mandate of Privatized Perpetual Motion

“Conceive of a space that is filled with moving ... a space of time that is filled, always filled with moving.”¹ The visions these words describe come from long ago, written by author Gertrude Stein in her 1925 novel, *The Making of Americans*. To modern humans, one can only imagine how relatively quaint the world in those days would seem, though to her, life was overwhelmingly full of automobile and streetcar movement; chaos ensued; former pastoral landscapes featured powerful new machines moving about everywhere one looked. Today, when we look out upon and consider our present-day world, it seems that physical movement through both space and time surrounds us. Ms. Stein’s words ring ever more true in our world, but this relentless motion is not a uniquely American phenomenon. As comically depicted in the 1987 film “Planes, Trains & Automobiles,” the success, or failure, of various means of transportation has strong influence on our daily existence.

The ways people travel around in their day-to-day lives may seem an unimportant feature that receives little to no thought from the average citizen, aside from the occasional (or frequent) complaint about traffic. But in considering the political economy of globalization, worldwide migration, and intensified processes of urbanization, how humans practice mobility is far more than a concern with “how to get from one place to another;” it results in radically different “modes of being,” or lifestyles, through disparate designs and resultant usage of urban space.^{2, 3} Individual, or *private*, automobile transportation undermines the existence of public space and has shaped a more privatized lifestyle under the infrastructural politics of capitalism. Through this approach, public works essentially become privatized, being designed to act only as a conduit for movement between privatized spaces like shopping malls, supermarkets and residences, or as a tool to leverage private investment.⁴ For example, in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, rising standards of living have generated a boom in private, motorized means of transportation that “overturns hierarchies of personhood” by erasing distinctions of nationality, age and class; individuals are separated and distance is established between road users in a private “re-territorialization” of public space.⁵ These same phenomena occurred in the United States and Europe from the 1930s onward. *Public* transportation exists on the opposite side of the spectrum, occupying a more prominent position under more socially oriented systems, by facilitating the mixing users and uses of space. When transportation facilities and the means of accessing them are both used by and available to everyone, such public space might be described as “democratized,” a slight adjustment from the base term democracy, which implies greater social equity and participation of the majority of people. Such spaces are often viewed as a possible forum for social interaction and networking, and the answer to many urban social ills.⁶

In his book *Automobile Politics*, author Matthew Patterson discusses how early thinking in transportation planning correlated transport growth directly with economic growth. Today, however, it is understood that a given mode of transportation only creates certain, specific ‘permissive growth conditions,’ through changing travel behaviors, rather than itself leading

¹ Stein, Gertrude. 1995.

² Truitt, Allison. 2008, 4

³ Smith, Michael. 1997. Quote from a PBS documentary titled “Divided Highways.”

⁴ Schwenkel, Christina. 2015, 522

⁵ Truitt. 2008, 14

⁶ Jacobs, Jane. 1961.

directly to economic growth.⁷ This is to say, there is nothing inherent about the mode itself that creates growth, but rather what activities it allows to happen, and how those activities unfold. To illustrate the point, private automobiles and trucks have a much greater range and flexibility, allowing goods and people to spread out, whereas trains tend to create hubs around station areas that cluster economic activities in close proximity. For example, the city of Chicago has much of its history and early explosive growth rooted in its development as a railroad hub that connected the eastern seaboard to the great hinterlands of the American West.⁸ In a modern context, Alisa Freedman describes how Shinjuku, one of the world's busiest railway stations in Tokyo, Japan, became a hub around which a commercial and entertainment center rapidly developed, because of the number of trains stopping there and the diversity of passengers arriving in the area.⁹ Stations like Shinjuku can also feature massive shopping malls swarming with pedestrian traffic, and therein we observe another type of economic activity (and subsequent urban form) facilitated by a different manner of travel. Economic growth is inherently the same, no matter how it is achieved; yet these two styles of facilitating economic activity differ substantially. Likewise, they each connect to the two correspondingly different "modes of being," an outgrowth of when and how each creates opportunity for economic interaction—with both having long term impacts on how the built environment comes to be.

Broadly speaking, this essay seeks to explain the many different ways in which modes of transportation have been adapted in various socio-political contexts, to create varied forms of *Homo urbanus* (humankind as a primarily urban creature), and how transport can be representative of far greater ideologies than the physical form it manifests.¹⁰ I situate the investigation in Strasbourg, France, and focus on the development of their internationally recognized "world class" tramway system. In so doing, I seek to elucidate the crossover between global aspirations and local needs, and how Strasbourg's choice of the tram has addressed both, creating a strong "glocal" identity that boasts both points. The motivation for this investigation arose from the substantial ideological confusion surrounding what purposes and constituencies might truly be served by street-level rail-based urban transportation. Around the world, tramways, like the one in Strasbourg and their American counterparts—better known as light rail—have become a subject of renewed interest and intense scrutiny in the last twenty or thirty years. Though often contentious and with mixed results, the idea has claimed a spot at the forefront of the modern urban planner's lexicon for its broad range of purported benefits.¹¹ The relatively recent discursive construction of modern fixed rail transit focuses on its potential to address a broad range of environmental and socio-economic concerns within cities.¹² Some cities, like Strasbourg, have used rail transit investments to completely restructure the city, with resulting very high ridership levels and other outcomes, while other cities around the globe have undertaken more modest improvements, such as Portland, Oregon—though it is recognized as an urban planning model in the United States and abroad.

⁷ Patterson, Matthew. 2007, 94

⁸ See *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, by William Cronon.

⁹ Freedman, Alisa. 2010.

¹⁰ Grimond, John. 2007.

¹¹ Cohen-Blankshtain, Galit, and Eran Feitelson. 2011, 344

¹² Metro. 2008.

Investigation and Methodology

In this essay, I search for understanding of the evolving aspirations and self-image of Strasbourg, the city and her inhabitants, and who or what interests have been served by the tram system's development, rather than if or specifically why Strasbourg's tram system is a qualified "success," as this term is relative. First, I will explore how discourse about Strasbourg's tram from various constituencies has evolved. Second, I will investigate how Strasbourg's tramway has been a tool for incorporating its global and local aspirations. A key motivation for writing this paper is to analyze how the conversation and dialogue surrounding any physical object might evolve, giving that object a new or changing meaning within the context of society. Thus, I examine how public amenities (in this case, the tram network) can be used effectively in the democratizing of urban space. This paper argues that *Strasbourg's tramway exemplifies how global and local ideologies and identities are linked, by demonstrating that innovative solutions to a local problem can capture worldwide attention, further legitimizing the local action as a part of the city's identity.*

First, to more fully understand the significance of the Strasbourg tram system today, I will explore the relevant ideological frameworks of "the world city," and city branding—both are important and concern the growth of cities in the present day post-industrial landscape of global capitalism. After exploring the history of Strasbourg, I will elucidate the evolution of urban transportation since industrialization, while reflecting on these trends within Strasbourg's history. My account then details the full story of the tram's development and reveals how it came to be viewed as a world-class object. This approach aims to show why city-scale processes should be considered through a global lens, in an anthropologically-evaluative approach that shows how policy that favors a certain mode of transportation then relates to diverse people-groups (*i.e.* local citizens or visitors) and larger processes (such as urbanization and the organization of society).¹³

This paper is largely a historical analysis, which used a variety of qualitative methodologies in order to develop a timeline of key actors and events in the tram's development, and to better understand how the tram has been perceived—and constructed, both physically and ideologically—from the mid/late 1980s up to today. Much of the data used to construct this chronological storyline was obtained by searching for newspaper articles relevant to the tram in two phases. First, I searched through LexisNexis' online database, employing the search terms "strasbourg tram," and "strasbourg tramway," which returned 26 relevant articles from several dozen newspapers around France, Europe, and elsewhere in the world. I also used microfilm-archived versions of Strasbourg's local newspaper *Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace* (Latest News from Alsace) to obtain 54 articles from between 1989 and the present that enabled me to have a better understanding of how local attitudes and perceptions of the tram have evolved through time. Additionally, from late August to mid-December 2016, I conducted formal interviews and had numerous informal conversations with a range of the city's residents to gather more subjective, experiential perspectives about the tram. In conjunction with an unofficial "internship" with the Strasbourg Ville and Eurométropole, the regional government agency responsible for urban planning, I formally interviewed three workers from various divisions within the Transportation Planning Division, for a more technical understanding of the tram's purpose and design, as well as how it is communicated as a public good. As another part of the internship, I was able to sit in on two official visits of foreign delegations, giving me an understanding of what approaches Strasbourg uses to promote the tram and maintain its status as

¹³ Wedel, Janine R., Cris Shore, Gregory Feldman, and Stacy Lathrop. 2005.

a world leader in transport. The research, taken as a whole, has allowed the construction of a narrative that displays Strasbourg's (and its citizens') aspirations: to enhance their standing amongst cities the world through the construction of a world-class tramway.

The World City Framework: Concepts and Critiques

A great deal of literature exists surrounding the idea of “world cities,” or alpha cities, beginning in the early 1980s with the writings of John Friedmann, Saskia Sassen, Anthony King, and others. Generally, such cities are: a) important nodes of the global economy, b) highly advanced in technology and telecommunications services, c) centers of worldwide financial and economic operations, and d) places with higher concentrations of business' headquarters, specifically international firms.¹⁴ Since the term came into existence, the questions of what exactly world cities are, how they might be categorized, or why they matter has been a subject of much research and writing. The debate has even lead to the creation of the formalized *Globalization and World Cities* (GaWC) study group, which has charged itself with classifying world cities based on the established criteria.

Existing world city theory has been heavily critiqued for over-emphasizing global economic processes while largely ignoring cultural, historical or political contexts.¹⁵ Jennifer Robinson notes that even the name “global city,” is a discursive construction serving only to disqualify most cities of the world from being considered relevant. She contends that so-called “world cities” could be described as “new industrial districts of transnational management and control,” but that the term glosses over this greatly simplified reality in favor of highlighting only their economic importance.¹⁶ Robinson also argues that there exist other, less well known but important global population centers with noteworthy developmental frameworks addressing unique social, environmental or other contemporary urban issues in innovative ways, though these cities are often labeled as irrelevant because they remain mostly unimportant to global capitalism.¹⁷ So-called ‘structural irrelevance’ often references megalopolises of the Second and Third World, cities like Beijing, China; Singapore; or Lagos, Nigeria, but the term might also apply to many of the secondary or tertiary cities of the industrialized first world—including Strasbourg.¹⁸ However, it has been posited that throughout much of modern history, cities of all geographies and economic statures have shared much in common developmentally; this includes trade, investment, new transport technologies (in the early 20th century), along with increasing development in trade, investments, telecommunications and high-speed transport in the era of globalization.¹⁹ This again suggests that the “world city” label is unfairly slanted towards present-day economic powerhouses and fails to consider cities with broader cultural or historical diversity.

Additionally, some early writings about world cities insisted that population alone does not define such places, arguing instead that a large population is actually a reflection of being a world city. This hypothesis could enable Strasbourg to soon be considered a world city, though at present, it is a rather small metropolitan area with a population of only a half million or so.²⁰ Thomas Carter, in writing of how “spectacles” like the Olympics may help cities become more

¹⁴ Flowerdew, John. 2004, 581

¹⁵ Simon, David. 1995, 133

¹⁶ Robinson, Jennifer. 2002, 536

¹⁷ *ibid*, 538

¹⁸ *ibid*, 539

¹⁹ Rimmer & Dick. 1998, 2306

²⁰ Friedmann & Wolff. 1982, 310

globally visible, argues against the present rationale of what makes a “global” city, stating: “[that] what becomes crucial is the dramatization of cities’ potential as viable places ... they have to be seen to be dynamic, progressive, modern—in a word, “global”—before actually economically becoming so.”²¹ Carter’s reversal of the present world city notion better supports Strasbourg’s bid to become one, as both citizens and visitors alike often perceive it as a dynamic, vibrant and modern city.

Self-Promotion and the Need to Compete: Identity Politics in the Era of Globalization

City boosters and politicians of the modern era are increasingly realizing the importance of establishing their cities as having more cosmopolitan, dynamic identities. Because of the massive amount of information available to the consumer, such “advertising” efforts are necessary so that the city may position itself more strongly and be more attractive to outside agents, be they families deciding where to vacation or transnational companies looking to open a new branch office.²² Growth in communication technologies, along with the advent of globalization and global capitalism have enabled, or perhaps required, formerly unknown cities to establish reputations for themselves and enter into a worldwide “competition” for highly mobile capital, tourism, industry, or recognition in other areas—largely achievable in our tech-infused modern existence through targeted digital marketing on the internet and in social media.²³ To better compete, cities are finding themselves needing to create broad and diverse networks in this new, “digital frontier” in which they are able to more effectively supersede traditional national borders. This digitalization and expansion of ideological space has facilitated the creation of an entirely new framework by which “centrality” can be defined for cities; as such, the possibility arises that any place can become a symbolic crossroads, or hub—quite separate from physical place.²⁴

Saskia Sassen calls this reorganizing of cities the ‘process of recentralization,’ while affirming that it is caused mainly by technologies (specifically communications) and globalization.²⁵ Though this process has unbound many previous constraints on urban growth and influence, it has likewise created new ones for cities—for example, the enhanced ability to vie for international recognition comes with an inseparable obligation to ever more fiercely compete for mobile international capital and resources, using the same limited resources and often constrained by the physical and ideological representations as the city exists in the present.²⁶ Civic boosters and governments have worked to “recentralize” their cities through digital marketing of specific identities, or branding schemes that help to set them apart. Without such efforts to create an identity and effectively communicate it, any given city is arguably much more liable to go by the wayside, resulting in a reduction of global influence, importance, or diminished domestic or foreign capital investment. A resultant decline in civic pride might occur amongst local residents if they feel that their city exerts little or no influence outside its own sphere.

Maria Cristina Paganoni, in her 2012 paper “City Branding and Social Inclusion in the Glocal City,” points out that these efforts too often come with an internalized price, stating that

²¹ Carter, Thomas F. 2006.

²² Paganoni, Maria. 2012, 14

²³ Boyer, M. Christine. 1992.

²⁴ Sassen, Saskia. 2001.

²⁵ *ibid.* 2006.

²⁶ Paganoni. 2012, 14

“the public sector is deeply permeated with the promotional ideology and discourse of corporate communication ... emphasiz[ing] the entrepreneurial and cosmopolitan dimensions of the contemporary city over community needs and problems.”²⁷ Thus, it is vital to ensure equal attention is given to global and local aspects of a city; focusing mainly on the global image enhances the risk of compromising the local, undermining both. Identity politics alone are not enough; I suggest that local conditions must be created or maintained for the contrived brand (or identity) to have real meaning, in turn enabling cities to more effectively compete on the global scale.

Part II: Global and Local Historical Developments in Strasbourg, Aspiring World-Class City

Medieval Encampment to Futuristic City: 2000 Years of History

Today, Strasbourg is the principal city in a metropolitan region of 28 communities, located in northeastern France and on the Rhine River, which forms the present-day border with Germany, to the east (Figure 1). The first Celts settled in the Alsace region nearly 3500 years ago, indicating that the area has been subjected to a long history of various influences.²⁸ Early in the days of modern human civilization and empire, the area was originally part of the Rome’s Upper Germany province. The settlement that eventually became Strasbourg was first mentioned in 12 BC, though at the time it was referred to as Argentoratum.²⁹ Much later on, the city was ransacked by early Germanic tribes (Franks) in the 4th or 5th centuries AD and then eventually folded into the loose conglomeration known as the Holy Roman Empire in the later parts of the first millennium (around 800 AD).³⁰ Although Strasbourg gained the status of “Free Imperial City” in 1262, it technically remained within the empire until Louis XIV annexed the city in 1681.³¹ Relative tranquility existed for some time, though that changed rapidly in the second half of the 19th century and continued through the end of the Second World War. Between 1871 and 1945, the Strasbourgeois suffered four more shifts of rapid succession between German and French control, with total change between the two cultures implemented each time. Since the end of World War II, the city has represented a symbol of Franco-German unity, but has stayed within the French Republic in the 70 years since.³²

Despite its rather tumultuous history of leadership changes and a smattering of cultural influences, the city has been strategically important to many different people and groups. Writer René Schickele, active from the early 1900s until the outbreak of World War II, was perhaps one of the first in recent times to identify Strasbourg as a “crossroads” of Europe.³³ As he came from the area and witnessed firsthand the cultural mixing there, much of his writing focused on the relationship and power dynamics between France and Germany in the Alsace region. In a view that was far ahead of his time, he saw Alsace as the most likely hope for a peaceful Europe, due

²⁷ Paganoni, Maria. 2012, 15

²⁸ Lin, Joyce. 2015.

²⁹ Petit Historique de Strasbourg. 2016.

³⁰ Alsace: History. 2016.

³¹ Rhein, Joe. 2015.

³² The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. 2015

³³ McGillicuddy, Aine. 2011

to its strategic location between two of continent's most prominent and competing historical powers.

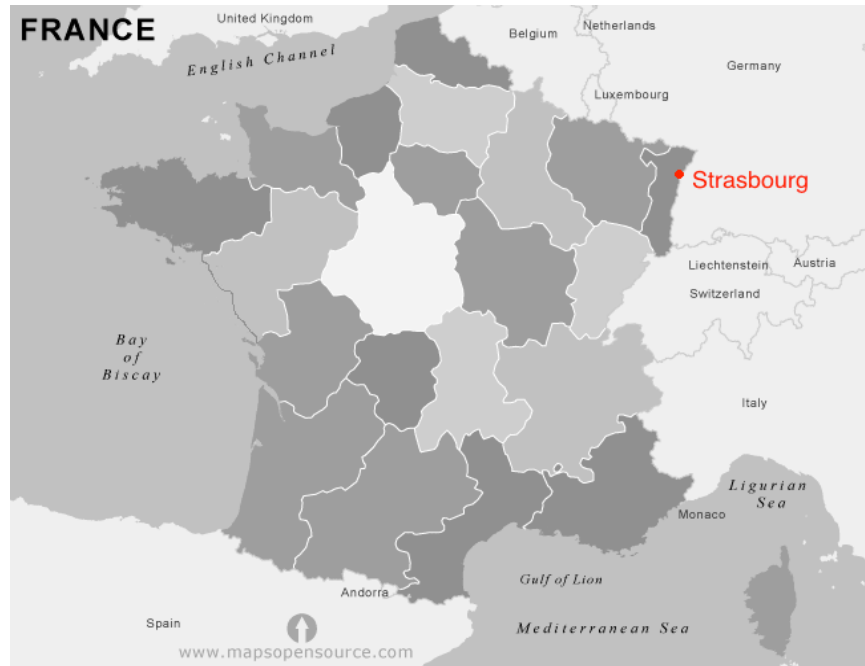


Figure 1: Map showing Strasbourg's present-day location within France.

Crossroads of a Continent: Strasbourg and International Symbolism

The notion of Strasbourg as a symbolic crossroads thus grew out of its native positioning within Europe and has today been reinforced by the establishment of modern state borders. Geographically, Strasbourg is located in the Rhine River valley; this positioning made the city a historical stopping point along an easily traversable North/South corridor, serving an important role to the Roman Empire for their endless movement, conquest and expansion.³⁴ Today, in terms of transportation linkages, the city is the only hub in Western Europe outside of Paris that has north/south high-speed rail links running between Frankfurt/Berlin, Germany in the north and Lyon, France, on the way to Barcelona, in the south; in addition to east/west lines that connect western France (and even London) via Paris with Munich, Germany and Vienna, Austria in the east. The presence of many easy overland connections to a geographically broad range of destinations suggests that Strasbourg is a city at the heart of Europe; indeed, the city has become a veritable rail and transport crossroads.³⁵

After the conclusion of the Second World War, a ravaged Europe gathered together various ministers of foreign affairs and foreign policy, including Winston Churchill of Great Britain, Robert Schuman of France, and Konrad Adenauer of Germany, all of who saw the need to establish an economic community to oversee the development of a new Europe working together in harmony.³⁶ Strasbourg was selected to host this new governing group that represented a new aim for unity; this choice was based largely upon its strategic location once more at the frontier of Western Europe and the new German state that arose from post-war negotiations (Figure 1).

³⁴ Klein, Cati & JeanLuc. 2016.

³⁵ Strasbourg.eu & Communaute Urbaine. 2010.

³⁶ Council of Europe. 2016

The Council of Europe (a distinct entity from the EU) formally arrived in Strasbourg in 1949. Sir Winston Churchill, who delivered an inaugural speech at the Council’s first meeting on the 17th of August that year, advocated strongly that it serve as a collective effort towards a peaceful Europe.³⁷ This was followed in 1957 with the establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC), forerunner to the present day European Union, whose first meeting took place in Strasbourg on March 19, 1958.³⁸ The establishment of these two complementary institutions representing the whole of Europe gave Strasbourg’s positioning as a geographical “crossroads” a new, deeper symbolic meaning. The EEC legislative body, which formally became the European Parliament on March 30, 1962, eventually established its permanent seat in Strasbourg. Four-day plenary sessions, in which representatives present legislative items for amendment, debates and voting, are held there once each month.³⁹ Though there has been ongoing chatter of consolidating EU operations in Brussels, these international institutions remain in Strasbourg to this day.⁴⁰

Strasbourg: Global City, Local City, or both? A Closer Look at Creating Identity

Strasbourg, having inherited these continent-scale government and economic agencies, has since worked to brand itself the “Capitale Européenne,” owing to its fairly centralized location and from the international institutions located there.⁴¹ Occasionally, trams gliding through the streets display external advertisements featuring this slogan, written in all of the official languages of the European Parliament, as another way to normalize the idea and give it another layer of authenticity (Figure 2). Also supporting this brand is the fact that Strasbourg is one of three cities worldwide hosting international institutions without itself being the capital city of a nation—the other two being New York City, USA and Geneva, Switzerland.⁴²



Figure 2: This tram features the “Capitale Européenne” branding scheme, which combines two disparate parts of Strasbourg’s contemporary self-appointed identity—that of a political and a transportation leader.

³⁷ Olsen, John. 2016.

³⁸ Udo, Max. 2016.

³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Claeys and Schoenmaker. 2016.

⁴¹ Strasbourg Ville et Communauté Urbaine. n.d.

⁴² Pilarczyk, Eric. 2015.

To help fulfill Strasbourg's role as the European Capital, the French state supports the regional government with additional fiscal and diplomatic resources, formally recognized in a contract between the two levels of governments. External validation of this identity by the national government, with other factors like the region's multiculturalism, make Strasbourg well positioned to consider itself the "European Capital." However, this slogan and the identity that accompanies it only came about from the city's desire to formally establish itself as such. As early as the 1980s (and possibly sooner), Strasbourg was actively seeking to establish itself more concretely in the role. In 1989, during her mayoral campaign, the firebrand socialist Catherine Trautmann sought to solidify Strasbourg's European symbolism by pushing for the creation of an official European district. She was once quoted as saying: "We have too much functioning in the symbolic aspect [of Europe] in Strasbourg," suggesting that the city needed to take more physical and direct *local* action to show what the city brought to Europe, and provide it a legitimate base of operations.⁴³ Trautmann pushed the city of Strasbourg and the French state to financially support the construction of a modern new Parliament building—deemed by critics as a vital step in creating more *global* political willingness to maintain a permanent EU presence in Strasbourg. Though numerous challenges had been brought against Strasbourg's legitimacy as an EU operations center, the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 affirmed it as the permanent home of the Parliament.^{44, 45} The new Parliamentary chamber was built in the heart of a newly established and formalized "European District," and the building was inaugurated on December 14, 1999. On that day, Strasbourg's local efforts to brand itself as a city with global political importance were further legitimized. The identity had been discursively constructed, repeated, and now physically built; thus, becoming an ideological *and* concrete representation of the city.

The construction and opening of a new Parliament building did not change anything about the city's identity overnight. But today, nearly two decades after the fact, most Strasbourg residents will likely proudly tell you about their city's identity as *de facto* European Capital, based upon being the home of the European Parliament and its corollaries, like the Court of Human Rights. In numerous informal conversations this author made with a range of the city's residents, this self-established identity was often affirmed. The atmosphere and amenities of the city and its role as European Capital have continued to grow together into something entirely new; twin forces that have come to complement each other and have likewise continued shaping the city's growth since the early 1990s. Strasbourg has also continued its efforts to bolster the "European Capital" idea through innovative international initiatives, like the creation of the cross-border Strasbourg-Ortenau Eurodistrict with Germany, and also by focusing on growing its high-end international services sector within the local economy.^{46, 47}

Yet even with the "European Capital" identity, Strasbourg cannot be called a world city under the current definition. This is because it is not a major player in the world's economy, despite the fact that it meets some of the world city criteria—hosting of international institutions, along with high-end technology and business services, for example. Conversely, in its online publication "The World According to GaWC 2012," the study group assigns Strasbourg to the level of "High Sufficiency," alongside cities like Richmond, Virginia, and one tier below Portland, Oregon's "Gamma Minus (-)" ranking—meaning under their study, Strasbourg does

⁴³ *Dernière Nouvelles d'Alsace*. February 10, 1989. Translated from French by the author.

⁴⁴ Arnold, Martin. 1993.

⁴⁵ Binyon, Michael. 1996.

⁴⁶ Strasbourg Ville et Communauté Urbaine. n.d.

⁴⁷ Strasbourg.eu. 2016.

not rank high enough in any world city determining factor.⁴⁸ Strasbourg might consider this rank an objectionable position, and arguably so, because of these other two cities I mention, neither one features any international political organizations, nor are they particularly known for having a high-end business services sector. But in spite of what the city may lack, the world city features it does now possess are of substantial importance and influence—and we might consider these features evidence of Strasbourg being a “world class” city, by a spatially scaled-down adaptation of the established world city criterion. More recent efforts that Strasbourg’s government leaders have undertaken to innovate in transportation technology, by reinventing the early industrial-era tram and building an extensive modern tramway system, offer increasing evidence to support this hypothesis.

A City on the Move: The History of Mobility in Strasbourg

Like most other cities of the “old world,” the large majority of Strasbourg’s history as a city predated modern transportation modes, such as cars, buses, or trains. As such, the history of the region has a large impact on how the built environment came to be. In Strasbourg’s medieval *centre-ville*, the dense network of multi-level buildings with small alleys and twisting streets better reflects the needs of pedestrians who largely shaped it. This stands in contrast with planning movements of the late 19th Century, such as Daniel Burnham’s “City Beautiful” or Le Corbusier’s “Radiant City” designs, both of which featured broad transitways and boulevards puncturing wide open spaces, in between even more grandiose and monumental civic buildings—in an obvious break from the past compactness of city development.

Strasbourg, like most cities that began to industrialize in the 19th century, started to realize new modes of transportation during the second half of the century. Powered by the revolutionary new steam engine, the first tramway line in Strasbourg appeared in the year 1878.⁴⁹ The implementation of this new technology was rapid and widespread, itself necessary because of the explosive growth in urban populations caused by the industrial revolution. The tram enabled the capacity to direct this growth into peripheral landscapes. By the year 1930, in the period of relative tranquility now known as “*l’entre-deux-guerres*” (between two wars), the Strasbourg metropolitan region had constructed a massive urban and suburban tramway network that had a combined length of around 220 kilometers, or roughly 137 miles.⁵⁰ It stretched out radially, in all directions, while at the same time crisscrossing somewhat haphazardly through and around the center of town. However, it was during this same period that tram ridership peaked and then began to decline. The drop was precipitous and was almost directly proportional to the rapid augmentation of private vehicle ownership and usage that was occurring simultaneously. During those days, the old Strasbourg tram came to be viewed as unfashionable and obsolete, in line with trends quite literally everywhere the world as increased motorization took hold.⁵¹ The car was freeing; it liberated people from their local geographies, though no one foresaw the longer-term issues or limitations that might result from mass motorization of populace. With the aim of understanding how the proliferation of this new “mode of being” eventually brought local problems to Strasbourg, I now briefly explore the history of the privately owned vehicle around the world.

⁴⁸ GaWC Study Group. 2012

⁴⁹ L’Est Republicain. 2009.

⁵⁰ Muller, Georges. 1994, 86

⁵¹ Brochard, Gilles. 2016 (a). *Personal communication with the author.*

Present Paradigms and the Rise of the Privately Owned Vehicle (POV)

As a mode of transport, the private automobile is by far the most prevalent and in many cases, the most convenient in today's world. As a physical object, the semiotic meaning and importance it now possesses is remarkable. It's not much of an exaggeration to say that one's own car becomes an extension of him or herself, as a mobile slice of the privacy typically afforded only by the home. This transformation of life brought on by a singular device is impressive, mainly because of the broad range of places it has enabled access to. Soon after Henry Ford perfected his assembly line production of Model T's, people around the world began to experience the motorized lifestyle for themselves, Strasbourg and greater France being no exception. Beginning early in the 20th century, the proliferation of the privately owned vehicle has continued nearly unabated since then. In fact, between 1900 and 1915 alone, the number of registered vehicles worldwide swelled from a mere 14,000 to over 2.5 million.⁵² With the technological transportation innovation that cars created, people were truly liberated from previous spatial constraints and could live and work where they pleased. In this way, cars became a significant contributor to a newfound human agency by enabling freedom of movement, such that users were able to obtain proximity to a large range of jobs and economic opportunity.⁵³ As the car represented "liberation from geography," it rapidly became a required link to connect unlinked centers of production and consumption (workplaces versus private residences in the suburbs) as industrialized production under capitalism matured throughout the Western world.⁵⁴

By the 1960s, Europe had mostly recovered from the Second World War and European cities began to experience the same growth patterns familiar here in the US: spreading out into the periphery while also "adapting" (by razing) historic yet dilapidated central cities to the car.⁵⁵ Not only were individual consumers or workers able to distance themselves from close-in city centers; business and industry also followed suit, knowing that mobile workers could now reach them from practically anywhere with the help of the private automobile. The future of personal transportation appeared limitless.

Near Total Succession, Whereby The Private Car Overrides "The Public"

Due to extensive forward and backward economic linkages that the automobile created, the growth of this new industry largely privatized travel and completely upended the need for public transportation in most cities around the world, nearly all of which had tram networks dating to the late 19th century. In Strasbourg, by the year 1960, the trams had mostly been shut down and dismantled, replaced by trolley buses. On the American front, the same processes unfolded in many cities that at one time had boasted comparably extensive tram systems like Strasbourg's. François Biron, one Strasbourg resident with whom I spoke extensively, recounted his boyhood memories from May 1, 1960, when the city's last tram, fitted with a round bouquet of flowers on the front, was paraded through the streets in a final farewell (Figure 3). The very next day, in a symbolic break from outdated urban rail technologies, the remaining tram cars were routed to a metal recycler in Cronembourg, where they were chopped and melted down for scrap in short order.⁵⁶

⁵² Ashton, Patrick J. 1978.

⁵³ Lomasky, Loren. 1997.

⁵⁴ Jackson, K.T. 1985.

⁵⁵ Collet, Anaïs. 2016.

⁵⁶ Muller, Georges. 1994, 128



Figure 3: The final run of the old tram on May 1, 1960, before being formally decommissioned the following day. Like many cities around the world, gasoline-powered buses replaced Strasbourg's tram network.

Within the space of just twenty years, Strasbourg realized a new set of challenges as the automobile continued to become ever more present in the city center and elsewhere in the region. Former open-air plazas were converted to parking lots, even surrounding the majestic Cathédrale de Notre-Dame, a Strasbourg icon and major tourist destination.⁵⁷ The historic, human sized roads of yesteryear saw their limited dimensions fully reallocated to traffic lanes, parking, and throughways, yet still the roads were always jammed. One journalist had described the situation in the eighties, saying, “rush hour was permanent, always with tons of noise and grime.”⁵⁸ The Grande-Île, containing Strasbourg's historic center, was seeing daily traffic counts of around 250,000 vehicles through a well-preserved medieval *centre-ville* island only 1.25 km in width, and 0.75 km in length, walkable in only fifteen or twenty minutes.⁵⁹ Over 50,000 vehicles per day were passing through a single point, Place Kléber (Figure 4), the central square on the island and site of a mammoth traffic roundabout.⁶⁰ For these reasons, among others, in the late 1980s citizens and politicians alike began calling for action to relieve the ever-worsening congestion and pollution levels in Strasbourg's center.

⁵⁷ Gény, Patrice. 2014.

⁵⁸ Claude, Philippe. 1995. *Translated from French by the author.*

⁵⁹ Wikipedia, “Grande Île (Strasbourg).” 2016.

⁶⁰ Claude. 1995.



Figure 4: Place Kléber in 1989. Though still a public space, it was completely cut off from all the adjoining buildings by a major road that encircled the perimeter and saw 50,000 cars traverse it per day.

Eventually, the issue of circulation and pollution in the town's core became so acute that conflicting ideas about what should be done evolved into the central issue in the mayoral elections of 1989. Proponents boosted several possible versions of an alternative system of public transportation, through a new policy-driven approach to tackling transportation problems—a complete deviation from more free-market driven automobile-oriented solutions that by then had taken precedence both in Strasbourg, and around the world for over a half-century.

Diversification in Modern Transportation Ideologies

Within the field of urban studies, research on “how public space and the built environment encode social difference” is growing.⁶¹ Scholars are also beginning to better comprehend various social and developmental impacts that transportation can encode in the urban fabric when viewed as a liberator from geography. Though the automobile remains the undisputed king of transportation in the sprawled out cities of the United States, urban planning efforts in many European nations have coalesced around a model based on demand management (rather than continuously augmenting supply) to change the ways in which people exist in, interact with, and move about the urban sphere.⁶² This thinking is driven by a combination of factors, including trends of re-urbanization following decades of relative decline, diversification of urban populations and resulting inequality, and concern for environmental impacts (i.e. climate change) of automobile use.⁶³

⁶¹ Truitt, Allison. 2008, 4

⁶² Buehler, Ralph and John Pucher. 2011.

⁶³ *ibid*

Although it is clear that travel mode and urban form do impact each other, the relationship is hardly clear and rarely predictable because both involve a blend of aesthetic, social, and economic concerns.⁶⁴ As a result, this relationship has become a subject of interest and a growing field of inquiry, such that policy prescriptions for urban growth might better encourage a range of travel options.⁶⁵ This is because presently, traffic and ever expanding roads, extensive augmentation of urban populations, and a distinct lack of alternative modes of transportation are seen as having a key role in many urban environmental and social problems.⁶⁶ Urban and suburban traffic gridlock is one of the key problems indicating a lack of sustainability of the auto-centric model. Available evidence suggests that it is nearly impossible to build enough roads to satisfy space requirements for every traveler in their own vehicle. For example, Atlanta, Georgia is known for its massive expressways everywhere, yet in 2008, Atlanta's traffic was ranked as one of the worst in the United States. This type of result, both stemming from sprawl and reinforcing it, contributes to a spatial mismatch between jobs and employees—only 29% of Atlantans have commutes under 20 minutes, and 13% commute for an hour or more.⁶⁷

Addressing these concerns remains difficult, but is perhaps the largest goal of urban redesign and public transportation projects, like the tram in Strasbourg. Even with targeted efforts towards “urban renewal,” previous built environments often become “locked in” for decades or centuries. Short of heavy-handed clearing of broad swaths of existing urban fabric—such as the urban renewal efforts in the 1950s that cleared minority “slums” and cut off neighborhood to build highways—a much larger challenge exists in exactly how to reinvent features of the urban landscape, even if a city wishes to try.⁶⁸ Attempts in the US to reduce the automobile's primacy are mostly nascent, ineffective, or non-existent. Since the New Deal era and pre-National Environmental Policy Act, transportation funding and road network design has been approached almost as if an isolated system, focused mostly on how to move the greatest number of vehicles.^{69, 70} This approach results in self-reinforcing activities of road expansion and continuing proliferation of urban sprawl, without an in-depth evaluation of induced consequences of resource-intensive suburban real estate development or ecosystem disruption. On the contrary, in Strasbourg, there were a growing number of concerned citizens and city officials who wanted to restore the city's neighborhoods to more human-oriented version, less dependent on the use of automobiles—and they recognized the provision of mass transportation as only one piece of the puzzle. And though Strasbourg has hardly eliminated vehicle usage, it has certainly taken on the problems with pollution and traffic through its new approach.

Numerous cities around the globe have taken large active strides in the last few decades to reshape their urban form and the subsequent fluxes of their residents. Mainly, these efforts have been grounded in zoning changes, new architectural requirements and implementation of transport policies that seek to re-equalize the use of diverse modes of transport, among other efforts.⁷¹ Typically these sorts of endeavors come with stated objectives of environmental, social and public health improvements. Strasbourg itself has vigorously pursued this type of agenda in the last 25 years, having made substantial efforts in the domain of alternative transportation-

⁶⁴ Crane, Randall. 1998.

⁶⁵ Ewing, Reid and Robert Cervero. 2010.

⁶⁶ Girardet, Herbert. 2008

⁶⁷ *Atlanta Business Chronicle*. 2008.

⁶⁸ Isenberg, Alison. 2004.

⁶⁹ Foster, M. 1981.

⁷⁰ Patterson, M. 2007, 97.

⁷¹ Claude, Philippe. 1995.

related urban planning. This otherwise small city has even attained widespread acclaim throughout the international community for its pursuit of such transport objectives, as well as internal recognition by the French state government. The development of new transport technologies in Strasbourg has created a new arena for building a global reputation as a “transportation city” by its efforts to develop what I term “world class amenities,” in the Strasbourg case, its modern tramway system.

Part III: The Tram’s Return to Strasbourg

Strasbourg and UNESCO: City of World-Class Amenities

The dual term “world class amenity” comes from the word *amenity*, which along with being defined as “the quality of being pleasant or attractive,” is also said to be “a feature that increases the attractiveness or value, especially of a piece of real estate or a geographic location.”⁷² This idea of a world class amenity could then be used to describe any physical thing or place that exhibits unique, useful, or innovative features. If an “amenity” is recognized among the best in the world, then by logical extension it is also world class.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Centre is a well-known organization that identifies and designates certain places as world-class because of their natural or cultural heritage. The entire Grande-Île (Strasbourg’s *centre-ville* island) is extraordinarily rich with cultural history because of features like the majestic Cathédrale de Notre Dame, the wide array of medieval half-timbered houses and many other prominent public buildings or hotels designed with a Franco-Allemande architectural blend—which dates back to the mid-late 19th century (Figure 5).⁷³ In 1982, the Director of Cultural Affairs in Alsace had submitted a request to designate the cathedral alone, but during the World Heritage Committee’s official inquiry, the request was expanded to include the entire island and the whole of its urban fabric.⁷⁴ Due to its rich heritage dating back more than a millennium, the need to protect and preserve Strasbourg’s historic city center was formally established by UNESCO. And as a result, the entire district was listed as a World Heritage Site in December 1988, during the committee’s 12th session.⁷⁵

⁷² American Heritage Dictionary. 2016.

⁷³ ICOMOS. 1987.

⁷⁴ Ville et Communauté Urbaine and UNESCO. 2014.

⁷⁵ UNESCO. 1988.



Figure 5: The Grande-Île of Strasbourg or the city's *centre-ville*, established in 1988 as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The center was designated for protection due to its medieval heritage, the Cathédrale de Notre Dame Strasbourg its centerpiece.

The timing of the Grande-Île's designation to be protected seems coincidental, though perhaps just right, with the ideological arrival of the tram in early 1989; the battle was heating up regarding congestion, pollution and traffic movement in the city and what to do about it. The argument could easily be made that Strasbourg's tramway—seen by many around the globe today as a world class system—indirectly came to be because of the decision to list the Grande-Île as a world class place; bringing with it a subsequent desire to more aggressively protect and defend it. In an interview with Mr. Gilles Brochard, the director of Transportation Planning in Strasbourg, he stated that to his knowledge there was no direct link between the UNESCO listing and the decision to build the tram.⁷⁶ I likewise never located any evidence directly connecting the two in searching through local newspapers from that timeframe, but the overarching ideals of both movements and contiguous timeframes are perhaps suggestive (or representative) of a larger cultural shift in perspective that was occurring amongst Strasbourg's citizens, with historical preservationist mindset at the forefront of both efforts. In a move that may have embodied some of this shift, Madame Catherine Trautmann, the mayoral candidate for the Socialist party, announced in 1989 that one of her top priorities was to classify Strasbourg as a zone of special protection, though it remains unclear if this was related to the tram in any way, either.⁷⁷ Regardless, as a required part of being listed with UNESCO, Strasbourg had to craft some sort of plan to “protect” the district—ultimately resulting in today's *Plan de Gestion* (management) *Strasbourg Grande-Île*.⁷⁸ Given that there had been rumblings of bringing fixed-rail public transport for some time, at least a passing mention had to have been given to a tram or other

⁷⁶ Brochard, Gilles. 2016 (a). *Personal communication with the author*.

⁷⁷ *Dernière Nouvelles d'Alsace*. March 10, 1989 (a).

⁷⁸ UNESCO. 1988.

changes in transport modality because of the ongoing automobile pollution and degradation issues.

The Beginnings of the Tram & Its Discursive Construction as a Local Amenity

In the late 1980s, the effort to realize an alternative transportation network was rapidly becoming a focal point for Strasbourg. In this respect, the city was ahead of most other French metropolitan areas, notable exceptions being Nantes and Grenoble, who had built their first modern tram lines in 1985 and 1987, respectively. Coincident with the mayoral elections of 1989, the problem finally came to a head after years of talk and little in the way of action, while traffic conditions and quality of life in the city continued to degrade.⁷⁹

The idea of a tramway line running through the city was pitted against that of a *Véhicule Automatique Léger* (or VAL), more commonly known as a light metro; both options had been on the table since the early 1980s and both either championed or decried for a variety of reasons. The big difference was that the metro would tunnel underneath the city center, creating relatively few changes to the visible urban landscape, primarily serving as an additional means by which to access the city center in response to the traffic. By contrast, the tramway's champion, staunch socialist Catherine Trautmann, presented her vision to intentionally and radically induce changes in the urban landscape, reallocating space for pedestrians, bikes, and public transit while sharply reducing automobile access to and through the historic city center. Philippe Breton, professor of anthropology and communication at University of Strasbourg, summarized the real dividing line between the two choices. He noted in his 1989 article, "therefore, we see that the bottom line issue is not so much the VAL or the tram, performing intrinsically [the same] with respect to their performance ... but the quality of *social insertion* they have as an object," by which he meant that the difference lay in how the two modes would exist—and subsequently, how people would use them—as a part of reproduction of urban space.⁸⁰ The political and social battle over these two modes of transportation became imbued with substantial underlying ideologies and complex layers of meaning within the context of Strasbourg society, setting the stage for a heated battle over the local aspirations for the city's present and future.

Though the VAL had been entered into the actual planning stages prior to the election and campaign of 1988-89, it was not well understood by the residents of Strasbourg. In March 1987, 78% of Strasbourg residents surveyed indicated a favorable opinion of the VAL, despite 63% estimating themselves 'poorly informed' and 21% 'very poorly informed,' "revealing a fragile opinion that was susceptible to change rapidly."⁸¹ These numbers also suggest that at the time, Strasbourg's citizens didn't really care what was built, but they did want something—anything. Since the end of 1985, certain departments at the Communauté Urbaine de Strasbourg (CUS, the regional government agency, today called Eurométropole) had been working directly on the VAL project, though this was largely unknown to the populace. Allegations arose against a company called Matra Transport, which had been contracted to help design and build the project, for pressuring the relevant departments to keep the project moving, while also keeping any noise about it or objections to a minimum.⁸² Whether or not this is true, or to what extent may never be known—but ironically, this lack of communication may have contributed to the demise of the VAL.

⁷⁹ Breton, Philippe. 1989, 98

⁸⁰ *ibid*, 97. *Translated from French by the author.*

⁸¹ *ibid*, 106

⁸² *ibid*, 100

The Tram and VAL Face Off in Battle

In the fall of 1988 up to the election in March 1989, a classic right vs. left duel emerged throughout the mayoral campaign. Madame Trautmann of the *Parti Socialiste* headed by faced off against Marcel Rudloff, the incumbent and a center-right *Republicain*.⁸³ It is important to note that essentially, politicians of almost every stripe were supportive of efforts to build some sort of public transit system that was in its own right of way, so as to not become stuck in congestion as the buses were—though the two main parties differed substantially on how to do so. Rudloff and his cabinet of advisors had formally begun the official studies of the VAL system and the gears were in motion. On the one hand, those in support of the VAL wanted to keep the downtown areas largely unchanged; the district's shopkeepers were galled by the tram's threat to business accessibility from removing parking and roads. On the other hand, those in favor of the tram were largely grouped behind environmental and social concerns, arguing that the VAL would do nothing to ease congestion and pollution that was threatening the architectural heritage of the city's core (Figure 6).

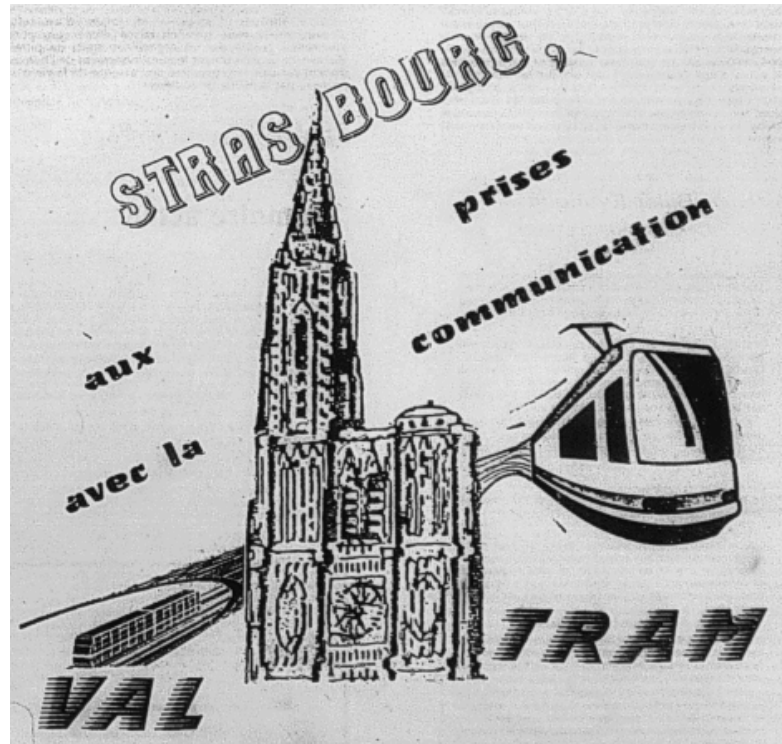


Figure 6: Cover image from Philippe Breton's 1989 article that summarized the contention surrounding the mode choice and election-based controversy. The image highlights the conflict between heritage and futurism, exemplified by the public transport debate.

As mentioned previously, the Strasbourgeois' general desire for anything to be done is one area where the tram might have begun to take an edge; it was, after all, a valid approach that could help with addressing the problems in *centre-ville*, and it could be implemented more quickly. Another advantage for the tram was its relatively low expense: because of the nature of tunneling projects, the VAL was projected to cost far more than a street-running tramway system. In one newspaper interview, Trautmann estimated that an entire network of trams could

⁸³ *Dernière Nouvelles d'Alsace*. March 10, 1989 (b).

be built for the same cost of one line of subterranean metro.⁸⁴ In fact, the tram didn't seem to have many vocal critics during the election season, though shopkeepers in the center city went so far as to threaten a "dead city" operation, where they would collectively shut down in protest. Otherwise, those who had previously lined up with the incumbent party to defend the VAL had to attack the tram; or, at the very least placidly support the VAL over the tram as the status quo option.

Perceptions of modernity, relative to well-established VAL technology, turned out to be an essential feature of the tram, in what was seen as a surprising shift for an overly conservative Strasbourg. According to surveys conducted late in the campaign, many respondents thought that the VAL was outdated technology, a product of the 1970s.⁸⁵ As a result, when the campaign battles ceased and the votes finally came in, it became clear that Trautmann had won the election, with her declaring shortly afterwards "the electors have chosen, with courage and determination to turn the page in the history of Strasbourg."⁸⁶ Her victory represented a choice to tackle the city's predicaments head-on by reinventing the public space in a controversial manner now viewed as ahead of its time. Inasmuch as we can tell today, this project was only born out of a localized, public need and sold through the campaigning and election as a solution for Strasbourg's local problems; there was no mention of establishing a new paradigm for others to follow, of seeking a worldwide reputation, or of addressing a global audience. Seemingly, politicians and planners with Madame Trautmann at the helm did not set out to create a world-renowned model at the time of the tram's inception. Yet ultimately, they did just that, setting the stage for a renaissance of the modern tramway throughout France and elsewhere.

Victory Comes; Strong Opposition to the Tram Remains

The path to creating the tram was not easy, despite the election's outcome signaling the tram's preference amongst the populace. A majority preference, of course, does not mean public unanimity. Even though the newly elected Mayor Trautmann proclaimed that the city had "definitively chosen" the tramway as the mode of transport for the future, she won the election with only a 43% majority of the vote amongst the four candidates in the final running.^{87, 88} What's more, Trautmann had promised a post-election referendum on the subject of public transport early on in the campaign. She effectively rescinded this pledge, on October 16, 1989, taking the official position that there would *not* be a separate vote.⁸⁹ She argued that a referendum about which transport project would advance had essentially taken place in the election. Needless to say, many felt cheated by this choice, and it galvanized a new opposition; a vast and well-organized movement arose to challenge the new administration's plans.⁹⁰ During the period of public inquiry in June 1990, 2,400 complaints or other unfavorable comments about the proposed tram were received, out of 3,300 responses submitted.⁹¹ The fiery opposition continued relentlessly, with journalists, business owners and private citizens penning out articles with titles like "Totally Ill-Adapted" and "This Would Be a Major Error."⁹²

⁸⁴ *Dernière Nouvelles d'Alsace*. February 10, 1989.

⁸⁵ Breton, Philippe. 1989. 108

⁸⁶ Bour, Claude. 1989. *Translated from French by the author*.

⁸⁷ *Dernière Nouvelles d'Alsace*. March 25, 1989. *Translated from French by the author*.

⁸⁸ Bour, Claude. 1989.

⁸⁹ "Bref Aperçu Historique," in *Le Livre Noir*. 1991.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁹¹ Hutt, Jean-Marc and Sarg, Freddy (Eds). 1991.

⁹² *ibid.*



Figure 7: Catherine Trautmann, the hot-headed, pushy “bulldozer,” portrayed in this political cartoon as a whiny child, not satisfied with ideas or toys. “I want a tram, a REAL one!” she says.

Specifically, Mayor Trautmann herself became the target of much derision; she was described as a “bulldozer” and “ruthless.”⁹³ She wanted what she wanted, and she was used to getting her way, so she would run over any obstacle in her way to make something happen. She didn’t seem to care at all about those who objected to the tram, or to certain aspects of the project, and failed to respond to pushback and grievances from the public.⁹⁴ It was her vision, and there *would be* a tram in Strasbourg—and it would come sooner than later. Repeated open letters to the Mayor were assembled in a 1991 publication called “The Black Book” (*Le livre noir*), pleading for further inquiry into the tram. Yet still, Trautmann never responded to the concerns of these constituents and ignored their numerous petitions for a new referendum, giving many the impression of a spoiled rotten child (Figure 7).⁹⁵

⁹³ Binyon, Michael. 1996.

⁹⁴ Hutt, Jean-Marc and Sarg, Freddy (Eds). 1991.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

Even when the establishment of the tram became all but certain, people took issue with the first line's planned route, saying it went to the wrong places, skirting around some of the city's densest zones where the most people could be served. The president of Strasbourg's Chamber of Commerce railed against the planned alignment, stating that "the tram is only a shuttle from [supermarket to supermarket], and it is only useful because it permitted the planting of trees."⁹⁶ The tram was intentionally designed to travel to Hautepierre, in the northwest of the city, one of Strasbourg's largest suburban social housing districts.⁹⁷ Several Strasbourg residents who were present for the debates and the tram's initial construction relayed to me that many people feared this alignment, assuming it would enable hoodlums from the poorer zones to travel easily into the city center—whereas it was presumed that before the tram, they stayed isolated in their neighborhoods. This sentiment is still echoed by many who oppose light-rail or other transit projects—an example from elsewhere includes "crime rail" arguments against a Vancouver-bound northward extension of Portland's MAX system⁹⁸—though such perceptions remain mostly unfounded.⁹⁹

Regardless of the exact reasons, the tram did not sit well, and ideologically, people were not yet ready to accept it. Projects of such scale almost always run into issues throughout the planning processes. It requires willingness to compromise, but also an honest attempt to evaluate the overall benefits and drawbacks without personal biases influencing the outcome. Obviously this presents a challenge because both "benefits" and "drawbacks" are highly subjective and thus difficult to quantify, especially when large groups of people will have their livelihoods or routines affected. Strasbourg's tram was no different, and in the early 1990s it was still anyone's guess how such a vehemently disputed project would fare in reality. Regardless, the tram was on its way.

The Unsuspected 'World-Class' Tramway Arrives: From Discourse to Reality

The tram was presented as more than just a mode of transport; it was a tool to fundamentally alter and redevelop the urban landscape as a new public domain, for use by people on foot, in place of cars. This position was affirmed by Madame Trautmann with nearly religious convictions, when she said: "the renewal of the tram marks the desire for an ambitious policy of urban transportation, more balanced, more favorable to the environment, more respectful of the place of pedestrians and cyclists in the city."¹⁰⁰ Her words, citing an entire *transport policy*, acknowledge that a tram by itself will not accomplish radical change, though it plays a key role in generating the conditions necessary for a more diversified transportation system, as it did in Strasbourg.

⁹⁶ Scotto, Marcel. 1994.

⁹⁷ Claude, Philippe. 1995.

⁹⁸ See crefacts.info, "Light Rail."

⁹⁹ Billings, Stephen, Suzanne Leland, and David Swindell. 2011.

¹⁰⁰ Muller, Georges. 1994. *Translated from French by the author.*



Figure 8: The complete transformation of the street through *centre-ville*, just south of Place Kléber. A former thoroughfare crammed with cars was transformed into a pedestrian zone with the tram running through.

One of the ways Strasbourg pioneered with their first tram line was by very intentionally banning passage of vehicles through the *centre-ville* starting in February 1992—an initiative called Plan Strass (Figure 8).¹⁰¹ According to multiple employees I interviewed at the Strasbourg Eurométropole, theirs was the first tram line (at least in France) to be implemented in conjunction with such a robust program of pedestrian oriented public space redevelopment. Though this realignment of public space promised to reduce vehicular capacity and was exactly what the business owners had feared, compromises were made and underneath the completely remade Place Kléber, a large underground parking garage was built.¹⁰²

Before the first line even opened, discourse began to shift from focusing on the local problems the tram had been designed to address to a focus on the modernizing and futuristic aspects of the tram itself. With the main battle for the tram over with, Madame Trautmann’s new discourse framed the tramway as the city’s choice for the future of urbanism and the tram as the public transport tool of the future.¹⁰³ Despite some of the strong opposition she faced earlier on, her ideas were generating new results. Nevertheless, by her own admission, she was still quite unpopular in the period before the tram’s opening, having taken a “giddy plunge to the bottom.”¹⁰⁴ For all the concern surrounding the pedestrianizing of Place Kléber in the city center, it seemed to work. The new space was designed by architect Guy Clapot, with the goal of creating a “living room” and the “emotional center” of Strasbourg.¹⁰⁵ And though the construction work to enlarge and rebuild this new public space (with parking garage underneath) was highly disruptive for a number of years, it quickly became a “very frequented place” as soon as construction concluded, months before the tram’s opening.¹⁰⁶ In autumn 1994 when the tram’s construction was concluding, the same businesses that had previously threatened the “dead city” operation joined forces with the mayor, organizing “information days to praise the merits of the transformation due to the tram.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ *Dernière Nouvelles d’Alsace*. “Le calendrier du tram.” November 26, 1994 (a).

¹⁰² Adler, Ben. 2015

¹⁰³ Laederich, Pierre. 1993. *Translated from French by the author*.

¹⁰⁴ Bremmer, Charles, 1994.

¹⁰⁵ Blaesius, Jean-Jacques. 1994 (a).

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Scotto, Marcel. 1994. *Translated from French by the author*.

Part IV: Strasbourg, Emerging Global Leader in Transport

Innovation and International Influence

Even before the tram's opening, word began to spread about the visual metamorphosis happening in Strasbourg accompanying its tram project. Georges Muller, an engineer who worked at the *Compagnie des Transports Strasbourgeois* (the public transport provider in Strasbourg, CTS for short) and one of the leads on the tramway project started getting phone calls from transport planners all over—"from Rome, to Rotterdam, to Nottingham," all of whom wished to learn about and replicate aspects of the Strasbourg model.¹⁰⁸ This was because CTS' engineers created one of the most advanced and futuristic looking tram fleets to date, and outside entities admired the way they had integrated the tram tracks into the historic city center.¹⁰⁹

The tram's creators desired to create a seductive-looking train from the outset, one of an entirely new generation.¹¹⁰ A number of innovations were planned in the design, including one worldwide first that provoked Strasbourg's immediate recognition: that of an entirely low floor tram, that created a completely level boarding surface with the platform.¹¹¹ This type of design without stairs was so useful because it allowed easy, uninhibited access for handicapped persons, families with children in strollers, or senior citizens. Today, it is nearly universal in any streetcar, tram or light rail vehicles, and has been since the days that Strasbourg's tram pioneered it. Philippe Neerman, the lead designer for the tram's vehicles, had promised to create an "almost transparent carriage," with the idea that large glass windows throughout would afford a panoramic view of the city—and the design was widely praised by citizens, journalists, and urban planners alike.¹¹² In September 1994, just two months before Strasbourg's tram opening, *The Guardian* featured an article chronicling the larger shift towards tramways as an 'ideal public transport system,' at the same time citing the city's forthcoming tram as "Europe's most high-tech system ... using a fleet of futuristic 'bubble-fronted' tram cars."¹¹³

The Tramway Becomes a "World-Classing" Political Agenda?

As the praise continued to come in in advance of the tram's opening, Madame Trautmann routinely affirmed the tram project as the right decision. And at the moment of the first tram's unveiling on October 20, 1993, she proudly claimed it as *hers*—while deriding earlier politicians ("twenty years of hesitation and dithering," in her words) for lacking the necessary boldness to make a transit project a reality.¹¹⁴ Ironically, at this time, her popularity amongst the Strasbourg public was nearly at a record low. According to her, "getting things done requires a certain unpopularity," though as late as April 1994, she was still counting solely on the tramway's actual opening in November to "redeem" her reputation before the following round of mayoral elections in June 1995.^{115, 116} For the years where the tram was under construction, most of the positive reputation that Trautmann (and the tramway itself) had earned was amongst urban transportation professionals from France and elsewhere in the world. However, almost

¹⁰⁸ Arnold, Martine. 1994.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Dernière Nouvelles d'Alsace*. "Le temps de la séduction." November 26, 1994 (b).

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

¹¹² *ibid.* "Sur les rails, Tram: mode d'emploi." November 26, 1994 (e).

¹¹³ Smithers, Rebecca. 1994. *The Guardian*.

¹¹⁴ Laederich, Pierre. 1993. *Translated from French by the author*.

¹¹⁵ Bremmer, Charles, 1994. *The Times* [London].

¹¹⁶ Marcel, Scotto. 1994.

immediately after the tram's opening, the same level of enthusiasm shifted over to the public realm.

The moderate buzz surrounding Strasbourg's tram was certainly not lost on Madame Trautmann or her deputy chief Roland Ries, who, in one newspaper article, were labeled "the artists of Strasbourg's urban landscape transformation."¹¹⁷ In the end, the buzz gave way to a roar in what was considered a strong victory for a formerly detested politician after a drawn out and highly controversial project. In advance of the tram's opening, the mayor and her deputy had invited over 1,500 politicians from near and far to "show off" Strasbourg's new tram.¹¹⁸ They wanted to tout their tram's success, and make sure they received adequate credit for the project's development. Although the merchants in downtown had suffered a period of hardship during the tram's construction, they rebounded quickly in the months immediately following the tram's opening, experiencing much higher business volumes after the closing of downtown to cars.¹¹⁹ Ridership for the line had been projected at 54,000 users per day, but nearly right away it reached 77,000—a formidable performance for a metropolitan area of less than half a million.¹²⁰ In effect, these results proved that there had been substantial latent demand for better transit service, and that by and large, the city's residents found the tram useful. Many visitors and citizens alike seemed most struck by the total transformation that had occurred to Strasbourg's streets, public places and green spaces. With these early indicators of "success," the tram became a natural tool for political boosterism.

Although the main reason for building the tram was to reduce automobile pollution and traffic downtown, it was designed throughout to encourage greater pedestrian orientation and reduce the attractiveness of car travel. This approach was replicated along the entire length of the tram's path beyond downtown. In the south, it was built in the median of Avenue Colmar, previously described as a "particularly sad artery," and hundreds of trees were planted along either side of the tracks.^{121, 122} Mr. Serge Asencio, the Bicycle Coordinator of the Strasbourg Eurométropole reported to me that with the tram project, Strasbourg recreated the entire roadway, which established a new "best practice," not seen in Nantes or Grenoble's modern tram lines (which predated Strasbourg's).¹²³ Every inch of the public right of way was reworked, while inclusion of protected bike lanes was mandated and street parking was better integrated.

On the other end of the line, the northwest suburb of Hautepierre-Cronenbourg was a relic of sixties architecture and planning in the style of Le Corbusier. It was ultimately viewed as a failure because pedestrians ignored existing green spaces and pathways that had been integrated during the housing project's construction, because large roads led vehicles to travel too fast. With many streets lacking safe crossings and sidewalks, it was not practical, nor enjoyable to traverse the neighborhood on foot.¹²⁴ Author John Western, who interviewed hundreds of Strasbourg residents for his 2012 book, *Cosmopolitan Europe: A Strasbourg Self-Portrait*, interviewed one woman who described the tram's arrival in this way: "dignity and calming

¹¹⁷ *Dernière Nouvelles d'Alsace*. "Le Tram: ça roule." November 26, 1994 (c).

¹¹⁸ *ibid.* "Voyage Inaugural." November 26, 1994 (f).

¹¹⁹ Brochard, Gilles. 2016 (b).

¹²⁰ Marchegay, Philippe. 2000.

¹²¹ Scotto, Marcel. 1994.

¹²² *Dernière Nouvelles d'Alsace*. "Sur les rails : 1 000 arbres pour le tramway." November 26, 1994 (d).

¹²³ Asencio, Serge. 2016. *Personal communication with the author*.

¹²⁴ Communauté Urbaine de Strasbourg. 2001.

[came] to Hautepierre—the greenery between the rails really put the buildings into relation with each other very well. It’s given [the suburb] visibility and legitimacy.”¹²⁵ (Figure 9)



Figure 9: Hautepierre, pictured here, transformed by the tram. The greening helped to bring “calming and dignity” to the neighborhood, a Le Corbusierian-style social housing district dating back to the early 1970’s.

The planting of grass in the medians and track beds where the tram runs was another innovation for Strasbourg’s version, an idea that also received much critical acclaim.¹²⁶ This adaptation has since been used worldwide as a best practice for infusing public transport in the urban landscape, while simultaneously creating more appealing public spaces—as it gives the trams an appearance of gliding silently through city. As a final and near complete validation of the tramway scheme, Madame Trautmann was re-elected in June 1995 in a rare first-round victory. Many French elections involve two rounds, where anyone getting over 15% in the first advances to the second round, in which the overall winner is actually decided. However, an absolute majority of more than 50% voted for her on the first ballot, giving her an outright victory—a major stamp of approval to a woman who wasn’t very well liked (even loathed) throughout most of her term.¹²⁷ Western also states that in his many interviews with Strasbourg’s residents, Trautmann’s name came up more than that of any other public figure—suggesting that her legacy was concretized in a short period of time.¹²⁸ And mainly through initiating the tram, she was forever established as the woman who advanced Strasbourg toward a new future.

¹²⁵ Western, John. 2012

¹²⁶ Brochard, Gilles. 2016 (a). *Personal communication with the author.*

¹²⁷ Binyon, Michael. 1996.

¹²⁸ Western. 2012.

The Tram Expansions: Implementing the New Political Agenda

The acceptance for the new tram seen on local levels, combined with widespread admiration on global scales, contributed to the creation of an actual political agenda concerning transport. Trautmann's socialist agenda sought to build on the tram's initial gains by establishing new paradigms for local personal transportation, along with continuing efforts to innovate transport systems, geared at continuing to attract the attention of global actors. Though Strasbourg's politicians and planners never really sought to establish the city as a global innovator and model for transport, its well-timed (and perhaps a bit lucky) innovations with the tram helped build just such a reputation. The tram effectively served both local and global aspirations—helping to establish, or perhaps enhance its status as a world-class city.

Since one of the reasons given early on for choosing the tram over the VAL was its lower cost to build out a complete network, no sooner had the first line opened than Roland Ries (premier adjoint to the mayor) announced that “we are only at the beginning of the adventure. There remains so much to do to create an authentic network.”¹²⁹ From the beginning, support came from beyond Strasbourg; Jean-Pierre Delpont of the regional prefecture affirmed that supplemental funding from the state would be allocated to Strasbourg for just such a purpose.¹³⁰ Perhaps as a result of the vote of confidence from outside government entities, plans were announced almost right away for a second line to be built perpendicular to the first, starting in the southwest suburbs and crossing through downtown at Place Kléber, before heading northeast. A month before the first line's inauguration, plans were approved to extend it even further to the south, reaching from its existing terminus to the suburb of Illkirch.¹³¹

The rapidity with which these expansion plans manifested reflected an ambitious governmental policy of restructuring the entire city around the tram as a primary mode of transport—an agenda reinforced by the tram's popular success. The second line, unlike the first, had virtually no pushback from the public. During an extensive literature search for articles in the local “*Dernière Nouvelles d'Alsace*” newspaper between 1995 and 1999—containing the words “tram opinion”, “tram opinion negative”, “tram opinion *mauvaise* [bad]”, “tram opposition,” very few articles—eleven in total—were located. One of these articles complained about the initial extension towards Illkirch taking so long, even though it had been fully laid out in 1991 as a part of the original line.¹³² Granted, these limited search terms can't possibly encapsulate all possible opinions or capture the general public sentiment (negative or not) concerning the tram, but the lack of material in comparison to the torrent of published negative opinions between 1989 and 1991 is compelling. On the eve of the second tram line's opening, a 1999 article discussing the growth of the tramway throughout France pointed to a survey of Strasbourg residents, of whom 92% reported being happy with theirs.¹³³ Mr. Brochard likewise affirmed to me that as businesses flourished in the downtown districts, even storeowners and merchants that had been staunchly opposed now enthusiastically endorsed the tram.¹³⁴

Strasbourg's tram began to establish a new transportation paradigm within France, with an air of global importance as outsiders from all over the world came and studied exactly what it was that Strasbourg had done. The city's strategic location on the border with Germany and as a

¹²⁹ Blaesius, Jean-Jacques. 1994 (b). *Translated from French by the author.*

¹³⁰ *Dernière Nouvelles d'Alsace*. “Voyage Inaugural.” November 26, 1994 (f).

¹³¹ Scotto, Marcel. 1994.

¹³² *Dernière Nouvelles d'Alsace*. “Le tram arrive à Illkirch.” November 28, 1997.

¹³³ Wansbeek, C.J. 1999.

¹³⁴ Brochard, Gilles. 2016 (a). *Personal communication with the author.*

literal and symbolic “crossroads” status enabled the tram to take on the same significance and expand its influence internationally. Through the tram’s ascendancy, attributable at least in part to tight regional cohesion and political cooperation amongst varied actors, Strasbourg grew to be seen as an experimental European town, a laboratory of sorts for transportation. This position was formally recognized in 1992 by the French state government, at the same time that Trautmann’s tramway plan closed the downtown off cars. Said France’s then-Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, in 2000, Strasbourg was dedicated to “great cooperation in matters of movement ... not excluding its cooperation in political exchanges,”—referring to both the city’s new role in transportation politics along with the European Parliament as part of her global influence.¹³⁵ At the same time, he saluted Strasbourg’s ‘exemplary’ transport policy, as an “in-depth work of equalizing the city, demonstrating a new coherence to all our metropolitan [areas].”¹³⁶ Speaking about the tram during his 2000 visit, coincident with the second line’s opening, he was referring to the tram’s continued extension to many sixties-era social housing neighborhoods in Hoenheim to the northeast, Elsau in the southwest, those encircling the University of Strasbourg’s campus, and those at the borderlands of Neuhof.

The new line more than doubled tram ridership, eventually serving some 220,000 riders per day; the brainchild of Catherine Trautmann and Roland Ries continuing to exceed expectations and bringing large new swaths of the city into its fold.¹³⁷ But it was in 2001, under new mayor Fabienne Keller—of the conservative “Union for a Popular Movement” party—when the tram got its biggest push. Keller authorized an ambitious expansion program that extended a third line to the far southeast part of the city, into the heart of Neuhof, a social housing suburb where conditions deteriorated significantly after industrial activity began to dry up in the 1980s.¹³⁸ In 1982, Neuhof was rated within the top sixteen most distressed urban areas in all of France, full of large social housing projects called HLM’s (*Habitation à loyer modéré*, or rent-controlled housing).¹³⁹ They were a product of post-WWII urbanism that was “not humanely conceived,” having been described more recently as prison-like by some of the inhabitants.¹⁴⁰ Sadly, in these days, they have become immigrant repositories, known for extreme poverty and violence, reputedly as places where cars are torched from time to time and odious gangs of immigrant youths roam the streets.¹⁴¹ Madame Keller, despite being of a more conservative affiliation, doubled down on the tram’s social welfare agenda with this tram extension, along with a further southwest extension to the social housing zone of Lingolsheim.

It was also with this round of extensions that the tram became an effort for the entire city. “Around the tram, the city advances... and organizes itself,” one government publication boldly declared.¹⁴² Meanwhile, Fabienne Keller pushed the extension as important for Strasbourg’s extra-national image, while at the same time maintaining a discourse of local benefit for all the city’s residents:

[With] the extensions of the tram network going into their operational phase, the construction sites concretize the project adopted by all Strasbourgeois and by all the

¹³⁵ *Dernière Nouvelles d’Alsace*. “Le role européen de Strasbourg renforcé.” September 2, 2000.

¹³⁶ Blaesius, Jean-Jacques. 2000. *Translated from French by the author*.

¹³⁷ Marty, Marie. 2007.

¹³⁸ Donzelot, Jacques. 2011.

¹³⁹ Western, John. 2012, 93

¹⁴⁰ *ibid*, 176

¹⁴¹ Donzelot. 2011.

¹⁴² Communauté Urbaine de Strasbourg (CUS). 2003 (a), 5

habitants of the Urban Community of Strasbourg (CUS) ... with the extensions of the tram lines, Strasbourg and the agglomeration will have available a public transportation network among the highest performing in Europe. Together, we will build a “new style of city” (figure 10).¹⁴³

By this point, there was a basic “X-shaped” network already accessing the four corners of the city, such that it was likely easier to sell the tram extensions as helping facilitate connections to other lines; thereby continuing the accepted process that was well underway and in effect, granting direct access by tram to almost anywhere else in the city. Access was the central theme. In this sense, the tram was presented as a “facilitator” in the realm of personal transportation, providing “considerable improvement of access to the European institutions,” other sites for culture, education, sport, and various public services.¹⁴⁴ At the same time, the theme of urban amelioration was continued, though to a lesser extent.



Figure 10 “Tram 2006, Our New City Style,” declared one government publication. Following on previous successes, the ambitious expansion agenda of 2006 sought to reinvent the remainder of the city around the tram by meshing and cross-linking the network with 22km of new lines.

Interestingly, addressing urban “environmental protection,” as in the reduction of pollution, was hardly mentioned in the government publications supporting these tram extensions. Of six main goals outlined for the project, reducing sound pollution was the only semi-environmental goal, and even that was attributed to the introduction of quieter new train sets, rather than to a reduction in automobile traffic or pollution—a stark reversal in reasoning from the original tram, less than ten years prior.¹⁴⁵ The other goals focused mainly upon the tram’s ability to renew

¹⁴³ Communauté Urbaine de Strasbourg (CUS). 2004.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 10

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.* 2003 (b), 9

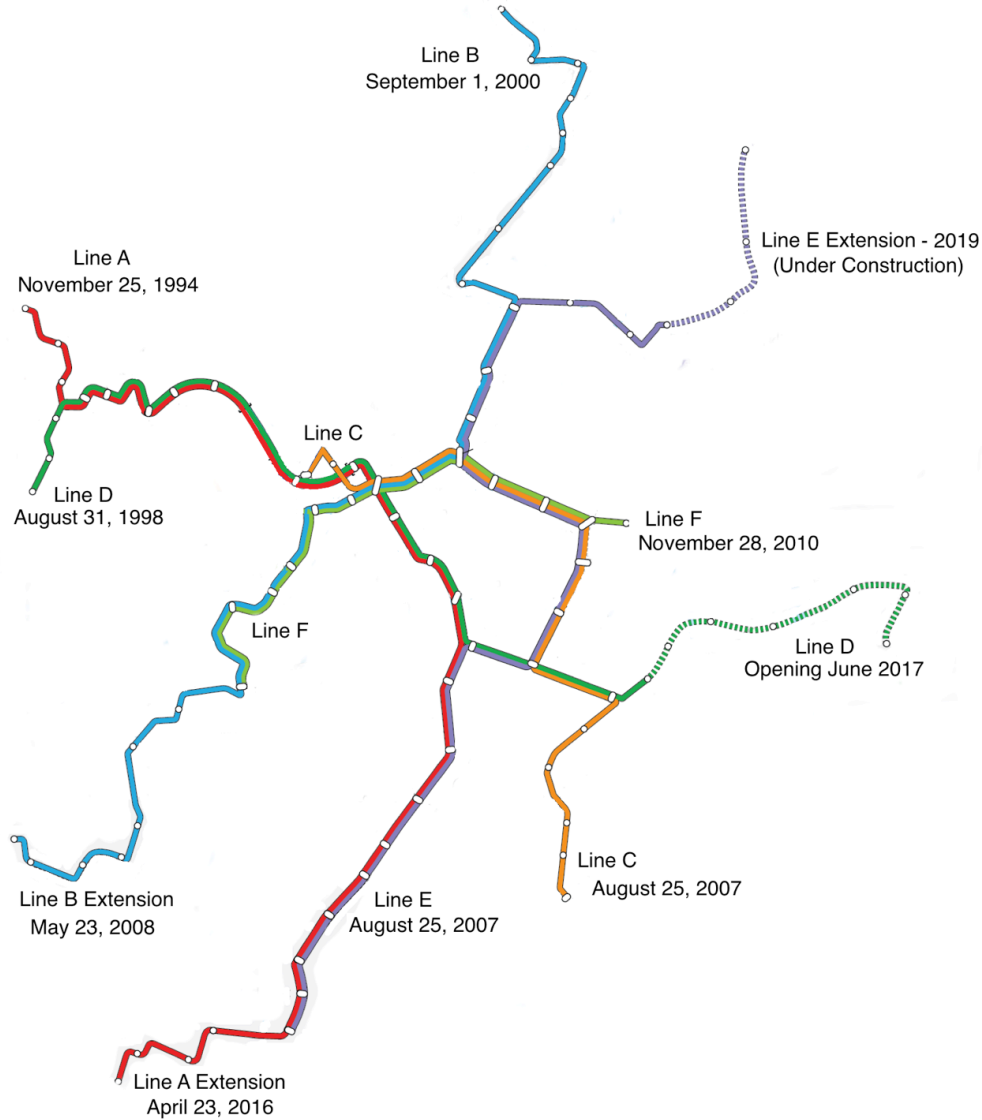


Figure 11: Map of the present tramway network in Strasbourg. Dashed lines represent extensions that are under construction (Line D to Kehl, Germany and Line E extension to Robertsau)

certain neighborhoods, to provide effective public transport access and to provision for movement as dictated by the needs of Strasbourg’s citizens.¹⁴⁶

Finally, the same package of tram improvements included a whole new line that acted as a downtown bypass and created France’s first “meshed” network with four major hubs around the city for correspondences between any and all of the lines.¹⁴⁷ According to Mr. Brochard, this accomplishment likewise became a well-respected feature, an innovative layout unique for a city of Strasbourg’s relatively small size, but one of the most important features that visiting planners today come to observe (Figure 11).¹⁴⁸ Most importantly, the changes boosted the utility and local importance of the tram network for all users by facilitating easier transfers and increased access

¹⁴⁶ Communauté Urbaine de Strasbourg (CUS). 2003 (b).

¹⁴⁷ Marty, Marie. 2007.

¹⁴⁸ Brochard, Gilles, e-mail message to author, December 5, 2016.

throughout the region. All told, some 22.54 kilometers of service length were simultaneously added to the fast-growing network on a single day, August 25, 2007. It was also after this rapid extension program that Strasbourg became the “*premier réseau*,” or longest commercial length network in France, beating out Lyon to become the unofficial tramway capital of France.^{149, 150} This achievement gave rise to the self-adopted title of “Premier (Tram) Network in France,” proudly displayed in nearly any tram-related government publication these days—and a moniker that has also been used to reinforce local pride in a globalized hybrid object.

Strasbourg’s Citizens Adjust and Accept—or Perhaps Embrace?

The first decade of the tram’s proliferation was certainly a period of transition for the Strasbourgeois, as well. Opinions were overall positive, though perhaps not glowing concerning all aspects of life in the city with the tram. Mouloud, of Strasbourg, hailed it as a substantial improvement over navigating the city by bus, journeys that could often be long and complicated. Others, such as Colette and François, who lived far outside the city and only visited from time to time reported that the tram created a nuisance, mainly because their old habit was driving into and parking in downtown—after the tram, they said, “it was a pain to park in downtown! But today, we leave the car on the outskirts and we do everything by tram ... [you can] spot it very easily, and it’s very practical.”¹⁵¹

Four residents that I came to know personally during my stay in Strasbourg, all of whom were from, or had lived there since well before the tram came back, voiced opinions suggesting that new behaviors had to be adopted, which were worthwhile, though sometimes confusing. Etienne Jung described the relative appearance of downtown in stark terms. “The cathedral was black [from car exhaust soot],” before adding, “[but] the downtown became a much nicer place because of the tram.” Together with François Biron, at whose home I stayed for four months, these two individuals had lived in the south of the city near where the first tram line had been built on Avenue Colmar, and they both spoke openly and pleasantly about the tram’s positive impacts on that neighborhood and the calming effect it had on the former traffic artery. That being said, another woman, Madame Bethany Zehr, an American who had lived in Strasbourg since the 1980s, told me that driving had been fairly easy beforehand, suggesting that she and others missed that capacity. The ability to pass through downtown if transferring between the *gare* (train station) and other quadrants of the city was gone, and although she did like the tram, “travel in the city,” she relayed to me, “is a bit more difficult.”

One of the few others with whom I was often able to discuss the tram was the perhaps unlikely figure of Madame Odile Raffner. I had numerous discussions with both Madames Zehr and Raffner about the tram in the context of my intercultural research project (and internship with Eurométropole) while in Strasbourg. Madame Raffner, the wiry, sharp-witted Strasbourg native of 70-plus years fondly shared with me her recollection of the present tram’s initial entry and subsequent acceptance by residents, while citing only relatively minor discord over the route alignments. Demonstrating a great personal contentedness with the new tram, she remarked how much better this modern rendition was than the former tram, dismantled when she was still fairly young. She remembered most specifically the early 2000’s, when planning to extend the tram towards her quarter of the city took place (part of the large wave of extensions). She relayed to me how there had been contention over which road the line would take through the

¹⁴⁹ Communauté Urbaine de Strasbourg (CUS). 2003 (a), 18

¹⁵⁰ Marty, Marie. 2007.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.* 2009. Both quotes above from this source.

neighborhood. This is important to note, because at no time did the issue center on whether or not an extension would be built—only what route it would actually take through the quarter. Since then, she affirmed that most people seem to have forgotten there was ever any issue, and that mostly everyone she knows appreciates the tram being there. Her anecdotes illustrated to me that the collective memory of the skirmishes, large and small, surrounding the tram have been superseded by its effectiveness and presence in the urban fabric of Strasbourg.

Of course, not everything was perfect—people still lodged minor complaints concerning the manner in which construction was proceeding, how the ticket machines were functioning, or overcrowding in the trams. “The tram is cool; it’s beautiful, practical, mostly quick, I love it!” said one girl, Slyvie—before continuing, “to the contrary, what a nightmare it is during rush hour ... it feels like we’re in the Paris metro! [But] it suffices to close one’s eyes.”¹⁵² Inquired another: “What worries me is the future [of Place Broglie] ... is it going to become a parking lot? Of course, the coming of the tram causes a lot of noise, but the area will be so beautiful, [the tram] having given it value back.”¹⁵³ No doubt that many others probably had the same types of functional questions on how the tram would continue to integrate into a redesigned urban landscape, but by and large, the tram’s expansion seems to have proceeded rather organically and without substantial dissent from the general public.



Figure 12: Place Homme de Fer (Iron Man), the central tram and pedestrian hub in *centre-ville*, full of people on foot at nearly any time of day or night.

As Strasbourg’s tram system has grown, it has encompassed ever more of the transport share of the city’s residents. Despite the fears of closing off downtown to vehicles and potential inaccessibility, the flux of people has not stopped; rather, it has increased and changed modes. Between 1992 and 2014, the use of public transport has doubled to 120 million trips per year on

¹⁵² Paris, Slyvie. 2000. *Strasbourg Magazine*, no. 116. *Translated from French by the author.*

¹⁵³ Boyer, Marina. 2000. *Strasbourg Magazine* no. 110. *Translated from French by the author.*

the city's public transport system while vehicle traffic dropped from 53% down to 46% of all trips in the metropolitan region.^{154, 155} Vehicular traffic in the center city declined from its 1990 peak of ~240,000 cars per day to ~154,000 in 2012.¹⁵⁶ Based on these numbers, Catherine Trautmann's ambitious goal to make transport "more balanced, more favorable to the environment," seems to have been achieved (Figure 12).¹⁵⁷

One individual told me that these days, Strasbourg has *too many* people on foot, or on bicycle. In large swaths of downtown, "*les piétons deviennent le roi*," (or, the pedestrian is king), which has perhaps created new problems. Elderly or parents with young children might have to contend with cyclists who too quickly weave through expansive throngs of shoppers or tourists, leaving the average street user feeling hemmed in or unsafe. I witnessed several pedestrian-bike collisions and numerous close calls, accompanied by reactions that indicated a degree of fear, disgust, or at least minor annoyance. Thanks in part to the tram, downtown is indeed full of people. But as with anything, the change has not been without consequence for some. The Strasbourg metropolitan area is well irrigated by pedestrian activity, a sign of a vibrant city where people actually live and move about—though perhaps to the point of saturation. On an average day throughout the region, an estimated 532,000 journeys are made solely on foot, while usage of the public transport system as part of a trip generates a further 800,000 pedestrian movements, many of which were former automobile users.¹⁵⁸

Part V: What We Can Learn from the Strasbourg Example

How Did They Do It? Historical & Legal Frameworks, Explained

The tramway process in Strasbourg certainly didn't start without issue, and in fact, it was quite the opposite. One of the most far-reaching plans in the city's history to reimagine and recreate urban space was understandably met with great resistance. The tram's renaissance succeeded throughout France because of two things: historical development frameworks that affected the geographic distribution and extent of most French cities, and national legislation that encouraged development of energy efficient cities, with non-automobile transport systems serving a key role in meeting these demands. These two items explain to a large extent why the success of the Strasbourg tram may not be easily translatable elsewhere. The Strasbourg case itself, regardless of overarching political goals, can trace its early successes back to Catherine Trautmann—part ideologue, part Margaret Thatcher-style iron-willed politician; a woman who knew the depths of disdain people felt for her at times, and who conversely knew the high regard people later came to feel; she is referenced frequently as the woman who made the city what it is.¹⁵⁹ Roland Ries, her successor and current Socialist mayor of Strasbourg (2017) has discussed her legacy, and the importance of the role she filled over twenty years ago.

Speaking at a transport seminar in Valenciennes, France, Mr. Ries insisted that a mayor should not waver about a serious tram plan and should have the political courage to implement it,

¹⁵⁴ Compagnie des Transports Strasbourgeois. 2014.

¹⁵⁵ Brochard, Gilles. 2016 (b).

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Muller, Georges. 1994. *Translated by the author from French.*

¹⁵⁸ Brochard. 2016 (b).

¹⁵⁹ *Strasbourg Magazine no. 275.* 2016.

even if it is contentious.¹⁶⁰ As the perception of Strasbourg's tram evolved to concern new purposes and expanded constituencies, linking the city's identity to the global sphere, so too did the surrounding discourse and representation. Strasbourg has undertaken an ever-increasing role in promoting itself as an innovator in the world of transportation. The city has approached this self-promotion through twinning/sister-city arrangements, for example, working with the city of Boston's transportation department to facilitate exchange of knowledge and best practices.¹⁶¹ The city has likewise formed partnerships with developing post-colonial countries like Mali for cultural, touristic, and transportation development assistance.¹⁶² Perhaps most importantly, the city's planners regularly host delegations from around the world to demonstrate and explain their strategies for urban rejuvenation. In the span of four months that I lived in Strasbourg and interned with the Eurométropole planning department, visiting groups came from Bulgaria, Iceland, Japan and Bordeaux, in France to learn first hand about their innovative efforts in urbanism. Mr. Brochard also relayed to me that Strasbourg sends representatives to conferences around the world to share information on the tram system and how planners have redesigned public space with it—even Catherine Trautmann herself travels around the world to tout the success and modern legacy that “her” tram created.

First, there is a great deal of history that has impacted urban form, legacy infrastructures, and spatial arrangements that have led French cities—in many senses, spearheaded by Strasbourg—to need a tram revival in the first place. The resulting urban geography in now post-industrial Strasbourg has become inherently more favorable to the insertion of trams, but also demonstrates that they should be used only where demand already exists, meaning that trams have minimum density limitations and would not be successful if implemented in less dense, suburban-type environments. The long history of settlement in many European cities led to their creation as very dense, maze-like cities, which mostly now represent the downtown “zone” in modern metropolitan areas. However, largely because of WWII and the destruction it caused, there was a severe shortage of housing and widespread homelessness in the decade following the war. An extremely harsh winter in 1953-54 led to high numbers of deaths from individuals who froze outside in the cold.

These acute conditions demanded a rapid response by the central French government and it resulted in the immediate construction of 12,000 units in each city for houseless individuals, followed by the eventual 1958 passage of sweeping legislation called *Zones à urbaniser en priorité* (Priority Zones to Urbanize) a program that directed the expedient creation of *no fewer* than 300,000 housing units each year, for a period of five years—each project could contain no fewer than 500 units.¹⁶³ This resulted in dense social housing in peripheral zones outside of virtually every major French city, and created those of Neuhof and Hautepierre in the Strasbourg metropolitan region. These extremely dense suburban zones, mostly without precedent in countries like the United States, helped maintain a relatively high density throughout the entire urbanized area of Strasbourg, which lends itself to the provision of public transportation well outside the urban core.

The resultant built environment has ultimately contributed strongly to the development of a higher capacity mode of transportation as masses of people already lived in built up neighborhood centers throughout the *centre-ville* and radiating outward to the suburbs. Dedicated

¹⁶⁰ Wansbeek, C.J. 1999.

¹⁶¹ Consulate General of France in Boston. 2016.

¹⁶² Fortier, Jacques. 2012.

¹⁶³ Collet, Anaïs. 2016.

bus service had already existed along the first tram's route, but it was nearly maxed out at 17,000 riders a day.¹⁶⁴ Given that the tram rapidly exceeded this previous ridership threefold, we can observe that it mainly served a pre-existing demand within the dense urban framework. In contrast, urban rail projects in the United States are often used as a tool for urban renewal and routed through existing urban zones where land values have been artificially depressed—through longstanding practice of unrestricted development at the urban fringe, often at the expense of what already exists. Pre-existing conditions like these often result in stated aims of regenerating urban space through private capital investment and creating new, high density neighborhoods, but this also tends to invoke the negative effects and challenges of urban infill and gentrification, such as has been argued in the case of Portland, Oregon's new MAX Orange Line.¹⁶⁵

Second, the primary laws relating to transportation and urban development in France helped promote the creation of the Strasbourg tram—whether directly or indirectly. The United States, due to its arrangement as a federal republic, today tends to stay away from much centralized action, leaving matters to the states to decide. Whatever national transport laws (and funding) do arrive tend to focus primarily on interstate highway networks, and to an almost negligible amount upon specific urban development directives for cities throughout the country. However, in France, the legal structure is quite the opposite; the national level establishes mandates and it is the locality's job to comply how they see fit. The first national level law concerning transport was LOTI, or the law on the orientation of interior transportation, and was first adopted December 30, 1982. This was the premier law establishing requirements for public services of transportation in France.¹⁶⁶ It has since been adapted and expanded upon several times, but the original text established many new requirements for French cities and their associated metropolitan planning organizations to consider, mandating that urban mobility plans be drafted and revised every 5 years for any region with over 100,000 residents. This law also mandated consideration of those with differing mobility needs and for the first time in French history, gave a nod to multimodal planning as a national directive, and it furthered the shift towards guaranteeing the right of all persons the ability to travel between and within cities with reasonable accommodations, amongst other things.¹⁶⁷

LOTI was the first law that established the social importance of planning for transportation and mobility needs of all people in all French cities, which subtly created a new social significance for alternative modes of transportation such as the tramway. By creating the requirement to develop urban mobility plans (PDU, or *plan de déplacements urbains*), the onus was put onto local legislators to consider alternative modes for solving local transportation issues. However, the law only created new aims and requirements for transportation projects; it did not mandate the construction of new tramway systems. The effort to realize an alternative transportation network, and the choice for that to be a tram, became a venture of and by Strasbourg. In 1994, the city was still ahead of most other French cities and towns being the third to install a modern tram, but in so doing, it set the stage for a renaissance of the modern tramway throughout France—by 1999, trams were being planned or under construction in 11 other French cities; in 32 cities by 2013.^{168, 169} The Strasbourg model was often referred to elsewhere, inspiring cities as widespread as New York City and Jerusalem with their example.^{170, 171}

¹⁶⁴ Newth, Benowa. 2007.

¹⁶⁵ Simpson, Jesse. 2017.

¹⁶⁶ Vie Publique. 2003.

¹⁶⁷ Loi n° 82-1153. 1982.

¹⁶⁸ Wansbeek, C.J. 1999.

It wasn't until 1996 that the national French government enshrined tenets of environmental health, urban planning, and regulation concerning transportation development into a single new law, the *loi sur l'air et l'utilisation rationnelle de l'énergie* (LAURE, Law on the Air and Rational Use of Energy). This law built upon and expanded a number of others, such as LOTI and the Local Plan of Urbanism (*plan locale d'urbanisme*), to provide more specific requirements and mandate the development of lower energy forms of transportation in French cities.¹⁷² By this time, Strasbourg was already recognized and enhancing new global/local identities in their city, separate from any national legal frameworks or energy usage mandates.

Balancing the Dichotomy Between Local & Global: Difficult, But Possible

One need not look far to find a great many examples of politicians and planners collaborating with private investors to undertake massive “spectacular infrastructural” projects, in a global competition to bring outside recognition to their city or nation. With nations in search of new growth engines for their economies, such efforts typically come with the ultimate purpose of attracting mobile, international capital and a transnational elite in greater numbers.¹⁷³ Among better-known examples are Masdar City in the United Arab Emirates and New Songdo City (Songdo) in South Korea. Songdo is a master planned district that focuses almost exclusively on international business and technology, created as a result of the South Korean government's efforts to liberalize their economy.¹⁷⁴ Chigon Kim explains how the physical construction of the city has been balanced by the construction of a “symbolic characterization of place,” which gives a signification to the urban space being created.¹⁷⁵ The privatized nature of these projects, and the fact that they are built entirely new from the ground up, means that they are inherently risky investment ventures that seek to turn a profit, and sooner rather than later. As a result, Songdo's larger symbolism remains focused on how to create, attract and maintain global attention through its example of spectacular infrastructure, and on constructing a “world city” identity for itself. In contrast, Songdo at the local level exhibits a type of sterility—its “social space” at the ground level lacks a cultural meaning that is actually created by its users and inhabitants, rather than the abstract conceptions of localized space created by the real estate sector.¹⁷⁶ Given their overall focus on the global scale, the private, neoliberal approach to constructing identity has resulted in a disconnect between global and local scales; in this case, global prominence does not necessarily translate to local success.

Subsystems within urban environments, such as transportation, can likewise be designed with symbolic characterizations, configured to better serve an elite global audience, or designed to serve local needs and problems. Transportation mode, availability, and effectiveness are integral to nearly all aspects of city and regional development as a whole, including economic development, “environment” and habitability, land use, real estate values and gentrification, public space creation and use, social equity, and quality of life. Though there are many forms that urban public transportation can take—including, but not limited to the city bus, streetcars, trams, subways, gondolas, or monorails—each one interacts with the existing urban fabric in a

¹⁶⁹ “Trams in France.” 2017.

¹⁷⁰ Fitzsimmons, Emma G. 2016.

¹⁷¹ Asoulay, Carol and Noah Sarna. 2002.

¹⁷² Loi n° 96-1236. 1996.

¹⁷³ Henrie, Gabby. 2015, 25

¹⁷⁴ Kim, Chigon. 2010, 15

¹⁷⁵ *ibid*, 14

¹⁷⁶ *ibid*, 17

different way. And in so doing, different types of public transportation can inscribe certain cultural and symbolic meanings within urban space. Mike Jenks discusses how the Skytrain mass transit system in Bangkok has created juxtaposition between the orderly, efficient, globalized world of glitzy hotels and glamorous shopping malls (to which the train connects) on top and the chaotic, dirt- and traffic-clogged streets full of traders and common folk, who remain isolated below—though the system’s stated objectives are to alleviate traffic congestion and to provide efficient means of transportation.¹⁷⁷ In contrast, the network design of Strasbourg’s tram intentionally served the poorest citizens and residents, yet the tram has still managed to attract a global audience, though it is expressly designed *not* for use by a global elite, or to separate above from below, rich from poor. Even the wealthy of Strasbourg have largely taken to the tram and its socialist origins, one citizen who described herself as a “bourgeois bohemian” praising the former Mayor Catherine’s initial efforts to encourage the democratization of public space via tram: “she really woke the town up, she brought about a burst of cultural activity ... and the tram mixes everybody on it—that’s so democratic. Yay, Trautmann!”

Using the Strasbourg case study, the argument could be made that the tramway is the most egalitarian by virtue of having direct visibility and the least physical or ideological separation amongst all people groups; the tram, as a transportation “good” (and its associated public space) remains accessible and available to everyone. This runs counter to Paganoni’s explanation of oft-seen failures in efforts towards greater *glocality*; where the “marketization of the social, typical of contemporary capitalism,” often “camouflages the hard facts of inequality through bland neoliberal rhetoric that promotes multiculturalism and social inclusion without addressing the underlying social and economic base.”¹⁷⁸

Considering this dichotomy, transportation technologies that “liberate us from geography” may be problematic when compared to other transport options. Instead, we might consider how to better reconnect with existing geography. For example, the tramway is a technology that simply links together dispersed nodes of human activity that could likely subsist independently. These individual nodes arguably become stronger when they form part of a network, as information and people flow through and between them—a possibility for crossover that is both facilitated by the tram, as well as a way to reconnect with and enhance existing local geography in the city of Strasbourg.

Strasbourg appears to have focused its tram-building efforts on local democracy in two ways: first, by engaging with inhabitants of concerned neighborhoods and with all users of the tramway, and second, by being intentional about the routing of the lines to the poorest neighborhoods in the city. At the same time, the government also acknowledges that present decision-making for the tram also involves efforts to continue pioneering in the realm of urban mobility—effectively serving broader interests of global respect and city image.¹⁷⁹ I argue the tram exemplifies the best public mass transport tool for satisfying both global and local constituencies, being easier to reconcile the two ideologies when they end up occupying the same physical space. It is interesting to note, however, that the origins of this democratic “space” of the tram was designed by social engineers to serve people from all backgrounds, but it came at the semi-dictatorial demands of a single person and was implemented against the will of many. Visitors to Strasbourg today may have no conception of the city’s former layout complete with all its traffic-clogged arteries, yet all the major changes made in the last two decades have

¹⁷⁷ Jenks, Mike. 2003, 553

¹⁷⁸ Paganoni, Maria Cristina. 2012, 15

¹⁷⁹ Strasbourg.eu & Eurométropole. 2016.

recreated streets as new public spaces capable of playing host to a new form of ‘locality’ while also supporting global identity and aspirations through innovative urbanism.

The initial push by Catherine Trautmann, and continuing efforts to expand the tram today may be understood as what Christina Schwenkel calls the “technopolitics of visibility,” or, the use of visible infrastructure and technology as a tool to embody political goals—in the Strasbourg case, political ends are accomplished by a sort of ‘re-publicization’ of space, via insertion of the tramway technology.¹⁸⁰ This notion stands in contrast to the previous privatized motor vehicle uses for which roads and thoroughfares in Strasbourg had been prioritized, but that only worked for a time to meet citizens’ transportation needs in the city. By no means have all of Strasbourg’s urban problems been solved; the tram is no silver bullet. But the visibility of the tram has seamlessly woven its way into the pre-existing built environment, and into residents’ lives. It gave this very old city a modern twist—and a reason for other historic cities around the world (such as Jerusalem) to emulate Strasbourg’s example.¹⁸¹

Overall, acceptance for the new tram seen at the local level combined with widespread admiration on the global scale contributed to the creation of an actual political agenda concerning transport: one that sought to establish new paradigms for local transportation, and to improve the profile of the entire city for those global actors on the outside looking in. Since then, the city has continually embraced this initial recognition by continuing to expand the tram rapidly, to the point of creating a new identity as a “transportation city” featuring its world-class tram. When I asked how Strasbourg will continue to grow their global and local reputation with the tram, Mr. Brochard responded very matter of factly: “We continue to innovate in mobility,” he said.¹⁸² Evidently, it’s as simple as that.

Reformist Approaches to Capitalism at Work in Present Urban Development

New approaches to urban managerialism represent a relatively small-scale effort to corral growth by limiting the utility of automobile usage, so as to shift development patterns of cities. One variant of such efforts have been undertaken in Portland, Oregon, with a landmark set of land-use and conservation laws dating back to 1973, which also mandated the creation of Urban Growth Boundaries (UGBs).¹⁸³ The purpose of the UGB is to limit sprawl and promote compact development, presenting an innovative solution to a unique local problem, this being the desire to preserve Oregon’s scenic landscapes. And to a certain extent, these 40-plus year old laws can be credited with helping give Portland a certain national and even global reputation as unique for a midsize city. The legacy of these laws presents the city and its inhabitants as progressive in their approach to urbanism and environmentally conscious; a local identity that is more or less accurate. As a planning tool, the UGB has been hailed and denounced with equal vigor by environmentalists, city planners, engaged citizens, and free market think tanks, among others. In recent years, the UGB concept itself has been critiqued for lacking adequate checks on market pressures, creating widespread problems of housing unaffordability and gentrification as a result of artificial constraints on urban space. With one of the UGB’s main aims being to emulate denser urban environments and subsequently reduce the need for automobile travel, it is likewise important to ensure that residents of all socio-economic levels can find acceptable housing throughout the metro area. Cities like Portland might adapt their existing efforts at constrained

¹⁸⁰ Schwenkel, Christina. 2015.

¹⁸¹ Asoulay, Carol and Noah Sarna. 2002.

¹⁸² Brochard, Gilles. 2016 (a). *Personal communication with the author.*

¹⁸³ Layzer, Judith. 2011, 493

urban growth and address some of the problems with affordability by working to emulate a system of more evenly spread dense nodes, featuring publicly funded social housing—all built around high quality urban transportation links that connect them, as is the case in Strasbourg.

The tram in Strasbourg has facilitated growth in ways that do not simply enable the perpetual growth required by the capitalist machine of production. Indeed, Strasbourg still finds itself within the global capitalist system—nary a place can escape it—yet its former socialist mayor instituted large scale changes that sought to revitalize the city as it existed some twenty years ago, right at the end of the post-industrial era. The ironic twist is that Strasbourg’s socially oriented programs, such as the tramway, and its subsequent global interest and admiration have made the city more attractive for investment and outside capital from the private sector; on the other hand, this type of investment raises the specter for gentrification in future growth. For example, the tram’s newest extension (line D) travels eastward towards Kehl, Germany through current and former industrial use land, perceived as ripe for redevelopment. Rather than serving already developed quarters, for the first time in Strasbourg’s modern tram-building history, the new line is being thought of as a “motor for [new] urbanization.”¹⁸⁴ Resultant reproduction of urban space, aimed at rehabilitating brownfield land for the Ecocité project “Strasbourg métropole des deux rives” (Strasbourg, a metropolis on both banks), could become subject to typical pressures and subsequent crises of growth patterns typical of capitalism, which seek to maximize the land use values in a given area.¹⁸⁵ As neoliberal forces look to maximize profits, the reality of such ambitious new developments is that often times, the municipality adopts a developer’s perspective while endeavoring to partner with private capital.¹⁸⁶ To counter such threats, careful zoning and developmental protections maintaining the strong, pre-existing socialist ethic will have to accompany the area’s future development to combat such threats and ensure sustainable and just urban (re)development.

“Strasbourg leads a transportation revolution that is happening—fitfully—the world over,” declares Ben Adler.¹⁸⁷ His opinion is based on the idea that today, fast-paced cities are adjusting to a future where greater mobility solutions are demanded and car ownership is not *de facto* mandatory, reflecting concerns of unstable oil prices and climatic shift, along with the transition to a knowledge economy. He continues, “carelessness grew out of, and reinforced existing economic and structural realities,” once more supporting the notion of transportation modes being able to create specific, varied ‘permissive growth conditions.’ In the case of Strasbourg, the tramway has legitimized itself by facilitating and supporting growth in hospitality, service, tourism and retail sectors, several of the biggest anchors of the new post-industrial economy. Political frameworks initiate transportation transitions, whether to automobiles around the world, trams in France, or the bullet trains in Japan, and the economic activities that are based upon them—as well as whatever social conditions and types of built environments that end up thriving around them.

¹⁸⁴ Brochard, Gilles. 2016 (a). *Personal communication with the author.*

¹⁸⁵ Strasbourg.eu & Communauté Urbaine. 2010.

¹⁸⁶ Simpson, Jesse. 2017.

¹⁸⁷ Adler, Ben. 2009.

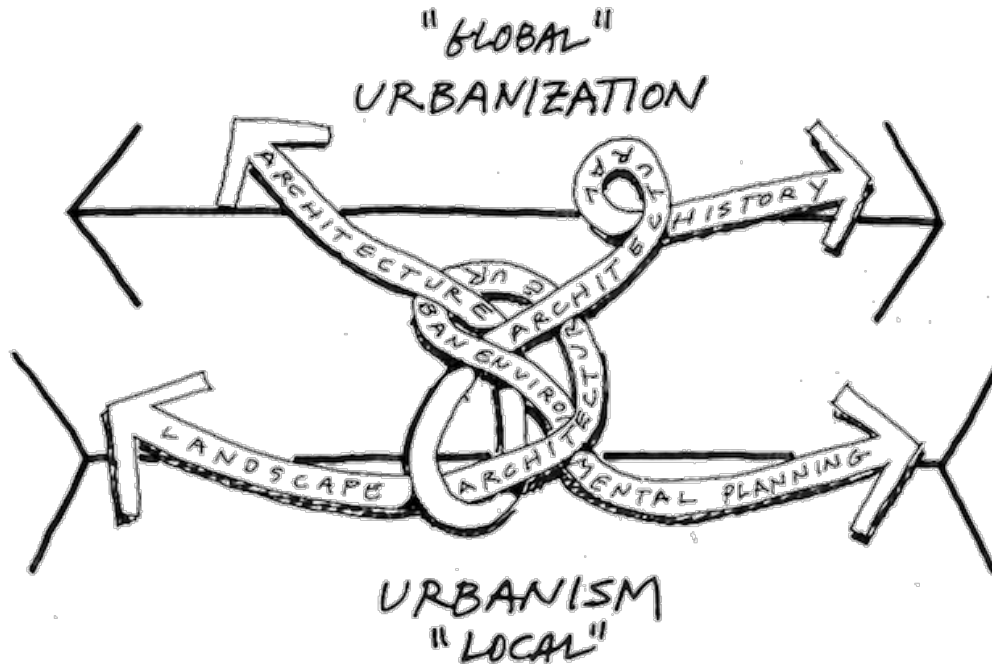


Figure 13: The “glocal” city must navigate the competing interests of landscape architecture, history, urban planning, and pressures to balance the implied demands of global capitalism with local problem solving.

Social Connections and Sense of Place in the Glocal City

Despite the predicted “death of distance” brought on by globalization and a rise in technology that enables instantaneous communications, the city as a node in the global system has not declined in importance. Moreover, idea and creativity-based industry (or, semiotic production of value) taking hold under modern post-industrial capitalism still behave in agglomerative fashions explained by basic urban economics, such that cities will continue to densify and require effective transport to move people through the urban sphere. Though predictions had been made about tech-driven communication as a possible substitution for individual mobility, it seems to have promoted more movement.¹⁸⁸ As a result, both distance and urban geography still matter, resulting in an increased need to provide mobility solutions for growing numbers of people and journeys.¹⁸⁹

Conversely, within the framework of neoliberal economics, urban growth driven by privately owned vehicles has created a modern humanity defined by greater spatial separation than ever before. Most midsize American cities have slowly been hollowing out at the expense of always-new development at the urban fringe, to the point where first and second ring suburbs are now largely in decline and growing worse. Policy (or lack thereof) to create growth in the short term has created conditions for endless resource-intensive growth patterns that mandate car ownership, and result in long commutes. Additionally, such an approach creates pleasant seeming, yet isolated suburbs that facilitate very little social contact, and where most “public” places are actually privatized.¹⁹⁰ From a social standpoint, suburban localities often have nothing

¹⁸⁸ Bretagnolle, Anne, Fabien Paulus, and Denise Pumain. 2002.

¹⁸⁹ Paganoni, Maria Cristina. 2012.

¹⁹⁰ Hillyer, Reiko. 2017.

inherently unique about them, and certainly do not contribute to global recognition or much in the way of local identity or civic pride.

Strasbourg's model represents a complete 180-degree shift, in that the existing urbanism was valued and adapted to help reinvigorate it. Even with its radically different history, the city was beginning to experience the same effects of urban decline (and its associated social and environmental ills) as public space became more and more privatized by and for the motorist. Under these conditions, the socialists invoked a new sort of 'technopolitics of visibility' of bringing people back to the city, in place of cars. In this case the tram was the main infrastructural and technological vehicle for delivering such political goals, included amongst a "barrage of projects to revive the city and bolster its claim to being the capital of Europe."¹⁹¹ Now, these projects have reached their fruition and resulted in a city that throughout, feels more pleasant to live, work, study, and recreate in. This transformation was aided by the development of an "urban ecology charter" in 1993, which emphasized innovations and mandates to bolster public health and quality of the lived environment.¹⁹²

As urbanization continues, as it most assuredly will, concern for both built environments and native ecosystems will grow in importance amongst those of the millennial and other future generations. One possible path forward has been illuminated by Strasbourg's efforts; not just through the tram, but because more general legal frameworks are aimed at sustainable urban growth in tandem with developing a higher quality of urban life. Challenges certainly remain, with respect to who will be able to access the city. Despite the fact that Strasbourg is now a well-connected region where the satellite cities and quarters are well linked to the center by socially-oriented transportation does not exempt it from greater market forces that repackage quality of urban life into a commodity, defining the contemporary urban experience as something mainly for those who have money.¹⁹³ Political and social conditions in Strasbourg resist this commodification; lifelines provided to the poorest urban residents through the tram's implementation have fostered a regional cohesion that ensures no one has any more or less "right to the city," by changing the city itself.¹⁹⁴

Conclusions

Strasbourg's tram has succeeded due to a myriad of historical, social, and political influences that cannot be replicated in their entirety in American cities or elsewhere. That being said, elements and ideas present in their original designs abound, many of which are now widely considered to be best practices. And if a given city is looking to Strasbourg's example, they almost certainly could find ways to incorporate certain aspects of its model regardless of their own city's variances.

The most important point to take away from the Strasbourg case is that radical solutions at a local level, when combined with innovative implementation, can unexpectedly bring about a global audience. In turn, the worldwide attention they received further legitimized Strasbourg's local efforts, galvanizing political leaders and citizens to see the city further reinvent itself via the tram, in effect, creating a "new city style." Needing a local solution to traffic and pollution woes, Strasbourg's citizenry chose the dedicated socialist, Madame Trautmann to lead them and

¹⁹¹ Bremmer, Charles. 1994.

¹⁹² *Lesechos.fr*. 1993.

¹⁹³ Harvey, David. 2003.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid*.

implement her tramway scheme—with its underlying goal of rejuvenating the public sphere—and in so doing, they found and created a new identity as an pedestrian oriented, alternative transportation city. Very deliberate efforts to improve the local brought them a presence in the global—with crossover effects between the two scales positively influencing the city’s growth from 1989 up to now, and into the future.

Essentially, the tram’s ideology expanded to obtain the favor of the populace—even if individuals don’t love it, they have fully accepted its role and see it as a part of the city’s identity. The tram’s visibility throughout the city gives it more legitimacy and significance as a part of life in Strasbourg. In 2008, Roland Niklaus of the Eurométropole Transport department stated “the tram was [no longer] political business ... it was a matter for everybody, for the whole city.”¹⁹⁵ The tram has been made to serve all its citizens, extending throughout the city to the wealthiest and poorest neighborhoods, giving it authentic local purpose. At the same time, by promoting itself abroad and showing off its now well-established (yet globally nascent) model of urbanism, Strasbourg’s new identity further benefits city leaders, displaying the positive outcome of dedicated and effective people-oriented governance.

Louis Sullivan was widely praised in modernist architectural circles for having once said, “Form ever follows function,” meaning that the design of an object or building should be based upon its intended function.¹⁹⁶ His theory still has meaning today, though we might do well to consider the statement’s reverse, in the context of Strasbourg and its tram—is it instead that function ever follows form? Human beings mostly exist in the built environment as it comes, often without considering the design and impacts on how they use it. The word infrastructure, with the root *infra-* meaning “below,” suggests that the design logics and distributive patterns of built environment structures become “second nature” in the organization of everyday life.¹⁹⁷

In Strasbourg, the entire goal was redesigning the urban sphere in new form and subsequent functioning as public space; the tram was simply the vehicle used to facilitate its functional usage by the public. In contrast, the privatization of space and its associated tendency towards nonsocial behavior is arguably an outgrowth of globalization, representing the zenith of neoliberal lifestyles. Strasbourg challenged the slow encroach of this mode of being through a local change—the tram and the urbanism it introduced represented a break from the impulse toward privatization implied by global capitalist structures, in which even a city’s identity can become a commodity. As a result, an ethos of sustainability and social cohesion amongst Strasbourg’s citizens was formed, the functional outcome of a certain form of the built environment. At the same time, Strasbourg’s identity and its aspirations towards world city status were also furthered by its rebellion against privatizing space. Therefore, the greater issue addressed by the tram is how urban space is produced and what social dynamics are altered by the choice between public and private. Because of its focus on the democratization of public space, the tram has brought global visibility to Strasbourg in a way that few other cities have been able to achieve.

The tram in Strasbourg is, without question, an unqualified success—or as John Western describes it, “an absolute home run.”¹⁹⁸ It presents an interesting case study from which we can learn best practices for transportation, while also exemplifying the crossover between global and local identities and how both can be addressed through a singular object. What I hope this

¹⁹⁵ The Prince’s Foundation. 2008.

¹⁹⁶ “Louis Sullivan.” 2017.

¹⁹⁷ Chu, Julie Y. 2014, 353

¹⁹⁸ Western, John. 2012, 92

research demonstrates is that cities, as inherently social organisms of a very complex nature ought to develop strategies that work towards balancing the private and social needs of residents within the city, promoting diversity and cosmopolitanism in residents' daily lives. Strasbourg and its tram demonstrates how if a place focuses on local improvement first—through parks, universities, a particular industry, futurism, transportation; any amenity that can become “world class”—it is possible to stumble upon new identities that can ultimately bring the spotlight of the world to any city.

Bibliography

- Adler, Ben. 2015. “Strasbourg, France, Now Focuses on Non-Vehicular Types of Transportation,” in *Urban Transportation Innovations Worldwide: A Handbook of Best Practices Outside the United States*, eds. Roger L. Kemp and Carl J. Stephani, 180-185. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc Publishers. Print.
- “Alsace: History.” 2016. *Infoplease.com*. Accessed October 19, 2016. <http://www.infoplease.com/encyclopedia/world/alsace-history.html>.
- American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Fifth Edition. 2016. S.v. "amenity." Accessed November 30, 2016. <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/amenity>
- Arnold, Martine. 1993. “L’Europe s’investit à Strasbourg.” *Strasbourg Entreprises*, no. 2, December.
- . 1994. “Le tram de Strasbourg, un modèle en voie d’exportation.” *Strasbourg Entreprises*, no. 11, November.
- Asencio, Serge. 2016. Interview by author. Personal interview with Head of Bicycle Planning Department. Strasbourg Ville et Eurométropole, Strasbourg, France. October 19.
- Ashton, Patrick J. 1978. "Urbanization and the Dynamics of Suburban Development under Capitalism" In: Tabb and Sawers, eds. 1978. *Marxism and the Metropolis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Asoulay, Carol and Noah Sarna. 2002. “The heavy cost of light rail.” *The Jerusalem Post*, June 28. *Academic OneFile*. Web. Accessed 20 Apr. 2016.
- Atlanta Business Chronicle*. 2008. “Forbes: Atlanta Traffic the Worst in America,” May 1. Accessed March 16, 2017. <http://www.bizjournals.com/atlanta/stories/2008/04/28/daily97.html>.
- Billings, Stephen, Suzanne Leland, and David Swindell. 2011. The Effects of the Announcement and Opening of Light Rail Transit Stations on Neighborhood Crime. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 33: 549–566. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9906.2011.00564.x
- Binyon, Michael. 1996. "Leading lady's city triumph; Strasbourg File." *Times* [London, England], 27 January: p. 16. *Academic OneFile*. Web. Accessed 20 Apr. 2016.
- Blaesius, Jean-Jacques. 1994 (a). “Le tram redessine Strasbourg.” *Dernière Nouvelles d’Alsace*, November 26. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1213
- . 1994 (b). “La voie est ouverte.” *Dernière Nouvelles d’Alsace*, November 26. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1213
- . 2000. “Du Neuhof à Hoenheim.” *Dernière Nouvelles d’Alsace*, September 2. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 873
- Bour, Claude. 1989. “Catherine Trautmann élue maire de Strasbourg.” *Dernière Nouvelles d’Alsace*, March 26. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1502
- Boyer, Marina. 2000. “Ciel, un parking?” *Strasbourg Magazine*, no. 110. May 2000.

- Boyer, M. Christine. 1992. "Cities for Sale: Merchandising History at South Street Seaport" in *Variations on a Theme Park : The New American City and the End of Public Space*, ed. Sorkin, Michael, 181-204. New York: Hill and Wang, 1992.
- "Bref Aperçu Historique," in *Le Livre noir*. 1991. Eds. Jean-Marc Hutt and Freddy Sarg, 6-7. Holtzheim: Les Presses d'impre.
- Bremmer, Charles. 1994. "A Palace for Queen Catherine; Catherine Trautmann." *Times* [London, England], April 24. *Academic OneFile*. Web. April 20, 2016.
- Bretagnolle, Anne, Fabien Paulus, and Denise Pumain. 2002. "Time and Space Scales for Measuring Urban Growth." *Cybergeo : European Journal of Geography*, July 25, 2002. doi:10.4000/cybergeo.3790.
- Breton, Philippe. 1989. "Entre VAL et tram, Strasbourg aux prises avec la communication." *Revue de Sciences Sociales de la France de l'Est*, no. 17, 1989-1990. EUROPE: Plis et avancées: 96-116. ISSN 0336-1578. Strasbourg: Université des Sciences Humaines. Print.
- Brochard, Gilles. 2016 (a). Interview by author. Personal interview with Head of Transport Department. Strasbourg Ville et Eurométropole, Strasbourg, France. November 17.
- . 2016 (b). "The Transportation Policy of the Urban Community of Strasbourg." Presentation at Strasbourg Ville et Eurométropole to Visiting Japanese Delegation, Strasbourg, France. November 22, 2016.
- Buehler, Ralph, and John Pucher. "Sustainable Transport in Freiburg: Lessons from Germany's Environmental Capital." *International Journal of Sustainable Transportation* 5, no. 1 (January 2011): 43-70. doi:10.1080/15568311003650531.
- Carter, Thomas F. 2006. "Introduction: The Sport of Cities Spectacle and the Economy of Appearances." *City & Society* 18, no. 2 : 151-58.
- Chu, Julie Y. 2014. "When Infrastructures Attack: The Workings of Disrepair in China." *American Ethnologist* 41, no. 2: 351-67.
- Claeys, Gregory, and Dirk Schoenmaker. 2016. "EU's Strasbourg Parliament Should Become a University." Accessed November 7. <https://euobserver.com/opinion/134516>.
- Claude, Philippe. 1995. "Le Retour Du Tram à Strasbourg." *Ingénieurs et Architectes Suisses* 121, no. 12: 248-51. doi:10.5169/seals-78606.
- Cohen-Blankshtain, Galit, and Eran Feitelson. 2011. "Light Rail Routing: Do Goals Matter?" *Transportation* 38, no. 2 (March 2011): 343-61. doi:10.1007/s11116-010-9305-x.
- Collet, Anaïs. 2016. "Mutations Urbaines des Trentes Glorieuses." Class lecture, Dynamiques Urbaines Contemporaines. Université de Strasbourg in Strasbourg, France. Nov. 4, 2016.
- Communauté Urbaine de Strasbourg. 2001. *Le paysage urbain : avant/après le tram*. Strasbourg, France: Online PDF. http://transport.vpeterburge.ru/upload/tram_avant_apres_a.pdf, accessed January 18, 2017.
- Communauté Urbaine de Strasbourg. 2003 (a). *Les extensions du tram : les paysages du tramway 2006/2008*. Strasbourg: CUS. Print. <http://biblio.bnu.fr/.do?sysb=bnu&idopac=BNU5296164>
- . 2003 (b). *Les extensions du tram : enquêtes publiques du 3 juin au 10 juillet 2003 : extension des lignes B, C, D du tramway, création de la ligne E et opérations d'accompagnement*. Strasbourg : CUS. Print. <http://biblio.bnu.fr/.do?sysb=bnu&idopac=BNU5302935>
- . 2004. *Tram 2006 Entre Esplanade et Neudorf une grande ligne de vie*. Strasbourg: CUS. Print. <http://biblio.bnu.fr/.do?sysb=bnu&idopac=BNU5100745>
- Compagnie des Transports Strasbourgeois. 2014. *Rapport d'Activité et de Développement Durable*. Alain Fontanel et Jean-Philippe Lally (Eds.) <https://www.cts->

- strasbourg.eu/export/sites/default/pdf/07LaCTS/02OperateurResponsable/RA_CTS_web2015.pdf
- Consulate General of France in Boston. 2016. "4/16-19: Visit from Mayor of Strasbourg to Boston." *Consulat Général de France à Boston*. Accessed June 6, 2016. <https://www.consulfrance-boston.org/spip.php?article3832>.
- Council of Europe. 2016. "Founding Fathers." *The Council of Europe in Brief*. Accessed November 8, 2016. <http://www.coe.int/web/about-us/founding-fathers>.
- Crane, Randall. 1998 "Travel by Design?" Access, No. 12, Spring 1998: 2-7
- . 2000. "The Influence of Urban Form on Travel: An Interpretive Review." *Journal of Planning Literature* 15, no. 1, August 2000: 3–23.
- Dernière Nouvelles d'Alsace*. 1989. "Catherine Trautmann: Le "contrat" proposé aux Strasbourgeois," February 10. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1508
- . 1989 (a). "Catherine Trautmann choisit dans son contrat d'action municipal trois projets pouvant être réalisés rapidement," March 10. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1504
- . 1989 (b). "Marcel Rudloff et son équipe affichent une certitude: « Nous n'aurons pas besoin de renfort, »" March 10. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1504
- . 1989. "Strasbourg choisit le tramway," March 25. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1502
- . 1994 (a). "Le calendrier du tram," November 26. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1213
- . 1994 (b). "Le temps de la séduction," November 26. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1213
- . 1994 (c). "Le tram : ça roule," November 26. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1213
- . 1994 (d). " "Sur les rails," 1 000 arbres pour le tramway," November 26. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1213
- . 1994 (e). " "Sur les rails," Tram: mode d'emploi," November 26. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1213
- . 1994 (f). "Voyage inaugural," November 26. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1213
- . 1997. "Le tram arrive à Illkirch," November 28. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 1034
- . 2000. "Le role européen de Strasbourg renforcé," September 2. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 873
- Donzelot, Jacques. 2011. "Chronique de La France Des Cités (IV). Strasbourg : Le Tram et Les Cités." *Esprit*, no. 7: 160–63. <http://www.cairn.info/revue-esprit-2011-7-page-160.htm>.
- Ewing, Reid, and Robert Cervero. 2010. "Travel and the Built Environment." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 76, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 265–94. doi:10.1080/01944361003766766.
- Fitzsimmons, Emma G. 2016. "Washington Streetcar Stumbles Could Benefit de Blasio's Plan." *The New York Times*, February 26. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/27/nyregion/washington-streetcar-stumbles-could-benefit-de-blasios-plan.html>.
- Flowerdew, John. 2004. "The Discursive Construction of a World-Class City." *Discourse & Society* 15, no. 5: 579–605. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/42888636.pdf>.
- Foster, M. 1981. *From Streetcar to Superhighway*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, pp. 151-176
- Fourtier, Jacques. 2012. "Quand Strasbourg s'engage à l'étranger." *Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*, February 22. BNU Strasbourg, Microfilm 184
- Freedman, Alisa. 2010. *Tokyo in Transit: Japanese Culture on the Rails and Road*. Redwood City, US: Stanford University Press. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 14 March 2017.
- Friedmann, John, and Goetz Wolff. 1982. "World City Formation: An Agenda for Research and Action." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 6, no. 3: 309-44.

- GaWC (Globalization and World Cities) Study Group. 2012. "The World According to GaWC 2012." Last Updated 13 January, 2014. <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2012t.html>.
- Gény, Patrice. 2014. "Perspectives: Patrimoine." *Magazine de l'Office de Tourisme de Strasbourg et sa région*, 10. (p.16) Accessed December 9, 2016. <https://issuu.com/bknstrasbourg/docs/magot10>
- Girardet, Herbert. 2008. *Cities, People, Planet: Urban Development and Climate Change (Second Edition)*. West Sussex: John Wiley and Sons. Print.
- "Grande Île (Strasbourg)." 2016. *Wikipedia*, Last updated December 10, 2016. [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Grande_%C3%8Ele_\(Strasbourg\)&oldid=753959200](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Grande_%C3%8Ele_(Strasbourg)&oldid=753959200)
- Harvey, David. 2003. "The Right to the City." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27, no. 4: 939-41.
- Henrie, Gabriella. 2015. "Masdar City and the Politics of Utopian Eco-development in the United Arab Emirates." Senior thesis, Lewis & Clark College.
- Hillyer, Reiko. 2017. "On the Road: The Highway and the Strip." Class lecture, Constructing the American Landscape. Lewis & Clark College in Portland, Oregon. March 6, 2017.
- Hutt, Jean-Marc and Sarg, Freddy (Eds.) 1991. *Le Livre noir*, Holtzheim, France: Les Presses d'impre.
- ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites). 1988. *World Heritage List No. 495, Advisory Body Evaluation*. Paris, France. Accessed 1 Dec. 2016. <http://whc.unesco.org/document/153581>
- Isenberg, Alison. 2004. *Downtown America : A History of the Place and the People Who Made It*. Historical Studies of Urban America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jacobs, Jane. 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York, NY: Modern Library. Print.
- Jackson, K. T. 1985. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. Oxford University Press, pp. 283-305.
- Jenks, Mike. 2003. "Above and below the Line: Globalization and Urban Form in Bangkok." *The Annals of Regional Science* 37 (3): 547-57.
- Kim, Chigon. 2010. "Place promotion and symbolic characterization of New Songdo City, South Korea." *Cities* 20: 13-19.
- Klein, Cati and JeanLuc. 2016. *Des Origines à la Pax Romana, Argentoratum*. Accessed October 20, 2016. <http://www.argentoratum.com/histoire1.htm>
- Laederich, Pierre. 1993. Reportage : Le futur tram de Strasbourg. *Connaissance du Rail*, No. 153 (December 1993), 22-25. ISSN 0222-4844. Print.
- Layzer, Judith. 2011. *The Environmental Case: Translating Values Into Policy, 3rd Edition*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press College. Print.
- Lesechos.fr*. 1993. "Strasbourg Adopte Une Charte D'écologie Urbaine.", March 9. http://www.lesechos.fr/09/03/1993/LesEchos/16345-053-ECH_strasbourg-adopte-une-charte-d-ecologie-urbaine.htm.
- Lin, Joyce. 2015. "Alsace, Where French and German Cultures Converge." *Grape Collective*, September 7. <https://grapecollective.com/articles/alsace-where-french-and-german-cultures-converge>.
- L'est Republicain*. 2009. "Un Américain à Strasbourg; Transports." May 27. *LexisNexis Academic Online*. Web. Accessed December 9, 2016.
- Loi n° 82-1153 du 30 décembre 1982 d'orientation des transports intérieurs*. 1982. <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006068730>.

- Loi n° 96-1236 du 30 décembre 1996 sur l'air et l'utilisation rationnelle de l'énergie.* 1996.
<https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000381337>.
- Lomasky, Loren. 1997. "Freedom and the Car." <https://fee.org/articles/freedom-and-the-car/>.
 Accessed April 27, 2016.
- "Louis Sullivan." 2017. *Wikipedia*, March 10, 2017.
https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Louis_Sullivan&oldid=769596512.
- Marchegay, Philippe. 2000. "Une seconde ligne à Strasbourg." *Le Parisien*, July 13.
- Marty, Marie. 2007. "Alsace; Le tram de Strasbourg étend sa toile." *Aujourd'hui en France*. August 25. *LexisNexis Academic Online*. Web. Accessed November 20, 2016.
- . 2009. "En vingt ans, le tramway a transformé Strasbourg." *Aujourd'hui en France*. December 4. *LexisNexis Academic Online*. Web. Accessed April 21, 2016.
- McGillicuddy, Aine. 2011. *Cultural Identity Studies : Rene Schickele and Alsace : Cultural Identity between the Borders*. Bruxelles, GB: Peter Lang AG, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften. Accessed October 29, 2016. ProQuest ebrary.
- Metro. 2008. *The Portland Metro Region: Our Place in the World*. Portland: Online PDF.
http://www.oregonmetro.gov/sites/default/files/our_place_in_the_world_bklt.pdf
- Muller, Georges. 1994. *L'année du tram*. Strasbourg: Les Editions Ronald Hirlé. Print.
- Newth, Benowa. 2007. "Light rail catching on around the world." *Gold Coast Sun*. June 27.
LexisNexis Academic Online. Web. Accessed February 7, 2017.
- Olsen, John. 2016. "The Council Of Europe." *The Churchill Centre*. Accessed November 7, 2016.
<http://www.winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1946-1963-elder-statesman/the-council-of-europe>.
- Paganoni, Maria Cristina. 2012. "City Branding and Social Inclusion in the Glocal City." *Mobilities* 7 (1): 13–31. doi:10.1080/17450101.2012.631809.
- Paris, Sylvie. 2000. "Les joies du tram." *Strasbourg Magazine*, no. 116: (3) December 2000.
- Patterson, Matthew. 2007. *Automobile Politics: Ecology and Cultural Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, pp. 90-165.
- "Petit historique de Strasbourg." n.d. Accessed October 29, 2016. <http://www.monalyz.fr/25.html>.
- Pilarczyk, Eric. 2015. "Strasbourg.eu: Ville et Eurométropole." Strasbourg, France: Ott Wasselonne. Print.
- Remy, Vincent. 2015. "COP21 : Strasbourg, un tram d'avance." *telerama.fr*, December 5.
<http://www.telerama.fr/monde/cop21-strasbourg-un-tram-d-avance,134228.php>.
- Rimmer, P.J., and Dick, H.W. 1998. "Beyond the Third World City: The New Urban Geography in South-east Asia." *Urban Studies* 35, no. 12 : 2303-2321.
- Rhein, Joe. 2015. "Brief History of Alsace, Lorraine, and Alsace-Lorraine." Last updated July 31, 2015. <http://www.rheinandlaeng.com/brief.html>.
- Robinson, Jennifer. 2002. "Global and World Cities: A View from off the Map." *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research* 26(3): 531-554. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.00397
- Sassen, Saskia. 2001. "The Impact of the New Technologies and Globalization on Cities." In *The City Reader*, Richard Le Gates and Frederic Stout, eds., pp. 650-658. New York: Routledge.
- . 2006. *Cities in a World Economy: Third Edition*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Scotto, Marcel. 1994. "HEURES LOCALES ENQUETE LA PREPARATION DES ELECTIONS MUNICIPALES DE JUIN 1995 Strasbourg : le tramway, marche pied electoral de Mme Trautmann." *Le Monde*, 24 October. *LexisNexis Academic Online*. Web. Accessed December 9, 2016.

- Schwenkel, Christina. 2015. "Spectacular Infrastructure and Its Breakdown in Socialist Vietnam." *American Ethnologist* 42, no. 3: 520-34.
- Simon, David. 1995. "The World City Hypothesis: Reflections from the Periphery." In *World Cities in a World-system*, Paul Knox and Peter Taylor, eds., pp. 132-155. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Simpson, Jesse. 2017. "Planning Gentrification: Municipal Policy & Price Effects of the Orange Line in Portland, OR." Senior thesis, Lewis & Clark College.
- Smith, Michael. 1997. *Divided Highways: The Interstates and the Transformation of American Life*, Documentary. Directed by Lawrence R. Hott and Tom Lewis (Arlington: Public Broadcasting Service, 27 September 1997) Film.
- Smithers, Rebecca. 1994. "Silence Heralds Tram's Revival." *The Guardian*, September 24. *LexisNexis Academic Online*. Web. April 25, 2016.
- Stein, Gertrude. 1995. *The Making of Americans*. Normal, IL: Dalkey Archive Press. Print.
- Strasbourg.eu. 2016. "Strasbourg L'internationale." <http://www.strasbourg.eu/fr/developpement-rayonnement/developpement-economique/4-secteurs-cles/strasbourg-l-internationale>. Accessed November 28, 2016. Web.
- Strasbourg.eu & Communauté Urbaine. n.d. *Les Orientations Strategiques Européennes et Internationales de la Ville de Strasbourg*. Strasbourg: Online PDF. <http://www.strasbourg.eu/fr/developpement-rayonnement/europe-international>. Accessed November 10, 2016.
- . 2010. *Strasbourg Urban Community: A pioneering spirit for cutting-edge transport*. Strasbourg: Online PDF. <http://media.strasbourg.eu/alfresco/d/d/workspace/SpacesStore/465bcc15-4149-452c-bd2f-f3e63eb30506/esprit-pionnier-transports.pdf>
- Strasbourg.eu & Eurométropole. 2016. *Concertation publique du 7 mars au 20 avril 2016*. Strasbourg: Eurométropole. Print.
- Strasbourg Magazine* no. 275. 2016. "L'économie sociale et solidaire à l'honneur!" November 2016.
- The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. 2015. "Alsace-Lorraine," Last updated December 10, 2015. <https://global.britannica.com/place/Alsace-Lorraine>.
- The Prince's Foundation. 2008. *Strasbourg: Regaining the Public Realm*. London: The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment. http://hankdittmar.com/wpcontent/uploads/2015/09/StrasbourgReport_revi.pdf. Web. Accessed April 21, 2016.
- "Trams in France." 2017. *Wikipedia*, February 10, 2017. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Trams_in_France&oldid=764724331.
- Truitt, Allison. 2008. "On the back of a motorbike: Middle-class mobility in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam." *American Ethnologist* 35, no. 1 : 3-19. DOI: 10.1111/j.2008.1548-1425.00002.x
- Udo, Max. "The European Parliament: Historical Background Fact Sheet." European Parliament Think Tank, Accessed November 6, 2016. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_1.3.1.pdf.
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization). 1988. *World Heritage Committee: Report of 12th Session*. Brasilia, Brazil. Accessed 30 Nov. 2016. <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/repcom88.htm#495>.
- Vie Publique. 2003. "Les transports, Le transport de marchandises, le transport combiné rail-route : Politiques publiques." *Direction de l'information légale et administrative*. <http://www.vie-publique.fr/politiques-publiques/politique-route-securite-routiere/transports-routiers>, last updated April 1, 2003.

- Ville et Communauté Urbaine and UNESCO. 2014. *Plan de Gestion Strasbourg Grande-Île*. Strasbourg: CUS. Print.
- Wansbeek, C.J. 1999. "Valenciennes - France's Next Tramway City." *Tramways & Urban Transit* (June 1999). <http://www.lrta.org/mag/articles/art9906.html>.
- Wedel, Janine R., Cris Shore, Gregory Feldman, and Stacy Lathrop. 2005. "Toward an Anthropology of Public Policy." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 600: 30-51.
- Western, John. 2012. *Heritage, Culture and Identity: "Cosmopolitan Europe: A Strasbourg Self-Portrait"*. Farnham, GB: Routledge. ProQuest ebrary, Web. 15 February 2017.

Images Bibliography

- Figure 1 – Created by the author
- Figure 2 – Moga, Nathalie. No title. Digital image. Accessed March 10, 2017. <http://www.rue89strasbourg.com/cts-rentree-2013-47472>
- Figure 3 – Furnished by Brochard, Gilles. "Vieux Tram de Strasbourg." Digital image in presentation. Eurométropole de Strasbourg. Accessed December 5, 2016.
- Figure 4 - Communauté Urbaine de Strasbourg. "Le paysage urbain : avant/après le tram." Digital image. Accessed January 18, 2017. http://transport.vpeterburge.ru/upload/tram_avant_apres_a.pdf
- Figure 5 – Strasbourg.eu Eurométropole. "Grande Île." Digital image. Accessed February 25, 2017. http://www.en.strasbourg.eu/uploads/images/Gallery/accueil/pano_grande_ile.jpg
- Figure 6 - Breton, Philippe. 1989. "Entre VAL et tram, Strasbourg aux prises avec la communication." Print image (digitized) in *Revue de Sciences Sociales de la France de l'Est*, no. 17, 1989-1990. EUROPE: Plis et avancées: 96-116. ISSN 0336-1578. Strasbourg: Université des Sciences Humaines.
- Figure 7 - Hutt, Jean-Marc and Sarg, Freddy (Eds.) Print image (digitized) in *Le Livre noir*, p.44. Holtzheim, France: Les Presses d'impre.
- Figure 8 - Communauté Urbaine de Strasbourg. *Le paysage urbain : avant/après le tram*. Digital image. Accessed May 1, 2016. http://transport.vpeterburge.ru/upload/tram_avant_apres_a.pdf,
- Figure 9 – Academic Français. Digital image. Accessed February 24, 2017. <http://fr.academic.ru/pictures/frwiki/72/Hautepierre-hopital.jpg>
- Figure 10 – Communauté Urbaine de Strasbourg. Print image (digitized) in *Tram 2006 Entre Esplanade et Neudorf une grande ligne de vie*. Strasbourg: CUS.
- Figure 11 – Wikipedia. "Plan du réseau strasbourgeois avec les extensions prévues et les BHNS." Digital image. Accessed December 11, 2016. Adapted from image at https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tramway_de_Strasbourg
- Figure 12 – Photo taken by the author
- Figure 13 – Morrish, William R. "Global Local." Digital image. Accessed February 25, 2017. <http://faculty.virginia.edu/commoncourse/Images/Glocal.gif>