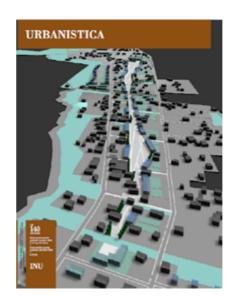
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Paola Briata

The public debate on immigration in Italy is still dominated by the security issue, not to say by racism and xenophobia. Immigration policies, defined by the national government, have mainly been aimed at controlling the flows of people, the immigrants' integration policies having completely been devolved to the 'local' level. At this scale, the municipalities and the third sector's initiatives play a core role. All these preliminary remarks seem to legitimate a focus on the role played by urban policies on these issues.

The paper aims at contributing to the debate on immigration and urban policies in Italy by analysing the EU urban regeneration program The Gate. Living not leaving, carried out in the Porta Palazzo and Borgo Dora areas in Turin, an initiative which may be quoted as one of the first experiences of an urban policy expressly focused on the immigrants' integration issues in Italy.

Porta Palazzo has always been a 'port of entry' in Turin for the immigrants, both the ones coming from the south of Italy from the 1950s, and the ones coming from the non-EU countries in most recent years. In 1995 the increasing number of immigrants led to the italian citizens' protests: an 'urban crisis' which made clear that the problems were not only related to the scarce level of integration between italian and foreign people, but also to the low level of social integration of the italian citizens living in the area. This means that the public bodies' answer shouldn't have been based on any kind of affirmative action program, as problems of social justice could easily raise. A Council's survey suggested an urban regeneration integrated approach which was adopted in The gate project.

The gate started in 1998 and ended in 2002. Afterwards it has been updated with a series of initiatives thanks to a wide range of partners' support. The project's main theme was 'inclusion' considering this issue both from the immigrants' and from the natives' point of view. All the community involvement strategies have been addressed to the overall local population, considering shared problems and not shared ethnicities as a base for action. The security issue was considered, but it never had a core role, and was declined in an innovative way, investing on social initiatives to prevent youths from addictions, unemployment and crime activities.

The project included 19 actions related to 5 areas of intervention: business incubator; safety net; liveability; sustainability; link-ability.

The gate has always been included in the Progetto speciale periferie whose aim is to integrate a number of regeneration initiatives at neighbourhood level, imagining a strategic approach for the 'peripheral' areas in Turin.

The Council's high official for International relationships and EU Policies unit become the project's committee director after its approval. After the 2006 elections, her experience led to the urban regeneration and integration department's institution which reflects a quite innovative approach in Italy, being the immigrants' integration issues usually devolved to the social services. The Council's innovative approach to deal with immigration issues through integrated area based regeneration initiatives, as well as The gate experience which established a sort of 'urban laboratory', could be both seen as part of a mutual learning process that led to a change in the public institutions' organization.

The project's main innovation is related to the choice of using an urban regeneration integrated approach to deal with immigration issues, investing on the neighborhood's liveability and its economic development. Putting the inclusion issue at the center of an initiative that has worked on a multi-ethnic contest is a cultural choice in a country that still deals with immigration mainly considering the security issue.

The integrated approach was still quite unusual in the italian contest when The gate was launched, confirming the municipality's attitude to innovation. Despite this, the process's high dependence on the political and technical leaderships' commitment could turn down into a major weakness if the new culture won't spread inside the overall public bodies.

Finally, it's important not to consider this experience's interesting outcomes, as a sufficient reason to 'close up' in the 'micro' level, forgetting more general urban problems that threaten the area. The last 20 years' recovery strategy to promote the visitor economy in Turin has given a new life to the city centre. Porta Palazzo has always been a very central area, but nowadays it's even more central, the gentrification threat being around the corner. Only a very strong strategic vision of the future of the peripheral areas seems to be the best chance for these reality to integrate in the urban contest. A major reorganization of the peripheral areas project has been announced, but it's still too early for an evaluation of its outcomes.



140/09

The soil exploitation in the Province of Turin

Ilario Abate Daga, Andrea Ballocca, Paolo Foietta

The coordination territorial Plan adopted by the Province of Turin in 1999 and approved by Piedmont Region in 2003 is based on soil protection and conservation policies.

In a historical moment of complex demographic stagnation in our province and of contraction of the industrial activity the territorial Plan shows the need of re-establishing the town urban management, abandoning the implementation process, often considered only in terms of quantity of new build-

ings and the resulting incomes.

The territorial Plan of the Province has clearly shown its goal to the whole community and to the institutions, i.e. to stop the exploitation of the soil when different from the already existent buildings and inhabited areas, to avoid further developments of the expansion areas, in conflict with the areas devoted to agricultural use and parks.

For these reasons and with this meaning in 2002 it was decided to set up the Observatory on the territorial and demographic transformations. It should not be conceived as a 'study', but as a valid instrument for the continuous monitoring and management of the territory.

Its evolution has allowed to pass from the historical literature on territory (from 1821 to 1991) to pragmatic, systematic solutions (1991, 2000, 2003, 2006) which allow a new interpretation of the settling system (morphology), the real measurement of the soil exploitation, the control of the environment sustainability of the different territorial interventions (balance) and a new concept of the sprawl system.

A first report of the results of the Osservatory was published at the end of 2008 by the Province of Turin. A synthesis of the results is presented in the following paragraphs.

The current context (1990-2006)

Already from the historical literature it was clear that for the first time after many decades, at the beginning of the 1990s there was a countertrend in the population curve as compared to the antropic growth of the 'contaminated' areas. This trend is confirmed also by the results from the studies on the most recent years (1990 and 2006).

It can be observed that in 1990 the exploited areas covered the 7.2% of the whole provincial territory (6 800 km2); between 1990 and 2006 the exploited areas raised to 7,479 hectars, with an increase by 15% and a medium annual growth of 0.9%. That means that in 2006 8.3%, i.e. more than a percentage point as compared to 1990, of the whole provincial territory was exploited.

Such numbers acquire a greater importance when observed in terms of the time range considered (1990-2000 and 2000-2006). It can be therefore observed that in the first period the exploited soil has risen by 265 per year

(2,656 new hectars exploited, with a growth of 5.4%); since 2000 the medium annual growth have been of >800 hectars (4,822 hectars of new exploited soils, i.e. an increase of 9.3% as compared to the data referring to 1990).

The constant increase of the growth curve of the exploited soil is a clear interpretative key, alongside a parallel trend of the corresponding curve of population growth. Although the period from 1990 to 2006 is characterized by a small (0.5%)growth of the resident population, it is clear that the annual trend of the population itself is irregular; the 2,236,765 residents of the year constantly decrease and become 2,165,299 in 2001 (with a decrease by almost 50,000 units only in 2000-2001). The annual balance begins to record positive values (with a mean annuak growth of about 5,000 inhabitants) from 2002,

with a peak during biennio 2003-2004 (+64,715). The overlapping curves representing the demographic trend and that of the soil exploited highlight a mismatch among the values recorded in that same period: the difference between soil exploited and population continues to increase and can be measured using 1991 as the year of reference, with 14 points. With regards to the mentioned dichotomy, it is necessary to observe and elaborate all the changes referring to the population structure and to the fluxes of the housing development demand, which now become the priority. These changes are partly due in general to the deep change in the structure of family units. In fact, if compared to 3 decades ago, even with the same population the number of family units made up of a smaller number of people is now far larger. A natural consequence of this change is the growth of housing demand, whose number represents another aspect for the study of the law of demand and offer of new buldings.

The economic aspect related to new buildings is not secondary; even if it is difficult to evaluate, its quantification depends on the local administrations and their responsibility. There is a growing trend towards the housing leading to new centres far from the metropolitan areas, with a consequent dispersion.

The soil exploitation is also affected by other phenomena such as the sprawl i.e. the creation of new isolated settlement centres with a monofunctional feature: residential, productive or commercial) such as in the case of the 2006 winter Olympic games which saw the construction of new infrastructures and houses, and the growing demand of second houses devoted to turism.

After all these general considerations, it is important to remind that the territorial morphology of the Province of Turin is characterized by an equal distribution of mountain areas (about 55%) and plain or hill areas (about 45%). In the light of this consideration, and excluding the mountain areas from the phenomenon of human settlement and then focusing on the remaining areas, the phenomenon plays a new, important role.

In this case it can be observed that the numbers mentioned before tend to double. In fact, it emerges that the soil exploited in 1990 is the 13% of the whole plain or hill



Profiles and practices



areas, increasing to 15% in 2006 with a relative mean increasign rate of 1.15%.

As for the geographical distribution of the new settlements, very few elements allow to foresee a regular trend in the urban development. Apart from few cases of completed already existing centres, which in the high density areas risk the saturation, there are more and more cases of growth of the urban grid due to the process that the anglosaxon city planners call sprawling, i.e. A random distribution as compared to the trend of the past few decades.

Sprawl

The urban dispersion, or sprawl, is a new common phenomenon in the european context; it defines the uncontrolled urban development characterized by a low density and high costs. In its analysis, due to some limitations of the available data, the Province of Turin has chosen to focus on the study of the cases of sprawl which have occorre after 1990. It was only after 1990 that the degree of accuracy and precision of the cartographic information allow an analysis with a detail (1:10.000 scale) useful for the territorial context considered.

The definition of a 'sprawl area' has been done on the basis of the following parameters:

- areas external to the already existent urban context;

- monofunctional areas;
- low-density areas;
- disproportion in the development scale;

The main contexts of urban settlement have been defined through the density analysis, after the following classification:

 urban areas already existent, whose territory has been compromised by the development of the urban grid;

 transitional areas, represented by the completing processes or the connection with the periurban fabric;

 free areas, i.e. those included in mostly agricultural and /or natural territory.

On the basis of the methods descrive above, it is therefore possible to define a phenomenon of urban dispersion in the whole provincial territory.

The latest 16 years have been characterized by a growth of the dispersed areas. On the one hand, the historical sprawl today appears to be integrated in the already existing urban fabric, whereas on the other hand the last period is characterized by smaller aggregations apparently extraneous to the previous development urban processes.

It is clear that the sprawl acquires a greater importance in particular in the free areas. Since 1990, in fact, the whole provincial territory has been characterized by thousands of new 'objects' which can be identified as new isolated buildings, with a total surface of about 900 hectars. That means that, in a broad sense, the sprawl represents only about 10% of the whole exploited areas. It is important to highlight that the different kinds of sprawl, here differentiated on the basis of the morphological context where they developed, represent settlement models whose conformity to the current planning policies depend also on the territorial context. The creation of new cetres isolated from preexisting urban contexts must be carefully analyzed and differently managed on the basis of their complex territorial contextualization.

Sprawl phenomenon in free areas occurring in rural areas represent in general a negative model of urbanization. On the other hand, the same tipology (occurring in very low density areas, and then free) observed in a periurban context, for example near major roads, can be easily conducted to a phenomenon of urban completion in the light of future planning policies.



Suburbia year zero? Subprime mortgage crisis and metropolitan development in the U.S.

Lucio Gliecillo

Is the collapse of the subprime mortgage market reshaping the regional geography of the Usa? Have we reached the end of the growth model which for over half a century has dominated the urban and territorial scene in the United States? These are some of the questions that today seem to divide observers and scholars. Asking these questions, among others, is Christopher Leinberger, one of the greatest urban scholars, author of an important critical text bearing the emblematic title The option of urbanism: "Over the last few decades we've structurally overinvested in fringe real estate ... But this time it's different. It's not just a cycle. It's going to take more than two or three years to recover from this".

To better understand the sequence of events that helped shape the current situation, it is necessary to take a few steps backward. In 2000 the international stock market suffers severe losses due to the collapse of information securities.

The crisis of the new economy drives investors to flee the stock market and to divert their savings elsewhere. Vast amounts of capital are poured into the real estate market, opening new opportunities for investors and managers.

The Reit (Real estate investment trust) is established, while commercial banks increase offers of credit to developers and construction enterprises. In this climate of enthusiasm for the new economic and financial course, financial specialists invent the sub-prime market, a particular typology of financial product targeting clientele most at risk, in which is offered access to credit even in the absence of the most basic guarantees.

The high risk credit market also secures the consent of government, as it addresses the weakest segments of populations, in particular immigrants, unskilled laborers, and families of color. The rush continues until 2006, when the cost of money begins an inexorable rise. The increase in monthly installments falls like an axe on a clientele already weak, leading quickly to an increase in insolvency and consequently a tumble in consumption and income. The shortage of liquidity due to the increase in insolvency is reflected in turn on the financial markets, banks and credit institutions which approach bankruptcy with increasingly larger strides. Some of the largest financial institutions specializing in loans such as Fannie Mae (Federal national mortgage association) and Freddie Mac (Federal home loan mortgage corporation) and other so-called Government sponsored enterprises (Gse) are taken over almost entirely by the federal Government. The banking system also shows signs of sagging. The collapse of dozens of credit institutions renders further action on the part of the government necessary, with the purpose of restoring oxygen to an economic system semiparalyzed by the crisis of worker confidence and the lack of liquidity.

The American government doesn't wait long to respond. Since september 2007, legislative measures designed to restore a principle of greater equilibrium between market mechanisms and the protection of citizens have been intensified. A plan is approved which allows the Federal housing administration to support refinanced loans for tens of thousands of insolvent debtors crowded out by the exorbitant rise in loan rates. At the same time, the Senate approves the Building american homeownership act, under which the government allocates 200 million dollars to private welfare for its support and consultation services to citizens in difficulty.

Both of these regulations express the intention of the federal government to radically revise its financial policy. It remains to be seen if and how the measures referred to above will be able to bring about recovery of the housing market and thus restore confidence in the U.S. economy. These are certainly signs that trace a line of demarcation in the relations between the government and the market from which it will be difficult to recede in the coming years.

The metropolitan question

The fallout of the financial debacle on the American metropolis outlines a well-constructed geography, even with quite marked differences between the situations in differing states and, within those states, between one metropolitan and another. Research conducted by the Consumer federation of America estimates an overall fall of 7% in property values in 2008, with peaks of -16% in the state of California while foreclosures during the same period will reach a threshold of 1.4 million dwellings with total losses of approximately 315 billion dollars.

At the metropolitan level, the differences appear equally marked. In the five metropolitan statistical areas (Msa) with the lowest concentration of subprime loans, only 3% of refinancing occurs in the high risk market, while in the Msa with the lowest share of prime financing, the incidence of high risk financing exceeds 40%. In other words, where an already weak market exists, the incidence of refinancing with high risk loans proves to be much higher than the metropolitan areas which are more economically stable. Furthermore, the same data emphasizes an historical aspect central to the concerns of observers and scholars, that is the correspondence between the geography of ethnic concentration and exposure to the high risk mortgage market. So it turns out that in recent years over one third of african-american families (34%) have received subprime loans, as opposed to a percentage of white families with just over 12%. The combination of these factors has contributed to a gradual modification in the overall structure

of the demand which has shifted to a smaller-scale housing market. The changes in household composition, the overall slackening in building construction, the growing affirmation of a new environmental sensitivity, have undoubtedly contributed to the acceleration of a process whose spatial effects have not yet been well analyzed. Combining diverse data such as the trend in the housing market, consumer preferences, demographic trends and other information from the construction industry, Arthur Nelson, director of the prestigious Metropolitan institute at Virginia Tech, outlined in 2006 a rather grim outlook regarding the future of suburban America. The scenario, based on a timeline of twenty years, forecasts the formation of a surplus of large-lot homes (houses built on lots of over 650 square meters) of about 22 million units, equivalent to about 40% of existing construction. Most likely Nelson's forecasts can now be revised downwards considering that, with 1.35 million new constructions, 2007 signaled the lowest production for the construction sector since 1993. Nevertheless, this scenario emphasizes an aspect that seems crucial, though often overlooked in American urban debate, relating to the necessity for radical renovation of cultural assumptions even prior to economic ones based on the success of the suburban model.

End of the sprawl?

Ultimately one of the most obvious consequences of the American financial market crisis is that of redrawing the attention of scholars and experts to the problems tied to urban growth, reviving the impetus never soothed of the so-called anti sprawl movement, the movement of opinion that since the postwar period had become the protagonist of a no holds barred battle against the process of suburbanization and sprawl. One of the most frequent criticisms of anti sprawl takes its cue from the awareness that the fibrillation (real or alleged) of the suburban model is found precisely in the crisis of factors which historically have decreed its success, first and foremost the principle of a free market and its growth. In fact, it is true that the large-scale spread of the suburban model can be explained by analysis of a few elementary economic principles: the quest for greater profits has certainly helped drive development beyond both the physical and mental boundaries of the traditional city. However, in analyzing the case of the U.S., the role historically held by the government should not be neglected as the principal player in the collective aspiration for greater standards of security and welfare.

It's too early to say what significance all of this has for the future of the American metropolis. From the point of view of settlement, consideration of the spatial consequences of the crisis seems to bring to attention some historical themes of the urban debate. The question that ensues is not a simple one: namely, whether the future of the metropolis is tied to the survival of the city, in its inevitability as a universal condition of society, or whether, as Koolhaas maintains, we are facing a post urban future, a horizon without center dominated by the logic of globalization and modeled on the periodic oscillations of the market. So the question posed seems to once again call attention to the inevitability of a gap between words and things, between knowledge of reality and models employed to interpret it. It is not surprising, therefore, the call to the ancient myth of the small village and to a community which has lost its origins, by now cyclical from the time the suburban experience had its start. The hypothesis is well-known and has a large consensus, both in its 'smart' version as a proposed solution to the problem of suburban growth and in its more problematic neotraditionalist transcription, a disenchanted response to the necessity of providing America with a cultural background which it seems to historically be lacking.

City planning in climate change times

Francesco Domenico Moccia

Opposition and scepticism in the public opinion fed by oil multinational and research circle close to them against warnings of the scientific community embraced by Onu and celebrated in the Kyoto protocol was overcome by Obama election to the Usa presidency. This will open a new stage. From scratch city were the less controversial issue. In the Michael Crichton's, the well known author of the E.R. television serial, bestseller, State of Fear, there are poisonous doubts about global worming indicators, as the melting of the artic ices. More, an ecologist group try to cause a natural disaster to gain research founds. Nevertheless, in such adverse context, the scientific dispute, reported in the novel, admit only the 'urban heat island effect', meaning that a city is often four to seven degrees Fahrenheit warmer than the surrounding suburbs, and there are documents proving the increasing of temperature in the last century.

May this is the reason why great cities are the more interested to the issue, as reported by the IV Worldwatch Institute report (2007), where is also stated that such cities have the structural features more suitable with low energy consumption while assuring their citizens a high quality of life. Ken Livingstone, during the time when was mayor of London and Michael Bloomberg, still mayor of New York are celebrated as the champions of the antiglobal worming movement. The first one owe this title to the creation of a special organization devoted to study and plan strategy for such complex metropolis running high natural risks; the second one having put warming in the general city planning, after the monitoring of greenhouse gases (Ghg) emissions and special studies.

Given the large quantity of factors involved, accurate predictions are very difficult. However, it is generally accepted that a local strategy is needed and its effects will be in some way helpful. It is articulated in mitigation and prevention strategy. The mitigation strategy is aimed to the greenhouse gases emission reduction; the mitigation plans any action able to reduce risks coming from prevented change of the clime, as storms, flooding, landslides, and costal erosion.

Building technology and city planning

In our country, reduction of Ghg emission has being achieved with a code of building technology performance. This objective converge with energy saving and reduction of fossil energy sources which are valued to have reached the peak, at least for oil. According to that aim for the building thermal insulation many solutions are been proposed; many technologies are now available for the interior climate at low energy consumption as the heath pomp, or some other technologies using alternative sources as the solar energy, as greenhouses or solar panels. Electric appliances are more and more at lower energy consumption while computer aided house management add other energy savings.

In front of such a large innovation in the building field, in other worlds, inside the house walls, in the private realm, very few proposals we found in the public realm, in the city planning stage. Often the word 'city' appears in the title of books or programs, as 'City at 0 emissions' of the city of Rome, but you will find inside jus a catalogue of building solutions, not proposals at the urban scale.

This planning sterility is so much surprising that city planning has been involved in environmental issues since a double decade, so that some authors identify this period as a special stage of the Italian city planning. I may explain this paradox with the thesis that in all the stage city and nature are been considered as two conflicting parts. From the environmental side, there was urgency in the nature preservation against a pervasive urbanism. According to this approach, a leading European program 'Nature 2000' had the objective to save the natural sites needed for the extinguishing species. On the city planning side, still under the pressure of a needed cultural innovation, the challenge of new urban forms meeting all the ecological requests of a low energy time is not jet faced.

As appeared evident in the last Rome Fair, dedicated to Ecometropolis, now is time to make a significant effort to fill the gap, given the general reconnaissance of the city as the cross road of the global worming.

Sustainable cities and ecocities

Two alternative paths to the question are fighting as alternative solutions. Sustainable city is a brand for incremental approach.

It works to find out mitigation devices or to add at the given city fabric some complementary equipment. For instance they propose biological sewage treatment for the small neighbourhood with large green areas, to reserve some public spaces to walking, to encourage the use of some type of paving that do not obtrude the soil permeability. This is the prevailing approach, especially in legislation, and generally in the process of Local 21 Agenda.

From a different perspective, we are at a point of the crisis that a more radical approach is needed: Ecocity should be a radically different town from that we are now used to (also if the european compact city is empathically considered); it must synthesize all the best organization and urban form able to minimize CO2 emission and energy consumption. What is particularly interesting for planners is the focus on the city model, a task to which they are devoted in the century (at least from Renaissance, as history teaches). In the last time planners are prone to think the do not need any more of models for a list of reasons: for the rationality crisis, because cities do not enlarge any more, they are not achievable identically to the way they are thought, or they are not perfect. Given all the critics to models, we need them to cumulate experience, discuss proposals and correct

mistakes. Also if any model can be found in the reality, any influence city planning had on the built environment is doe to models. It helps to share ideas and solutions. To our aim, an ecological history of city models from Filarete to Hilbers-eimer, Le Corbusier and Paolo Soleri would be helpful.

Mobility and urban form

Suburbs are identified as one on the main air pollutant because the generate commuting on long distances and, for the low density, public transport is not convenient more that private car. In the city planning theory sprawl is associated to cars as well as linear development to streetcar and polarized city enlargement to railway, going back to the history of the contemporary metropolis. This means that Ghg curbing involve a multicenter city model at high density and mixed soil use: the organization that minimize trips. This model is not a utopia, but the leading guide for metropolis as London and New York.

The some ideas inspired some proposals as Carfree cities by J.H. Crawford or Ecocity by R. Register. We find the some basic principles in the Rogers proposal for the international consultation on After Kyoto Paris, le Gran Pari (the great challenge). Differences among these proposals are in morphology: some elaborate around megastructures, others prefer the compact city at the start of industrial revolution, others just a new combination of the urban materials of contemporary city.

As you can see, urban model are already in elaboration and will be propelled by powerful forces: repenting petrol producers, polluters in search of new ways; advertising agents lying down marketing campaign for special buyers, civil servants obliged to honour international obligations.

Across the world, an anti-car movement is growing, starting from depaving practices an arriving to carfree blocks or neighbourhoods building. In Milan, Legambiente asks the next Expo will be a pilot project of a carfree neighbourhood.

Energy saving and production

The first contribution to saving energy is the already mentioned carfree model. On more questions scientific evidence coming from pragmatic research is lacking but based on common understanding, housing units joined together, with less surface in contact with outdoor climate, open space design able to protect from warmth or capture sun energy, filled with green and water with good effect on urban climate surely contribute on a natural building conditioning.

Major achievements in this field still impinge mainly on building regulation where building (more volume than permitted normally) grants or fiscal deductions are given to passive houses or zero-energy buildings.

Energy (ecologic) production more used in urban context is cogeneration and heat distribution system. Its success depends from the lack of any need to change urban form. In energy production from renewable sources, it is important a close distance from production and consumption place to save on transportation energy dispersal. This means that we should produce energy in cities. Windmills or great solar infrastructure were tested in open space and the first prototypes of the most promising innovation technology are operating in desert or agricultural areas. In a process of mutual adaptation their introduction in cities will be possible in the close future. The size reduction of windmills has already reached the aim, letting the smaller outfit to fill better in the urban setting. On the other side, urban morphology may adapt to great infrastructures, mainly in the thermodynamic solar technology, to let this very promising energy generators to be in cities.

One more task of city planning is to optimize, on the limited surface resource, its employment for the installation of the most needed technology. Market offer a wide range of energy or heat generator whose yield have to be matched with real needs, assuring balance in choices. For instance, do we need more heat or electricity production, on a surface unit?

Water and biodiversity

While is quite easy to reduce water consumption with simple appliances and improvement in house energyefficient electrical appliances, great capital investments are required to rehabilitate and up-

grade the urban infrastructure for the water distribution. In a more general discourse, city planning must feel with greater responsibility the task to make water an essential part of public space, capturing storm water, cleaning rivers, brooks and springs. Water control and preservation in the urban environment is becoming a pervasive measure in the adaptation strategy. In addition, it will have the side effect to improve the enjoyment of citizens in open air activity and nurture the life of every species.

