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Urbanistica: differences between languages, focuses and cultures

Angela Barbanente

In the first chapter of her book *The Power of Places. Urban Landscapes as Public History*, Dolores Hayden tells us about a heated debate between Herbert J. Gans e Ada Louise Huxtable that took place in the Seventies on the pages of the *New York Times*. Gans, a distinguished urban sociologist, attacked New York's Landmarks Preservation Commission, since he thought that the Commission was rewriting New York's architectural history from an elitist perspective, as it mainly tended to preserve mansions of the rich and buildings designed by famous architects. Huxtable, an architecture critic, argued that to define major architectural monuments as product of the rich and to consider attention paid to them as an expression of an elitist cultural policy was a perverse distortion of history. In her opinion these buildings were essential and irreplaceable part of civilization and aesthetic uniqueness was as important as vernacular expression.

Apart from the subject and reasons of the debate, it is interesting to see how both were unable (or unwilling) to understand each other's language. When they spoke about architecture, Gans was intending all the built environment, Huxtable buildings designed by famous architects, and only a very limited part of the built environment. When they said 'vernacular', the former was referring to the social uses of buildings, while the latter to buildings designed by unknown architects. When they said 'neighborhood', the former meant a complex network of social relations and spatial ties, the latter was ideally drawing a line around a historical district.

Both seemed to share the common concern that Americans were losing important collective memories, due to more or less large scale urban renewal interventions. However, from today's perspective, they also shared an inability to predict that the changed social composition and economic condition of American cities two decades after their debate would involve major controversies about the definition of collective history and collective culture in a democratic society.

I think that a number of contributions published in this issue of the journal induces us to reflect upon the increasing diversity of languages and attentions characterizing the field of activity that in general terms in the Italian tradition is named *urbanistica*. In fact, the report on the project 'One City, Nine Towns' for future development in suburban Shanghai appears very different from the other contributions on policies, plans, projects, practices of urban development included in this issue. It is obviously a difference not only due to the geographical distance and dissimilarity in the processes between the worlds that such articles consider, but also due to the different languages and focuses that distinguish them.

In the Pujiang New Town the vitality producing the reconstruction of Ground Zero, with its intricate web of subjects and powers cannot be noted nor can the urban policies being developed in Cosenza, Salerno, Catania.

Such decision-making processes induce us to shift attention from the 'city' as an object to processes and related outcomes, which are inevitably uncertain even in short-term action plans. Certainly, the design of new towns has always been an extraordinary (and problematic) field of experimentation for urban planning, even when in the period of greatest expansion of cities and economies in different parts of the world, it seemed to be an unavoidable solution to problems experienced by large cities. Perhaps today it emerges even more dramatically when compared to the forms of planning we are used to, since they are deeply influenced by the pluralistic character of society and by the contrasts and conflicts that affect it. In place of a pluralistic society, which raises not only technical, but also political problems to any design enterprise, in the design of the 'Italian city' of Pujiang by Gregotti Associati the client seems to be making clear requests for spatial and social organization of the town. For example, planners are asked to assign an 'Italian character' to the new town and to propose districts with different typologies corresponding to various income levels. The presence of a single conversation partner seems to facilitate the designer's task, reducing uncertainty about the design's outcomes. What seems to be problematic in the client's demand, is its contradiction with the 'tradition of the Italian historic cities', which was able to favour and merge social and functional differences, as well as the 'new needs of social living'. The solution that emerges seems to lead to a stable spatial order that ensures lack of controversies and conflicts. Space, deprived of social action, seems to be without time. But the way towards the future does not have one direction only, while projects, tending towards one goal, imply fixity of target and direction leading to it.

Different meanings of *urbanistica* have coexisted for a long time now in planning theory and practice. And the urbanist's activities have been interacting with a more and more intricate accrual of old and new demands made by society. If we focus on practice, we realize that the definition of professional figures included within the field of *urbanistica* cannot be taken for granted. Besides architects specialized in urban design, city engineers, and public officials who occupy positions in municipal planning offices, we find professionals who are not engaged in drawing up any plan (neither regulatory nor strategic). They are, for example, engaged in negotiation, cooperation, resolution of conflicts on urban issues, in plan, project, and policy evaluation, or in building coalitions with the aim of promoting local development (1).

In these cases the variety of theories, beliefs, approaches and languages characterizing urban planning practice comes into play. However, this is not only the consequence of the recent multiplication of the urbanist's profiles and fields of activity, but also the result of a different way of conceiving *urbanistica*. In fact, if we remember Astengo's (1966) (2) reference to the lesson of Geddes, that a village, a city, a region is not only a "place in space", but also a "drama in time", it is difficult to face the project for the 'Italian new town' in Shanghai with a spirit of quiet admiration. The questions that such a largescale project raises are several. We refer to the massive processes of change taking place in China and, in particular, in

the Shanghai region, which Huang's paper only hints at (3).
However, assuming diversity in languages as the only perspective to interpret the contributions in this issue would be limited. Another problematic aspect is that the growth of Chinese cities and the solutions of their related problems seem to show us the sequence of a movie that we have already seen, but with a totally different setting and a much more dramatic scenario. With the opening up of China there has been fast penetration of European and North American ideas and experiences. This fact, also due to the character of ongoing processes in the rapidly developed regions along the eastern coast of China, seems to render what is not contemporary, contemporary. According to Yeh and Wu (1999), "In the field of urban planning, ideas such as Ebenezer Howard's Garden City and Sir Patrick Abercrombie's London Plan are known ... Many planning terms, such as 'new towns', 'green belt', 'growth poles' and 'megalopolis', are widely used …, although some of them are not used exactly and
properly."
On the other hand, issues that in wealthy Western countries have been relevant over the past decades, might be completely irrelevant or assume different meanings in China, or in some other 'transitional country', where a gradual and partial process of reform has led to an economic policy characterized by the coexistence of
planned and market elements (Wu 2001). And concepts, theories and practices developed within a centralized planning persist in this country and inform its frames and routines, notwithstanding the fact that they are no longer considered adequate in the face of current changes (Yeh, Wu 1999).
Planning is a practice deeply embedded in institutional and political contexts (4). Planning discourses cannot be easily universalized. Planning theories to which they usually refer, rooted in European and North American traditions, underpin ways of thinking that are alien to Asian ones (Friedmann 1998), in spite of the above-mentioned penetration of Western discourses, cultures, practices (5).
Differences in institutions and practices, i.e. in planning cultures are of great importance. They also concern the current European Union member states, and would induce us to reflect upon the outcomes of the diffusion of a 'European policy style' in local territorial action practices in a number of towns in Southern Italy (6).
But in order to appreciate the Chinese context it is not enough to understand differences in planning cultures. Any reflection upon the construction of Chinese towns would require not only a translation of discourses, but 'translations between' different rationalities, i.e. a double directionality of translation between cosmologies and macronarratives: between the (modern) European cosmology and the (traditional) Chinese cosmology, between the ideals of participatory democracy and socialist ideals (Mignolo 1999).

Notes

1. Among others, see Rodwin (1989); Friedmann (1998). About the 'new' planning practices relating to the emerging social demands in Italy, see Balducci (1998).
2. Or to the almost contemporary Bolan's (1967, p. 234), "Planning is now viewed as a process … and the master plan is a flexible guide to public policy".
3. A wide discussion on these issues is in Yeh, Wu (1999) and Lin, Wei (2002).
4. See Gerundo and Soda on the effects of the reform for the election of Majors in Salerno and Cosenza respectively. The importance of government policies, socialist institutions, and the urban administrative system for current territorial transformation in China are well documented in literature. Among others, see Wu (2000); Zhang (2000); Ma (2002).
5. The construction of theories seems to be limited by the obligation to give justification to the 'official policies'.
6. See the contribution by Tedesco, which explicitly assumes this point of view. A systematic study on the recent changes in planning practices in a number of European countries that pays due attention to the influence of institutional contexts is in Newman, and Thornley (1996).

Urban policies in Cosenza

*Giovanni Soda**

The fact that Calabria has few towns is strange considering its origins as the centre of the Magna Grecia urban civilisation. The recurring image of Calabria is that of scattered settlements with little binding infrastructure. That image hides a number of dynamic changes and does not take into account of the polarisation and diffusion of settlements along the principal arteries, among which the valley of the river Crati is the one which, in recent years, has not only shown the liveliest and most dynamic growth but also offer the best prospects for development. At the head of the valley, in a site inhabited since earliest times, lies Cosenza, an inland Calabrian town. Cosenza offers an excellent contrast to the stereotypes. It is, in fact, an evolving town, a node of a complex, polycentric and dynamic urban system.

The Cosenza urban area contains 120,000 inhabitants (Cosenza, Rende, Castrolibero), but that number can be doubled with a wider interpretation (Cosenza, Rende, Castrolibero and other hinterland districts often physically attached to each other or the three main areas). It constitutes the most evolved urban system in the region. This urban concentration, clustered around the two major centres, Cosenza and Rende, has now fused into a single urban core stretching from the historic centre of Cosenza at one end, to the University of Calabria in Rende at the other. Over the last 20 years, it has undergone considerable change both from the physical and social point of view. Cosenza and Rende together have become the motor of development and centre of intellectual and human resources for the whole area thanks to the location of the largest university in the region. For all these reasons, Cosenza appears to have the greatest potential for growth of high tech and tertiary industries in the region. To sum up, Cosenza is an urban system (1) whose concentrated population like other metropolitan areas is made up of a fluctuating mixture of residents, commuters, consumers and businessmen (2); it acts as a service point for local productive subsystems and a focus for a network of relations with the surrounding area. Cosenza is open to the outside world and possesses a good number of attractions (university, research centres, commercial system, culture and services). It is important to mention also the strong tradition of urban planning in Rende, the recent relaunching of the image of Cosenza, the balanced nature of its urban environment, the absence of largescale phenomena of abusivismo, the cultural and historic treasures housed in the old part of Cosenza (Cosenza Vecchia), and the potential for development connected with Cosenza's historic traditions as well as those of Rende and other minor centres. All these factors place Cosenza in an excellent position to compete or cooperate with other urban areas in southern Italy. Finally, if a comparison is made between Cosenza and other urban centres in the region, it is clear that Cosenza is a better place to live as it is better organised, has strong artistic and historical roots and offers a variety of social activities and cultural diversity.

Of course, it would be overstating the case to say that Cosenza is an idyllic island in the centre of a region depressed both socially and economically. Indeed the area's economic and productive base is still weak, unemployment is high and social deprivation and marginalisation is on the increase. From an urban planning perspective, the urban core of Cosenza-Rende gives the impression of being incomplete and there is an evident lack of services and green spaces in the part of Cosenza built in the period of rapid expansion in the 1970s. Furthermore, from the urban and social point of view, as well as from the perspective of environmental harmony, there is a stark contrast between areas of great quality and potential, and crisis areas. Moreover as a result of the high demand for building in certain areas (and neglect in others) parts of the territorial system (historic centre, river ecosystems, rural, hillside and plain landscapes) have suffered damage.

What is striking, however, is the widespread processes of dynamic change over recent years (spanning out from the urban core to the system of satellite communes). In this sense, to understand the Cosenza urban area means we have to consider the context in which significant morphogenetic urban processes are at work. This is not all. In recent urban and regional policy developments financed through public and community funding, there a process has emerged, though not without difficulties and contradictions, of cooperation between different institutions that could form the basis of local intercommunal networks that could become the community governance of the future.

History of urban planning and paradigms

Cosenza has an unusual urban structure, which is reminiscent, if the analogy is not too farfetched, of the Colonial town in French north Africa. In these places, the *ville nouvelle*, with its straight wide boulevards flanked by cafés and shops, is the modern antithesis of the medieval city with its maze of winding lanes of tall houses and crumbling palaces. A visitor to Cosenza cannot help being struck by the almost metaphysical contrast between the nineteenth century design (viale Trieste, corso Umberto and adjacent streets, parts of the Carmine and Lungo Busento quarters), which seem to have been designed by a surrealist artist, and the old town, which begins on the other side of the bridge over the Busento, almost suspended on the semicircle of hills that divide the long flat Crati valley from the buttresses of the Sila mountains. The Busento and Crati rivers are the frontier, the symbolic, physical and functional divide between the two completely different parts of the town. This separation has, in fact, quite a recent history. In the nineteenth century, the urban area was restricted to the hills and it was only at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the population rose to over 20,000 that the city began to cross the rivers and move northwards transforming the countryside below into an urban milieu, until it at last converged with Rende to create the conurbation of today. This linear conurbation settled along the sides of natural (the Crati river and its tributaries) and manmade features (the railway, the Calabrian State Highway, via Popilia which was the ancient Roman road to Sicily). Between 1887 and 1972, this expansion was

governed by 5 planning acts as regards Cosenza, and, as regards Rende, by the 1971 PRG (town plan), which confirmed the north-south direction of settlement. Without entering into too much detail on the above mentioned planning instruments introduced by Cosenza (3), it should be pointed out that the polarisation between the old town on the hill and the new one across the rivers, already latent in the 1939 plan, became accentuated after the war as a result of a demographic increase, by a boom in construction and the exploitation of lowlying areas for building purposes. These dynamics were furthered by the 1959 plan, which, for the first time, envisaged the town's expansion up to the border with Rende. This was the period of unregulated intensive construction, in which new quarters without services (including a number of public housing projects) were being constantly erected along the main arterial routes in a northerly direction. The centre of gravity of the city, which doubled in population between 1951 and 1981 (4), also moved northwards. As a result, Cosenza became effectively joined with the new residential areas in Rende and the land on the west bank of the river Crati became saturated with construction. Rende, however, though building also along a single axis, albeit from the opposite direction, applied different and much higher standards with regard to housing density and the relation between residential development and public spaces. Being trapped in the logic of the time, in which Cosenza is seen as the node of the north-south infrastructure and the directional centre of the districts earmarked for agroindustrial development along the valley, not even the planning regulations in 1972 were able to propose an alternative. This vision has many implications and anticipates a number of questions that are still relevant today but pays little attention to the real possibilities of the situation and is quite incapable of tackling the problems created by expansion along the valley. Foremost among these problems are the isolation of working class areas with a high percentage of public housing such as San Vito, Torrealta and via Popilia, the marginalisation of the *ville nouvelle* along the Busento and the decline of the old town, through depopulation, social exclusion and deprivation; the houses remain but there are no inhabitants and no community.

The linear model of expansion followed in Cosenza replicates the classical paradigm of urbanisation in southern Italy (5), dictated by the administrative needs of a united state, according to which small and medium sized towns in southern Italy are allocated a territorial role and selected as provincial capitals and city prefectures. Unlike the cities in the north of Italy, these new administrative centres are seen as places where wealth is collected and redistributed, rather than as places where wealth is created, i.e. centres of industry and production which will lead to growth over time. An 'administrative urbanism' (6), an administrative urban structure of this kind, is evident in the *nouvelle ville* and the quarters built during the 20 years of Fascism. Grafted onto this matrix was the post war construction boom, with the allocation of government funding. Unfortunately, the planning regulators of the time were unwilling, or did not have the tools to, challenge the control of the politicians and the construction lobby (administrators, bureaucrats, mediators, designers and businessmen). The experience of Cosenza, however, was not marked by series cases of *abusivismo*. The limitations imposed physical or geographical features and the absence of catalysts such as ports, largescale industrial or commercial centres, spared the city, to a great extent, from the extremes of speculative building that happened in other towns in Southern Italy.

Nevertheless, the phase of unregulated expansion did have drastic effects on the town, when, as special funding dried up, Cosenza entered the final decade of the twentieth century with a number of unresolved problems and much uncertainty. Overbuilt in the north, without any productive base in a region already suffering from social and economic recession, its leading role threatened by more dynamic parts of the area, its population in decline, the town of Cosenza did not appear to be in any position to cope with the problems caused by decades of neglect. These included the abandonment of the old town, the isolation of outlying areas, traffic congestion, malfunctioning services, a poor quality of life and so on, all exacerbated by the city's linear morphology. A drastic change was needed in strategic thinking to come to grips with the vast urban sprawl that had grown up.

The urban transformation in the 1990s

The turning point for Cosenza came half way through the 1990s with the election of Giacomo Mancini as mayor, an important figure in the history of Italian socialism. It was no coincidence that urban planning headed his election manifesto and the first priority was the approval of the modification of the PRG. Attention was focused on physical and social regeneration of the old town and the realisation of a new north-south transport system as a means of reuniting the urban area. Other priorities concerned integrating the university with the city, realising the *Città dei Ragazzi* project and the construction of a new bridge over the river Crati. The purpose of this was to link the town itself with the zone to the east occupied by gypsies in a shanty town which was very much the symbol of urban decay, marginalisation and social exclusion. The idea was to knock down the bidonville and rehouse the gypsies in three new buildings. Underpinning all this was the vision of a new city: to make Cosenza a cultural centre and relaunch its role as the fulcrum of the urban network for the entire area, focal point for high quality services and functions, also through the transfer of parts of the university to the centre of Cosenza. The approval of the PRG in 1995 marked the end of a long phase of ungoverned growth, laying down the guidelines of Mancini's vision of the city of the future. At the same time, Cosenza joined the Urban Programme, which was to be for the following five years the financial motor for the administration's plan and the instrument for redefining the city's image. The Urban experience in Cosenza has been the object of various studies and there is no need to go into further detail here (7). One should point out, however, some basic elements starting with the choice of the two target areas, the old town and via Popilia. These areas

suffered from a number of serious problems: depopulation, lack of services, poor housing, physical, social and economic decay (old town), marginalisation, lack of services, high crime, social exclusion, squalor (via Popilia).
The task of transforming the old town was very difficult. A place of legend, core of the city's identity, full of history and art, yet at the same time, in terminal decline, depopulated and without any economic basis. It still housed important city institutions (the Prefecture, Provincial administration offices, the civic theatre Rendano, the Liceo classico Telesio and the headquarters of the Cassa di Risparmio). The Urban Programme set itself a number of specific aims: rehabilitation of abandoned public buildings for social purposes, the utilisation of open spaces, and support for local business initiatives. By the time the Programme came to an end in 2001 there had been a remarkable change: over a hundred commercial and handcraft activities had started up or transferred to corso Telesio, the road that runs through the old town, which has once again become the heart of the city, attracting hundreds people until late in the night. The restored building housing the Casa della cultura and the restoration of the former Albergo Bologna have become community centres incubating ideas and cultural projects, through cultural associations, which have taken advantage of the new spaces created. Other success stories included the children's library (3,000 members in the first few months) and the renovation and reutilisation of former railway station in piazza Matteotti, first headquarters of the *piano telematico calabrese* and, more recently, a conference and exhibition (8) centre, as well as the headquarters of Info Point Europe.
There has been a turnaround. The renovation of the old town has led to the creation of a *milieu*, a new identity through the work of local groups, activists, voluntary associations and others, creating a renewed sense of civic pride and self confidence. This new civic identity is now expressed in the awareness of the need for commitment and concrete action. Of course, many problems remain both in the old town and other parts of the city. In the old town the Urban Programme determined conditions in which more effective strategies for regeneration could come to the fore, especially those to do with housing. In line with this, two initiatives (the Contratto di quartiere Santa Lucia and Urban Renovation Program) have been set up: the first focuses on housing renovation, and improvements in services and infrastructure in a difficult and run down section of the old town with a reputation as a red light area, while the PRU involves overall coordination of private and public works across the city, in particular in the Via Popilia and Torrealta areas.

City as node, city as place: evolving ideas and images of new planning

During the years of the Mancini administration between 1994 and 2002, Cosenza underwent a profound change. The relationship between the city and the old town was re-established. The latter became once again a focal point for the whole town, at least as regards Corso Telesio, where the first steps were taken by private initiatives to restore the buildings for housing.
Among the most important works carried out so far the following deserve special mention: the *Città dei ragazzi*, the river park along the banks of the Crati, a commercial and business centre in piazza Matteotti, foot bridges across the river, new housing projects for local gypsies. As regards future projects, the tram link from the centre of Cosenza to the university on the other side of town (a joint effort with Rende), the link road and bridge over the Crati river designed by Calatrava, and the construction of areas of parkland around the city.
At the same time many problems remain unresolved. The prospect of linking the via Popilia area to the centre had not made much progress. The failure of the 'Crati valley' project to create a sort of Silicone valley near the university set up in the 1980s but abandoned a decade later. The difficulties of the industrial zone in Piano Largo, south of Cosenza, confirm the problem faced by the area as a whole as regards the inability of the local economy, which is basically based on consumption rather than production, to take off. Consequently, there remains a lack of resources and actors needed to come up with the right policy solutions. The real power in the decision making network has not devolved but resides mainly within the traditional circuit of people connected with the building industry. The role of the public sector funding and hence political intermediation in releasing funds remains crucial.
On the planning level, the lines established by the Mancini administration need to be re-enforced but there is also a need for new policy instruments and resources, seeing as it has become clear that the ongoing projects can only partly solve the problems of decades of neglect, problems such as interconnecting Rende and the university, with Cosenza, maintaining the hillsides, improving various outlying areas, the problem of the quality of life in areas built in the period of mono-directional expansion.
Many of these problems require innovative solutions. For example, given the economic stagnation at local level and the inherited problems of past neglect e.g. urban sprawl, the only way forward is through an approach whereby all the different municipalities work together in order to take into account the area as a whole. Two aspects of Mancini's vision remain of fundamental importance: the rediscovery and restoration of Cosenza's artistic heritage, and second, the need maintain the hillside settlement and the Viale-Parco project as a means of reuniting the central part of the town with its eastern periphery and call a halt to the mono-directional expansion northwards. It is not just the town of Cosenza but the whole urban area that is undergoing rapid changes: the spread of hinterland settlements towards the flat lands and hills along the valley, a multiplication of residential, tertiary and industrial areas; the growth of the university (9) which now has 30,000 students and the consequent expansion of Rende to accommodate the student population and people whose work is connected with the university; the development of the industrial zone in the northern part of Rende, which has now merged with that of Montalto; the dramatic changes brought about by the opening of the Centro Metropolis hypermarket in Rende and two other commercial centres on the outskirts of the urban area in Zumpano

and Montalto (10) (e.g. residential and traffic disruption). Given this situation, the need for strategic planning is long overdue. Unfortunately each municipalities continues to operate independently and there has been no successful attempt to act together or agree an overall plan (11). What happens instead is competition to increase the supply of residential housing.
Hopeful signals, on the other hand, have come from the recent experience of the programming of the Structural Funds for 2000-06, which could become a model for public initiatives in the urban area, in which the themes of modernisation of the infrastructure, urban redevelopment are addressed in an innovative way.
The Integrated Territorial Project (PIT) that takes in Cosenza, Rende and 14 other hinterland municipalities is the most advanced experiment so far in using a joint approach to local development. The project proposes an exciting strategy to tackle the evolving problems of the area; it focuses on social policy, artistic restoration and the promotion of local industries (for example, through strengthening the connection between local businesses and the university). Besides its intrinsic merits, the project has the added virtue of promoting a partnership plan at institutional level between the mayors, local actors (PIT managers) and the university, which has taken on the role of constructing a public project for local development.
Having said that, the setting up of such a body does not guarantee the creation of a real developmental coalition. Indeed, it could get bogged down by opportunism, selfinterest or mere tokenism.
Notwithstanding these and other risks (the threat the Regional will withdraw support from the PIT in order to cut costs), the process underway in Cosenza does seem to have introduced a new pattern of interaction at local level (12), and the participants appear to be taking their work seriously.
The Urban Development Programme (PSU) for Cosenza-Rende is the most important planning tool for the two communes. Unlike the PIT, it is more orientated to giving the municipalities the responsibility for the construction and management of the programme. The PSU is not merely a programme of public investments, but above all a framework within which one can start to describe and construct a joint approach for the local government of the whole urban area of Cosenza and Rende. The programme is called 'COsenza-REnde - A City Project' sums up the basic idea in a slogan: building a city means further integration through the sharing of political and institutional responsibility and identifying together strategic aims, means of verification and evaluation of common projects.
The strategic goal of the programme goes to the heart of the problem, not only because it involves the intercommunal dimension, but, above all, because the emerging conurbation is seen both as a place or *milieu* and a node for networks local and beyond.
The programme sets out the following objectives: accelerate integration of the urban system, strengthen the economic base, invest in training, in the system of production, and seek points of contact outside the area.
The perspective is to use public policy as a catalyst in order to further the reorganisation of urban space, the renovation of run-down areas, the modernisation of the infrastructure and so on.
In this sense the PSU is an umbrella framework for a whole array of local planning instruments (including the PIT), in which different segments of policy are brought together into an integrated whole. Moreover, it is also a possible blueprint for the construction of a 'strategic structural' (13) plan for the new city of Cosenza and Rende.
Not surprisingly such an operation requires a considerable and complex financial organisation (14).
As regards the strategic aspect, the PSU focuses on six priorities. The first is to re-enforce the process of integration between the two towns. It is one of the most important areas of the whole programme involving projects such as the extension of the Viale-Parco (a new road) towards Rende and the realisation of a Planetarium and Science Museum in the old railway station in piazza Matteotti in Cosenza. The station itself, which has already been restored through the Urban programme, is being converted into a new commercial centre through private funding; it is also the terminus for the projected tramline to the university.
The second line of action involves action to resolve the crisis in the city's transport system, both organisationally and physically, through the building of a new bridge across the Crati and the above-mentioned tramline from the centre of Cosenza to the university. The third and forth areas propose an integrated strategy for the regeneration of run-down areas along the lines of the Urban programme, through a variety of measures aimed especially at helping the elderly and disabled get access to goods and services (such as good neighbour schemes). The final two lines focus on the city's attractions to help Cosenza-Rende, already a university town, become a tourist location and a place of cultural interest. Hence, a number of works aimed at restoring artistic and architectural treasures (Castello Svevo in Cosenza, Rende castle, the former Fratelli Bandiera barracks and many others) and environmental improvements (parks along the banks of the Crati river and the creation of other green spaces in the centre and on the periphery).
To sum up the PSU for Cosenza and Rende is a blueprint for the future. That is not to say that there are no problems, there are, especially as regards public participation and co-ordination. Nevertheless, although still rather vague in certain of its specifications, it does provide an ambitious and imaginative approach. It first addresses the immediate problems created by Cosenza's recent history (old town, periphery, urban models, mono-directionality, integration with Rende). The time span being limited 2000-06, it offers a limited number of risky but important solutions, leaving it up to local actors to work out the details in the medium term. Underlying all this is the vision of a future city. The two symbolic landmarks are the old town on the one hand and the university on the other; between these points lies the space for action, the need to create new functions, unite the various parts, provide areas of green and so on.
The Cosenza-Rende PSU is a hybrid. It cannot really be called a strategic plan because, although it tries to links political programme to a spatial model and expresses choices in general terms, as a model of spatial organisation is it still too generic. The same can be said, for reasons mentioned above, as

regards the phases of framing and networking. It cannot even be considered a mere practical tool, as it also contains an experimental and visionary side. What is important, however, is the space for public action that the PSU along with the PIT has opened up and the political implications accompanying this process.
At least the programme in its intention of accelerating the dynamics of integration contains the double dimension (city as node, city as place) placing in the foreground the issue of the urban *milieu* as a strategic resource for reconnecting the urban area with both its immediate neighbourhood and the outside world (15). At the same time it poses the problem strengthening the bonds within the city as a means of promoting the *milieu*. Its vision offers a new representation of a city this: polycentric, incubator of research and development projects, centre of functions and services surrounded and connected by green belts and blue belts (rivers). The construction of a local project requires not just a break from traditional ways of planning and organisation of space but also a new language and semantics to describe the city. For its characteristics as a paradigm and as a multidimensional, multi-resourced and multi-sector tool, the action envisaged by the PSU is based on practical contracts, partnerships, strategic guidelines and management of institutional guidelines.
In conclusion, the multiple construction of policies on an intermunicipal basis is the crucial theme by both the PSU and the PIT. The political difficulties, as have been seen recently from some of the reactions to the proposed regional legislation for the unification of the three municipalities of Cosenza, Rende and Castrolibero, should concentrate minds round a search for common ground on certain important issues (mobility, environment, planning, etc.). Rather than abstract and institutions formulas, there is a need for an approach, which is both strategic and pragmatic, if we are to overcome practical and political obstacles.
As regards the future of Cosenza and the urban area, the basic question is the identification of the concept of development and the role of the public sector. In this sense, the ongoing experiences described here portray the choices made by the administrations involved in their response to concrete situations. However, it is clear that what has been happening in Cosenza is not only an attempt to reorganise the area on an intermunicipal basis, but also a process of redefining space, the meaning and the nature of public action. It is not possible to predict what shape such events may take, as there are too many variables and uncertainties in the background, including the current difficulties in the negotiations with the region. The Cosenza-Rende PSU, by proposing a strong vision for the city and the embryo of a project on how to achieve it, requires a considerable sense of responsibility from the people involved, if they are to build a project that is both 'authoritative and effective' (16). This is the central theme of the public adventure on which the participants in the Cosenza laboratory will have to work.

* Hanks to Leo Acri, Sandro Adriano, Mimmo Cersosimo, Filippo Ciccone and Laura Cipparrone for comments and proposals and to Sandro Adriano and Mario Tosti for the pictures.

Notes

1. See the classification of the Cosenza urban area in the Itaten research (Clementi A., Dematteis G., Palermo P., *Le forme del territorio italiano*, Laterza, Bari, 1996) and the research promoted by the Dipartimento per il coordinamento delle politiche comunitarie della Presidenza del Consiglio and by the DG XVI of the European Commission (cfr. Bonavero P., Dematteis G., *Il sistema urbano italiano nello spazio unificato europeo*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1996).
2. The reference is to the well known analysis of metropolitan populations by Guido Martinotti (*Metropoli. La nuova morfologia sociale della città*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1993).
3. The urban history of Cosenza are analysed under various point of view. For a systematic study see Mazza F. (ed.), *Cosenza. Storia, cultura, economia*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro), 1991, particularly the economic analysis by Cersosimo. See also Rubino G., Teti M.A., *Le città nella storia d'Italia. Cosenza*, Laterza, Bari, 1997. The events of urban planning are well analysed in two volumes edited by Giovanni Giannattasio (*Cosenza al di là dei fiumi*, Edizioni 10/17, Salerno, 1986; *Cosenza. Dimensione urbana di una città meridionale*, Edizioni 10/17, Salerno, 1990), as well as in the more recent work of Domenico Passarelli (*Urbanistica a Cosenza*, Gangemi, Roma, 1999), and summarised in the report of the Programma di Sviluppo Urbano di Cosenza e Rende (POR Calabria 2000-06, *Asse V Città*, settembre 2002), where an analysis of urban planning in Rende can also be found.
4. Cosenza has had very high population densities in the past. Currently, because of declining numbers, demographic density is equal to roughly 1928 inhabitants/sqkm (71,300 inhabitants on an area of only 3.700 ha), the highest level in the region. The housing stock is roughly 28,000, around 7% of which was built between 1981 and 1991. The erosion of population in the provincial capital, Cosenza, in the last twenty years to the advantage of other councils in the urban area (Rende above all) is a very serious phenomenon which, according to official statistics, amounts to 35,000 units, in other terms a variation of -32,8% (-18,9% in the period 1981-91 and -17,2% in the decade 1991-01). On the contrary, the number of residents in Rende has risen by 9,230 units (+36,5% in relative terms), with a particularly notable increase between 1981-91 (+22,4%) and a slower, though still significant, increase between 1991-01 (+11,5%).
5. From this point of view, the contributions in the 1990s to the review *Meridiana* editor Donzelli are of great interest. These contributions, which remain essential reading for anyone interested in understanding the social and economic mechanisms underlying the development of the south of Italy in the Nineteenth century, began a season of works and discussions on the city and the Meridion (see numbers 5/1989 and 10/1990). Further information can be found in the recent works of Domenico Cersosimo and Carmine Donzelli (*Mezzo Giorno. Realtà, rappresentazioni e tendenze del cambiamento meridionale*, Donzelli, Roma, 2000; *Il territorio come risorsa*, Formez/Donzelli, Roma, 2000).
6. D. Cersosimo, C. Donzelli, *Mezzo Giorno*... cit., p. 173.

7. The research project was financed by the Ministero delle Infrastrutture e dei Trasporti and carried out by the Politecnico di Milano, Dipartimento di architettura e pianificazione, and by the Agenzia per la ricerca e la produzione avanzata of the University Federico II, Napoli under the leadership of Pier Carlo Palermo. This effort constitutes the most comprehensive and detailed work so far of the first Urban programme in Italy. It involved 16 towns of different sizes, Cosenza being the smallest. In 2002, the results were published by Franco Angeli/Diap in three volumes entitled *Il programma Urban e l'innovazione delle politiche urbane*, the first edited by Pier Carlo Palermo, the second by P.C. Palermo and Paola Savoldi, and the third by Gabriele Pasqui and Elena Valsecchi respectively. Inside these volumes one can find different specific contributions by the author; these were later used in a volume edited by Gianfranco Franz ("Urban stories: il caso di Cosenza", in *Trasformazione, innovazione, riqualificazione urbana in Italia*, Angeli, Milano, 2002). Prior to this, the Pic Urban was the subject of a Formez research project co-ordinated by Marco Cremaschi, the results of which are discussed in the review EuroPass, a. II, No. 22 (2000), as well as in number 172 of *Urbanistica Informazioni* (2000). Both reviews contain useful information on the events in Cosenza.
8. Among the most recent exhibitions was one entitled *Architetture e progetti di spazi pubblici, nuovi paesaggi contemporanei nelle città italiane. Quaranta progetti di 40 studi di architettura italiani*, organised by the local council in collaboration with the Dipartimento di pianificazione territoriale at the Università della Calabria.
9. As can be seen from the annual league tables published by authoritative institutions the Università degli studi della Calabria is one of the major centres of research in Italy (cfr. *Rapporto annuale Censis-la Repubblica sull'università italiana*).
10. With reference to this see the research on large scale distribution network in Calabria undertaken by the Dipartimento di pianificazione territoriale at the Università della Calabria, summarised in Rossi F., *Pianificare il commercio. Che fare?*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro), 1998.
11. Added to this situation is the uncertainty surrounding the new PRG for Rende, which has been for months the centre of a legal and bureaucratic row between the council and the regional government.
12. The expression comes from Alessandro Balducci ("Il piano come riferimento per le politiche", *Atti del XXIII Congresso INU*, Napoli, 2000).
13. The expression '*strutturale strategico*' is taken from recent experience of urban planning in Bologna.
14. For details on the PSU and the PIT see the sheet at the end of this article.
15. *Milieu,* networks and relationships are employed in the sense used by Giuseppe Dematteis ("L'ambiente come contingenza e il mondo come rete", *Urbanistica* n. 85, 1986), and subsequently developed in many later works.
16. Expression used by Palermo P.C., "Osservare Milano, laboratorio sperimentale di un futuro possibile", *Urbanistica* n. 119, 2002, p. 122.

A daring approach to town planning

Roberto Gerundo

Over the past ten years, politicians in Salerno have governed the town and, most importantly, managed the territory, in a way markedly opposed to traditional ways of administrating town planning in Italy and in the Mezzogiorno in particular.
This approach has been well received both from the general cultural point of view and by public opinion, as well as producing excellent electoral consensus, especially for the politician (1) who was daring enough to adopt the approach and whose un-conventional and winning national image has been built on it. The politician in question had the unusual ability to put under stress the sluggish bureaucracy of the municipality and challenge the totem of redtape poor quality, replacing it with the new practice of supporting the hierarchic relationship between the agencies proposed for governing the area. It is true to say that the new image of the mayor and, for other reasons, that of the President of the Province, has been the true innovation during the last ten years of town-planning administration in Italy.
This trend began in 1993 with the reform of the electoral procedures of local authorities; it has seen more bright moments and dark ones and it is hoped that some of its weaknesses can be improved rather than worsened, as emerges from the proposals of certain Government representatives presently in power, for example, that of getting rid of shiftwork. Solutions of this kind tend to encourage further fragmentation of the political framework instead of the consolidation of common interests, and such consolidation is the only thing that can sustain the processes of governing the territory in any substantial way (2).
The new town government setups, attempting to get rid of any remaining defects by legislating for improvements, have undeniably brought about a social and cultural rebirth of municipalities with consequent revitalization of their territories.
The reformed institutional scenario has clearly set the stage for administrative dynamism, resulting in the programming and realisation of a multitude of public works, regulated by the provisions approved in 1994 and devised to ensure the feasibility of interventions that have had the indisputable merit of launching the upgrading of the town fabric.

New mayors, old plans

Salerno, like most Italian towns, had shown little activity for at least twenty years, especially in terms of such extensive and widespread upgrading and rehabilitation. The reconstruction of roads and squares, facilities, green areas and car-parks, services for all, has transformed existing residential areas which were in an advanced state of physical and functional deterioration.
The 50s and 60s in this country were the era of post-war reconstruction, the modernisation of infrastructures and urban expansion in large residential areas. The following 70s and 80s had fallen back into the increasing stagnation of urban structures degraded by galloping unauthorized building, by the reluctant construction of the odd underground railway and aimless attempts to work to uninspiring procedures invented for the reconstruction of areas damaged by natural disasters or to run ambitious cultural, traditional or sports events.
The Salerno issue is, on the whole, typical of this state of affairs. Campania's second most important town also experienced twenty years during which the endemic instability of local government, the possibility of using up public funds for taking on staff and the spread of unacceptable political corruption which led to the outbreak of *Tangentopoli* in the 90s, had the increasing effect of paralysing any organic intervention to revitalise the town.
The first direct elections of mayors helped to alleviate this feeble climate of stagnation; new and positive energies were unleashed, making room for professional and competent action, accelerating the dynamics of cultural growth and social and economic development. Generally speaking, there were basically two kinds of mayor who established themselves following the electoral reform of 1993: exponents of the so-called upper-middle-class society (many) and experienced politicians who were not bowled over by *Tangentopoli* (few).
Of the former, those who were incompetent were unable to survive the increasingly bitter confrontation with the realities of local politics, causing the breakup of town councils or rapidly becoming obsolete at the end of their term; others, the best of the group, became able politicians and began to take up other and more prestigious institutional appointsments. Some of the latter, however, already had wide experience under previous governments, and managed to get through more than one term of office, leaving an indelible impression on the administration of the territory. Unlike the exponents of upper-middle-class society (including those who might have done a good job), those mayors with the backing of powerful though out-of-power political parties generally distinguished themselves for their greater dynamism and effectiveness in matters of administration, strong in their knowledge of the mechanisms of consensus-building and experienced in the art of mediation.
Salerno had the good fortune, which has proved favourable in many ways, to have a mayor of the second of the two categories, and his energies were mainly directed towards the realisation of public works and the offering of services to citizens on the one hand, and on the other the identification of a model for the social, economic and cultural rebirth of the town.
His policies, therefore, concentrated on the short, and ideally long-term objective, setting medium-term objectives aside, of controlling town planning and the structural reorganisation of the town which, though requiring tremendous effort, normally produce political results which are far from satisfying.
Territorial planning, looked at in the new light of future urban structures which are synergically coordinated, are, however, the tool for pursuing the desired rebirth. In the absence of a programme, however, this would be deprived of credibility once the effect of such an announcement wore off, and the phase of raising expectations implicit in it.
A real period of rebirth, if it is not simply to be reduced to a mass-media stamp, must be based on a medium to long-term period of certainties which is legitimised in a system of agreed actions and regulations of government

and governance, which only an overall town-planning scheme is able to offer, however innovative it may be in content and procedure. The formulation of such a system, made even more difficult by the awareness of having to operate in complex and intrinsically non-deterministic circles, was discouraging to politicians of proven experience, including the Mayor of Salerno, who was committed to it. Only a novice mayor of the town would have accepted the challenge without second thoughts, and then find himself trapped with no way out.
The key for interpreting the political/administrative issue of the last ten years, as described here, helps to explain, in terms of governing the territory, the work of many mayors belonging to the category of experienced politicians. The numerous kinds of behaviour of individuals are, of course, sometimes rather different from the profile which has been drawn, but this is the most easily recognisable.
The realisation of public works, apart from offering visibility and creating an image, which are indispensable for a new administrator directly elected by his fellow citizens, was seen by the experienced politicians, including the Mayor of Salerno, as the only way of maintaining employment levels, which are falling especially in the Mezzogiorno because local administrations are unable to enter the labour market by appointing staff from their own ranks, as had happened on a large scale during previous decades.
To achieve such objectives, mayors scraped the bottom of the barrel of the opportunities offered in order to obtain financial resources to be had from the European Union, the State and the Regions for interventions programmed by sectorial laws, and furthermore they drew fully on external resources through the consolidated distributive mechanism of the Deposits and Loans Fund, now given the promising name of the Development Fund, so exposing municipalities to considerable debt.
The experienced political mayors knew full well that such operations would be advantageous in the medium term, with every probability of lasting for the two terms permitted as the longest possible period, while the increasing accumulation of loans and the passive interest attached to them would be clawed back by the consumers in time and in instalments, following the increase intaxation to support the allocation of socially useful services.
It is only recently that the right, but tortuous, road has been taken: that of project financing, a road taken after the alarm caused by the growing and no longer sustainable debt borne by the municipalities.
In the field of town planning, Salerno, like most of Italy, has favoured complex town planning or recourse to micro-variants which might be approved quickly. This might have been possible by advance negotiation for the agreement of higher authorities prepared to approve urban acts, but these activities have often been ignored or underestimated by Salerno's municipal administration in the spirit of antagonism we have mentioned. The definitive formulation of a new general town-planning scheme for Salerno would, at best, have been postponed, even if it had been set in motion, and would not have constituted a reason for particular interest or usefulness in the present management of the territory.
It is not unusual for the formulation of a new general scheme to be considered useful to municipalities simply in terms of raising expectations, whereas town-planning schemes capable of capturing the approval of interested groups could have emerged in the planning stage.
At best, at the end of the second term, some mayors, including the Mayor of Naples, adopted the general town-planning scheme, to which they gave the symbolic value of a great turning-point rather then seeing it as an effective instrument of political action; they were careful, however, not to embark on the demanding procedure of making comments, which was full of pitfalls.
Even the specialist staff given the task of planning the urban transformations had to satisfy certain cultural requirements. It was the supporters of the urban project and the reorganisation of the town a little at a time, rather then the planners, who were selected; one of the outstanding planners in Salerno is Oriol Bohigas.
The third-term town council, which was set up in 2001 barring postponements due to particular conditions of individual municipalities, and with a five-year mandate, did not have mayors elected twice consecutively, but a new manager of the territory already committed to the drafting and adoption of a new town-planning scheme of overall value, and which could no longer be put off.

What kind of town-planning scheme for Salerno?

After a decade, having gone through a considerable number of initiatives in terms of public works and emergency programmes, the Municipality of Salerno is forced to deal with a new town-planning scheme to which it has tried to give the innovative nature that characterised the previous phases of management of the territory. To this end, what was needed was a specialist capable of destructuring the canonical approach of town-planning normally used; capable, that is, because of his recognised importance and past experience. The person was identified and the first results were seen in November 1994 when the *Programming document*, to which the administration gave the designation *Preliminary plan*, was presented to the town council.
At a distance of ten years, the general town-planning scheme (abbreviated to Prg in Italian) has now materialised in its final form, and was presented to the town council, but not adopted, in April 2003. The time that has passed illustrates, at least as far as the Salerno issue is concerned, the complex relationship between the new image of the mayor and town-planning administration, which is described above. The conceptual formulation behind the long period of management of the new Prg was clear from the start. It is described in a book of 1993 (3) from which it is worth quoting some passages referring to the above-mentioned Preliminary document. "For some time, there has been a widespread tendency to practise town-planning on paper: year after year of cultural and institutional debates, year after year of town-planning and programming documents, all destined not to be put into practice. It must be clear that no town can wait forever (7-10 years) for the approval of a Prg" (4).

But the Municipality of Salerno itself has taken a decade to draw up a town-planning scheme, and it does not end there, of course, because the stages of adoption, publication and commentary still have to be gone through.
This, in any case, is the period of time needed by the part played by the Municipality, while the commentary on the agelong process is a reference to the slowness caused by the red-tape that the local authority has to respect.
In the case of Salerno, unfortunately, the time needed to make the choices necessary in considering a town-planning scheme is proving to be 'biblical' compared to the speed with which a myriad of micro-transformations and important urban-scale projects have been implemented.
Even Naples, with all the problems deriving from its being the country's third most important town, has been capable of adopting the new Prg by the end of the mayor's second term, dating from the time of electoral reform.
Rome, not having achieved this in the same period of time, at least adopted the scheme at the very beginning of the third stage of local government, after a change of mayor.
Why, then, has Salerno not been capable of doing the same thing, given that work on the new Prg began in 1991-92, before the mayor's new term of office? The answer to this question is probably that they have decided not to go about it in the same way. "It is clear to Bohigas that today's instrument of urban planning and control is a bundle of projects rather than an overall plan, built on illusions and with no time-scale, made up simply of quantifications and regulations … We need a town-planning strategy that can be put into operation with well-chosen concrete points as starting-points which in themselves can bring about transformations from general consequences ... Experience tells us that by beginning from a piazza or from a small garden, from the re-utilisation of a disused building, the demolition of a group of old houses, the whole of the surrounding area changes without need of a new planning intervention. This is positive metastasis, that is the chain-reaction which transforms the surroundings. The distinction between plan and project is not simply one of dimension, nor of major or minor generality; the fundamental difference lies in the way it is managed and realised. A project implies programmed realisation in a set period of time. A project is a reality which, once it has been completed, ceases to exist. But many unrealised planning schemes have upset an area to no purpose because nothing else will ever be done about it. There are urban bonds which have existed for almost a hundred years, forever under threat, whose only effect has been to contribute to the deterioration of the zone by killing off all expectations. It is only that which can be realised in a reasonable period of time that can be devised. So the only thing that can be devised is what can in effect be planned. To be provocative, if it is impossible to plan it is better to leave everything to the lawlessness of the people, with all their ability to create anything and everything. In such cases, careful de-planning is necessary ... This is not to say that a town-planning scheme is totally unnecessary. We have to take on board the obligation to satisfy the needs of the future of the town; as long as it remains clear that the town-planning scheme is not a suitable tool for formal control of the town, and that we cannot therefore pretend regulations which minimize their impact and maximize functional effectiveness. A land transformation project must produce around it forms of autonomous organisation of use and protection guided and controlled, however, by the overall town-planning scheme. If these forms of autonomous organisation do not exist, widescale planned and realised urban transformations end up in most cases by being upset by the cumulative processes they have themselves brought into being.
However, the leading role of the programme, another invaluable tool for intervention, that it has begun to take on since the early 90s, must not be underestimated to take on all the rather complex objectives of town-planning. It is therefore true to say that the value of a town-planning scheme is essentially that it is the expression of a medium-term political and social programme" (5).
The ideas quoted here reveal the reason for the non-existence of a well-defined Prg, even after a significantly long period of time has been given to its administrative profiling.
Apart from anything else, these ideas clash with all the usual approaches to territory planning, including those which are most critical of the rational understanding of town-planning tools.
The peremptory tone of their expression does tend to give them a rigidly ideal-ogical position unable to take on the necessary flexibility and relevance to zones that municipalities are required to govern, in much the same way as the styles and content of traditional town planning, which is also inadequate.

From theory to proposal

The idea of a town-planning scheme as a programmed political agenda is coherent with the results arrived at by the Salerno Prg. The terms of the relationship between plan and project have been widely discussed in the past twenty years and the clash between them has led to a situation of basic parity between the two. The zone is modified by projects according to sets of regulations which minimize their impact and maximize functional effectiveness. A land transformation project must produce around it forms of autonomous organisation of use and protection guided and controlled, however, by the overall town-planning scheme.
If these forms of autonomous organisation do not exist, widescale planned and realised urban transformations end up in most cases by being upset by the cumulative processes they have themselves brought into being.
However, the leading role of the programme, another invaluable tool for intervention, that it has begun to take on since the early 90s, must not be underestimated since it mediates between plan and project.
Beyond the cultural considerations that have been put forward concerning the above-mentioned dualism, in reflecting on the merits of Salerno's new programme, there are three issues that call for immediate attention: normative efficiency, endogenous efficiency and exogenous efficiency. In order to avoid red-tape, a residual status is attributed to conformity with the regulations, which is neglected. The Prg proposal would, in fact, be rejected in

the light of urban legislation in Campania.
What then should be the basis of the remaining efficiency controls, since it is clearly impossible to use the set of detailed provisions of the Prg? The first aspect is the choice given to see the organisation of space in the Municipality zone as two distinct macro-sets: the compact town and the expanding town. This approach is acceptable, though it is not entirely original and in some ways even obligatory.
Over the past thirty years, the mixed effects of ineffectual action regarding government territory and recourse to repeated health and safety procedures governing unlicensed building have resulted in land covered with widespread built-up areas, mostly residential.
The Prg proposes that, in the compact town, spaces should be filled, deteriorating or disused areas should be transformed, partially urbanised areas should be completed, the limits of urbanisation should be extended by using land which is for agricultural use. This strategy is also extended to some small historical areas in the municipality. The profile of such a consolidated town risks a return to the 60s idea of the expanding town. In the present case the expansion, running parallel to the coastline, does not work (again reminiscent of the 60s) only in terms of designated spaces now called ecological networks, but also on the basis of hard settlements. The town is in fact expanding to make room for parks or facilities where there is little building work, but also to provide new residential or industrial areas. And this is the effect of the other weighty component of the Prg, which aims at increasing the town's inhabitants to 180,00 compared to its present population of 156,000.
We shall say nothing here about the feasibility of such an assumption, as long as it can be deduced from an analysis of the present social and economic dynamics. It is enough to re-member that all the macro- and micro-zone parameters suggest that the Salerno area is in a phase of demographic recession, in the absence of any control over the arrival of non-EU communities. Given this fact, the United Nations has estimated a population of Italy for 2030 which is very close to that of 1955.
If this scenario should be correct, what would happen to the buildings left over from the post-war period and those which the Prg intends to build? But in aiming at a population growth of 24,000, the Prg does not hide away behind the alchemy of statistics. The hypothesis has not been arrived at by interpretation of the dynamics but by prefiguration of future bonds. A town must have a ratio of town dwellers which cannot be allowed to fall below the demographic threshold of 180,000 inhabitants.
There is no point in arguing against this assumption, given the numerous existing studies on the matter which, as is predictable because of the complexity of the issues they wish to solve, suggest quite a different outcome.
As an example in point, it is enough to remember certain proposals which pointed to a minimum residential population of 200,000-250,000 (6).
But whenever such issues have been raised, reference has been made to so-called simplified economic areas which are usually found in developing countries blessed with the continuity of existing inhabited areas, considerable available space and negligible territorial fragility. In developed countries, such a strategy could be adopted only after the kind of lethal local economic recession that would lead to an advanced stage of depopulation in a city, a situation which was in one way or another experienced in the post-war period after the industrial city crisis, though these were rarely mono-functional and not administrative, cultural or in any other sense capitals.
The Salerno area, including the capital of the Province and the municipalities immediately surrounding it, which account for about forty of the total, is suffering from widespread hydrogeological instability, there is no free sloping land; there is a high level of physical proximity, there being no continuity between urban fabrics; there is a wide spread of inhabited areas; its economy and production are not in depression, in fact it shows a certain vivacity, for example, the port of Salerno, the university site of Fisciano-Baronissi, the ASI conglomerations, the summer tourist activity, etc.
Over the last thirty years, the municipalities of the Salerno area have spread out as a result of the population explosion due, in times of demographic growth, to overflow of the provincial capital, causing damage to surrounding areas which, to the advantage of certain groups of property owners, speculation has in its turn damaged the land which, until then, was the main balance of the municipality's territory.
In the following decades, the municipalities made great efforts to upgrade those areas which had been invaded by house-building, areas where services did not exist. Is it possible to imagine a Prg capable of bringing about a turnaround of this complete and consolidated process? Should that part of the population that migrated out return to the municipality of Salerno? If not, how would the extra 24,000 be made up? By people immigrating from other parts of Italy, attracted by new possibilities of employment created by the Prg? But if this should come about, would the crowds of unemployed locals or the unemployed in the Salerno area see any benefit without producing great mobility, if the conditions of commuting from home to work were bearable? Perhaps the new inhabitants would be unskilled non-EU community workers, who would welcome jobs usually rejected by Italians. But how could this be reconciled with the upp-middle-class residents whom the Prg expects to have in a town aiming, among other things, at the tourist economy?
In conclusion, without going into detailed analysis, it is difficult to put one's finger on the reasons for making a choice which is not simply a search for an urban character believed to be an improvement on the present one.
A further point on which the Salerno Prg's urban strategy is based is the creation of urban and territorial attractions, that is places offering full facilities, able to determine imbalances in the functional setup which would reinforce the poles, so creating the conditions for pre-eminence but at the same time encouraging their emulation in such a way as to generate new competitiveness between parts of the town and between the provincial capital and its hinterland.
One way in which the Prg allows for such a strategy is in providing important facilities: not only law courts, a maritime station, a sports stadium, which are

some of the works that will attract attention, but also a second tourist port with new hotels to go with it. All of this is located within the customs and excise area, which also includes an extensive industrial conglomeration from the time of ASI and which is not subject to municipal town-planning schemes. In this way, the Prg provides for its establishment as a services and production area, usefully located within its territory.
The idea, then, of a new need to increase the ratio of city dwellers, an objective so strongly stated in the Prg that it appears to be its logo, is to be achieved by increasing service facilities on municipal territory; while the most significant territorial transformation in the Salerno area in the past 30 years, characterised by quality as well as quantity of physical dimensions (the university complex of Fisciano-Baronissi) has gone in the direction of redressing territorial balance by locating all university activity outside the boundaries of the provincial capital.
It may be pointed out that all this was in effect the outcome of political debate between Christian Democrats, who have roots in the Avellino area, and the Italian Socialist Party, whose electorate are concentrated in the Salerno area, and that the very aim of such debate was the location of the new infrastructure in a 'barycentre'.
The outcome, however, benefited the zone it now occupies, without notable difficulty, and that outcome is now the eleventh university of Italy, with nearly 50,000 students; it is a kind of urban irradiation, with a town-effect. Its development is still far from satisfactory, but it is well on the way to becoming so.
In setting its choices, the Prg completely ignores the problems of dealing with the vastness of the area, and even interrelationships with its closest neighbour; this is not due to cultural considerations, but to strategic decisions.
Of course, what should have been overcome were the rituals by which individual municipalities, which have no formal or substantial competence, debated the reorganisation of extramunicipal territory, while the real problem was to credibly simulate the effects of putting into practice the choice of plan for areas in the immediate vicinity. These are matters which the Salerno Prg does not even contemplate, as it has no belief in the role of the Province in area-planning coordination, though in fact the Province would seem to be the best place, though not formally deputized, for the allocation of higher functions in the higher municipal context.
However, the provincial capital cannot avoid taking on the role of primus inter pares between the municipalities of the Province to which they belong, pursuing forms of territorial redress of balance though the choices and non-choices it makes for its territory. The outcomes of competition between a large municipality and the variety of small adjacent centres whose finances, political weight, capacity to attract human resources and to have its own managers, politicians, administrators and specialists, are insufficient, would inevitably put these centres in a position of subordinacy, difficult to overcome without endogenous resources from higher authorities, the regional and provincial authorities.
Returning, in conclusion, to the role of new-generation mayors and their relation-ship to town-planning, which has proved crucial in the case of Salerno, it is to be said that in the trend towards bitter competition between mayors, it is those mayors with a greater sense of the reality of municipalities who are strongest, especially in the absence of the rules of the game provided by the tools of territorial planning.
However, the problem is also one of political personnel who are not always competent becoming mayors, and such mayors find it extremely difficult to deal adequately with the bitter competition between territories which are emerging as long-term scenarios. These persons should be selected by the present bodies of consensus mediation, inheritors of old political parties, as scrupulously as possible, in their own interests as well as those of the people to be administered. Such a conclusion might be repetitive, but it is a good rule of thumb to bear constantly in mind.

Notes

1. Vincenzo De Luca: the Mayor who has been twice elected, in 1993 and 1997, in 1993 with 72% of the vote. Mayor from the early 1990s, in 2001 he was elected Deputy in Parliament, standing for the Democratic Left.
2. Among the improvements to be made, the extension of the period for which the mayor holds office would not be included; this is generally known as the third term of office, since a decade is more than enough to establish a complete political and administrative cycle, a local council lasting for four years, which was initially tried out and quickly increased to five years, its being shown to be inadequate. What should be reintroduced, however, is a time limit on the assessore's term of office, which was at first and reasonably the duration of the mayor's term of office, but which can now be held on an openended basis. What should also be introduced is incompatibility of the office of a town councillor with that of assessore; an elected councillor should not be able to stand down in order to take on the coveted status of assessore, except in the case of his being made vice-mayor for his calibre as a politician; an assessore should not be allowed to stand as councillor in the following election in order to prevent him using the influence he has acquired not out of popularity but because of political cooption. Such modifications are small, but would mean greater transparency of political behaviour and encourage greater administrative stability, respecting as they would the wishes of the electorate. Furthermore, the town council would be made up of specialists from various sectors of interest to the local authority, so overcoming once and for all the technocratic stage, but avoiding repetition of the promiscuity between administrative action and political initiative, which was so fatal during the so-called first republic. The mayor's team should not be a mixture of apolitical specialists and political representatives, but made up of competent politicians. This is, however, a difficult system to handle, and depends entirely on the sensibility and experience of elected mayors.
3. De Luca V. (1999), *Un'altra Italia tra vecchie burocrazie e nuova città*, Leterza, Bari.
4. *Ibidem*, p. 10.
5. *Ibidem*, pp. 12-14.
6. Camagni R. (1992), *Economia urbana*, La Nuova Italia Scientifica, Roma.

Programmes and policies of urban regeneration in Catania's metropolitan area

Paolo La Greca

Analising the events of Catania's metropolitan context is particularly useful in closely examining matters regarding the urban policies and the new forms of territorial planning that have marked the last decade.
All the main new generation programmes have been tested here: urban retraining programmes, the Pits, the Prusst, district contracts, territorial agreements, integrated programmes, the Eurexcter (1) project, and, in particular, the two following editions of the programmes of community interest (PIC) Urban that have interested a considerable part of Catania's city centre (*Urban I*) and one of the most problematic areas of the metropolitan context corresponding to the large urban dispersion zone of Misterbianco's commune, which borders on the city of Catania (*Urban II*).
These last programmes are two of the most significant experiences of urban regeneration programmes and represent interesting practices to be examined in contributing to an outline of the framework of new potential acting spaces and the search for new forms of territorial planning. A profound reflection is needed in order to better understand the acting processes and an awareness that new events do not always represent concrete innovation.
The paper presents these two practices, the Urban programmes based on the European planning principles, that were started at a time of profound administrative and political revival of the two cities, where the respective mayors, elected during the first phase of the local power reformation, enthusiastically took part in the enterprises. A time when, as underlined by the city planning councillor of Bianco's local government, "inside the culture of the city of Catania it is more important to establish the quality of processes than the consequences of general results" (2), and that nowadays seems to have gradually lost that propulsive push while the quality of administrative action seems to have dissolved, weakened by the re-emerging of old practices that denaturalise its more innovative contents.
Another interesting point is the analysis of a new slowly evolving phenomenon which is based on a particularly frail context as regards both the results of traditional physical planning and, aboveall, the incapacity of the local government to promote and manage territorial transformation processes which are apt for the role that the city and the metropolitan area have assumed from the 60s onwards. All this is in the face of urban policies which are completely unrelated to a continuous and shared direction of the city and even less unrelated to a true set of relationships with other public policies.
Finally, understanding these practices is particularly meaningful as Misterbianco belongs to one of the seven European financed networks, from among 80 candidates, of the new European programme Urbact, with the commune of Siracusa in first place, that aims at increasing transnational experiences among actors, cities and local partners that have taken part in the previous editions of the programme.
A high-profile enterprise, co-ordinated by the French Ministry of Cities and Urban Renovation, that, through the creation of thematic networks extended to cities of the candidate countries and to nearby and coastal countries, aims at stimulating feedback on European urban policies from local field experiences in the much desired for prospect of urban policy integration withinin Europe).

Institutional redundancy and inadequacy in territorial government

The area's urban system, centred on the eponymous city, consists of a thick network of towns that constituted the network of the agricultural territory at the foot of Etna, which was subsequently overwhelmed by the building expansion of the last thirty years. The present configuration of the settlements looks dense and congested, most of all along the strip immediately north of Catania, and removes the traces of Etna's residual landscape and enucleates the old towns with the loss of identity of the local communities. The administrative centre keeps its central role as a place of work, commercial pole and supplier of rare services such as university, government, loisir, that create a high request for transport and accessibility.
To the complexity of this installed system must be added a condition of territorial government, fundamental to the development of the programmes, characterized by three groups of interrelated problems.
In the first place, the urbanistic events of the Municipal Government are marked by the heavy inheritance of a lacking physical planning characterized by large fragmentation of various instruments such as RE, PdF and rudimentary PRG usually drawn up without qualified professional competence which are completely inadequate in managing the dynamic processes induced by the large urbanization resulting from the migration wave from the late to develop Sicilian territories, from the 60s onwards.
We have seen the consecutive expansion of bordering communes growing closer to its neighbour, with no preventive planning, basing the new settlements on the fixed infrastructural networks inherited from the agricultural system and absolutely unsuitable to deal with the new urbanistic loads.
The city of Catania, in particular, has gone through the urbanistic phase of the 40s of the last century and postwar rebuilding guided by an oversimplified zoning that confirmed the guidelines of the slum clearance and Enlargement Plan of 1888, carried out through heavy infringements in order to comply with the landowners' expectations.
The new republican local governments confirm an increase of the edifying expectations, bringing the building ratings to exorbitant values up to 18,15 m3/m2.
The plan drafted by Piccinato in 1964 was approved in 1969 with substantial changes, so much so that the planner didn't sign it. After almost 40 years, the city still does not have a new urban plan, in spite of a building process that has been going on uninterruptedly for more than 10 years.
In the second place, urban culture, both in its conceptual apparatus and in the instrument's operative praxis, seems to be unrelated to the political and administrative life of the city and of the metropolitan communes. The construction of an urban plan has never been considered as a shared process nor as an opportunity to establish consensus for a larger

political goal which is closely related to territorial planning and to public policy building.
Finally, the peculiar configuration of Catania's metropolitan area has produced the lack of a 'pertinent territory' to which to relate urban planning. The communal borders of urban planning, nowadays, cannot be taken from the relationships among the bordering urban webs. Besides, the provincial reference is too large and extraneous for government legitimation and the metropolitan circuit and the action to be undertaken is based on a law which is obsolete in terms of method and contents.
This is the context in which the new programmes have started and that have, at first, given new roles to unusual actors in the decision processes regarding urban and local choices. Due to changes in national legislative norms, a substantial transformation in the public administration's action had, at first, seemed the condition for the undertaking of successful enterprises. Until then, this action had been characterized by the absolute incapability as regards both the method, bureaucratic action, and people, public officials, who had to meet the demands of an ever increasingly complex society. Nowadays, we have, first of all, to regulate interaction between the public subject at any level of government and the private subject which has become an increasingly important mover of the development process according to a model of urban governance considered as co-operation among government, the market and civil society in the direction of urban processes.

Urban I in Catania: territorial and programing aims

The three main districts that need intervention, coinciding with a considerable portion of the city centre, are characterized by the absolute lack of space and social services but also present considerable elements of morphological, functional and social fragmentation, since they have remained extraneous to any requalifying intervention and have even risked totall removal, in conformity with the urban forecasts of the 60s.
These districts are in a state of increasing deterioration, more and more largely populated by non-EEC immigrants occupying crumbling and illegal buildings, in deteriorated situations where the streets and some rare widening are the only public spaces existing.
On the other hand, there is a considerable presence of productive handicraft enterprises which are deeply integrated with the residential function and a strong social identity, in contrast to what happens in the new residential districts, aboveall those of public housing.
The programme's general aims are requalification and economic relaunching of a considerable portion of the city centre through integrated intervention guidelines to be obtained through applying specific measures:
- promotion and development of employment by increasing the handicraft enterprises (a measure that has demanded 23% of the total budget);
- junior school abandonment recovery by preventing conditions of deviancy and juvenile uneasiness (14%);
- increasing of open public equipped spaces, expansion of public places and development and improvement of urban mobility (almost 60%).
The Urban plan has been promoted by the communal government that has played an exclusive part, transferring, however, the planning to an external structure that is not, however, very aware of how a public administration works. The subsequent direction of the programme has been assigned to a internal structure of the administration: the Urban Office, passing from the economic development councillorship to the city-planning councillorship.
As regards both the carrying out and the directing of planned measures, an important role has been played by the University, the real privileged partner of the enterprise.
Trade associations, particularly artisans, have been hardly involved in planning and completely absent in the executive phase. The most important territorial authorities have had an institutional involvement. A different approach, which has been lacking in these kinds of institutions, would have allowed for a dealing of the plans in a more constructive way by pointing out any possible problems beforehand.

Urban II's context and aims in Misterbianco

Misterbianco's programme target area belongs to that part of the metropolitan area where there is more widespread territorial dispersion or diffusion. The system of urban settlement has had a very recent beginning and was started by a set of concomitant factors in the 1960s and continued uninteruptedly during the 70s. There are many important elements: the large migration of labour force expelled from the country; the approval of the Piccinato plan, that, restricting the building areas and considerably lowering the building rates in the administrative centre, reduced spaces for building speculators; the concomitant inadequacy of the local building programme which was unable to manage the development of a reality with profoudly modified urban characteristics.
In this context, a mainly unlawful urban settlement heavily lacking in system connections with consolidated urban centres and, more generally, a system of mobility was developed. The installation structure points out some of Catania's metropolitan system more relevant characteristics, such as: the building location along old intercity thorough-fares, the irregularity of road network and a dispersed territorial structure.
The set of planned interventions aims to achieve material and non-material re-sults, the effectiveness of which will be estimable in a medium-long period to recover the relationships among sub-urban areas and the city centre; to re-organize the suburban districts' social fabric and, more generally speaking, a general improvement of the quality of life. The programme promotes equal opportunities most of all in reference to work and training in order to allow women to better administrate their personal activities through developing services which allow the reconsiliation of the pace of living and working hours.
The Urban II enterprise is starting because the Administration aims to take part in the announcement of the Ministry of Public Works. The positive intervention of Misterbianco's mayor, a brave reformist administrator, the protagonist of the social

revival of one of Catania's Municipal Administration guiding communes, has been determinant in involving, in addition to the writer, the other two external advisers, that have been nominated to start the initiative. In fact, externalising the assembling phase seemed the only way to warrant the needed quickness and determination in planning the program.
The institutional involvement has been carried out both with the Province through verifying the actions organisation and with the Prefecture in drafting a legal protocol which views the problem of urban safety as one of the most relevant matters. We have tried to involve third sector associations that operate inside the area, from the district parish priests to the training boards. The traders associations that operate in the commercial area of regional importance, which is the commune's main activity, have shown considerable interest in the plan.
As regards urban choices, the programme is based upon intentionally simple suppositions that define an integrated system of actions at a local level. Through an articulated system of strategic interventions, the task of starting up change in urban settlement, devising new strategies for widespread retraining in various contexts in a suitable directional model aimed at bringing about the interventions necessary to change this degraded suburb into a city, is being dealt with.
Fragmented parts are reconnected by expanding and requalifying a provincial road that divides the various parts of the settlement area and supports and connects the new centralised system. These have been individualised and localized in areas that the PRG has destined to services and equipment, in order to constitute a system that could support activities and functions that can make the transition from the suburbs to the city start through rebalancing the prevailing centrifugal traffic flows in a set of strong functions.
The choice to continue the action started by the Administration, to moderise interstitial open spaces in order to improve suburban conditions, is carried out through redevising interventions that aim at solving recurring problems like the creation of equipped open spaces, the qualitative new defining of the road axes such as paving, lighting and decoration, searching original action that brings together public and private interests. These interventions that reconnect and redefine fringe areas, together with the new centralities, by introducing new values and qualities in widespread settlement, contribute towards consolidating an amorphous social fabric.
Social promotion is actualised through the creation of district structures that will constitute, together with the City Laboratory, the axis around which will rotate the city's cultural and social initiatives and specific public open spaces will rotate.
The programme promotes local development policies, creating a technical structure, the Urban Development Agency, for territorial management, in order to set up instruments for correct research, analysis and planning.
The innovative nature of the programme's strategy, considering territorial development as systemic integration, is that of urban governance that is the capability to start a shared meaning frame, that can involve the main characters of the process of construction of strategic public policy in order to reach conditions of integrated development and supportable life styles.

Learning from practices

The programmes here presented have in common an 'outlook' that catalyses the interventions' basic actions. Catania's City Centre re-qualifying project consists of a set of qualifying functional insertions, as in the case of university instunents, whereas by realizing the new central urban system in Misterbianco, the dispersed tissues will be consolidated.
However, a first evaluation of the experiences, almost concluded in Catania and just beginning in Misterbianco, allows us to notice that this substantial 'territorial view' is not sufficient in making the proposed policies more effective. For instance, the actions of the 'infrastructures and environment' measure of Catania's programme, and in particular the insertion of university functions in contexts characterized by large pockets of deterioration and strong intensities of directional use, beyond the apparently agreeable contents of the intervention, have elements that have contributed to the general weakening of the action. Having introduced the Faculty of Law lecture halls into the Purity complex, by twisting the interpretation of the PRG in force, revealed itself to be a 'weak point' that has provoked a strong reaction from the district residents who have interpreted the project as another step towards the 'gentrification' process which already characterizes some city centre areas.
This episode is a significant sign that the planned approaches have not solved some of the main problems in assembling such complex programmes. In other words, they are solutions that do not question the 'control variables' of the processes, but just start mechanisms, effective sometimes attaining brief-period aims, but that do not substantially effect the problem setting phase, remarkably reducing the real capacity to start organizing learning processes.
Therefore, first of all, it seems indispensable that these innovative practices become part of public administration's officials taking on responsability for their actions.
It is a matter of creating, inside the administrations, a kind of 'project nucleus' to which has to be delegated enough operating authority. It must be provided with an articulated set of process skills, but at the same time, be open enough to external supplies. The 'tactical' attitude that simply creates structures to put into action under contingencies, such as preparing financing requests that will be forgotten at the end of the process, or under the push of political contingencies as has happened in the examined contexts with a wrong interpretation of 'spoiling system', is absolutely inadequate.
Moreover, the two practices confirmed the PRG's limits in its more traditional forms that Sicilian laws keep un-changed.
Finally, the absolute need of a territorial government aware of the metropolitan dimension that could accept the challenge of defining a comprehensive strategy that could reconcile the reasons of "legitimacy and those of efficacy in an overall picture of coherent and shared development prospects" emerged from these experiences. It is necessary to establish a strategy for the city and its metropolitan area starting from a 'development forum' where the main actors could take on and share together with

the administration, according to a partner logic, precise responsibilities. This is precisely one of the priorities proposed by Urbact that we referred to at the beginning. In fact, the programme has privileged a working method that aims at reaching better social cohesion of the urban regeneration areas through an integrated approach and a partnership structured together with residents, the private sector and general interest services. The strong point of the programme headed by Siracusa, whose financing contract was signed during the European Cities Forum in Milan, has been recognized in the aim of making the level of local sustainable development measurable, development that can be reached according to the established integration level.

Notes

1. It's a programme that has favoured a network of activities to get the 'territorial excellence' to be pursued through actions of support of the local development to be carried out through partner processes based on social dialogue and participation. The enterprise has involved several European regional areas of five countries: France, Spain, Ireland, Germany and Italy, where it has been promoted and co-ordinated by Sandra Bonfiglioli.
2. See the interview with A. Scuderi in *d'A/MAD'E*, n. 22, January 2000.

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The plan of Catania between the fox and the hedgehog

Antonio Pietro Latini

When two texts, two statements, two ideas are set one against the other, to enjoy reconciling them instead of denying one by the other; to recognize two aspects, two subsequent stages of the same event in them, in fact, a convincing reality because complex, human because multiple. (Marguerite Yourcenar, *Memoires of Adrian*)

The hedgehog and the fox

At the beginning of his most famous essay on XIX century Russian literature (1) Isaiah Berlin recalls a fragment by Archilochus which says: "The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows a big one". Regardless what this statement would actually mean, originally, it lends itself (Berlin maintains) "to indicate one of the deepest differences which divide writers, thinkers and, even human beings in general" (2). Fox and hedgehog represent two opposite mental attitudes, two different ways to relate with reality and to tackle issues: "those, on the one hand, who refer everything to a central vision, to a more or less coherent or articulated system, with rules which lead them to understand, to think and to feel - an inspiring principle, unique and universal the only one able to give meaning to all they are and say -, and those, on the other hand, who pursue many aims, often disjoined and contradictory, perhaps linked only generically, de facto, for some psychological or physiological reason, not unified by a moral or aesthetical principle. People belonging to this second category lead existences, accomplish actions and cultivate ideas which are centrifugal rather than centripetal, and their thinking is dispersed or diffuse because it moves on different layers, picks the essence of a vast variety of experiences and of issues for what they are per se, without trying, consciously or unconsciously, to insert them in (or to exclude them from) a unitary, immutable, all-including, sometime contradictory and incomplete, sometimes fanatic, vision".

An attempt to apply these two interpretive categories to the contemporary situation of policies and instruments in urbanistics seems useful both to read the present disciplinary condition and, in the specific, to interpret the most recent vicissitudes and of possible development of the new Master Plan of Catania, which has been in production for long and which completion is hoped soon.

So, lately, I got the impression that large part of the plans which have been proposed to the attention of the disciplinary debate, during the last period, I think mostly of general master plans, can some way be referred to the ideal type of the hedgehog. This happens not just because, as it is obvious, plans, by their own nature, are tools which search the sinergic coherence of actions by which the environment gets transformed and, therefore, they cannot but be means to reduce to unity a multiple and controversial reality (actually I believe that, in this moment of uncertainty, this character should be fixed). Rather, because in the default of the present professional practice, often supported by a parallel scientific production, it seems to me that the method of reconducting choices to a strong generating idea, able at the same time to simplify processes and to facilitate legibility and legitimacy of the plan itself, reaches a progressively stronger emphasis. Moreover, we cannot conceal that choosing an easily recognizable elaboration key helps, on one hand, the participation of the plan as a disciplinary product to the dynamics of the 'discourse' (either by electing areas of attention which are highlighted by the technical and political conjuncture or by concentrating efforts on a specific theme) and, on the other hand, by the immediacy of the connotated message and the visibility not only of the eponymous author but also for the area which is the object of the plan, in order to be a useful help to their marketing strategies.

Here they are then the plans of housing for all, of conservation of historical heritage, of variously interpreted sustainability, of morphological control of open spaces, of land preservation, of show architecture… All of them follow in different percentage disciplinary conjunctions and personal paths and beliefs of the authors. Really, these accentuations remain very often expedients for publicity rather than methodological programs; very often, however, they correspond to actual inclinations of the plan that are not justifiable on the base of the specificity of places, but are rather referable to some disciplinary zeitgeist, so that they emphasize some values and/or design criteria and, necessarily, disregard others.

In the best of the hypotheses, efforts which are spent in the direction of a rationalization of the disciplinary object, often end out in a radicalization of prevailing themes (and sometimes more or less meaningful disciplinary advancements) and a certain negligence in the implications of the multiple character of issues and in the hard search on degrees and modalities of correlations among different thematic ambits involved.

So, on one hand, play the diffuse and diffusely felt need to reduce actions to slogans and, on the other hand, the effects of the precarious equilibrium between the results of a tradition in planning which is inclined to distribute good-for-all prescriptions and the perspectives of politics which are attentive to soundings and tied to the consensus of unequal actors.

Therefore, some disciplinary ripenings (and even before commonsense ones), while becoming Maximalist options, risk, in their action of simplification, to disperse a great patrimony of our cities, their multiplicity, and to humiliate the complex reality of different attitudes regarding dwelling, the expectations, the compatible desires of citizens.

Managing complexity and the use of 'fundamentals'

I believe it is not an oversimplification to say that, in the phase of the resumption of the design activities, at the end of 1999, the plan of Catania tried to recover on the side of multiplicity: in the field, to say so, of the fox. It was unavoidable that this effort is confronting a task of a foreseeable limited success: recognizing the different connotations of a complexity embodied both in its directly urban aspects and in the implications that they activate on realms such as dwelling and social, production and employment, estate and welfare.

More than in other cities, in Catania different and heterogeneous circumstances overlay, such as the exceptional dimensions of the historic center, the unusual presence of concentrated

opportunities of urban valorization like the ones of the so called 'resource-areas' (urban undeveloped areas of sometimes large dimension which have remained unused for one reason or another by the dynamics of the transformation of the city), the industrial and employment dynamics which are typical of a metropolis of the South of Italy and the underutilized potentials, the characteristics of a real estate market with a supply that is limited in quantity, quality, and type, the high quality of the natural environment, the deficit in infrastructures, the poverty of the public green areas, the denied relationship with the sea, the seismical threat, the topographic accidents which were generated more than three hundred years ago and that still now condition development…

Managing complexity is an ambitious project, and bound to incompleteness. It makes scientific advancements improbable and, most of all, does not 'pay' in terms of recognizability. In the realm of 'discourse' relationships it takes a passive role: a reconnaissance one. Nevertheless, in the founding of its more recent phase, the new master plan of Catania has followed the path of an obscure pragmatism, being convinced that a project that takes place in an anthropocentric perspective (not in a perspective that is prejudicially ancillary with regard to the disciplinary dynamics towards neither nature nor history, nor technology, nor economics…) could redeem chaos in the sign of multiplicity and inclusion. The plan prefers the imperfection of pluralism rather than the geometric exactitude of the thematic cut: it searches synergies in a convergence of concurring guide ideas and equilibrium among goals which are tied by regressive relations such as, for example, those, which are recurring in the present metropolitan (not just Catania's) situation, on one hand, of a substantial preservation of the historic fabric, on the other hand, of an aware and thrifty management of land resources, and, on the other hand yet, of the amelioration of the real estate supply and of a control of the inflationary dynamics related to the limitations which are induced by urban policies.

In spite of the awareness of the heterogeneous whole of implications, or, perhaps, because of it, in the construction of the choices of the plan, it has emphasized the attention on what exists: especially on the physical body of the city and of the region, on which, from numerous sides today, in this phase of the disciplinary pendulum on elected references, a more careful attitude is requested. It is in fact a particularly frequent inclination during the recent past, among those who deal with different roles and capacities with the production of the plan, to tend to leave on the land the sign of their own beliefs, ideologies, so that some projects of plan tend to become the composite reflex of the histories of those who participate to its production. It frequently happens, in other words, that a plan belongs to those who produce it rather than to the city that is designed. Yet a city, the way it is, has a lot to say: there is a lot to learn from what the various aspects of its structure and of its life propose to us.

In these last years, in Catania we tried to put the accent on the fundamentals of the discipline, namely on the composition of its physical structure, both as a reference and as a priority realm of control. This is not just because of an underevaluation of the implication of the concurring issues (sociological, economical, management, to quote some of them) or in order to resume a presumed disciplinary autonomy; rather because we are aware that an urban practice that heavily moves on adjoining ambits often leaves uncovered its own tasks, at the mercy of actors not just of limited talent but often of dubious competence.

The revision of the plan starts from rereading the fundamentals. A lot can be realized by the configuration of the built parts. One can read the different parts of the city and the related fortunes, the central triangle and, within it, the varied fabric of the oldest center, the frayed areas north of the belt boulevard and those south of the line that runs from the urbanized area under Monte Po to the southern border of San Cristoforo until the sea: Librino and the industrial areas towards the Piana. And within the central triangle one can guess an eastern part, more structured and compact, and the other, to the west, incomplete and indefinite (3).

An even expeditious evaluation of the topographical situation gives an account of dynamics and modalities of anthropization of urban land: especially a survey of altimetry and cleavage unfolds the possible fields of action for the update of the urban structure.

A lot can be gathered from the rich analytical apparatus, which have being produced in the meantime during the different phases of the construction of the precedent projects of the plan. Among these materials, a typomorphological building atlas stands out for richness of information. This was produced by the municipal office of the plan, during the first phase of production, under the guidance of Pierluigi Cervellati, and constitutes an important deepening on urbanization modalities and on related dynamics and an essential support both to design produced so far and, hopefully, to the management of the plan itself. Besides being a reference for the direct intervention of transformation on a building unit base, this survey is a reference for an articulation of urban land in areas of prevailing conservation and areas of transformation and for the individuation of special local areas to be transformed by integrated interventions of rehabilitation. In the specific, the survey of building types leads to determine the outline of limitation to building activity, which is spelled out in the Norme tecniche di attuazione (building codes), presently under definition, together with the morphological zoning of fabrics but also with the distribution of urban weights and congestions levels.

In this scene of composition of natural and artificial realities, the theme of the modalities of use of the city, shows, in fact a panorama of unbalances which is so worrying as frequent in the metropolitan areas of our Country. In Catania also in certain areas coincide high intensities of use, high densities, solid presence of central functions, low level of transformability, inadequate and hardly developable street network, and fragility of the historic building heritage and preservation opportunities; in other areas one can find low functional and formal characterization, limited

infrastructure, discontinuity and abandonment, marginality.

Some priority goals of the Plan

From the observation of the existing situation the design principles and some priority goals of the new Master plan the way it appears in this phase derive.

First of all, the richness of the historical heritage of buildings and spaces requires that the attention is driven to individuate a large area to subject to actions of conservation and advancement. This is an area that can be defined *vis-à-vis* a survey of the distribution of buildings, complexes, and urban spaces of historical value and distinguishable inside for the nature of its physical support and vocation. Also the fabric of ancient layout, even when the buildings have been substantially reworked, and the areas with a significant natural and landscape environmental value are included in this category. A modulation of strategies of intervention and a varied selection of techniques, of elements, and of characters to be subjected to preservation correspond to the enlargement of the object of conservation related to the different fields of age, type, and value (4).

In the awareness that only an effective strategy of regional equilibrium allows for an adequate policy of conservation of the historic city (this is a concept that, actually, seems to have suffered for a period of worrisome eclipse, lately), the plan supports actions of transferring of urban weighs and central functions outside the areas of older creation and of rehabilitation of the outskirts.

Historical and more recent dynamics in the development of the city have determined a strong deficit of green open spaces, which are inadequate in qualitative and quantitative terms. Compared to the need of nearly 700 ha of urban and neighborhood green open spaces, calculated after the parameters of the DI (State Interdepartmental Decree) 2 April 1968, no. 1444 (standards of public services), only 50 ha are available today. It is the ambition of the plan to obtain a substantial reduction of this deficit, by recruiting available areas through negotiation procedures and development of green areas to produce by looking for a synergy between private interests and public benefit.

In this sense, the plan confirms the destination of green space for most of the green areas set aside by the Piano Piccinato (5) vows to the same end large part of the urban undeveloped areas (with the exception of those which are utilized in the processes of negotiation aimed to acquire the areas themselves for free) and indicates new areas to be destined to the same use in the peripheral rural areas (also these to be acquired through negotiation at no expenses for the municipality). The production of this consistent endowment of public green mostly, but not exclusively, favors the most deprived urban areas and constitutes a connective among marginal land, while favoring a recentralization of them (like in the emblematic case of the designed production of a Central Park in the unbuilt wedge west of the rehabilitation area around the Palermo Street).

In almost all cases, the complementary composition of green areas and built areas for compensation tends to reinforce the synergy by being the green a quality view for the buildings (and therefore factor of value increment) and the latter qualifying border (*horismòs*) of the collective space. The layout of green spaces which derives from it is completed by the prevision of some areas with a rural character, with a substantial presence of private green, with a residential or production use, low density and low coverage ratio. Even though it is limited to some fringe areas, this choice should contribute, on one hand, to respond to a considerable demand of the market for this type of residential, a demand that has found so far a supply in the ring municipalities, and, on the other hand, it should be a presidium and an instrument of control in areas otherwise destined to illegality.

Similar goals add to a substantial enlargement of the endowment of public green an improvement of the street network. This is foreseen especially, but not only, for the less favored areas at west. A comparison with the topography is a useful reference to understand how the foreseen works would implicate the production of bold structures, the impact of which could be optimized by keeping a special attention to the relation with the surrounding townscape. Therefore, this is an ambitious program and yet essential for an effective policy of rehabilitation and reequilibrium. The importance of completing the street network, especially in the western part of the city, is related not only to its contribution to a better linkage among different parts of the city and to the consequent recentralization of marginalized areas but also to a development of areas that are formally destructured by the introduction of recognizable elements of reference as urban, mostly tree-lined, boulevards. These new interventions in the urban center are part of the larger street system at the level of the entire municipality with the construction of a more balanced street system, in the middle of which a triangular nucleus is inserted, surrounded by the system of the boulevards along the shore and by the belt boulevards to the north and to the west (to be made in the form of parkway) with the function of distribution collectors. The mobility system entrusts the search for a better efficacy to three rail networks to be built anew or to be improved: first of all the updating of the train railroad which would allow, among other goals, the solution of the old problem of the restoration of the relation between the city and the sea. In this sense, the plan embraces the ambitious but realistic and feasible project to put the rail lines along the shore completely underground, to build a large park along the shore, to transform the train line in metropolitan service also, and the complementary (and subordinated to it) use for commercial buildings of areas now occupied by rail tracks that can be dismissed, close to the main railway stations (Centrale, Acquicella, Europa). This project should, on one hand, provide resources to cover part of the construction costs for infrastructures and, on the other hand, a further element to rationalize commuting in the metropolitan area. Also, the enhancement of the so called 'circumetnea metro line' and the construction of a few trolley lines are planned.

A key element in the strategy of the new plan is the development of the large undeveloped areas within urban area. Large parts of them have been indicated by the *Act of the Municipal Council 58/98* as

areas that require a previous urban design. In this Act it was stated that the new plan should follow the innovative path of the standardizing of charges for the landowners involved in the development, in one of the most advanced evolutions (6). This strategy has shown to be essential for both the implementation of policies to gratuitously acquire areas for public services and for an adequate formal control of transformation. For many special local areas to be developed in a coordinated way, namely those that have a specific strategic value or that can be developed in a short period of time, local area design have been produced, in form of guidelines to support the implementation design to be produced by the public but open to private suggestions for enhancement and to be studied in depth in a following phase. These tend to recurring goals after common logical modalities, in the spirit that has been indicated by the Council. Generally, complexes privately produced and managed are foreseen, which generate profits, and, for the majority, rehabilitation works, infrastructures and services for public use at local or urban level. Also the development of the large undeveloped areas follows the logic of the regeneration of poor areas and of the construction or enhancement of new urban centralities, which serve as reference for the local social components.
Therefore, the plan assigns in principle a structural role to the quality of urban composition and bets on the added value that can be generated through a finalized management of the urban environment in its formal and functional aspects.

Pluralism and coherence
Those who saw the movie *Il portaborse* would probably remember the great ability of the main character (Moretti) to gather the effective suggestions of his assistant (Orlando) and to use them to opposite ends, twisting their meaning. An urbanist should, somehow, consider that sense skidding of some key concept, distilled through significant research efforts and vowed to become common knowledge, could affect urban practice. I do not believe that those who support a flexible, multiple, pluralist plan have in their mind a laissez-faire policy. However, to that end, a specific effort is required.
A sensible consensus seems to grow on some fundamental criteria of planning practice. Among the goals that an urban plan should carry the most important one should be the one of going towards the needs, the expectations of people or, to say it with Louis I. Kahn, their desires. If it is true that people desires are different, as many as the individuals who nourish them, a plan should try to welcome an enough large number of them and to maximize their compatibility and their possible synergies, with the perspective to favor the construction of a city as plural as possible. In this sense, a plan with a high level of flexibility should allow, with time, besides conjuncture strategic needs, the reception of different individual instances.
For at least forty years, our discipline has struggled toward the overcoming of the rigid plan and the dilution of planning choices. During these very days (August 2003) a few articles appeared for the commemoration of the death of Cedric Price. The memory of the *Non-plan* (1969) (7), which tried to indicate a few rules only for the transformation of the city, is intertwined to the memory of the structure plan which was suggested by the PAG Report in 1965 and evokes the debate in our Country, during these most recent years. From this, the stimulus derives to meditate about the most suitable limits of flexibility, i.e. about the difficult balance between pluralism and coherence: an issue that can be only mentioned here but on which, I believe, the next future of the plan of Catania is played.
On this issue, a brief digression may help. It seems that the first philosopher who used the term pluralism in a modern sense, as "that way of thinking according to which one does not embrace in his own I the whole world, but one considers himself and behaves just as citizens of the world" was a not very famous German scholar: Christian Wolff. He is the author, since the beginning of the XVIII C., of *Rational Thoughts* (8). The history of philosophy attributes to Wolff the merit to "have considered the need of a rational method": the genesis of the so-called method of the foundation (*Grund*, equivalent of the Latin *ratio*) which certainly has had an important role in the production by Kant and to which Abbagnano attributes a value of a topical subject as the "method from which philosophy may still expect a defense from arbitrariness". It is impossible in this circumstance to go in depth on this coincidence. By now, it is enough to meditate on the fact that the apparent opposition between pluralism and rational method has no ground. Actually, there is no real guarantee of pluralism without a technically solid and aware 'affirmative action' in this direction.
The plan of Catania, but I believe it is not a specificity of this plan, should be ready to exercise on flexibility, to keep on welcoming updates from down up, to face the rationale of the individual actions, of various works, of the ongoing variations: in other words, to accept the modalities of a process in progress, both in the last phases of completion and in the subsequent phases, during which choices and governance actions are precised. Likewise, I believe that it should confirm itself as an instrument of guarantee of technical correctness and of that coherence that is "rather more than a simple compatibility among the elements of a system: it carries, in fact, not only the absence of contradiction, but also the presence of positive connections which establish harmony among the elements of the system" (9). This should be even if it shows itself, though unwillingly, as a hedgehogplan, because a plan without technical correctness, without coherence, is a mere, careless, administrative accomplishment: it is the denial of the plan.

Notes
1. See I. Berlin, *Il riccio e la volpe e altri saggi*, Adelphi, Milano, (1948) 1998.
2. These two rhetorical characters, which are borrowed by the essay by Berlin, have already been used by disciplinary research. See C. Rowe, F. Koetter, *Collage City*, Il Saggiatore, Milano, (1973) 1981, p. 143 e ss. e C. Rowe, "Ideas, Talent, Poetics: A Problem of Manifesto" (1987), printed in a reduced version in *Lotus International* n. 62, 1989.
3. This partition evokes, even though with different geometries the division of buildable areas after the decision of the municipal

Senate, after the earthquake of 1693.
4. Both for the definition of the sub-areas and for the indication of the criteria for direct intervention, during the elaboration of the plan, it seemed to be useful to apply practices of synergy and coplanning with the institutions in charge of conservation. The implementation of this collaboration was not feasible, however, in spite of the willingness of the parts which should be involved for a few, unavoidable, administrative stickiness.
5. It is the plan which was produced during the 1960s and that is still in force.
6. See the essay by S. Stanghellini, *infra*.
7. See S. Boeri, "Una voliera di idee", *Il Sole 24 Ore*, 24 August 2003, p. 24.
8. See N. Abbagnano, *Dizionario di filosofia*, Tea-Utet, Torino, 2001, "*pluralismo*" e L. Boni (a cura di), voce "Wolff, Christian", in *Enciclopedia Garzanti di filosofia*, Milano.
9. See N. Abbagnano, *Dizionario di filosofia*, Tea-Utet, Torino, 2001, "*coerenza*".

Policies of conservation and revitalization of historic centres. The case of Ortigia (Siracusa)

Enrico Fontanari, Daniele Rallo

The purpose of this article is to examine and present the research and development resulting from the intervention policies and the physical restoration that were recently initiated in the historic centre of Siracusa, Sicily (1). The article will furthermore highlight the significance of this case study as the combination of a successful conservation process of the town centre's cultural and architectural patrimony along with the policies and strategies that were enacted for its economic revitalisation.

Ortigia: its historical aspects and its current conditions

The city of Siracusa can be divided into three distinct areas: the island of Ortigia, as its delimited historic centre, the areas of a nineteenth century urban expansion process, and its modern suburbs. The historic centre represents only a small part of what is recognised as Siracusa's existing central urban area, and is physically separated from the present day city, being connected by just two bridges. Presently, the old town remains substantially intact both for its building types and above all morphologically, apart from the areas affected by nineteenth century additions or by certain transformations that took place in the thirties. The urban fabric is composed of a tightly knit road network, made up of narrow, restricted alleyways (only a few main roads and some squares have wider or more open dimensions), meaning that, still today, the island of Ortigia maintains its labyrinthine structure, which is typical of many Mediterranean historical cities.

The size of the historic centre zone is approximately 50 hectares, representing only 5% of Siracusa's total urbanised area. The nearly 5,000 inhabitants that live in this historic centre represent only 4% of the total population. This present day situation is a result of the slow 'evacuation' and abandonment of the old town, which began in the 60's and continued until the mid 90's. Since then the population has stabilised, and, as a matter of fact, a counter exodus soon ensued once revitalisation policies for the city's historic centre were initiated.

In the 50's 30% of the total population of the municipality lived on the island of Ortigia. The exodus of the population to the 'mainland' began with the construction of new areas (to the north of the 19th century city) (2). At the same time, the 'centre' of the city moved towards the area of the new urban developments. The new structure types were large 10-12 storey apartment buildings, which, in those days, represented a more modern style of architecture. To move from small poorly lit row houses in the old town, to the new blocks of flats 'over the bridge', meant a social leap as well as improved standards of living conditions. This transition is in part due to the fact that, at that time, overcrowded accommodations (averaging 5-6 persons per housing unit) had led to the complete deterioration of living conditions which had become difficult to endure.

As a result of this process of 'evacuation' the historic centre's housing properties further deteriorated, and by the mid 90's around 50% of the units were 'unoccupied' and abandoned or unfit to live in. Today's housing stock and density has basically remained the same as it was in the 50's. The area occupied by predominantly residential use covers more than 50% of the entire built surface of Ortigia, representing the equivalent of 4,000-4,500 dwellings in total (i.e. more than two million cubic metres).

Census polls taken in 1994 for Ortigia indicated a residential population of 5,880 inhabitants, which constituted approximately 2,837 families, resulting in an average of 2.07 persons per family. With this situation, each inhabitant had about 350 square metres at his disposal compared to the 75 square metres in 1950. Despite the fact that some residential zones of Ortigia have a greater residential density, it became apparent that the original situation of overcrowding had become one of underutilisation and inefficient use of residential spaces.

The legislation

The historic centre of Ortigia has been the subject of different State and regional laws (3), which have sanctioned its importance.

The first law, which identified Ortigia as an "asset of national historical interest", was decreed by the Ministry for the Arts and Culture in 1968, and it applied the restrictions of the State law of 1939 for the "protection of natural beauty".

The second important legislative measure was enacted with a "Special Law for Ortigia" issued by the Regional Government of Sicily in 1976. This law required the Municipality to effect an appropriate town-planning instrument, the 'Detailed Plan', within a preestablished time period. Over the years various modifications to this plan have been introduced. The most significant of these was the 1996 variant, which allowed for the launch of the renovation and conservation process for Ortigia.

The 'New Special Law' introduced regulations that streamlined and simplified the procedures both for project approval and for the allocation of funding.

A specific Commission for Ortigia was established as a substitute for the municipal building commission, with special powers and a two fold principal task: to evaluate the projects for intervention and to concurrently examine the requests for financing grants. In unifying these two procedures, the rate of planning approval was hastened from an average of 18 months to 6-8 months. Furthermore, a specific Technical Office was hence instituted, which was exclusively dedicated to the problems of Ortigia, and that was to "take on the tasks of study, analysis, programming, planning design, co-ordination and management of both public and private interventions in Ortigia". In order to increase the efficiency and autonomy of this Office, the law inserted two other important changes:

- In derogating former public service management procedures, the office was able to equip itself with its own staff, even if not provided for within the personnel structure, both by transferring staff from other municipal offices, and by stipulating fixed term contracts with external professionals;
- In addition to access to the normal resources budget, in order to facilitate operations, it was also able to draw on funds provided by the Special Law, within a limit of 1.5% of the total sum.

A third important change was made by the new proposals for the allocation of grants. The possibility to apply for non-repayable

grants was allowed for up to 30% of the admissible expenditure for all internal work; up to 60% for interventions in public spaces, for antiseismic measures and for interventions carried out on spaces intended for commercial or artisan use; up to 70% for all restoration and repair work on building façades. Moreover, a maximum expenditure limit for intervention costs was set at Lire 1,000,000 (Italian Lira) per square metre of gross surface area, which could however be updated annually according to the ISTAT index.
The total grant sum given to the private citizen was hence approximately Lire 300,000 per square metre of property, and Lire 600,000 per square metre for communal areas (stairwells, roofs, etc.). In addition to this, funds were provided for the façades at the equivalent of 70% of the actual expenses, with no maximum limit.

Policies and actions
The operation for conservation and renovation of the old town began with the drafting of the Detailed Plan for Ortigia (PPO), provided for by the PRG in 1976 and completed in 1988 (4). The PPO brought forth a plan for restoration and revitalisation of the historic centre using a dual strategy to redefine the urban role of this part of the city, while also aiming to increase its residential population. Many priority goals were identified, such as the preservation of residential functions, the enhancement of the "existing office businesses and service industries historically located in the city's centre", the identification of possible tourist locations and associated businesses (also involving residential buildings), and the designation of important buildings for cultural activities.
Strategic intervention points were established and defined as "magnetic poles", which correspond to groups of historically important buildings, complex units or areas with a specific building style.
The thorough classification of the buildings (grade of permanence of the building typology, state of preservation, etc.), allowed for detailed design guidelines to be devised, which defined the intervention procedures and compatible destinations of use for each building. The regulation codes indicated the types of predominant functions to be inserted in each area. If it became difficult to install a given function in a certain building, alternative uses could substitute it as long as they complied to one of the functional zoning systems established by the town planning instrument, i.e. residential use, cultural activities, administration, tourism, school and university.
The delineation of this strategic outline of interventions gave a new direction to the incentive policies that started with the funding from the Special Law for Ortigia, hence allowing the city to qualify for later national and European funding.
A second key factor in the policies for Ortigia was provided by the Bylaw for Implementation of the Special Law. This Bylaw sets the regulations that the citizens must follow for the submission of project proposals and for funding applications. In particular it specifies:
- certain terms inserted in the design guidelines of the Detailed Plan; the expression "minimum measuring unit for intervention" refers to "building units" and also to "property units"; in these types of interventions, the possibility of the division or joining of one or more property units within the same building unit is made available, under the conditions that the façades and openings remain unchanged;
- the procedure for preliminary inspections; within 15 days all documentation must be sent to the offices concerned (The Bureau of monumental and artistic patrimony, The Health Department, Civil Engineers, etc.); and within 45 days they must be completed;
- the operations and functions of the Sole Commission, which must evaluate the project proposal and decide on the funding application;
- the interventions needing permits, such as the restoration of housing or buildings, and the preservation of supporting and non-supporting structures that are not destined for a change of use, can be approved directly by the office;
- the rules for the "substitute interventions" established by the Detailed Plan; the Municipal Administration has the power to 'order' private bodies to intervene in cases where it is necessary to ensure public safety, public health, urban décor, décor of the external façades, and for the building conservation in general; in the case of inaction, the Municipality directly submits the intervention project, scheduling the allocation of contingent funding to the owners; if the "condominium" majority is not reached, the Mayor can order execution of the interventions or even "substitute intervention" reserving the right to make good losses against the defaulting owners;
- the admitted interventions on the façades looking onto public spaces; the design must be extended to cover the whole building unit concerned, and must take into consideration all of the elements of décor, including frames, railings, signs, plaques, etc.;
- the contents of the convention to be signed by private owners and Municipality for the grant allocation which include: the foreseen time period for the completion of the works; the total sum of the grant and the allocation procedure (the balance must be paid at the completion of the works, and after the inspection by the office); the obligation to adhere to the destination of use for a period of not less than six years; the obligation to reinstate the previous tenants if the property was rented;
- the procedure for determining and distributing the grants; the allocation is paid in stages as the work progresses, but for security, the applicant must present a guarantee.
In reference to the funding programme, the launch of the revitalisation programme in Ortigia was made possible by integrating the funds obtained by the Special Law of the Regional Government of Sicily and the funding received from the National and European programmes.
The Special Law for Ortigia has granted around Lire 68 billion allocated over a period of 15 years. The Regional Government of Sicily provided grants from a special fund managed separately and by means of a town council resolution the subdivision of individual items were determined. These included: grants to private bodies for the restoration of single housing units and buildings; grants to the Municipality, public bodies and the Catholic Church for the restoration of public buildings and churches; grants for the recovery of public spaces, street furnishings, and for

works of subterranean infrastructure and utility lines; grants for the restoration of dilapidated city blocks even by expropriation, with the "substitute" interventions for private bodies.
The funding has been completely allocated and a greater part of it was already spent, despite the fact that another 400 applications for interventions have been filed at the technical office (in early 2001), which is awaiting a renewal of further funding.
Furthermore, the experience gained from the Municipal technical structure (the Special Office for Ortigia) has encouraged the participation in ministerial funding and announcements for other complex programmes. Ortigia has thus been entered in the list of applicants for funding of the Programme of Urban Renewal (PRU), in the Urban Programme of 1994, as well as in the PRUSST programme (5).
The PRU proposed by the local government focuses specifically on the historic centre of Ortigia with the major objectives regarding urban and housing rehabilitation, economic revitalisation and an increase in residential population. Its role is to plan for interventions on the private residential building property, interventions for the rehabilitation of public property, the restoration of public spaces, infrastructure and public services.
Five Public Notices have been introduced for private citizens, addressed to:
- owners of real estate who would benefit from the public funding, which is also combinable with the funding already provided by the special law, for the restoration of communal areas and the recovery of the housing units (277 applications have been filed);
- individual or joint owners who would sell at least an entire building (17 applications for a total of 48 housing units);
- business operators who intend to acquire and restore at least an entire building destined for primarily residential status (32 applications);
- owners of property intending to restore or sell housing units located within the Public Housing zone of the Detailed Plan (11 applications).
The accepted applications concerned 1,283 interventions on residential buildings (174,000 square metres), commercial buildings (13,100 square metres), office buildings (7,100 square metres), artisans' craft stores (10,200 square metres), tourist industry/accommodations (1,600 square metres).
The public interventions targeted both the structural, architectural and functional rehabilitation of public property in order to increase the offer of areas destined for cultural activities and backing for tourism, as well as the rehabilitation of urban utilities and street furnishings.
In a national ranking, to the PRU of Siracusa was awarded the highest quota of public funding.
Nevertheless, the programme was funded only in part (Lire 17.8 billion as opposed to the Lire 50 billion applied for), which meant that the programme had to be adapted on the basis of the funding obtained.
The Urban Programme presented by the Municipality in 1994 was approved by the European Union two years later. This programme was also concentrated exclusively in the historic centre, which was identified as the most deteriorated part of the city for its physical and social aspects. The programme, developed by Measures and by Actions, focused on the launch and promotion of new local businesses, on the development of social services, and on environmental improvement.
Measure 1 consisted of: the launching of an association between the Municipality and private entities with the aim of recovering abandoned or unused houses in order to provide extra tourist accommodations (apart from hotels); the institution of a Tourist Information Centre to welcome and give assistance to tourists; the support of artisan crafts production and commerce activities, and tourist accommodation (there were 200 applications, 91 of which received funding).
Measure 2 was concerned with interventions regarding the formation and promotion of employment through social assistance and activities. Recreational centres for children, young people and the elderly were also set up under this measure.
Measure 3 was introduced in order to improve restoration projects with the launch of a technical structure for the operators (called The Building Advice Bureau) and for the creation of a services co-ordination centre for citizens, located in an appropriately restored municipal property.
Measure 4 focused on the rehabilitation of open spaces and the restoration of seven "large building units" suitable for cultural, scholastic and university activities.

Results

Since the passing of the new law until the end of 2000, the financing allocated was calculated at Lire 128 billion. In the planning for 2001 another Lire 117 billion have been provided, thus the sum total of funds for urban renewal will be Lire 244 billion.
The allocations of funding have been activated with different programmes and by different donating bodies: Lire 65 billion have been awarded by the Regional Government of Sicily, Lire 17.8 billion by the European Union from its Urban Programme, Lire 17.8 billion by the Ministry of Public Works from PRU, Lire 23.1 billion by the Italian State, and further provisions were made for the zones hit by the Santa Lucia earthquake in December of 1990.
In the subdivision per financing institution, the main quota (54%) was allocated by the Regional Government of Sicily (Lire 68 billion), which was drawn from its own capital balance dedicated to the special law. This amount has been completely expended. The second financing institution was the Italian government (32%, around Lire 41 billion) by way of funding from the "special" law for the zones which were hit by the earthquake of 1990, and from the PRU. These funds have almost exclusively covered the public sector. A further allocation of funds for Lire 25.4 billion that have already been awarded to the Regional Government of Sicily are expected in the near future in Siracusa. The European Union's Urban Programme took third place for funding in Siracusa, in awarding almost Lire 18 billion, equivalent to 14% of the total funding for the city's renovation.
The grants were used to finance interventions on private properties, historic buildings belonging to public bodies or to the Church, and infrastructure development.
In this subdivision the highest percentage was assigned for the restoration of historic buildings and churches, for which over Lire 60 billion, equivalent to 47.7% of the total investment, were allocated. Around Lire 44 billion was awarded to the renovation

of privately owned buildings, of which Lire 30 billion, i.e. 23.7% of the total, was invested in the restoration of housing units, building fronts or the ground floors used for business activities. The other Lire 14 billion (11.2%) was allocated for interventions on private properties subjected to a special regulations, such as State subsided housing or housing intended for rental. Through this renovation process, approximately 550 houses were restored (approximately 10% of the total building property). Another Lire 20.4 billion (equivalent to 16% of the total funds) was used for the conservation and renewal of public spaces: paving of the squares, underground technical networks, public lighting, urban furniture, etc. Finally 1.3% (Lire 1.7 billion) was reserved for the management of the Special Office and to finance the planning process and studies.
There is still another Lire 13 billion assigned for special interventions (substitute interventions) including demolition and clearance, which for practical problems, have not yet been carried out.
In determining what different types of interventions would be effected, the special law was employed mainly to finance works on private buildings. 60% of the funding invested in this segment came from the grants of the special law; the other 40% was financed by the PRU.
The State and European funding were instead used to cover the restoration of historic public buildings and churches.
The investment of funding for the rehabilitation of open spaces has been divided in substantially equal parts between the special law (39%), the European Urban programme (32%) and the State Programme for Urban Rehabilitation PRU (28%).
There were about 20 renovated public buildings, the work for which led to a total cost of Lire 103 billion. This restoration project dealt mainly with buildings of considerable size, for which the costs were very high (roughly twice the costs needed for the restoration of private buildings). Each intervention amounted to over one billion lire. For example, the expenditure for the renovation of the Municipal Theatre was over Lire 30 billion, while the six churches that were restored had an average funding of half a billion each.
The total expenditure for open spaces was Lire 35 billion. The most significant of these expenses was for the renovation of the seawalls, amounting to a total of Lire 15 billion. The other interventions of this category focused on the renovation of small squares and 'courtyards' having an average expenditure of about Lire 1 billion each.
Trusting in the arrival of further public financing, the programme for future spending foresees continuing restoration projects and other interventions for Ortigia.
The European funding from the Urban programme has been used primarily to develop the work sector and to launch new business activities, or to revitalise those already existing (6). The funding consists of a grant (to cover operating and capital costs) given as a one-off lump sum following the presentation of an economic project. In this investment sector Lire 10.6 billion were allocated. The funding went into activities connected to commerce, local artisan crafts, tourism and catering. From over 400 applications examined, 120 were selected to receive monetary contributions from the first quota of funding. 37% of the applications was related to the production and sale of local craft products. The second group is more typically commercial (26.7%). A third group (20%) comprises the areas linked to tourism, while another 9% are businesses connected to catering. With the special law, renovation interventions were carried out on buildings that were transformed for accommodating tourist, including both luxury hotels and smaller family-run hotels.
The physical rehabilitation of the historic centre's buildings led to two notable outcomes: a significant change in the housing market of the area and a new dynamic of social mobility for the area's inhabitants.
The housing market underwent substantial changes in the number of buying/selling transactions, in housing prices and in rent prices. Before the implementation of the rehabilitation programme, property sales were practically non-existent. A few dozen units stayed on the market for very long periods of time (3-4 years) having extremely low sale prices (around Lire 100,000-200,000 per square metre). After 1995 the market activity began to increase and the prices immediately leapt. The price of a house requiring restoration now prices at around Lire 1-1.2 million per square metre. The cost of renovation is approximately Lire 600,000-800,000 per square metre (including the firm's profit). The sale price of renovated housing varies from Lire 2.5-3 million per square metre with a rate of price increase on the initial investment comparable to the housing market of the 60's and 70's. This leads one to believe that perhaps it is no longer necessary to apply for other public funding, and that normal financial credit will suffice. House sales in the meantime have risen to around 200 per year and the demand has been upheld. In addition there is also a rental market with a going rate between Lire 250,000 and Lire 1,500,000 a month, depending on the size of the housing-unit. A new local phenomenon is the availability of rental units to university students. In this case, the rent is established per bed, at around Lire 200,000-300,000.
The fluctuation in the housing market has also brought about a phenomenon of social change, which is still not easy to quantify. Generally a person who wants to live in Ortigia is looking for a house/flat with 2-3 rooms (100-120 square metres); typical clients would be young couples or single people, with a medium-high income. 70% of purchases is by new families. The other 30% represents estate agencies that tend to buy entire buildings, in order to carry out speculative real estate deals.

Significant and critical aspects

The first key step in the restoration of the historic centre of Siracusa is in the outlining of the Detailed Plan of Ortigia. The town-planning tool has defined precise criteria for admissible design guidelines for building interventions; thus the protection of the structural and typological characteristics of historical properties is guaranteed, even if they are not considered monuments.
The PPO has determined a theory for a functional delineation of the plan, identifying compatible functions for the old town and indicating their prime locations; this strategic component of the plan was very important during the distribution of the phase regarding financial

incentives, since it functioned as a structure plan, and was able to address the development strategies by area. The existence of a town-planning tool has contributed in a decisive manner to give credibility to the later projects presented by the Municipality when applying for funding from the State and European programmes.
The second significant intervention was the approval in 1996 of the "New Special Law": the incentive policy of the private interventions was ratified, streamlining the procedure; the formation of a special office for the management of the entire renovation process for the historic centre was introduced; an administrative policy was officially launched to re-publicise the urban image of the island of Ortigia, encouraging an important change of attitude in the people of Siracusa with regard to the historic centre.
The third component is the construction of "Historic Centre Office". With the creation of this structure, a post in the local authority was established that was able to overcome the traditional division between the different technical and administrative sectors that are oftentimes inevitable in a municipality's town planning activities. This structure has also encouraged a strong collaboration between the Municipality, the Regional Government of Sicily, the Italian State, and the European Union. Hence an integrated process was enacted which enabled an efficient management of the physical interventions and funding allocations for the launch of business activities, or, that is, the physical planning and the policies for future land use.
Moreover, the setting up of the UCS has contributed to the enhancing of the technical capacities required to let the local authority of Siracusa to compete, alongside other Italian local authorities, in order to obtain national and European funding.
Another salient aspect of the Siracusa experience was the level of co-operation that was created between the activities and the funding provided by the Special Law for Ortigia and the programmes of a national and European level. This encouraged and promoted a significant number of supplementary financial resources for building restoration and for the launching of the business activities.
Other notable aspects characterising the policies initiated in the historic centre are:
- the introduction of funding for the communal parts of the buildings; in particular, the funding for the interventions on the façades (without spending limits) convinced many private owners to add their own resources to those made available by the Municipality;
- the payment for study and planning phases for the building interventions on public property, overcoming the traditional slowness of project preparation of the local authority;
- the pilot interventions, financed by "Urban", for the restoration of historic buildings for public use (generally destined for cultural activities) and above all the restoration and improvement of public open spaces (squares, streets, walls, the sea front, etc.); these had taken on an important symbolic value and contributed greatly to the physical improvement of the historic centre while helping to attract both small resident-owners, as well as big real-estate investors to what was now recognised as the most important area of the city;
- the legislation (introduced by the "New Special Law"), which gave the Municipality the possibility to resell expropriated buildings (making more properties available to encouraged investors) with the result of promoting greater flexibility in urban policies for the historic centre.
However, it is necessary to take note of several points, which have yet to be resolved, and some critical aspects of the rehabilitation process carried out in Ortigia.
10 years after the approval of the PPO, there are still run-down areas of the city in a state of severe decay; the resources put into the process and the streamlining procedures introduced by the law have encouraged a rise in private interventions, while the interventions by public agencies are however often slow in operation (contract times and procedures, management of building yards, management of new services, e.g. tourist terminal, etc.). This tardiness has had a particularly negative effect on the symbolic interventions which should instead serve to multiply the positive effects of the policies in action in the historic centre, particularly regarding the residential policies (e.g. University residences) and the interventions to demolish the degraded areas within the city blocks, linked to the launch of the so called 'clearance' process.
The longwinded investigations of the projects, due to the detailed design guidelines of the PPO, which contribute to the lengthening of time in the issuing of construction permits, and the difficulty of involving private actors in interventions in less profitable zones, like the working class areas of Graziella and Giudecca, could cause the failure of a project of the Historic Centre Office, an example being the restoration of whole city blocks designated to be residences; on these occasions it could be the case to resort to 'substitute interventions' by the public actor, that however were not carried out until now.
Another problematic aspect is that the most substantial part of the business activity incentives is spent on financing physical interventions, while the funding for the support policies regarding other aspects linked to the launch of business activities (e.g. the marketing of products, technological innovations, the purchase and storage of merchandise, etc.) is not as conspicuous; certainly the allocation of funding to support physical interventions represents a support to the formation of 'fixed capital' that could be useful for the businesses to be started; nevertheless, the problem of supporting the activities that operate by renting locations, or that characterised by their mobility, remains unresolved.
In conclusion, it can be stated that the intervention model put into action in Siracusa has enabled the achievement of its main objective, which was to launch the restoration process and concurrently revitalise the historic centre of Ortigia. Apart from some unresolved problems, it is quite clear that, after a long period of progressive decay and impoverishment, the present-day historic centre represents a reversal of trend. This is highlighted by the renewal of commercial activities, by the growth of investments and of tourist business, by the reduction of physical deterioration and by the renewed life in the housing market.

Notes

1. This research was commissioned by the Department of Housing and Urban Development of the Government of the United States of America.
2. In 1950 the residents of Ortigia numbered 27,000, in 1961 this had decreased to 22,000, in 1987 there were 7,365 inhabitants, and in 1994 only around 5,900 remained. In 45 years 21,100 inhabitants had left Ortigia, the equivalent of 78% of the population of 1950.
3. In summary, the chronology of administrative and legal measures is as follows: 1968. Ministerial decree of restrictions for the Ortigia area according to art. 1 and 2 of the law 1497/39; 1976. First law for Ortigia, Regional law no. 70/76 for Ortigia and Agrigento; 1985. Detailed Plan for Ortigia (PPO). Town Council for the adoption of the Plan but however it was not passed by the majority; 1985. Amendments to the first law for Ortigia, regional law no. 34/85, further specifications for the drafting procedure and approval of the Detailed Plan; amendments to the regional law no. 70/76; 1988. Adoption with resolution of the 'Special Commissioner' (defaulting municipality), decree no. 1 of 27/1/89; 1990. Detailed Plan for Ortigia (PPO) approval with the Council Ordinance Regional Government of Sicily no. 286 of 27/3/90; 1996. New law for Ortigia, regional law no. 34/96; the law was preceded by a Proposal of Amendment put forward by the Municipal office for Ortigia to the Regional Government of Sicily and acknowledged by the same. The above-mentioned law introduced the new course of action for the grants (to cover operating and capital costs) as well as a series of procedural simplifications; 2000. Detailed Plan for Ortigia (PPO) for the town planning legislation had expired and a new draft is being prepared.
4. The group that complied the PPO consisted of the following planners: Giuseppe Pagnano (head of group), Guglielmo Orlandi, Angelo Tamburini, Giuseppe Vinci.
5. The Prusst Project looked at the entire province of Siracusa and has been prepared and presented. The intervention areas identified were tourist development and environmental improvement, with a total investment of Lire 2,800 billion. Restoration of large historic buildings and public spaces were included for Ortigia. Up until now the Prusst has not been classified as suitable and therefore it is not financed.
6. One of the most interesting interventions carried out with the Urban funding was that of the recovery of a building used as a covered market then designated to be a tourist terminal. The project was an attempt at partnership between public and private bodies, in which the first controlled the building restoration of the public property, and the second was responsible for the management of the new business, paying an annual fee. The project provided for the following phases: a) restoration of the exmarket building, b) call for tender for the management of the spaces created within the building, c) drawing up of a special convention between the Municipality (owner of the building) and the management firm of the building (a private firm which won the call for tender). The restored building is a large dimensioned 'container' that occupies an entire building block in the nineteenth century area, near to the entrance of the historic centre. The building has a usable surface area of about 1200 square metres. Within this space the following functions are planned: front tourist office, meeting room for 100 people, restaurant, bar, internet café, offices linked to tourist services. The convention provides the cession of free use for five years for the management firm of the centre. After this period, the Municipality will be paid a rent related to the market value. The management firm can rent the space to other private bodies, keeping to the regulation regarding the destination of use.

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Europeanisation and urban policy initiatives in the Italian Mezzogiorno
Carla Tedesco

During the 90s many towns in the Italian Mezzogiorno were involved in a series of initiatives concerning the setting up and implementation of urban policies. Most of these initiatives were either promoted and/or funded by the European Union Structural Funds (1) (Urban Pilot Projects, Urban, Urban II, actions within Regional Programmes) or in any case linked to them in terms of innovation in ways of interventions and objectives. The relevance of urban initiatives promoted and/or funded by EU within the evolution of urban policies in Italy during the 90s has been widely recognized in several ways (Camagni 1998; Dematteis, Governa, Rossignolo 1999; Franz 2001; Padovani 2002b; Palermo 2002). Processes observed in the Mezzogiorno (2) are part of this wider evolution.
Thus, to use 'Europeanisation' as a frame for the analysis of the processes highlighted above would seem sensible. Recently, there has been much literature on Europeanisation. The term is used in a number of ways to describe a variety of phenomena and processes of change due to the European integration process (Olsen 2001). However, we will only refer to the definitions and the issues raised by Europeanisation research that seem relevant to the topics we are dealing with. In particular, analytical tools developed in Europeanisation studies seem to be effective for raising questions concerning both the outcomes of the new urban policies in the specific terrritorial context examined, apart from the capacity to set up policies, and the diffusion of an 'European policy style' in local territorial action practices.
This article is divided into three sections. In the first section we refer to some issues emerging from the debate on Europeanisation, focusing on the role of programmes promoted and/or funded by the EU within urban initiatives set up and implemented in southern Italy. In the second, the diffusion of 'European' characteristics in the local policy style is stressed. In the last section, questions about the nature and the effective impact of ongoing changes are raised. Of course, some questions are not only peculiar to southern Italian towns, but can be referred to urban policy initiatives in Italy in general.

European urban policy initiatives: local action capacity

Some scholars (Börzel, Risse 2000; Fabbrini 2003) argue that the concept of Europeanisation has been mainly used in two different ways (3). Briefly, on the one hand, the concept of Europeanisation has been used to describe the institution building process at the European level and its impacts on the Member States (Risse, Cowles, Caporaso 2001; Stone Sweet, Sandholtz 2001); on the other, it depicts a process re-orienting domestic politics and policy-making (Ladrech 1994, quoted in Börzel, Risse 2000; Radaelli 2000). Each of these definitions can help to raise some issues about what is happening in the Mezzogiorno towns.
If one looks at urban policy initiatives in Italy during the 90s, there is no doubt that they were concerned with Europeanisation as the "emergence and the development at the European level of distict structures of governance, that is, of political legal and social institutions associated with political problemsolving that formalizes interactions among the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative rules" (Risse, Cowles, Caporaso 2001, p. 3). In particular, documents on urban issues were drawn up (in particular, CCE 1997; 1998) as well as common policy tools for the different Member States, whose relevance in Italy we have underlined above.
Referring to Risse, Cowles and Caporaso's definition, on the one hand, we can poin out that there is no UE competence in the urban policy field (4). In contrast to other policy sectors such as the environmental and agricultural ones, where most of the existing policies are made at the European level, Community urban initiatives are policy tools offering funding within UE regional policy (Morata 2002). However, programmes have to be set up following the Structural Funds rules and Community regional policy principles. Thus, Europeanisation impact on urban policy is not 'direct' as in other policy fields. On the other hand, it is worth under-lining that in Italy because of the absence of both an 'explicit' urban policy (i.e. explicitly directed to cities, given by Parkinson 1998, p. 415) and a shortage of funding for urban policy initiatives, it is 'oportune' that cities are successful in their bidding for EU funding, and all the more so in southern Italy. What is more, EU urban policy initiatives are funded within the regional policy. The latter aims to reduce uneven regional development. This has several consequences in the case of Mezzogiorno. In fact, the Commission stresses two different urban issues. On the one hand, the Commission looks at the role of the cities as initiators in European economic progress; on the other hand, it takes into account that urban areas are affected by severe social problems (CCE 1998, p. 3). Given the difficulty in making coherent the promotion of competitiveness of a city as a whole and the attempts to reduct disparities within it, mainly within one policy initiative, it is not easy to understand which of these objectives is a priority in the case of Mezzogiorno towns, unlike urban regeneration programmes targeting deprived areas of prosperous cities.
Due to the absence of EU competence, and hence of binding prescriptions in the urban policy field, the setting up of spatial actions can be seen as an indicator of action capacity of the local actors.
In this respect, it is worth mentioning that within the growing global urban competition, whose promotion is one of the guiding priciples of Community action, it is easier to compete if cities already have forms of social and political regulation allowing them to emerge as political actors within European Community (Le Galès 1998, p. 85). Accordingly "the weakest in this system run the risk of finding it hard to benefit from the new rules of the game" (ibidem, p. 64). Following the above considerations, promoting urban policy initiatives based on competitive bidding processes can be considered an attempt by the Commission to support the weakest regions to resist global competition pressure: from this point of view, the competitive bidding process can be seen as a way to promote local actors' action capacity (5).
Hence, the first question to ask is if the capacity to set up and implement urban

policy initiatives in the Mezzogiorno towns can be considered a way 'to benefit from the new rules of the game'. In order to answer this question we can cautiously analyse a series of issues concerning resources available to 'the weakest' (such as Mezzogiorno towns) to compete, ways and processes of resource activation, objectives and long term outcomes of this mobilization.
A more cautious analysis needs to specify some more details concerning the lack of rooted experience, and often of any experience at all, in Italian towns in the field of initiatives based on concepts such as 'integration' and 'partnership', which underpin the Bruxelles programmes. In other words, what we need to pint out is that during the 90s, when the European integration process had its first outcomes in Italy in terms of urban policy initiatives, Italian urban policy frames were rather different from the European ones.
The proposition that the misfit between European and national policy, processes and institutions is a condition for expecting domestic change in respose to Europeanisation is non-controversial (Risse, Cowles, Caporaso 2001) In particular, this misfit constitutes adaptational pressure, which is a necessary but not sufficient condition for expecting change. This condition becomes sufficient if there are some 'facilitating factors', among which learning (6) (Risse, Cowles, Caporaso 2001).
When looking at differences between Community programmes for urban areas, and generally with a spatial target, set up in the Italian Mezzogiorno within the 1994-99 and 2000-06 programming periods, a learning process can be observed, not only concerning Structural Funds spending capacity, asssumed by some scholars as an institutional learning (or lack of learning) 'track' (La Spina 2003, p. 288), but also in relation to the principles underlying the programmes set up: for exemple the fact that integration and partnership concepts became popular also in discourses concerning urban initiatives promoted and/or funded by other institutions.
Despite the fact that some concepts were taken for granted in urban policy initiatives, their concrete meanings are still to be explored. Only through analysis of these meanings, in fact, is it possible to understand what kind of learning characterized the examined processes. In particular, according to what Risse, Cowles and Caporaso (2001, p. 12) suggest, it is possible to distinguish single-loop learning and double-loop learning, as defined by Argyris and Schön (1978) (7). Thus, we can highlight both how some European concepts spread in southern Italian towns policy contexts and how they started underpinning urban policy initiatives set up locally.

Urban policy initiatives 'European style': local outcomes

Although concepts such as integration and partnership have been diffused also in southern Italy, if we look closely, their local interpretation is profoundly different from both the way they were conceived in Brussels and their interpretation in other Member States: these concepts seem to be peculiarly hybridized in the different local contexts with concepts, practices, actions already circulating therein (Tedesco 2002).
The definition of Europeanisation given by Ladrech (1994, quoted in Bache 2000, p. 2; Börzel, Risse 2000, p. 3; Radaelli 2000, p. 3) is particularly relevant to this case. In Ladrech's view Europeanisation is an "incremental process re-orienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy making". Radaelli (2000, p. 3) widens this definition to refer Europeanisation to: "processes of (a) construction (b) diffusion (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies".
As far as the concept of integration is concerned, if one looks at the contents of programmes drawn up and implemented in southern Italian towns during the 1994-99 programming phase (i.e. within the Urban Programme under Community initiative), many of them are made up of different projects put together (cfr. Palermo, Savoldi 2002). In most cases 'assemblying' projects was perhaps the only way to set up a programme to compete within the bidding process because area-based regeneration initiatives were still unknown in Italy at the time; however, afterwards it became possible to recognise ongoing learning processes in the setting up and implementation of urban regeneration integrated initiatives (Barbanente, Tedesco 2002), so much so that it is possible, for instance, to argue that in some cases integration between physical, economic and social actions was produced during the action (Soda 2002); in other cases even the idea of initiating a development process which could tackle different dimensions of deprivation had emerged during implementation, not just in relation to operational, but also to argumentative aspects (Granata, Savoldi 2002).
Moreover, the integration concept has been used more widely in Italy than in both Brussels and the Member States the Commission had referred to when setting up urban initiatives, the latter looking only at the integration among policy sectors and funds (Padovani 2002a). In particular, in most cases in southern Italy European and national programmes often targeted the same area. In addition, these initiatives were related to wider planning strategies. The profound link between policy initiatives and between plans and policy initiatives is a meaningful characteristic of the Italian interpretation of the integration concept, especially if one compares this interpretation with present difficulties, for exemple in Great Britain, after 30 years of urban policy there are many difficulties both in relating to each other different initiatives targeting the same area and in relating urban policy initiatives to wider planning strategies (Tedesco 2002).
This local interpretation characterizes Programmes under Community Initiative and Single Programming Documents within the 2000-06 programming period (Barbanente 2001; Moccia 2002) as well as other spatial strategies set up during the same years (Cremaschi 2003). There are other aspects of this interpretation that are worth

mentioning, such as attention paid to the historical part of cities and to the environmental, historical, cultural heritage as crucial resources for development.
Furthermore, in the Italian interpretation of the integration concept, the stress is on the physical aspects of re-generation (Palermo, Savoldi 2002). Of course, physical actions are more expensive, so their weight in the budget available is greater.
Moreover, in southern Italy the physical aspects of urban deprivation are very severe. What is more, in the urban policy field, as in other policy sectors (for exemple in the environmental policy one) the problems on the Community agenda are the problems of the 'leaders' (countries which are more expert in the field, often northern European ones), but these problems are different (and differently constructed) (8) from the problems of southern Europe (Börzel 2001). From this point of view local interpretation can be considered a way to resist maybe unintentionally (Börzel uses the term 'foot-dragging'), as a response to Europeanisation, the Europeanisation process often being influenced by the unbalanced distribution of power among Member States. However, it is still not understood whether the prevailing of physical actions is a way to match local needs with European opportunities or a track of inactivity, hindering the more meaningful innovations the European actor could introduce.
As far as the concept of partnership (the guiding priciple for the implementation of structural policy after their reform in 1988) is concerned, its introduction at the European level was aimed at a broad involvement of local actors, social and economic partners as well as environmental agencies and other non-governmental agencies being explicitly mentioned (Bache 2000, p. 7). Given this definition of partnership at the European level, the issue is which actors are concretely involved and what are their relations in the Mezzogiorno initiatives, both in the setting up and in the implementation of programmes. In this case too, more recent actions have been based on the partnership principle (the institution af a partnership often being explicitly required by the European or national programmes guidelines). Nevertheless, whether these partnerships are effective or just mention the actors is not understood. What is more, in the countries with greater experience in the institution of partnerships it is well known that instituting a partnership does not necessairly mean giving the actors an effective role (Atkinson 1999; Carley 2000; Tilson et al. 1997).
A final feature of the impact of Europeanisation of urban policy initiatives in southern Italy that is worth highlighting is the short time implementation of UE programmes has had. This is not at all a banal issue in the Mezzogiorno.
Community programmes enabled meaningful processes of physical changes to begin in most cases after years of inactivity. This happened at the same time as changes introduced in the municipalities with the election of mayors directly by the citizens. The new electoral mechanism made actions oriented toward territorial change with a precise time schedule an interesting element to use as a flagship in the electoral programmes of southern Italian mayors (9), often producing a renewed trust in institutions. However, one can say that the speed of changes involves, on the one hand, problems concerning the quality of the interventions (which is a crucial issue in contexts with fragile environmental equilibrium and meaningful cultural and historical heritage such as the historical areas of southern Italian towns; on the other hand, problems concerning the risk of accelerating processes of transformation of the historical areas of the cities into places of entertainment for people coming from everywhere but from the area itself (Barbanente, Tedesco 2001).

What is changing?
Having analysed the processes taking place in many towns in the Italian Mezzogiorno using the Europeanisation literature can help us raise some issues.
To sum up, even though homogenization or harmonization of domestic practices is neither a realistic expectation nor an expectation to be wished as an outcome of Europeanisation (Ladrech quoted in Bache 2000, p. 2), we can try to understand whether the hybridation of European concepts we have described is a way to match local needs and European opportunities in a long term strategy or whether it is just a matter of development of a capacity to benefit from funding opportunities, in particular from the structural funds. Hence, whether it is just a matter of formal assumption in urban policy initiatives of an European style (i.e. of European labels attributed to local practices not in keeping with principles underlying Community actions). If so, there is no mobilization in a European perspective of 'local knowledge' which is considered essential factor for development (Donolo 1999, p. 115).
In this perspective, it is meaningful to raise some issues both about the prevailing in the regeneration programmes of physical rather than social and economic actions and about the ways to match longtime strategies of planning and short-time European policy initiatives.
In conclusion, one can wonder if the great number of European policy initiatives and the diffusion of a European policy style may be overall considered sign of new development patterns: do these policy initiatives create or contribute to development or are they just a different way of being dependent on the 'top'? Will mobilization by specific policy tools end up with the end of the policy tools? Is the risk of 'dependent development' ('sviluppo senza autonomia', Trigilia 1992) still present, even though the policy form has changed? Can we really speak of a 'big turn' (Bodo, Viesti 1997)?
It is in the local contexts themselves where we have to look for some answers. It is in local contexts that the common problems the Mezzogiorno towns are coping with and the opportunities offered by European Union deal with differences of local systems. It is these different answers that make it clear we cannot speak of a single 'south'.

Notes
1. As is known, Structural Funds finance Community Regional Policy, aiming at promoting development in the less prosperous regions of the European Union.
2. The author recognizes the risks when speaking of the Italian Mezzoogiorno as an homogenous territory. However, recognizing the profound differences in southern Italian local contexts often did not mean

taking them into account on the analitycal plane, but focusing on each of them. This article does not aim at looking at the Mezzogiorno towns as a whole. Meanwhile it does not have the ambition do go into differences thoroughly. This article simply tries to take into account some common issues concerning the urban policy field.
3. Different definitions of the term 'Europeanisation' are also in Radaelli (2000) and Olsen (2001).
4. The Maastricht Treaty does not include any specific reference to cities nor does it give the Community a specific remit for the development of an urban policy. However, the urban dimension has acquired growing relevance in the Community agenda, in particular within Directorate 'Regional Policy'.
5. 90s competitive urban policy initiatives in Britain, that had a relevant influence on the Community ones, were based on this idea (Oatley 1998, p. 11).
6. The authors recognize as mediating factors also: multiple veto points; mediating formal institutions; political and organizational cultures; differential empowerment of actors (Risse, Cowles, Caporaso 2001, pp. 9-12).
7. The different terms distinguishes the processes where learning is an adjustement of tools and strategies used for given objectives and preferences and the processes where actors change their objectives and preferences.
8. For problems underpinning public policy as a (strategic) construct see Crosta, 1995; 1998.
9. There is no space to go further to this issue, that has been developed, with reference also to some southern Italian towns in Catanzaro et al. (2002).

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A fascinating adventure
Augusto Cagnardi

The competition for the design of a city is a rare event, indeed a very rare one. If the city is in China, the theme becomes extremely obscure, due to the enormous distance between their culture and our own. If, finally, the requirements, as well as the definition of the area and the measurement of a maximum of 100,000 inhabitants, are generic, or rather, incredibly free, demanding the best possible quality, Italian style, the highest ecological level, then the operation may seem too imprecise, highly risky, but at the same time madly fascinating, when they invite you and ask you for answers.
What is more, the time allowed is short: on 5 April 2001 delivery of the materials, on 7 May intermediate verification meeting, on 24 June delivery and the following day the result: 2 months and 20 days.
The content, on the other hand, is extensive, and includes the master plan of the whole city (approximately 3 x 5 km), the detailed plan (three-dimensional development) of 1 km2, the architectural project of a set of specimen buildings, the architectural characteristics and the most significant materials, plans, sections, views, landscapes, renderings and nocturnal views.
A test on the whole city, its spaces, architecture, a large diagonal slice of the structure, configuration and urban quality.
The quality of the area, a flat surface traversed by water just outside the built-up limits of today's Shanghai, the lack of contextual references, other than geographical ones, the delimitation between two parallel axes, the river on one hand, the road and underground railway on the other, have prompted us to travel back freely over the founding process of the city: a central location, the axes, and to configure the urban fabric, the external limits.
The ancient founding principles have had two contemporary objectives superimposed upon them: to prevent the harmful effects of vehicle circulation, so far only perceived in that country, and to introduce ecological values not as a rearguard action, but as part of the project.
Finally, the whole process has taken place within our own interpretation of 'Italian style', which has translated above all into the quality of the public space, its relationship with the construction and the identification of a particular central system, subsequently denominated Palazzo Italia.
The competition documentation is not a project as such, this is in the study phase. Rather, it is a manifesto, a document of theses, suggestions, demonstrating a possible way of behaving, the fruit of an intense, controversial and exhausting internal debate. It plays with memory and the hope of a new future. It is akin to sowing seed. If the seed is good, if the growers are wise… time and history will be the true builders. In this phase it is DNA that counts, illusions are legitimate, hopes must prosper, efforts to promote are necessary and due.
The elaboration is complex, however, as it is necessary not only to put forward proposals but also to indicate the technical answers to the problems underlying them. The set of proposals regarding structure, image, landscape and of a more strictly technical type is extensive. And so it had to be, because we are dealing with a whole, powerfully autonomous city, not a part of a city inserted into a fully formed urban fabric, as more frequently it happens in old Europe.
Yet certain basic questions emerge.
The city is concealed behind a rampart with respect to the exterior, it wishes to resolve the uncertain relationship between the new constructions and the countryside or the surrounding infrastructures and to highlight their surprise presence, at intentional, designed points, such as the lake onto which Palazzo Italia faces.
The centre has a linear development between the connecting road with Shanghai and the river. In a band 300 m wide and 3 km long, a large designed garden, in which are located the unique, unrepeatable functions, and towards the river the business centre and hotels. The Pujiang centre stretches from the Palazzo Italia to the port on the Huangpu River, the banks of which, today used for a 15-km-long river port, will be transformed into a leisure area for the whole city.
The urban fabric consists of 300 x 300 m blocks, inside which vehicles cannot enter, except to gain access to the underground car park.
Internally, the buildings generate a network of pedestrian roads, which widen at the intersections to form plazas, according to the Venetian model of the *ruga* and the *campo* (*ruga*, a variation of the French *rue*, is a Venetian street between houses, while *campo*, literally 'field', is a paved square).
In the heart of the block, a residential park and the minor services, at the edges, along the large grid, the buildings leave space for private gardens that determine the main road image with their enclosure wall. The buildings, with garden terraces, face onto the inside of the block. An interpretation of ecological quality in planning terms has been fundamental in the configuration of the residential core of the city.
Water is a privilege of the site. The canals existing today between the river and the ocean, created for irrigation and transportation, allow a new design and re-use for tourism sailing.
Lakes and canals become a significant urban characteristic in forming an urban landscape rich in exceptional elements.
Banks and bridges enrich the urban experience of those walking in the parks and also those travelling by bike or car.
The presentation of a competition to a jury whose processes of judgement are unknown to us cannot be entrusted solely to the technical representation of the city and the architecture belonging to the European culture and historical tradition.
Both the transfigurations of buildings already constructed and the renderings of large measurements have been very useful.
With the competition we can state and suggest, we are not allowed to impose. Subsequently it remains to be seen to what extent the competition ideas will contribute to form the reality.

Urban planning and landscape design town of Pujiang
In September 2001, the Shanghai City Administration proclaimed Gregotti Associati (partners: Augusto Cagnardi, Vittorio Gregotti, Michele Reginaldi) the winners of the Invited International Design Competition for the plan of an 'Italian City' in Pujiang New Town. This competition is part of a larger initiative, *One City and Nine Towns*,

aiming at selecting the best planning schemes for nine large urban developments. Each development is based upon a different Western tradition (French, American, Dutch...). Gregotti Associati was invited to participate, and went on to win the 'Italian City' category.

The 'Italian character'

When assigning an 'Italian character' to a new city, there are two facts to be considered: first of all that this character is based on an historic awareness as seen from a presentday angle, and second that this awareness is the reference for projects of the future which move away from it.
The Italian city is a voluntary foundation act and it is based on the geography of the land as well as on its history, and on the concept of geometrical layout: mainly the very ancient European and Mediterranean tradition of the orthogonal grid (which is also part of the Chinese urban culture).
In the course of the centuries, events and lifestyle changes have modified this traditional way of urban founding, the concept of which has several times been exported afar, even to other continents.
The core of this tradition is the costruction of an 'ideal city', able to receive the changes imposed by the experiences of history and mankind without losing its own cultural identity. It even suggests a structure able to foster the different and new needs of social living.
In order to do this we have tried to closely consider not only the Chinese culture, its history, its present conditions, its future targets but also and most precisely the geographical features of the site, its landscape and its prospect of integration in the new settlement and the relationships it will develop within the larger area of its district territory.
The presence of the large river, of a site rich of water, its orientation, its infrastructures and their chances of development and interconnection, its character of relative economic self sufficiency, the presence of the very large settlement of Shanghai, the distance from the ocean, the favourable location in relation to the intercontinental airport, are all important starting points for the layout of the new city. Its 'Italian character' therefore emerges also from the fact of having considered the site features as important elements of the design.
The way to describe our project is certainly also a part of that character.
The historic tradition of the Italian city (unfortunately not of the present days) is that of a city surrounded by walls, of well-defined boundaries even if not traced by the old defensive walls, and with a structure clear in its main elements.
A problem in itself is the request for districts with different typologies corresponding to various income levels. We reckon, in accordance with the tradition of the Italian historic cities, that such levels have to be mixed and that the different needs are taken into account within the context of the specific architecture: the 'palazzo' is an element of expression of the urban texture in the same way as the various house and apartment typologies. Despite these differences we have tried to meet the brief by structuring the urban complex in some parts which are socially distinct also in the houses them-selves.

Pujiang City

The area configuration has very particular charcteristics. The absolute horizontality, the canal system for navigation and transport, the capillary network of irrigation canals, the small widespread rural settlements without relevant gatherings, the regularity of the existing settlements even outside the limits of the intervention, have not produced any historical or contextual elements strong enough to characterize the proposal. The only strong element to refer back to is the geographical one. The horizontal land and the abundant water are site conditions taken into account and revised in the proposal.
An important restraint is also present in the area: a band of high tension power lines. The most recent acknowledgments in scientific research on the dangerous effects of the electro-magnetic waves advise to place any human settlement well away from any power line. It has also been taken into account, again as a restraint, the main road in the east-west direction which connects the expressway to Shanghai (Puxing Road) with the ferryboat by means of which the Huang Pu river-sides are connected.

Structural Plan

The east-west and north-south orientations are taken as the axes carrying the urban complex.
According to the Italian tradition the two orthogonal axes differentiate and orientate the spaces of the foundation town. In this instance an act of town foundation is being performed since the existing elements, apart from the geographical ones, are insignificant when compared to the overall dimension of the foreseen intervention.
The orientation of the river and the canals, through which the water of the river flows towards east, coincides with the chosen orientation. The whole area is 'measured' by a grid of 300 x 300 m. The city is defined on three sides by roads and on the fourth one by the river. A green belt, a woodland, crosses the whole area from north to south masking the electric power lines.
In a zone 300 m long between the road to Shanghai (Puxing Road) and the river is located the system of the main functions and activities.
The system of settlements is divided into four neighbourhoods: the 'top-grade neighbourhood' (located around the centre), the 'standard neighbourhood' (located southward), the 'ecological neighbourhood' (located northward and in the area between the woodland and the river).
The whole is surrounded by a green belt in order to mark its limits with a system characterized by earth ramparts towards the road to Shanghai and with systems less formally characterized along the east and west sides in view of future expansions. Waters runs through the whole area. Canals and lakes give to the city the look of a lagoon. A lake leads into the centre and is overlooked by the Palazzo Italia. A canal surrounds the whole central district. Canals and lakes characterize the various neighbourhoods. It has been planned for navigation on all the expanses of water.
The public and private gardens, the woodlands together with the water expanses ensure a very rich and varied urban landscape set into a landscape where the residences have heights comprised between two and four floors. There are only few buildings higher than this and they are all located in the central sector.
The accessibility to the whole area is ensured by the expressway to Shanghai (Puxing Road) and by the electronic railway planned along it.

A road system moves away from the expressway and penetrates into the area crossing it all the way to the riverside. From these roads branches off a network of vehicular streets which resumes the 300 x 300 m grid and borders the residential blocks. The road network has many typological variations derived from the various locations alongside the canals and the green areas, and it is always tree-lined. The cycling paths are always inside the blocks and coincide with the pedestrian routes. The system of public transport makes use of the main connection with Shanghai by means of the electronic railway which runs alongside the expressway and has three stops along the road frontage of the new city. From the main station a direct pedestrian access is possible towards the centre and the Palazzo Italia. Interchange car parks are going to be located by the two other stations. An electric transport system on wheels internal to the blocks has been allowed for. A second internal transport system by way of boats along the canals could be foreseen. The navigation on the canals and the various water expanses could also be driven by touristic and leisure reasons.
The river bank could be reclaimed once and for all with the foreseen improvement of the Huang-Pu river water quality. The terminal part of the centre overlooks the river and its banks are turned into leisure areas, with moorings to serve the river and internal navigation.
The system of services takes care of a whole range of activities. The most important services are located in the centre (the administrative activities, the university, the Palazzo Italia, the hospital, the multiplex, the big commercial functions). Inside the residential texture are placed the educational services, the theatre, the museum, the library, the sports facilities in general. Integrated in the woodland are the main sports facilities, the stadium and the facilities for the university, the golf course, the riding facilities, the indoor and outdoor swimmming pools, the arena for sports and musical events.
The residential distribution is conceived as follows:
- Top grade neighbourhood. Building area surface 2,127,900 sm; inhabitants 25,000; building height three floors, four in exceptional circumstances; medium size units 200 sm; density 117 inh/ha.
- Standard neighbourhood. Building area surface 1,432,700 sm; inhabitants 45,000; building height four floors; medium size units 1,200 sm; density 314 inh/ha;
- Ecological neighbourhood. Building area surface 4,300,000 sm; inhabitants 15,000.

Road and transport system
The city is based on a 300 x 300 m road network. It is connected to the expressway to Shanghai by means of five exchangers and in a very similar way to the two bordering roads which reach the riverside. The primary roads starting from the exchanger all the way to the interior have a very unique shape. They take the form of wide tree-lined avenues with a 60 m cross section and have in their centre a green parterre or sometimes a canal. The whole of the special primary roads forms a circuit with water around the top grade neighbourhood, it projects towards the river with three axes and runs across the whole city with three axis in north-south direction. The road with the heavier traffic will be the main axes because it runs along the principal public functions and private activities of the city.
The road grid is reduced to 300 x 150 m in the standard neighbourhood.
The overall cross section of the roads which shape the grid is 26 m (5 m footpath, 7 m road, 2 m central tree-lined bank, 7 m road, 5 m footpath). The road distributes the vehicular traffic and the transport on wheel to all the areas of the city and crosses over the canals at high level. The road level is 6 m above sea level, considered to be a safe level for flooding and ebb currents. In the special sections the road is 60 m wide with a 36 m parterre. The car parks both private and public are planned to be outside the road system. The road sections have uniform carriages 7 m wide for each direction. The space allocated to pedestrian changes in relation to the distance between buildings gets wider wherever the roads become tree-lined avenues, where there is a canal, where it gets wider to include the urban parks.

Water system
The abundance of water in the site is extensively used and becomes a typical element of this proposal. The water of the river runs across the whole city without jeopardising its usage further down the valley, outside the area.
In the city the water takes the shapes of canals of various width, of lakes overlooked by the main buildings, of lakes vast for their relationship with the urban area, of docks where boats can moore. The Venetian attribution of the new town has its origin in the widespread presence of water in terms of both quantity and quality. The Huang Pu river vouches for its quantity and quality, and as soon the quality of the river water is improved, there won't be any problems.

Public services
The public services are placed in the new town following a principle of concentration and distribution. Concentrated along the central axis are the public services which are not repeatable, the ones of higher rank such as the administration buildings together with the congress centre, the hospital, the university and a religious building (a catholic church?). Next to these can be found the Palazzo Italia with the Italian Gardens, a commercial centre (a shopping mall with 500,000 sm of commercial activities), hotels, offices and a multiplex. All these functions are lined up in a garden 260 m wide and 1,500 m long. They are accessible from outside the city through the main communication axis and from the inside by means of the pedestrian route network and the two lines of public urban transport.
In the more densely populated urban texture are placed some other public services, the cultural ones such as the museum on the lake towards north while the theatre and the public library are located between the top grade and the standard neighbourhood. Spread around the whole city are the educational institutions.
An important space of the city is assigned to the sports and show business activities. Along the vast woodland which includes the electric lines and reduces their impact on the urban skyline are lined up the main sports facilities.
The riverside is completely allocated to leisure activities, to walks and navigation.
This kind of service distribution generates the

mixtures, the molteplicities of uses, the gatherings of activities which, by overlooking the public pedestrian spaces, feed the liveliness of the exchanges which is one of the essential values of the city.

Urban landscapes
Inside the complex of the city are proposed various landscapes at various scales, the urban, the neighbourhood, the great route and the block ones. With an overview from above, an aerial view, the new town is recognisable in its entirety as a magnificent garden rich of lakes and canals, crossed by great perspectives, with an extensive design where the tree-lined areas, the woodlands and the external perimeter mark the first grid, the tree lined boulevards the ordering network, the internal parks and the private gardens the minor grid. In the magnificent garden the coloured buildings and the roof gardens full of flowers reinforce the minute design almost as if it was a coloured carpet. A section of it stands out, as it happens with every garden, it is the central axis where some 'monuments' emerge as landmarks, the Palazzo Italia and the hotel with the offices on the opposite end along the river.
From the ground, on the other hand, the various landscapes are perceived as a sequence: the walled landscape, the boulevard landscape, the woodland landscape, the water surrounding landscape, the blocks landscape, the riverside landscape.

Central axis
A series of the main public and private elements of collective services is located from east to west along the central axis of the new city, that is from the expressway to Shanghai to the river. The city front towards the Puxing Road is contained within green earth ramparts, which visibly mark the boundary and on top of which lies the electronic railway. An opening through the rampart marks the entrance of Pujiang City. When arriving from Shanghai, the arrival is at the central station of the electronic railway (one of three planned), if by car the arrival is in the same place, from where the central area of the city is then accessed. From this junction a vast expanse of water has as background the Palazzo Italia, which consists of buildings, Italian style gardens surrounded by water, where there are pavilions and fountains. The complex formed by the Palazzo Italia and the gardens spreads out for nearly 800 m along the central axis and is flanked on two sides by a wide tree-lined avenue and a canal. Along the axis various settlements are laid out all the way to the river bank. The second settlement is made up by the buildings which house the government with its offices and a congress centre open to both public and private shows.
Following a crossing by a main pedestrian axis, a big commercial centre of nearly 50,000 sm can be found, which is made up by pavilions overlooking a gallery open onto a wide square with big water expanses. The second part of the central axis houses the hospital and the university, and the third an office complex, a trade and business centre and hotels which stretches out into the river to create a docking port for a possible commercial and touristic navigation along the river.

Top-grade neighbourhood
The district is located at the heart of Pujiang City around the central axis and extends between the expressway to Shanghai (Puxing Road) and the vast woodland. It is surrounded by the main canal which acts as a divider with the neighbouring settlements. The network which defines the district structure is based on a 300 x 300 m grid. The choice of this dimension originates from different considerations: the setting up of an organic unit of about 1,000 people; the possibility of creating inside the district routes of squares and roads to be arranged in succession with the other blocks with an identity of their own; the concept of separating the various levels of traffic both pedestrian and cycling, and of public and vehicular transport; the fact that all the blocks give shape to a district which is walkable across in about 15 minutes and therefore able to access the system of the main central functions.
The general rules which according to the Italian tradition allow to assign the planned quality and to guarantee the necessary road network could be summed up as follows:
- *road system*. Each block is surrounded by vehicular roads. It is crossed by four pedestrian and cycling routes 12 m wide, all in a predetermined location to allow for continuity between neighbouring blocks. The internal roads when meeting each other form squares with various sizes and shapes;
- *building use*. Residential. Service activities and small trade are made possible at ground level along the streets and squares internal to the block which have been defined as commercial. Offices are also allowed in the floors above;
- *building heights*. Three floors. It is possible to place four storey buildings in certain locations in order to vary the extreme uniformity of heights;
- *building alignment*. Buildings have to be aligned along the four 12 m wide internal roads and around the squares. They can't be placed parallel to the external roads;
- *private green spaces*. In the empty space at the centre of the block there is a garden for public use;
- *car parks*. They have to be placed underneath the buildings;
- *roof gardens*. The roof of the buildings are used as terraces housing a garden with a pergola.
The surface of the buildable areas, leaving out the external vehicular roads, measures 1,500,000 sm. The buildable area of a single block is about 75,000 sm. If the number of people per flat is between 3 and 4 the whole area could house between 24,000 and 26,000 inhabitants. The surface of the green area inside each block is approximately 35% of the overall area.

Standard neighbourhood
The block is located south of the central axis and is contained within the expressway to Shanghai and the vast park, between the top grade neighbourhood and the southern border of the area. Two intersecting canals run through it. Two wide tree lined avenues cross it in the north-south direction and a main pedestrian route, oriented along the same direction, connects the market square to the theatre square. The external border is surrounded by a green belt.
Even in this case the network defining the structure is based on a 300 x 300 m grid. The higher density and the higher buildings require a road network double in size along the east-west direction. The wholly pedestrian block has then a size of 300 x 150 m.
The buildings are mainly lined along the roads. Two wide public spaces are planned along the canals

with a layout where the green on the riverbank plays an important role in the urban landscape. A wide market square, where even an indoor market is feasible, is located in the area further south and ends the main pedestrian axis which reaches the administration building.
The general rules which, according to the Italian tradition, allow to carry out the planned project and to guarantee a good variety don't differ much from the ones applicable to the top grade neighbourhood, the only differences being found in the block size, the density and storey height.
The surface of the buildable blocks, with the exclusion of the external vehicular roads measures approximately 1,432,000 sm. The buildable area of a typical block measures approximately 34,250 sm. If the number of people per flat is between 3 and 4 the area could house between 45,000 and 50,000 inhabitants. The surface of the green area for both private and public use is approximately 35% of the overall area.

Ecological neighbourhood
The areas pertaining to the ecological neighbourhood are located in two different sectors. One of them is north of the top-grade neighbourhood and includes a lake. The other area extends along the riverside. The latter is itself divided in two parts by a wide road oriented north south. For the area closer to the river it is possible to foresee a full development once the river is reclaimed. In the north sector an 18-hole golf course and a riding ground are in centre of the buildable areas. The whole area could be built with villas and small suburbs over-looking the water. The possibility of creating internal water basins connected to the river is taken into consideration. The houses around them will have a mooring for the boats which can then navigate along the river towards Shanghai in the same way as they can navigate on the canals internal to the city.
Wide tree-lined avenues, through which it is possible to access the building plots, run across the area. Their size vary from the small to the bigger sites and even exceeds 200,000 sm.
The wide grid characterizes big blocks which can be subdivided into areas big or small according to the developers' needs. Inside the vast grid parks and water basins are conceived as elements which characterize the private housing projects.

Proposals
Phasing. The construction of the New City poses various questions at the strictly operative level.
The need to build the technological facilities on the whole area will lead to phasing the operations, especially the ones devoted to water systems such as canals and drains which will have an influence on the phasing of construction. The need to make the drain liquids flow by gravity with small intermediate lifting equipments makes it necessary to start from the ends and then go back up again to build the network.
The work to be done on the existing canals and the tracing of the new ones imposes a sequencing of works which don't jeopardize the balanced continuity of the flows of water. The special devices to increase the water quality are located at the points of change from the river to the canals. Even when locating these equipments it is necessary to organize a phasing which keeps the already treated water separated from the rest.
It has been proposed for the electric lines to be buried when crossing the main axis. Everywhere else they can be placed side by side inside the planned woodland.
Italian Style. In the proposal the characters of Italian style have been introduced at various levels. They can be found in the planning of the New Town where the tradition of the city of new foundation is recognized. They are in the image of the 'walled' city which suddenly discloses the 'castle' (the massive Palazzo Italia). They are placed in the central axis where the Italian park with its 'monuments' marks the quality of the landscape. They are also located in the use of water, the canals, in the Venetian relationship between road and canal, between building and canal. It is in the buildings dominated by the masonry onto which windows are opened, where cornices and mouldings, loggias and covered roof terraces enrich the facades. It is found in the richness and continuity of squares and public spaces as place of life. It is above all found in the landmarks and particularly in the Palazzo Italia.
All these qualities marking the proposal should translate in tangible elements in the design. A straight way to do this could be by commissioning Italian architects with some parts or some buildings.
Particularly the buildings which are entrusted with the transmission of the image of the Italian city and architecture.

'One City, Nine Towns'. Search for ideal suburbia in China

Huang Xiang Ming

'One City, Nine Towns' project is a scheme to promote social and economic development in suburban Shanghai, with a focus on ten existing or newly built towns.
The origin of this project came from one of Shanghai Municipal Government's six key topics "developing strategy for urbanization of suburbs." It was first issued as *Suggestions for Shanghai to Promote the Development of Experiment Cities and Towns* in 2001, which could also be seen as an implementation of the central government policy embodied in *Several Comments for the Promotion of Healthier Development of Smallsized Cities and Towns*.
"During the Tenth 5-year Plan, and according to the entire requirements of Shanghai's national economic and social development, the government will enforce the policy of breaking through at key points and advancing steadily, try its best to form a super urban system for all international economic center." From the text above, a message is expressed that the government has made a decision to take strategic measures and to shape a new urban-rural framework in China's social structure, at least, as an experiment.
If this is more on a policy level, then, on a more realistic level, it's worth wise to have a try to regulate the urbanization taking place in suburban Shanghai with an overall policy of social and economic development.
This is almost the first attempt of its kind since the founding of the People's Republic.
Because of the central planning economic nature of China from 1950's-1980's, a unique urban-rural framework is deeply rooted in its social and economic system.
Population was divided into two major categories: farming and non-farming. With a household registration and food rationing system, the government was able to prevent largescale migration from countryside to cities. Together with birth-control policy, thus, it was possible to stop unexpected growth of urban population.
However, for the past two and a half decades, China's economy has been growing rapidly and sliding towards a free market orientation. This tendency fueled a large-scale urbanization, not only in major cities, but also in rural areas. Market force, like that in the other part of the world started to play an important role in China's urban system. People virtually are free to move, to live and to work in almost any place they want. Farmers left their lands to work in factories, or to build buildings throughout the country. This was not expected when China's urban policy was made half a century ago.
As the reality goes beyond the existing urban-rural policy framework, social and environmental impacts became obvious. Thus, to restructure the out-of-date urban-rural policy gradually emerges as a national priority in China's process of modernization.
'One City, Nine Towns' is an effort to open new possibilities for urban-sub-urban interaction and to form a new urban system, which will enhance Shanghai as a metropolis of international importance.

Traditional urban system

Chinese population was basically divided into two major categories: farming and non-farming. Farming population used to live in rural areas. It should be self-sustained in terms of food supply. And the non-farming population lived in urbanized areas with an access to food provided by the state. In 1954, to stop unexpected migration from countryside to cities, a household registration system was established. Limited resources were distributed in conjunction with this system until 1980's. Without proper household registration, one had no access to many highly subsidized and otherwise unavailable consumer necessities such as soap. Although the food rationing system virtually vanished in early 1980's when the economic started to boom, the traditional discrimination of urban and rural population still exists. The household registration system keeps on affecting farming population's access to public services such as medical care and education, in large cities.
The urban system of China consists of cities and towns, and the Ministry of Civil Affairs governs the designation of them. The criteria of designation change in different time-periods, reflecting urbanization policy, economic development, and po-litical ideologies.
Among the towns, there are two main types: designated towns (*jianzhizhen*) and market towns (*jizhen*). The population in designated towns is reported in the statistical yearbooks of China as part of the urban population, but that in market towns is not reported. In the period between 50's and 80's of the last century, China's policy over non-farming population varied, but mainly very tight, as the government was to minimize the size of the population to whom the state had to supply grain. After the adoption of the open-door policy and the reform in rural areas, especially in 1983, when the decades-old people's commune was abolished, the number of towns increased sharply. In the year 1984 along, the number of towns jumped from 2,781 of 1983 to a historical height of 6,211. This reflects, to some degree, the reality of urbanization happened before 1980's. Nowadays, after another two decades since then, major shift from farming to non-farming took place in urban and rural areas. However, the Chinese definition of 'urban' and 'rural', 'city' and 'countryside' that was used over the last 50 years is still influencing the decision-making process of the provision of urban infrastructure and public services.

Suburban Shanghai

Shanghai sits at the middle of China's eastern coastal line, at the mouth of the Yangtze River. It has become China's largest commercial center since the beginning of the last century.
Shanghai occupies an area of 6,344 kmq, out of which 93% is considered as suburban or rural parts. Registered population amounts to 13 million according to government records of 1998. 26% of them are with a household registration of farming, although in reality, only 14% of the total population are involved in farming activities.
Most parts of Shanghai are flat, with abundant water resources and products. It enjoys a climate of obvious subtropical monsoon, with clearcut seasons, longer winters and summers, and shorter springs and autumns.
It appreciates abundant rainfall, long frostless season and sufficient sunshine.
Shanghai is constituted with

central urban and suburban areas. Suburban Shanghai consists 1 county of Chongming, 8 districts (Nanhui, Minhang, Baoshan, Jiading, Jingshan, Fengxian, Songjiang and Qingpu), the suburban part of Pudong New District, excluding 6 townships which was already put under the administration of central urban part.
By the end of 1998, there were 204 towns and 8 townships, with a total area of 5,900 kmq. Registered population in suburban Shanghai counts at 5.84 million, which constitutes 45% of the total population of Shanghai. Among the suburban population, 42% of it is holding a non-farming registration while 58% is farming.
However, in reality, only 31% is involved in farming activities, the other 69% is working in other sectors.
Suburban Shanghai contributed one third of the total GDP. However, only 7% of the overall output was from the primary sector. The secondary and tertiary sectors generate 56.1% and 36.9% of the total out-put.
Morphologically speaking, except for one or two main towns of each district or county, most of the towns are spontaneously grown based on natural villages or settlements.
Population sizes are usually small; most of them are less than 5,000. Number of towns and settlements is intensive. Average distance between settlements and towns is no more than 5 km. Many people still live in villages and settlements, even after they work in factories of towns.
Settlements and villages take shape from the land pattern and canal system derived from water field rice growing. Among them, those geographically better located attract more residents and grow into towns. However, in most of them, infrastructures and public services are seriously insufficient. Quality as an urban space is relatively low.
In suburban Shanghai, a typical Municipality-District-Town 3 level hierarchy of administration is applied.

Trend of urbanization

By mid 1970's, China became the world's largest urban nation, although only 20% of the population was urbanized at that time. In the past two decades, this process became dramatic. It is predicted that over the next 10-15 years, half of China's population will live and work in urbanizing areas.
In Yangtze Delta, urban population amounts to 54% of the total, while in Shanghai it reaches a high level of 74%. And in reality, by putting the household registration system aside, the real figure is over 85%.
A megalopolis stretching from Ningbo to Shanghai and Nanjing is taking its shape. In this largest urban system of China, the population goes over 30 million in a network of numerous cities and towns within a band of land longer than 500 km. As transportation and communication networks improve between multiple centers, 'urban-rural' boundaries disappear in a rapidly changing web of economic linkages. People live and work in different cities; manufacturers are able to absorb competitive inputs from multiple suppliers over a much broader area; cities and towns develop specialization; and higher level services begin to concentrate within those key metropolitan areas which best provide for regional, national and international market transactions.
While the main site of urbanization in suburban Shanghai remains positive, problems are obvious. Shanghai has more than 200 towns. Only 10% of them have a population of more than 10,000, while most of the rest (more than 71%) have less than 5,000 residents. In average, a town normally serves an area, which is smaller than 5 kmq.
Because of the existing urban-rural system, interaction between the inner 'built-up' part of city and suburban has been restricted. Movement of people, capital and economic interests are somehow limited.
Therefore, the input to upgrade the infrastructure in suburban Shanghai remains low. Especially, as the towns and villages are too much spread, the efficiency of input is even much lower. Lack of planning and coordination results in low level development. Consequently, impact on environment becomes serious and quality of life in suburban areas is relatively poor.
To resolve these problems and to achieve higher level and sustainable development, those issues still remain as the major constraints.
Industrial development acts as a key factor to support the urban development in suburban Shanghai. Compare to the population and the speed of urbanization, development in secondary and tertiary sectors are much left behind.
Shanghai has a three-level government system and related financial policy. Most of the local infrastructure development is to be financed by the local government at town level. These governments usually have very tight revenues if only take the premier sectors into account. However, to develop secondary and tertiary economic activities, the land use policy becomes a major constraint.
At the policy level, household registration system, farming and non-faring population, land use and distribution and social security system have been far behind the social and economic realities.
In the megalopolis, governance between provinces, cities and towns constitutes the major burden in the effort to maximize efficiency of public service delivery and effectiveness of urban and regional management.

One City, Nine Towns

'One City, Nine Towns' is a project focusing on the future development in suburban Shanghai. As a test of new policy, one central town was chosen for each district of the city. They are: Song Jiang New City of Song Jiang District, Hai Gang New Town of Nanhui District, An Ting New Town of Jia Ding District, Gao Qiao New Town of Pudong New District, Feng Jing New Town of Jin Shan District, Bu Town of Chong Ming County, Pu Jiang New Town of Min Hang District, Feng Chen New City of Feng Xian County, Luo Dian New Town of Bao Shan District and Zhu Jia Jiao New Town of Qin Pu District.
As the new millennium came, the central government made up its mind to take strategic measures to promote urban development. To implement the new urban-rural policy, Shanghai municipality elaborated a new project of 'One City, Nine Towns' as an experiment of a strategic adjustment of decades-last urban system and patterns of social and economic development. The municipal government determined, during the tenth 5-year Plan period, to move infrastructure construction priorities from urban regions to suburbs, and aim to bridge the gap between urban and rural areas in

terms of cultural activities, education, employment, consumption and social security.
Planning has been given great attention. The local authorities were asked to make comprehensive and strategic plans for social and economic development. Based on that, the government called for master plans for urban development of world standard. As an experiment, international firms are invited to make blue prints for the ten new towns.
In the project, a new land use policy is tested. The local government is allowed to exchange the usage of land for input of industries and infrastructure.
The economy of the towns is for the first time considered as a part of the overall economy of the municipality. To promote specialty of economy in each town, according to the strategic planning of the city, makes it possible that the local economy be well developed at a higher level.
The new towns are to create a new mechanism to attract people to move in and live there by adding certain flexibility to the existing household registration system.
A new policy of social security system will be made to unify the urban and rural parts of the city as a whole.
A much higher standard of urban and social development will be applied to provide better infrastructure, public services and cultural facilities. Therefore, a higher quality of life is to be achieved to make the towns more suitable and desirable places.
Financially, the municipal and district government will provide more support to promote the development of the towns.
The new policy is also encouraging capital movement into the new town from different sectors including state, private and international investors based on a market-oriented mechanism.
'One City, Nine Towns' project, at the policy-making level, can been seen as an attempt to establish a new urban-rural framework of tomorrow. In this sense, it will also be made a model for thousands of towns all over China, if the project succeeds.
The Municipal Government set up a very high standard for the master plan of the new city and town.
On the one hand, they found the ongoing urbanization and planning for the rural part of the city are not comparable to those of the central city of Shanghai, while on the other, the international level of planning is a good reference for the fast growing Chinese towns and cities.
International competitions for the master plan of the ten city and towns were organized by the Shanghai Urban Planning Administration Bureau and the local governments.
For each town, 3-4 design firms of international level were invited. Some of them were recommended by the diplomatic representatives of those countries which is presented.
The competition was usually conducted in two phases. A interim presentation was organized to have better communication between the client and the planners.
After the interim report, a written comment was delivered to each firm as a guideline for the further development.
After the finalist was selected, Shanghai Urban Planning Institute, as the government planning agent, was involved to further develop the concept and to act as a mediator between the foreign planners and the local government authorities.
The approved master plan then became the principles for the development of these towns for the next 20 years.
For many of the towns, a committee composed by planning officers, local experts and foreign planners was be set up to monitor the execution of the master plan.
This was in the history the first large scale involvement of its kind of foreign planners in the master planning of Chinese cities. It was widely seen as a step of open up for foreign services in the Chinese market and also the hope of importing modern urban concepts. However, for the local policy makers, local planners and future inhabitants of those new towns, the consequent effects are still expected.
In Search of Utopia: A Case Study of two Towns
The Dutch design for an expanding Chinese townis related to the Conceptual Master planning of the Gaoqiao District and the New Town of Gaoqiao in Shanghai. Located between the river mouth of the Yangtze River and the Huangpu River, the peninsular shaped Gaoqiao in Shanghai is an important port town in the north of Pudong. Based on Shanghai's development concept of 'One city, Nine towns' Gaoqiao will become a modern Dutch-style town in which the local architecture is incorporated. It will use the Dutch model of urban planning concepts as reference. Kuiper Compagnons won the bid in the international tender in 2001 and is now proceeding with the detailed planning and design, commissioned by People's Government of Gaoqiao (Shanghai).
The main purpose of this project was to create a Dutch city in China. A city in Holland means per definition a complex of spatial and functional structures.
It is complex, divers, multifunctional and multicultural. It is built up of many different urban typologies. Thus, to incorporate the Chinese way of living with Dutch urban design becomes a fundamental challenge. Moreover, the multifunctionality and flexibility of the new city should offer good opportunities for different ways of living and integration of new habits.
Kuiper Compagnons made a conceptual master plan to control the development of the city by drawing a line of ecology and a line of economy. The line of economy will be the outer ring of Shanghai, and will extend into the peninsula. The line of ecology will consist of the old sea dike and the road. The San Lin Yuan Tree Nursery will be extended into a recreational and holiday area that will extend into the northern part of the newly built Gaoqiao district. Part of this area will be dredged into a lake that will have some artificial islands. Low-rise houses and holiday villas will be built on the islands to create a pleasant living environment surrounded by water. The future town of Lingqiao will be developed into a new port in the direction of the river mouth of the Yangtze Kiang.
A few small to medium-sized office buildings will be built into the large fields in the centre of Gaoqiao to create harmony with surroundings. The centre of Gaoqiao will be remodelled, rebuilt, renovated and extended within an area of 5.6 kmq to create a town in which will enjoy living. The objective of the conceptual planning is to respect and protect the valuable Chinese architecture and urban space and to re-arrange the distribution of the water basin network. Green spaces and water

have been included in the plan to prevent the buildings from becoming too populated. The form and the size of the buildings are in harmony with the size of the green and water areas, creating a pleasant living environment.
For the New Town itself, Kuiper Compagnons' plan is based on a few important structural lines and zones, which connect the Dutch City with the rest of Gaoqiao town. At first there is the Classical and Modern Dutch Strip which is situated parallel at the Gaoqiaogang River and connects the historic Chinese centre with the new Dutch centre. The second one is the Pu Xing road, which connects the four quadrants of Gaoqiao Town with each other. By this a cross of important infrastructure, spatial and functional lines is formed and there will occur a sustainable basis for the development.
Looking at the area on a lower scale, the plan is based on a geometrical system of green and water lines, which are based on the existing situation and partly continue in the rest of Gaoqiao. In-between these lines seven different and interlinked areas are situated, which all have their specific urban typology, character and appearance. The northern part contains the Classical and Modern Dutch Strip, with the new city centre Central Square that leads to the historical centre. The strip is surrounded and divided by small canals and built after the classical Dutch towns and architecture. The middle part is wider and contents three different typologies: the Green Gardens (a green area with strips with low-rise housing), the Harbour (wide canal with warehouses and restaurants aside) and the Waving Gardens (landscape and dwellings integrated). In the southern part, Leaves Holt is situated, a combination of a forest landscape and dwellings. Along Pu Xing Road urban blocks are located, with facilities on the ground-floor and dwellings on the top. The Pu Xing Blocks make a front to the main access Road.
International Automobile City is an initiative related to the *Conceptual Master Plan of Shanghai Automobile City and the New Town of Anting*. The planning was commissioned in 2001 by Shanghai Urban Planning Administration Bureau and People's Government of Jia Ding, Shanghai to Albert Speer and Partner Gmbh (Frankfurt-Main, Germany), and Fichtner Gmbh and Co. (KG Stuttgart, Germany).
Anting Area is located in the western part of Shanghai. It is the gate for the highways leading to Jiangsu Province and further on to Beijing. Since 1984, when Volkswagen moved in and established the first modern autoindustrial base in China, Anting's major industrial sector has long been centered at car manufacturing. As one of the major towns, known as 'One City, Nine Towns', which will enjoy the special privileged policy of development, Anting is expected to be built into the most important automobile manufacturing center in China, as well as a new town with modern living comforts and amenities. The planned size of the town shall have a potential to host 200,000 inhabitants. Since Anting was designated as a German style area, possibly because of the existence of Volkswagen, a competiton was organised to propose a master plan for the future urban development of Anting. The entry done by Albert Speer and Partner of Frankfurt and Fichter and Co. of Stuttgart, won the project.
The master plan divided the area into four major functions:
- *International Automobile City*. The IAC is located in a large piece of land between Cao An Road, a major highway, and Wusongjiang River, a major geographical feature in the area. It is composed by the functions of Automobile Exhibition, Automobile Trade, Automobile Duty Free Service, Automobile Research and Technology, Management and Traning, Urban Services.
- *Anting Central Area*. As an important complementing function to the International Automobile City, Anting New Town is to be built as a town very suitable for living, with the following qualities: low-rise and open in volume, mixed in function, intimate and cozy in scale and urban and lively in mood.
- *Residential Areas*. The planners foresee a potential development in the area. Therefore, in the master plan, they propose a new residential area between the Wusongjiang River and the Shanghai-Nanjing Highway, the south boundary of the New Town.
- *Automobile Manufacturing Areas*. The Automobile Manufacturing Area will be basically focused on the existing VW Shanghai and extended to the east boundary stopped by the green-lined Wenzaobang River. The total area for manufacturing will reach 234 ha, with an additional area of 377 ha reserved for accessories manufacturing to the north of the area.
The International Automobile City, the New Town of Anting and the proposed future residential area are bonded by the rivers of Wusongjiang and Wenzaobang and the large scale public green space. In fact, the park becomes the center of the area, with man-made lake, surrounded by entertainment, catering, leisure, sports and recreational facilities, while cross the Wenzaobang River, a leisure park, a golf course and possibly a automobile themed park will be built.

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Ground Zero: construction, reconstruction, participation

Ilene Steingut

The reconstruction of Ground Zero is an intricate web of exceptional circumstances and innumerable subjects. It is so complex and multi-faceted that it can be analyzed from various points of view: from the political to the economic, from the social to the institutional, from the urban to the architectural, and from the literary, cinematographic and even to the psychoanalytic (1).
This article addresses the planning of Ground Zero in terms of public participation as considered in present-day disciplinary terms in order to reflect upon the following questions:
- effectiveness of participatory exercises within planning and design processes especially in terms of managing exceptional events and situations;
- the role of the media in such processes and the inherent risks of distorting participatory processes.
The article presents an overview of the events and the actors and the most important milestones especially regarding the participatory initiatives of the re-construction process in order to provide the reader with the necessary background for further disciplinary investigation.
The events regarding the construction and reconstruction of the World Trade Center site are placed in their historic, political and cultural context in order to facilitate understanding ways of building and transforming American downtowns, particularly regarding the specific practices adopted in such an exceptional and unique place as Manhattan.

Historic notes

The conception and construction of the World Trade Center is a significant episode in an urban history characterized by continuous demolition, by the relocation of functions and buildings (as well as social groups) and by enormous economic pressures which influenced New York's continuous construction, reconstruction and its urban 'reinventions' (2).
Lower Manhattan was born as the outpost of what was the largest multinational corporation in international trade during the 17th century, the Dutch West Indies Company. The growth of commerce and trade in the 'new world' corresponded to impetuous and often chaotic urban growth. The history of New Amsterdam is a continuous series of transformations and changes deriving from the progressive settlement of various ethnic groups that brought about the unrelenting urban march towards the north of the island.
While the Commissioner's Plan (1811) set out the characteristic rectangular grid to the north of the original Dutch settlement, of an extremely elementary and practical simplicity in terms of subdividing land into building lots, the city's development was conditioned, in addition to its zoning plans and building regulations, by a series of specific operations (articulated differently in procedural and financial terms in relation to the specific circumstances and context) which grew mainly out of the spatial requirements and economic pressures of the moment.
The most important projects oriented the city's most important transformation processes, catalyzing and conditioning urban growth and delineating different modes of development, management and public participation. Among the many significant projects in New York's urban history, three are mentioned briefly here as examples of specific development models in the city and on the island of Manhattan.
Central Park was the first large-scale example of a practice that, to further organizational and qualitative improvement in the city's urban development, does not waver in dislocating and relocating both land uses and residents. Rockefeller Center was a project that anticipated a new building type that was to become commonplace in the next decades; it was a project that catalyzed an urban rehabilitation process in the entire midtown Manhattan area in terms of both physical design as well as real estate values. Robert Moses' accomplished his vast projects, mainly infrastructural (3), through the intensive use of the 'authority', public-private agencies authorized to charge tolls in order to finance projects without utilizing public funds. In different ways, these examples can be considered precedents that would later lead to the ideation, the planning and the construction of the World Trade Center.

The World Trade Center

The story of the World Trade Center (4) is inextricably linked to the role and functions of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. In 1916, after a legal dispute between the states of New York and New Jersey regarding port jurisdiction, the courts imposed the regrouping of all port infrastructure under a single administration, which became the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. The Port Authority's statute grants "full power and authority to purchase, construct, lease and operate terminal, transportation and other facilities of commerce within the port districts as defined by law". As evidenced in the exhibit *Building the World Trade Center* (5), the word 'other' provided the loophole that would lead to the construction of the World Trade Center on Port Authority land almost 50 years later.
As opposed to Rockefeller Center which was conceived and constructed privately by a 'patron prince', John D. Rockefeller, at the end of the 1920s, the WTC was planned, funded and managed by public agencies. Notwithstanding this fact, the principle force behind its realization was provided by another Rockefeller (6) (son of John D. and brother of Nelson, then Governor of New York) together with Robert Moses. David Rockefeller, recognizing the opportunity for increasing the zone's real estate values, decided to move the headquarters of his bank to lower Manhattan, but not before he formed a business association (Downtown, Lower Manhattan Association) to accelerate the area's rehabilitation by transforming it into a center for world commerce much as it had been at the beginning of its history with the settlement of the Dutch West Indies Company.
Yet again, as in the past for other large urban projects, the proposal for the WTC brought about heated public debate. But instead of seeking dialogue and compromise, the Port Authority, notwithstanding the fact that it was a public agency, acted autocratically and, insensitive to criticism, increased the project's dimensions not only vertically but also horizontally by proposing a landfill for part of the river's (partially utilizing material

resulting from the excavations) to create a new neighborhood (and new tax bases) for the city, later to become Battery Park City. The World Trade Center project definitively eliminated port activity from Lower Manhattan so that the economy of the area, once based on trade and commerce, light industry and port activity, was transformed into a service-based economy.
At the time, the WTC was accused of 'urbicide' and the buildings were criticized for their scale, their schematic volume and for the desolation of the street level plaza. At the beginning of the 1970's, the PA encountered such tremendous difficulties in renting the space that the agency was forced to lease the space back to itself and to the State of New York for use as government office space. But at the beginning of the 1990s, the buildings were finally turning a profit with an occupancy rate of 96% mostly with a new category of city user, the knowledge worker, employed by banks, insurance companies and in the financial markets. Lower Manhattan was attracting new investments; nearby Tribeca became home for the new dotcom companies and the twin towers, once derided by the public, became both symbols of new global capital and American power as well as an integral part of New York's image, icon and reference point for residents and visitors.
An initial investment failure, the towers became such great income producers that in July of 2001, the Port Authority signed a 99 year lease on the towers and commercial spaces with a consortium headed by developer Larry Silverstein.

September 11
2,998 dead or missing; 6 buildings destroyed, 23 building damaged; 17,965 companies closed or relocated; in October of 2001 18,300 jobs were lost in the commercial sector, 13,400 lost in the restaurant or food services sector, 6,000 jobs lost in transportation and infrastructure, 15,000 jobs lost on Wall Street (as of December 2001); drastic reductions in tourist income for the city; destruction of the PATH station below the WTC, the principal connection to New Jersey with 67,000 trips per day; interruption in subway services (7).
After September 11, both the local and the international public opinion debated over what to do with the WTC site. Some believed that it was in the best interests of the United States to build "bigger and better" to show the world that US enemies could not 'win'. Others, especially the victims' families, believed that the entire site should be consecrated to the memories of those that perished by transforming the entire area into a park. If we consider how the construction of the original WTC was managed, it would be impossible today (with the more stringent building codes, regulations and authorization procedures, with the loss of Port Authority power, with the lack of public funding and especially with the 'interference' of a private leaseholder) to shape a project in the same way. On the other hand, given the tremendous economic interests in the site and in Lower Manhattan in general, it would be equally impossible to transform the area into a park that could not generate an income and tax base comparable to that which existed prior to the attacks.

Reconstruction and participation
In November of 2001, Governor Pataki and Mayor Giuliani announced the formation of a 'public benefit corporation', the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) (8) for the task of coordinating the reconstruction and the revitalization of Lower Manahttan. LMDC is a company formed by the State and the City of New York and is managed by a 16-member board half appointed by the governor and half by the mayor. The agency does not directly manage funds for public investment and is generously funded by the federal government.
At the same time, numerous organizations, civic association and interest groups were being formed to face the complex issues posed by reconstruction from many different points of view. Among the principle groups were: New York New Visions (9), a *pro-bono* grouping of 21 organizations operating in the areas of architecture, engineering, planning representing tens of thousands of professionals; Civic Alliance (10), a consortium formed by the Regional Plan Association of 85 groups (professional, foundations, universities, cultural organizations, private sponsors, etc) to address the problems of reconstruction in terms of regional and urban planning; Imagine New York (11), an organization sponsored by the Municipal Arts Society, made up of a vast network of partners able to ensure a grass roots based participation; family member organizations, residents groups, local small business owners, etc.
The approaches adopted were different. LMDC, by involving different interest groups (family members, businesses, local residents) in their advisory councils, utilized a stakeholder approach (Marcuse 2002a). But, in reality, decision-making within the LMDC belongs to the board composed of members of the local and national power elite. As has been noted, given a great urgency for efficient operations and achieving tangible results in a short time frame, this kind of approach faces the inherent risks of being unable to guarantee the space and time for the adequate voicing of all opinions and points of view. On the other hand, the above-mentioned civic groups adopted a consensus approach in an attempt to reach and create agreement, through progressive discussion and sharing of knowledge and viewpoints using different techniques, instruments and media tools, between the broadest based constituency as possible in order to reach a shared solution. The risks inherent in this type of approach are wellknown, in particular excessive generalizing and consequently ineffective solutions that have to appeal to and satisfy the largest number of opinions possible.
New York New Visions (NYNV) took upon itself the task of thinking about planning and design issues in an attempt to accompany and shape the decision-making process with an 'expert' point of view and to sustain the public debate on the city's future in a complementary and qualified manner. The organization instituted working groups to address the problem of the future memorial, infrastructure, land uses, growth strategies, environmental sustainability, and cultural resources producing preparatory studies and responses during the various phases of the planning process.
Civic Alliance (CA) conducted studies, organized workshops and managed a large-scale

public participation exercise "Listening to the City". The first meeting was held in February of 2002 and involved over 600 citizens, leaders and public servants, all of whom were provided with preparatory materials in advance of the meeting, where, in a typical community visioning exercise, participants were asked to describe their Manhattan in 2012. Results were synthesized into a programmatic document or position paper regarding the reconstruction of Ground Zero.
Imagine New York launched their initiative in March of 2002 with the goal of giving voice to as many different visions as possible regarding the reconstruction of the WTC site, the future of the city and the region. The project was conceived on a regional scale and work was carried out by volunteers to collect the impressions, suggestions and ideas of a large number of people. In the spring of 2002, they held 230 public workshops and published on their web site more than 19,000 ideas and suggestions coming from all over the world, distilling them into 49 visions statements regarding the future of the city, the state and the region.
The work undertaken by these, and other, groups until the spring of 2002 can be described as a reflective/predictive/shaping process-participation that can prefigure and influence future events through brainstorming and overall collective learning processes. This basically self-directed and self-managed orientation was soon modified by a number of events. While these groups worked in transparent ways, driven by the new sense of solidarity and civic commitment that seemed to pervade the city after 9/11, LMDC and the Port Authority were proceeding with their own planning and design work conducted by their consultants. It was in May of 2002 that LMDC held its first public meeting to prepare for the announcement of the preliminary design study for the WTC site.
From this moment on, it seems that public participation was greatly conditioned, both in terms of substance and in terms of timing, by the actions undertaken by the true holders of decision-making power, above all LMDC which, notwithstanding the fact that they declared to proceed with an 'inclusive' process, seems to have utilized a communications strategy of a cautionary-informative type tending to prevent criticism and control possible damage that might have derived from the perception of a lack of transparency and communication with public opinion during the planning process.
The preliminary design study, while declaring to take into account the results, visions and criteria elaborated by the different groups in the preceding phase, in fact proposed a series of approaches to the site in volumetric and functional terms (called 'menu' by the LMDC), consisting basically in a combination of elements deriving from economic and functional requirements. The different approaches offered solutions of a quantitative nature to the problems of public transportation, the location of public space, the form and amount of space to dedicate to the memorial and the integration of the site with the rest of Lower Manhattan through the partial or complete restoration of the street grid that had been eliminated in the original WTC project.
The concept plans had the declared goal of catalyzing a process of public dialogue to reach a point where it could be possible to "direct and refine these urban design concept plans toward the selection of a final, recommended plan" (LMDC, PA 2002, p. 5). But the true goal seemed to be to obtain, in an apparently transparent way, the economic result that had been previously determined by the institutions and by the private lease-holders.
With the preliminary design study, the LMDC also set out a time-table which was followed quite precisely and which no participatory process, demand or new idea was able to slow down. This was probably the key factor which transformed the process from an open one to a closed one, modifying the parameters of the participatory process and directing it towards a kind of action that could be defined as political/reactive, which, in reaction to external factors over which there is little control, tends towards intensifying interaction with public opinion through the use of the mass media.
Following the announcement of the results of the preliminary design study in July of 2002, "Listening to the City" (12) organized a 'town meeting' for 4,500 people to discuss the proposals set forth by the Port Authority and LMDC. Analogous to the prior initiative, groups of 10-12 met around tables to exchange opinions and express their preferences, sharing them in real time with the rest of the participants through the use of *ad hoc* communications technologies. The face-to-face initiative was integrated with an on-line dialogue involving over 800 people over a two-week period.
From this activity, which was widely publicized in the local and international press, emerged a completely negative judgement regarding the preliminary concept plans which were considered banal and aesthetically naive (like the rearranging of children's' blocks), mediocre in terms of design quality and lacking the befitting sensitivity towards the site's sacred nature. According to many observers this result was largely attributed to the fact that the study was presented too hastily without having concluded a planning process that was well-coordinated among the various agencies and institutions such as LMDC, city government, State, Port Authority, etc. More probably, the presentation of these schemes sought to set the parameters in terms of building volumes and real estate values; the participatory process could then choose among the various proposals. All of this in order to begin, as soon as possible, to restore the site to its income-producing state.

From brainstorm to competition

The total refutation of the concept plans might be considered the most significant tangible result in the participation process and the only one which influenced decision-making, driving the LMDC to change its course and publish a design brief to choose, from over 400 requests for qualifications, 7 groups to participate in what was called the innovative design study. This study was to be a high-powered brainstorming session, but at a certain point, perhaps due to the publicity surrounding the renowned figures invited to participate or perhaps due to the great expectations that the names of the star architects aroused in public opinion, what should have been a highlevel discussion of ideas was transformed into a media event, giving life to

a kind of 'beauty contest' born out of the ashes of September 11.
On December 18, 2002, coinciding with an important planning workshop on Ground Zero organized by the Regional Plan Association and by the publication of the Mayor's Vision for Lower Manhattan (demonstrating the lack of coordination among the various groups and institutions), the participants presented their proposals for the site to the public. The event was televised on the local TV station and webcast over internet, with many websites giving their users the possibility of voting for their 'favorite' project. Subsequently, many of the specialized, as well as general news sites, held discussion forums and provided vote counts. The exhibit of the projects, which provided the possibility for visitors to express their preferences, attracted an enormous number of visitors. 'Mediafication' and 'spectacularization' (13) are recurring themes in the story of Ground Zero running throughout the entire planning and design process and are especially highlighted in this final phase of the presentation and exhibition of the proposals. In fact, Harvey's cynical affirmation "By the standards of spectacle, September 11 had to be close to the greatest show on earth" (Harvey 2002, p. 64) could be applied not only to 9/11 but to this whole story.
At this same time (14), in reaction to the different solutions presented, New York New Visions published a document evaluating the proposals using criteria that had emerged from their earlier work; Civic Alliance sought without success to organize another Listening to the City event on the lines of the one that had changed the course of events earlier in the process; Imagine New York provided users with the possibility of commenting on the proposals on their web site; LMDC organized a series of meetings throughout the city to discuss the projects, but few people attended. It is as thought the media 'orgasm' or frenzy surrounding the presentation proper led to a decreased interest in participating in the communications and discussion different initiatives after the publication of the innovative design study.
In the beginning of February 2003, LMDC, still apparently acting within the sphere of brainstorming and reflection, chose two projects to be further explored in terms feasibility, economics, etc. (perhaps using the time to 'negotiate' with the architects behind closed doors). At the end of the month, LMDC proclaimed the 'winner' of what had become, notwithstanding the premises, a true architecture competition. Of this result, Peter Marcuse stated that LMDC "acted without any contribution of public ideas and followed a hurried and antidemocratic planning process, ignoring critical planning and political questions" (Marcuse 2003).
In May of 2003, the competition for the memorial was held, definitively separating the 'symbolic' part of the project, earlier closely tied to the emotion of the event as well as to the many appeals which emerged from the participation process, from the 'commercial' one. Larry Silverstein and his consortium, leaseholders and beneficiaries of the insurance monies essential for beginning construction in earnest, became the principle players in the game. During the summer, alongside the Port Authority and LMDC, Daniel Libeskind, winner of the 'competition', signed an agreement with Silverstein's architects, Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, in which SOM was named 'design architect and project manager', and Libeskind 'master plan architect'. This could possibly mean that, after having utilized the evocative images of the international architecture stars, including the winner, the real design work is being done by Silverstein's architects, as had been contemplated from the outset (15). The deadline of the memorial competition was in June of 2003: LMDC received 5,200 projects making it the largest design competition ever held.
Following these events, with LMDC planning a series of public outreach activities, the associations, which previously had been so active, communicated almost exclusively through press releases. It seems that, in this phase, their contribution to the process, consisted in different kinds of technical-scientific analyses giving the impression that some are still attempting to carve out a niche in the reconstruction process.
But more probably, these last culminating events can be placed in a broader time frame and interpreted as the closure of a feedback loop within a vaster planning and collective learning process where the tangible, and apparently inevitable results (in light of the city's urban and real estate history) become raw materials for a new planning phase. With the aid of past experience, this new planning cycle might reestablish a reflective-predictive-shaping process where the issues and results which emerged previously can be explored and worked upon.
In this case, associations like Civic Alliance, Imagine New York and NYNV and the many others who contributed to the process might proceed with new participation processes and exercises to explore the future of the city beyond the time frame set for reconstruction (15 years) and pose new and more incisive questions regarding:
- the most appropriate kind of planning and participation for highly complex, important and representative parts of the city;
- the appropriate kinds of activities that are necessary to avoid the risk that an overly rapid time frame can upset a complex and multi-faceted participation process;
- the role of public opinion in complex urban processes;
- the role of the mass media which can heavily condition and 'subvert' traditional participation processes.
What urban processes should be considered in this new planning phase, also in light of some trends that already underway before 9/11? Marcuse (2002b) and others speak of the 'fortification' of the city and the relocation of urban functions elsewhere; of the decentralization of the workplace and services with their relocation in edge cities and exurbia (which are progressively providing more urban structures and services recreational, cultural, etc.), of the increasing depopulation of commercial and residential areas due to the high costs of congestion, environmental decay and social tensions and rendered possible by new communications technologies. Davis (2001) speaks of the globalization of fear where satellite offices, telework and multilocalized regional networks (much like the al Quaeda structure, he points out) or the use of well-protected 'bunkers' will substitute the skyscraper's traditional role giving life to the idea of the distributed workplace. Regarding such

tendencies as the privatization of public space and the barricaded city (16), Davis (2001, p. 45) again asks whether the forces of public order are not becoming the real urban planning agencies in our cities and whether "security will not become a full-fledged urban utility like water and power" in the near future.
We might ask ourselves if this could lead to the elimination of the public spaces available for public discussion and assembly (17), activities at the heart of a true democratic society, and to the consequent restriction on citizen freedom of movement (in both physical and socio-political terms) in our cities and thus to the diminishing of open participation in government-based planning and decision-making processes.

Notes

1. These latter aspects are explored in: Page (2002), Ockman (2002), or in Davis (2001).
2. Case studies of cities (Berlino, Rotterdam, Hiroshima, Lisbona, etc.) reinvented after wars, catastrophe or natural calamity are included in Ockman (2002).
3. 400 miles of parkways and expressways, 13 bridges and numerous public housing projects.
4. For the history of the World Trade Center's construction see Darton (1999).
5. Exhibit by Museum of the City of New York on line at http://www.mcny.org/exhibitions/wtc/wtc3.htm
6. The role of the Rockefellers in New York history is a story unto itself and is critically explored in Fitch R. (1996), Assassination of New York, Verso, New York.
7. For some of the statistics see: The Century Foundation, Economic Impacts of Terrorist Attack, New York City Fact Sheet, http://www.tcf.org/publications/terrorism_fs.pdf, New York Partnership and Chamber of Commerce.
8. For further information see: http://www.renewnyc.com/
9. For further information see: http://nynv.aiga.org/
10. For further information see: http://www.civic-alliance.org
11. For further information see: http://www.imagineny.org
12. For further information regarding teh participatory techniques utilized see http://www.listeningtothecity.org/; http://www.americaspeaks.org
13. It is obviously impossible to provide a complete round-up of the media coverage of the event. Some overviews of the press coverage are provided in: http://www.gothamgazette.com/rebuilding_nyc/topics/groundzero/older_news.shtml; http://archrecord.construction.com/news/wtc/; http://www.september11news.com. Some of the more interesting articles: Goldberger P., "Up From Zero", *New Yorker* 29/7/2003; Goldberger P., "Building Plans", *New Yorker* 24/9/2001; Iglauer E., "The Biggest Foundation", *New Yorker* 4/11/1972; Muschamp H., "At Ground Zero, the Freshest Architecture May Be the Answer", *New York Times* 18/12/2002; Muschamp H., "In Latest Concepts for Ground Zero, It's Reality vs. Renaissance", *New York Times* 23/12/2002; Rybcznski W., "They Rise, but Do They Soar?", *New York Times* 20/12/2002; Russell James A. (2002), "Ground Zero Planning", Architectural Record, September; Sorkin M. (2002), "Power Plays at Ground Zero", *Architectural Record*, September; Wheelwright P., "What Is An Event and What Is Its Duration? Assesing the Cultural and Architectural Aftermath of September 11th", conference held at MIT on 5/3/2002 and on line at http://archrecord.construction.com/inthecause//0402WhatisEvent/MIT.asp. Paul Goldberger is now writing the 'definitive' history of Ground Zero's reconstruction.
14. Aside from the LMDC website, issue 856 of *Domus* (February 2003) and the 02/2003 issue of *Architectural Record* provide ample coverage of the project proposals.
15. In fact, as Edward Wyatt ("Ground Zero Plan Seems to Circle Back") reports in the *New York Times* on 14 September 2003 Libeskind's project is undergoing the inevitable modifications of any competition in the design development phase and seems to resemble more and more, devoid of the architect's characteristic language, one of the site plan menus of the original LMDC concept plans.
16 Foreseen in Giuliani's New York with his policies, seen as drastic in terms of their social implications, with the closure of City Hall Park one of the city's most traditional spaces for public assembly.
17 Muschamp in Marcuse P. (2003)

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Sicily: the contradictions of the territory within the Bourbon land registry of the first half of the XIX century

Teresa Cannarozzo

The maps that the present article deals with are the cartographical attachments of the *Amendment of land registry* that marquis Vincenzo Mortillaro di Villarena started making on behalf of Ferdinand II of Bourbon, King of the Kingdom of the two Sicilies, in 1833 (1). The collection of maps, which was bought by the Regional department of the cultural heritage, sparing it careless treatment, and recently published in its integral form, comes from the private Mortillaro-Tumminello archives, which have been kept and preserved for a long time by the family's descendants. The collection comprises two general maps of Sicily and 424 more maps, most of them in colour, partially showing the territories of Sicilian municipalities and plans of cities (2).

The reformation of the Sicilian land registry

Once the Kingdom of the two Sicilies attained political definition (Sicily was magnificently named "Royal Lands beyond the lighthouse"), the King started rearranging his Kingdom as well as the administrative division of the territory.
That was a particularly turbulent and riotous period of time, marked by political reshuffles, insurrections and subsequent repressions, recurring cholera epidemics, but mainly by constant long-standing conflicts between Sicily and the Court of Naples, the political ambitions of the Sicilian parliament and the Monarchy's orders and restrictions. It was also a period of outstanding reforms that would later bring about the shift from the feudal system to our present-day system (3).
The structure of the territory as illustrated by these cadastral maps complies with the political and administrative reforms that had then been implemented: the territory was subdivided into seven provinces called 'intendancies', each administered by an 'intendant', corresponding to the present-day role of the Italian prefect, and by a board made up of five members (4). In their turn, the provinces were subdivided into districts administered by 'underintendants'.
The Marquis Vincenzo Mortillaro di Villarena was a well-educated and highly learned man, had an encyclopaedic background, and was a *grand commis* of the government. He used to carry out the tasks he was entrusted with quite zealously and started an uninterrupted and assiduous exchange of letters with officials serving within each single municipality in order to receive the mapping of the respective territories (5).
The whole affair, among other things, did not develop straightforwardly: the method by which the initiative had been expected to be carried out was even thought over and revised, especially for the creation of maps and measurements of municipal territories.
Some scholars argue that despite the lack of topographical surveys of landed properties and the subsequent difficulty in assessing and ascertaining the size of each single property, the new Sicilian land registry proved to be extremely helpful in mitigating the serious disproportions that had marked the previous tax system, thus adjusting taxation in small municipalities and proposing innovative regulations that indirectly boosted farming and house building (6).

The disappearance of the maps

The crumbling of the Bourbon Kingdom, however, was already in the air; it was doomed to disappear a few years later under the pressure of unification urges and Mortillaro was far too wary and wise a man to underestimate the general scenery within which his work was to take place (7).
He probably realised that his client was no longer trustworthy and reliable and that he would not be able to carry out his tasks anyway.
By now, we can assume that the marquis decided he could keep the collection for himself and try later to relaunch it under a different guise. This is the way we should construe his attempt, between 1857 and 1858, to publish the maps on his private wealth to create a *General Book of topographical, historical, geographical, and statistical maps of Sicily*, in the form of instalments that could be booked and bought by all those who were interested in (8).
Eventually, the collection was locked away in a wooden chest and for over a century its whereabouts became unknown. Nor were the descendants of Mortillaro aware of its existence. The chest was found by chance under the ruins of a building owned by Mortillaro's heirs, within the territory of the municipality of Montevago, which was razed to the ground by the Belice earthquake in 1968, was then moved to Palermo and eventually forced open, even though its contents were not immediately identified.
A number of years later, Salvatore Pietravalle-Tumminello, a scrupulous heir and keeper of the Mortillaro-Tumminello's archives, realised the historical worth of the maps and reported it for official acknowledgement by the Record Office (9).
The fact that the maps had not previously been filed with the Record Office, but were accidentally discovered by Mortillaro's descendants, confirms the assumption that the initiative had been abruptly interrupted. This assumption is also backed by the incompleteness of the collection and poor finishing of the maps. As a matter of fact, the maps were usually endorsed and stamped with royal seal only when they were judged to be meeting special requirements.

The cadastral maps as fragments of history and local culture

Our interest in this collection is not based on their nature as more or less imperfect original documents accompanying the cadastral reforms ordered by Ferdinand II, but rather on the present-day role the maps have acquired after over a hundred years since their creation. As a matter of fact, if we consider the maps going beyond their original 'use', they can be seen as an extraordinary historical source allowing us to read and interpret the zoning of the territory as well as the outline of the cities of the XIX century.
These maps are extremely important since they bear the marks of the slow changes that took place during previous centuries and make it possible for us to interpret the Sicilian territory from a number of different points of view, thus offering a remarkable view on the agricultural landscape, the rough forms of infrastructures of that time, the geographical and naturalistic peculiarities of that period, the productive resources, the structure of cities, the quality of the non-residential building heritage, especially of churches,

convents and monasteries. In the vast mosaic of the historical iconography of the Sicilian territory, cadastral maps are the tesserae that were thought to be forever lost, since they are some way in between the cartography and landscaping works produced between XVI and XVIII centuries and the first cadastral plans drawn after the establishment of the unitary State in 1870 (10). These maps are a documentary evidence of some of the aspects of local culture: as a matter of fact they give us a description of the professional level of the technicians who embarked upon the hard task of graphically represent vast and complex territorial contexts, where even moving from one district to the other proved to be extremely difficult. They were drawn by land surveyors, town-planners, engineers and even agronomists who were variably capable of taking measurements, drawing, paging and writing in a refined way, and more or less able to decorate plates with refined scroll ornaments and accurate inscriptions.
It appears clear that the task of creating these maps was supposed to comply with specific directions which, however, were often not respected: creators were asked to specify the date of creation (which is sometimes missing), indicate cardinal points, the graphic scale and unit of measurement (11). The maps referring to municipal territories are drawn to a scale varying from 1:15,000 and 1:25,000; maps of city centres between 1:1,000 and 1:2,000. The best maps are characterised by a reference grid used to best monitor its scale. Both territorial and city maps are drawn using Indian ink and coloured in pastels or watercolours; the colour nuances mainly used to draw territorial and urban sections are green, sky-blue and pink in their very light shades; the uniformity and consistency of the colours might be an indication of the attempt to comply with specific instructions.
City centres were subdivided into areas which, in their turn, were parcelled out into sections and sections into 'blocks of houses'.
Each building could be thus located by neighbourhood, section, block and street numbers. Also the maps of city centres are quite heterogeneous from the quality point of view of differing drawing techniques and graphical expertise.

Municipal territories

The maps of the municipal territories show the names of neighbouring municipalities, administrative blocks, road networks, location of the main built-up areas, villages, natural barriers such as rivers and valleys, cadastral sections with relevant sizes, type of cultivated crops, steep lands, woods, fencing systems of estates, scattered dwellings, and areas planted with trees. The latter are often only symbolically indicated and off scale with indications of each single tree and shadow.
Owing to the evident reasons related to the goals of these surveys, the maps of provinces show indications of former feuds, state properties, and production facilities. These latter include *tonnare* (buildings used for preserving and processing tuna fish), saltworks, scattered all over the territory of the Trapani district and along the coast of Siracusa, watermills near streams, mines, sulphur mines, limestone mines, oil mills, grinding wheels, wine presses, and storehouses. A body of more or less accurate inscriptions describe the various elements. However not all maps provide homogeneous information as per quality and quantity. Some of them are characterised by indisputable graphical mastery, as well as the technical ability to provide exhaustive descriptions of the territory and built-up areas without any off-scale element.
This category includes one of the most interesting maps of the collection: T*he topographical map of the territory of Paceco*, a village located within the provincial district of Trapani, which is the one and only map displaying the subdivision of some parts of the territory into numbered 'parcels' with landowners' names (12). The map, along with this particular indication, that proves that the maker was well acquainted with parcelled geometrical cadastral maps drawn in other areas of Italy, also contains an image of bygone times: a small three-dimensional picture of the town of Trapani placed on the right upper side, so as to facilitate comprehension of context. The map is also worth looking at for its elegant chromatic combinations and for the wealth of elements described in a comprehensive legend: there are indications of rivers Xitta e Baiata, of wide areas used as salt pits, layouts of main built-up areas and the various districts that have preserved their original names up to present day. Striking is also the accuracy of the indications of territorial connections and routes of 'royal cattle-tracks' which still nowadays make up the fundamental structure of the territorial road network.
However, there are also maps that did not comply at all with drawing instructions, offering very particular representations, as a direct result of the makers' personal fancy. This is the case of Belmonte Mezzagno, drawn with dark-colour strokes which should remind us of the undulation of the ground; as a result, mountains and hills appear as craters and the entire map has a web-like aspect making it quite similar to a piece of tapestry (13). The Piraino map is worth mentioning among the most extravagant ones, giving a single representation of both territory and city centre (1852); the latter is drawn in black and white squares and is totally off-scale, much alike an 'optical' picture than anything else.
Some other maps show that their makers made very little efforts to provide a graphical depiction of the undulation and geographical features of the territory; some more maps totally lack indications of measurements and legends; some other show built-up areas and road networks way off-scale; some other maps show a combination of planimetric representations and rough spatial views, where inhabited areas and settlements are scattered all over the place in pseudo-axonometric projections which remind us of a simplified version of XV and XVI century *capbrusi* (cadastral inventories).
As a matter of fact, in those maps which are technically less refined, one can notice considerable mistrust and caution towards purely two-dimensional representations, since these were considered to be poorly exhaustive and not completely clear. This is the reason why three-dimension pictures or images in elevation were frequently introduced to show the altimetry of the territory, inhabited areas, non-urban buildings, bridges, aqueducts. As an example, one can take at look at the

plan of the municipal territory of Pozzallo (once intendancy of Noto, and presently located within the provincial district of Ragusa), where the territory and the inhabited area are illustrated using two different scales, and the latter is drawn in perspective from bottom to top for unclear reasons (14). This category includes the map of the territory of Misilmeri, just outside the city limits of Palermo: the territory and the built-up area are drawn in some kind of perspective, whereas bridges and aqueducts are drawn in elevation; despite Palermo is located at a very short distance, the graphical technique is dreadfully out-of-date and quite similar to that used during the XVI century, with a time lag of three hundred years (15). Also the beautifully drawn and vividly coloured map of the municipal territory of Trabia show settlements in three-dimension aerial views (16).
Among enjoyable but rough maps we can include the colourful plan of Castellammare, located in the provincial district of Trapani, where mountains are drawn definitely in elevation (17). Similarly, the map of the territory of Campobello di Mazara, in the same province, mentions the toponyms of the villages scattered along its coastline (which today have become synonyms of uncontrolled unauthorised building) shows yellow coastal dunes, strangely drawn as geometrical pyramids (18). Another remarkable example is the map of the wide municipal territory of Monreale, which, despite the closeness to Palermo, seems to be coming out of medieval times since it weaves two-dimensional representations of rivers and village limits with the perspective representation of hills and settlements.
The province of Palermo redeems itself through the map of the municipal territory of Solanto characterised by rather refined shapes and elegant watercolours (19). The map comprises the settlements of Santa Flavia, Casteldaccia, Porticello and Sant'Elia, and shows a precious legend called "Plate of Elucidation". The sophisticated name of the legend and the high degree of definition of the map are a clear indication of the amazingly unusual cultural level of the maker.
Whatever the case may be, the maps are one of the most sumptuous evidence of the culture and economy of that age, of its contradictions between past and present, and even those maps which seem to have been drawn by children's hands achieve autonomous artistic value thanks to the graceful make-up of the pages and the combination of graphical signs and pictorial elements. Undoubtedly this category includes *The sketch of the map of the municipal territory and village of Capaci and the Map of the municipal territory of Santacaterina divided into four sections to be used for a correction of the land registry*.
The territorial maps generally dedicate great care to the system of infrastructures made up of the articulated road network (roads are divided into carriageways, provincial roads, consular roads, and 'cattle-tracks') and the distinction of water resources into sources, springs and drinking troughs. The latter are also marked on city maps with great accuracy, thus underlining how important they were for the management of herds and flocks. Through sample surveys we were able to ascertain that the present-day road network, extensively running through the whole Sicilian territory, in most cases still match the routes that were originally marked on the maps.
Territorial infrastructures include safely enclosed graveyards, quite often belonging to Capuchins' monasteries, harbours and commercial ports of call (mainly used for farm produces and sulphur), fortresses, baronial castles, coastal towers, bridges and aqueducts; the latter are often drawn in elevation, or in confused perspectives to explain clearly what it was all about.
Among infrastructures, some progress-sensitive technicians indicated telegraphs, as on the maps of Palma di Montechiaro and Cinisi. Great care was dedicated to convents and sanctuaries located outside the inhabited area, being *ante litteram* social facilities of the territory, and to the houses which were scattered all over the area where also farms were located.
There are always indications of rivers, streams, *lavinai* (20), valleys and coastlines that are highlighted by the blue line of the sea on maps with greater pictorial worth, as in the drawings signed by Spannocchi, Merelli, and Negro who used gradually softening colour nuances (21). The map of Lentini (intendancy of Noto) also shows two small lacustrine areas named "pantano" and "bevaio" above which flights of birds are depicted (22). The maps of Aci Castello and Aci Trezza shows the stacks near the coast, and since the two villages are located at the foot of Etna volcano also "grazing lands with volcanic stones" and "pastures covered with sciara (magma and lava debris)" (23) are indicated; the map of Aci S. Antonio shows indications of *lava* and sciara (24); while the map of Bronte bears the signs of eruptions (25).
However the real test-bed for technicians was the drawing of the altimetry of the territory with two extremely different results: examples of this are the archaic drawings of some maps of the province of Trapani and Palermo, on the one hand, and the graphical virtuosity of the technicians working within the provincial district of Messina and Catania.
On the map of the provincial district of Messina, most municipalities are perched on mountain ranges crossed by *fiumare* (torrents), while the map of Catania shows a particular planimetric configuration of the municipal territory which takes on the shape of triangles meeting at the crater of huge Mount Etna. Settlements and orography in these two provinces make up an indissoluble *unicum*, and the technicians entrusted with the drawing of these maps seemed to be well aware of it. As a whole they proved to be professionally and technically far more skilled than their colleagues working elsewhere.
Mountain undulations are rendered intuitively by using the method of isohypses and shadings, drawn either by quick Indian ink sketching or shaded colours, both used to mark off concentric curvilinear areas. The map of Casalvecchio shows a splendid example of orographic depiction (26).
On the other hand, the map of the territory of Patti, despite its location within the same provincial district, is strikingly different. It is a beautiful map drawn in a rather naive fashion, where one can effortlessly recognize the headland of Tindari and the small lagoon stretch of Marinello (27).
The orographic system is very well depicted in some other provincial maps: this

is the case of the municipality of Buccheri (intendancy of Noto). The map is vividly coloured and the orography is skilfully depicted using isohypses, obtained by sketching tightly together small lines with Indian ink (28).

Cities

Approximately half the maps in a variably detailed fashion show the plans of urban settlements. Consequently maps differ in quality according to the higher or lower degree of graphical ability of their makers. Some maps only provide requested information; some other try to contextualise urban centres by depicting significant geographical elements, while some more maps are definitely drawn hastily or rather peculiarly. However, urban centres are subdivided into areas (having sometimes their own names), which, in their turn, may be made up of various 'sections'.

All pieces of information are provided in more or less accurate legends.

Plans contain indications of urban blocks, which are exclusively made up of houses or sometimes may also include non-residential buildings, the planimetric configurations of which are defined in a more or less accurate fashion. The green areas stand for the open areas surrounding these buildings, which were then very wide while nowadays are almost totally covered with closed up buildings. All the maps comprise main roads and secondary roads made up of alleys and courtyards, squares and 'lakes' with relevant names.

Apart from Palermo and Caltanissetta, present-day provincial chief towns are missing on the collection of maps. The old centre of Palermo is represented through the plans of the four *Mandamento*, which were drawn with great accuracy by different technicians; the wealth of historical cartographic documents regarding the city of Palermo somehow lessens the importance of these maps that do not add any significant information to what had been previously conveyed (29). On the other hand, this does not apply to Caltanissetta, about which there is no historical iconography whatsoever, with the exception of some 1878 post-unity cadastral plans (30). The Bourbon cadastral planimetry fills in this gap and gives a fairly reliable idea of the shape of the city as it was before the first half of the XIX century; particularly interesting are the details of those blocks that comprised churches, convents and monasteries, later modified by massive demolition (31).

As a matter of fact, the heritage of non-residential buildings mainly comprises churches, oratories, convents and monasteries. Sometimes we even find indications of noble palaces like in Santa Margherita Belice, the detailed plan of which shows Palazzo Cutò and the large villa which the Cutò family owned outside the town, with grounds and gardens (32).

A number of maps show the "Stations of the Cross" and the "Calvary" which have most often remained untouched in their original locations as an evidence of the rootedness and permanence of religious observances in the urban communities. Some maps, such as the one of Ribera, give indications of the town hall, baronial house and prisons (33). Some other indicate where drinking troughs were located, placed along the roads leading in and out of cities, and show elements of urban furnishing such as basins and fountains, or even "columns with statues" and "columns with waterworks".

The plan of Vallelunga also includes an "inn" and a "storehouse" (34).

The best map from the point of view of the drawing technique used is the one of Mistretta, located in the provincial district of Messina, which was made by Capuchin friar Vincenzo Bruno di Palermo, maker of just this single map (without any indication of date). This is a very vividly coloured map which shows the urban centre, drawn with extreme geometrical accuracy, and naturalistic features of the territory on which the built-up area is located. The grounds of churches, convents and monasteries and the green areas outside the town are drawn with great mastery. The map is strikingly 'modern', but still, for this very reason, it has a vaguely oleographic aspect and does not attain the poetic and evocative splendour of other maps which, although rougher, are far more exciting.

One of the most beautiful maps of the collection is the plan of the city of Marsala (35). The plan is accurately built on a basic geometrical grid, where boundary walls, gates and ramparts are accurately shown. Non-residential buildings (churches, convents and monasteries) are depicted in detail with planimetric measurements; this is an absolute rarity, at least in Sicily (36).

Both the map of Mistretta and of Marsala are among the best ones from a technical and graphical point of view. However there are some other maps that, despite their simple and technically inaccurate drawing fashion, are very enjoyable and provide precious and clear information.

This applies to the *Plan of the municipality of Carini* (37). The map depicts the perimeter and configuration of the old city centre with a number of striking pictorial effects; the graphical representation has a somewhat childish aspect both in the definition of the urban fabric and the watercolour decoration. The resulting picture is completely flattened by its two-dimensionality and does not succeeds in evoking the fast-changing and complex altimetry of the territory on which the city is built, characterised by steep slopes. The road leading into the old town centre is drawn in a primitive and schematic fashion. On the other hand, more care is dedicated to the drawing of the urban blocks and street network inside the town. Squares and streets are well defined and bear clear names; also non-residential buildings such as the mother church, the castle, convents and monasteries along with unbuilt areas, grounds and vegetable gardens are equally well defined.

As far as the province of Catania is concerned, we find high-quality plans of urban centres showing technical and graphical perfection: the plans of Belpasso, Biancavilla, Misterbianco and Nicolosi are among the best ones (38). In the latter two we can notice that the city blocks, bounded by streets, are partially built and still comprise wide open areas. Back in those days, many urban centres within the provincial district of Catania did not have compact shapes: unlike other areas, here buildings were discontinuously erected along the main streets, thus producing 'open' urban structures. The plans of the collection clearly show how cities used to sprawl, evidence of which is still visible today.

The plan of Randazzo, drawn with remarkable graphical mastery, shows the contour of the boundary walls and gates which testify the medieval origin of the city; the large urban

blocks appear to be only partially built (39). In the provincial district of Catania we also find less refined maps, evidence of a century-old cultural delay; the plan of S. Michele di Ganzaria shows buildings by means of approximate elevations, while the plans of non-residential buildings contain some elements of their façades (40). The same archaic method was used to draw the plan of the urban centre of Chiaramonte Gulfi (intendancy of Noto), where the urban blocks containing churches and convents display the approximate correspondent elevations (41).
There are also some other maps that provide very specific information either directly or indirectly. The direct information mainly concern the stability of the soil; as a matter of fact (in the provincial district of Palermo) the map drawn for Montemaggiore Belsito shows the inscription "land subject to landslides where most of the houses crashed to the ground" (42). An example of indirect information is conveyed by the plan of Terranova (Gela), located within the provincial district of Caltanissetta, where one can easily spot the difference between the original settlement and the first subsequent enlargement, which the maker definitely wanted to highlight (43).

The present-day role of Bourbon maps

Nowadays the Bourbon cadastral maps have taken on a role that we could call multidisciplinary.
They can be best used within the field of town-planning and analysis of old town centres. As a matter of fact, cadastral maps, thanks the wealth of information they convey, may be of great use in arranging up-to-date town-planning instruments, having either territorial or urban character, thus proving to be a priceless method of survey to locate environmental configurations and preexisting architectural elements, which sometimes might have been altered beyond recognition by later transformations: in this way they help us trace back and reconstruct territory modification processes.
New town-planning schemes should aim at safeguarding recognisable features of past territorial transformations in relation to the populations that there settled; ensuring the integrity of the environment and the possibility to enjoy it by the community; making sure the cultural resources of the territory are safeguarded, and providing for spatial and functional requalification of settlements (44).
The information conveyed by the cadastral maps of municipal territories may be of great help in widening the knowledge of the history of the territory and also allow to carry out a number of surveys and monitor transformations that have occurred during the centuries. The maps make it possible to have an idea of past road networks, hydrographical grids, main naturalistic systems; they also tell us the number and size of villages and of other buildings scattered all over the extra-urban territory; of course inspections must follow to make sure all this still exists and is in good repair.
Also the cadastral plans of urban centres may be used to reconstruct the process of historical development of each single settlement, which municipal town-planning schemes and projects for the restoration of old town centres should take into consideration. As a matter of fact, many town councils persist in debating whether or not old town centres should be recognised as real places and an integral part of the whole urban fabric, deserving special town-planning care (45). The cadastral maps of urban areas provide an objective evidence of the huge number of old town centres in the first half of the XIX century and cast aside any doubt or pretext that incredulous town councillors might put forward.
So far we have only discussed the possibility to use Bourbon cadastral maps in the field of town-planning even though the scientific potentials of the collection are far wider and may involve a number of disciplinary domains.
An analysis of these cadastral maps, as ancillary documents of the tax reform promoted and carried out by Ferdinand II, might remarkably improve our knowledge of the economic, political and social history of Sicily. The map collection might also lead to a further investigation into the functioning of the Bourbon kingdom and innovations it introduced, and to a social and cultural analysis of the work and technical skills of middle-class professionals such as land surveyors, architects, and engineers.
Last but not least, these maps open up a new significant opportunity for researchers in the branch of representation, and make it easier for them to understand the relationship existing between contexts and possible depiction techniques, as well as the suitability of information and drawing methods.
This brief set of examples of course does not exhaust the subject of the potential scientific use of the collection in relation with more research fields.
Before drawing my speech to a conclusion, I feel I should express my compliments and gratitude to those technicians of the first half of the XIX century who embarked upon the difficult task of drawing those maps, thus revealing to us an unknown Sicily rich, as usual, in stimulating contradictions.

Notes

1. The Mortillaro archives, case 117, at the Record office (*Archivio di stato*) of Palermo.
2. See E. Caruso, A. Nobili (eds.), *Le mappe del catasto borbonico di Sicilia. Territori comunali e centri urbani nell'archivio cartografico Mortillaro di Villarena*, 1837-1853, Regione Siciliana, Assessorato ai beni culturali e ambientali, Palermo, 2001.
3. F. Renda, *Storia della Sicilia dal 1860 al 1970*, Sellerio, Palermo, 1984, 1987.
4. The territory of the Sicilian island was parcelled into the intendancies of Caltanissetta, Catania, Girgenti, Messina, Noto, Palermo and Trapani.
5. Vincenzo Mortillaro, marquis of Villarena, was born in Palermo on July 27th 1806 and there died on July 26th 1888. *The Dizionario dei siciliani illustri*, published by Confederazione fascista dei professionisti e degli artisti, F. Ciuni, Palermo, 1939, classifies him as a "man of learning", but this definition appears to be rather restrictive. By the short biographical note given by the *Dizionario* we learn that he taught algebra and Arabic at the University of Palermo (1830). After the defeat of the Bourbon kingdom, his uninterrupted cultural activity almost stopped being operative, but became essentially characterised by an analysis of the political events occurring in those times through the filter of his own experience. The *Dizionario* also tells us that

"after he had been appointed at the Italian Parliament, he was accused of being the leader of a plot to subvert the political situation, was arrested and sentenced to eight months of prison". These short biographical notes only give a rather concise description of a complex and demanding human, cultural and political affair that would deserve further investigation.
6. R. Giura Longo, "Il Catasto Borbonico di Sicilia", *Risorgimento e Mezzogiorno. Rassegna di Studi Storici* no. 1-2, Dec. 2002.
7. T. Cannarozzo, "Il Regio Catasto Borbonico: immagini inedite del territorio siciliano", taken from *Dal recupero del patrimonio edilizio alla riqualificazione dei centri storici. Pensiero e azione dell'Associazione nazionale centri storici-artistici in Sicilia, 1988-1998*, by the same publishing house, Publisicula, Palermo, 1999.
8. Mortillaro archives, case 120, at the Record office of Palermo. Actually, in 1858 only seven instalments were published about the municipality of Vill'Abate, Termini Imerese, Caltagirone, Trapani, Caltanissetta, Girgenti and Molo, Sciacca, which can be consulted at the municipal library of Palermo. Each instalment comprises a descriptive note, the map of the municipal territory and city plan.
9. T. Cannarozzo, "Il catasto borbonico. Le mappe antiche dei centri urbani", *Il Mediterraneo*, Jul. 16th 1995; "Le mappe ritrovate del catasto borbonico", *Il Manifesto*, Aug. 13th 1995.
10. From a graphical and aesthetical point of view, the best maps of the collection very much look like some of those published in L. Dufour, *Atlante storico della Sicilia. Le città costiere nella cartografia manoscritta 1500-1823*, Lombardi-Marsilio, Padova, 1992.
11. The Sicilian units of measurement used at that time according to the metric law dated December 31th 1809 were: mile = 720 canes = m. 1846.643328; chain = m. 8.259130; cane = m. 2.064782; palm = m. 0.258098.
12. The maker is Francesco Fontana, who used to introduce himself as a land surveyor (1843). He is also the maker of the equally accurately drawn maps of Partanna (1840) and Santa Ninfa (1847). Neither of them shows the parcelling of the land.
13. The maker is Francesco Benigno (no date available), a land surveyor and painter.
14. The maker is Giuseppe Sardi (1852).
15. The maker is Antonio Andolina (1851), a land surveyor.
16. Unknown maker (1850).
17. The maker is Benigno Catalano (1843), a land surveyor.
18. The maker is Francesco Gallo (no date available), an agronomist.
19. The maker is Salvatore Randazzo (no date available).
20. The term *lavinaio* is the Italianised form of the Sicilian *lavinaru*, meaning water torrent.
21. See L. Dufour, *Atlante storico della Sicilia. Le città costiere nella cartografia manoscritta 1500-1823*, cit.
22. The maker is V. Vacante (no date available).
23. The maker is Vito Console (no date available).
24. The maker is Paolo Musmeci (1845), a land surveyor.
25. The maker is Vincenzo Musmeci (no date available), an architect.
26. The maker is Eutichio Prestogiovanni (1846), an engineer and land surveyor.
27. The maker is Andrea Addamo (1841), an engineer and land surveyor.
28. The maker is Vito Rinaldi (no date available), a land surveyor and estimator.
29. All of these maps show no date and only one of them, the map of Mandamento Castellammare, bears the signature of its maker, Giacomo Pitini, an architect.
30. See T. Cannarozzo, "Caltanissetta: piano del centro storico", in *La riqualificazione della città meridionale*, Quaderni di *Urbanistica Informazioni* no. 11, Jan.-Feb. 1992.
31. The maker is Agostino Lopiano (no date available), an architect.
32. The maker is Giuseppe Tedeschi (no date available), an architect and land surveyor.
33. The maker is Giuseppe Tedesco (no date available), an architect and land surveyor. The many similarities existing between this map and the map of Santa Margherita Belice get us think that the maker might be the same person in both cases, but with different names.
34. The maker is Agostino Lopiano (no date available), an architect.
35. The maker is Francesco Fontana, an skilled technician and land surveyor, maker of the plan of the municipal territory of Paceco, which we have previously dealt with (1843).
36. Starting from the first half of XVIII century, in the rest of Italy maps usually showed the most important buildings through architectural measurements and surveys, as in the *Mappa topografica della città di Napoli e de' suoi contorni* di G. Carafa, duca di Noya, 1775.
37. The maker is Santi Geloso (1850).
38. The makers are respectively Giacomo Consoli (1850), an architect; Giovanni Bonanno (no date available), an architect; Giuseppe Marchese (no date available), a architect; Giacomo Consoli (1851), an architect.
39. The maker is Rosario Pennini (no date available), an architect.
40. The maker is Giovanni Polizzi (1846), an architect.
41. The maker is Giovanni Cutello (no date available), a technician.
42. The maker is Benedetto Pulci (after 1851), a land surveyor.
43. The maker is Andrea Amarù (no date available), a town-planner.
44. The Regional office for territory and environment management has only recently issued an innovative memo regarding municipal planning based on these principles: memo no. 2/2000, *Indirizzi per la formazione degli strumenti urbanistici generali e attuativi*; see T. Cannarozzo, "Sicilia, le nuove regole per fare i Prg puntano sul recupero dei centri storici", *Edilizia e Territorio* no. 41, 2000.
45. As far as the role of old town centres in the field of municipal planning schemes and regulations governing restoration works, the Regional office for territory and environment management issued a specific memo: no. 3/2000, *Aggiornamento dei contenuti degli strumenti urbanistici generali e attuativi per il recupero dei centri storici*; see T. Cannarozzo, "Sicilia, le nuove regole per fare i Prg puntano sul recupero dei centri storici", cit.

Equalization in the new Town Plan for Catania
Stefano Stanghellini

The present work illustrates the method set up to ensure the application of the equalization principle in the new town planning scheme for Catania. One of the prime features of the method is the use of multicriteria analysis, in order to make sure that all the steps of the valuation process are explicit, articulated and traceable. As applied in the scheme, equitable treatment of the land owners is combined with the feasibility of the approach. A second feature of the scheme proposed is, in fact, assessment of the repercussions of the town planning choices on property values and in consequence of these, activation of an iterative adjustment and verification process. Apart from the intrinsic interest of the Catanese context from the town planning and economics viewpoints, this undertaking has provided an opportunity to set up and experiment a method that could, with the necessary adaptations, be extended to other urban realities for analogous planning purposes.
The work consists of two parts. The first inserts the described experimentation in the context of the national experience of town planning schemes. The second describes the phases of the methodological line adopted, illustrating the contribution of the multicriteria approach to the classification of the urban sectors, and of the real estate valuations to the definition of the equalization upper limit.

The equalization principle in the Town Plan
The reasons for equalization. The concluding document of the congress of the Istituto nazionale di urbanistica (National Town Planning Institute, INU), drawn up in 1995, promoted the spread in Italy of town planning equalization, stressing the point that the fundamental aim of the town planning scheme has always been to establish the principle of the equality of all citizens. In other words, urban and territorial evolution should be planned in such a way as to ensure that quality is available to all; one of the means to this end consists of applying the principle of equalization to the real estate involved in the urban transformation (Inu 1995, 1998).
According to this approach, the scheme must define equal building rights for all the areas included in the transformation zone which are characterized by the same urban-legal conditions, and demands in exchange from the land owners, that should operate concordantly because they are bound to the specific building sector, the same quota of public areas, works to be carried out and financial contributions. In this way the planning scheme is adapted to the altered conception of the role of the State, which is seen no longer as the operative State that carries out expropriation and urbanization, through the mediation of the Council, of the areas which will then be ceded to private users. Instead, the new conception of the State is that of a regulatory State which establishes the equalization rules for the transformation of the areas, and the process will then be accomplished by private operators and users.
Thus the town planning scheme has the task of establishing the equalization rules to be applied in the zones of intensive transformation. Private operators will then be required to take on the task of setting up and creating a large part of the public constructions, while the remaining infrastructures and facilities will be supplied by the public bodies. This application of the equalization rules to the town planning scheme reduces to a large extent the need to have recourse to expropriation, which will still be inevitable then only in particular circumstances, in order to create specific public works.
Since the second half of the 1990s, the equalization principle has become progressively more widespread in town planning, because it is considered to solve two crucial issues of Italian town planning: the feasibility of regulatory schemes and the equity of the planning choices made (Stanghellini 1995). In fact, in those towns where the equalization principle has been adopted, it has contributed to overcome one of the main limits of the town planning scheme: the risk that the plans for public infrastructures and facilities could remain on paper and whole quarters be built without the guarantee of adequate social and environmental quality.
Because equalization in town planning aims to achieve several goals at once (efficiency, environmental quality, equity) it is regarded as an important tool for achieving sustainable urban development (Fusco Girard 1997). In fact, from this viewpoint town planning equalization addresses three fundamental aspects of sustainability: the social, environmental and institutional dimensions.
The social dimension encompasses the aim, directly pursued, of treating all owners of land with analogous urban and legal characteristics equally, together with the aim, indirectly obtainable, of offering whole communities a better quality of life thanks to the greater production of public structures. The environmental dimension is addressed by means of definition of the upper equalization limit, in other words of the building rights accorded to the urban land plots, which thus establishes the admissible urban and environmental building load. Finally, the equalization approach marks the passage from the operative State to the regulatory State, from the expropriating, building Council to the rule-making Council that sets the bounds within which the market, according to the laws of competitive market efficiency, will achieve the preestablished aims: this addresses the institutional dimension.
The latter observation highlights the fact that town planning equalization is rooted in economic theory, being considered to generate a new market of building rights (Stellin, Stanghellini 1995). This market offers great opportunities, as has been shown by international experiences and the main Italian experimentations (Micelli 1997). However, for the new market to develop satisfactorily some important obstacles need to be removed (Micelli 2000). The first of these obstacles is the so-called 'frictional' costs such as taxes on transactions, consultancy and brokerage fees, etc., which could negatively affect the market efficiency. Another obstacle is the high cost of the support activities (communication, planning, mediation, etc.) that must be carried out by the local public administrations in order to promote awareness of the potential of the new market among local operators and hence its activation and efficient function.

The Italian experience.
Thanks to the fact that a number of town planning schemes based on the equalization principle have already been drawn up, the applicative procedure is now quite well consolidated from the methodological viewpoint, at least as regards the main steps to be taken (Pompei 1998).
The first step is to individuate, within the given territory of application, the areas that will be affected by the transformation. The given territory may coincide with the Council area, in which case the equalization process will be applied in a generalized fashion.
Instead, only one or more portions of the Council territory may be involved in the process. In this case those areas will be individuated which will bear the works having a strategic importance for development of the city. The town planning equalization principle will thus be partially applied and focus on the creation of these projects.
The second step consists of analysis and assessment of the urban and legal characteristics of the land plots. By means of this activity the land will be classified within a given range of categories (use) and classes (quality) according to its characteristics. The third step is to attribute the same building index, defined on the basis of urban, environmental and economic considerations, to each of the classes individuated.
Town planning equalization also includes a fourth phase, subdivided into two parts: firstly, individuation of the building sector and subsector, i.e. the urban context in which the building rights will be aggregated in order to create the transformation, seen in the light of a single unit. Secondly, the land where the building rights will be concentrated must be chosen within the sector (or sub-sectors). Instead, the land to be devoted to public infrastructures and facilities, individuated in the same way, will be ceded (partly free of cost and partly at its agricultural value) to the Council. The first of the above activities is carried out with an eye to the structure and extent of land ownership, which must enable negotiations to be held aiming to concentrate building rights in the selected zones. The second activity is carried out on the basis of the criteria proper to town planning.
The attribution of the building indexes, or upper equalization limits, is vital to the correct operation of the equalization approach (Barbieri, Oliva 1995). High indexes facilitate agreements between the Council and the land owners but increase the building load that the urban system must bear. On the contrary, fixing more contained indexes makes it possible to achieve important results as regards the quantity of land acquired as public property but can make it difficult to obtain the consent of the owners involved.
The crux of the matter is that if the equalization upper limits confer a greater land value than that inherent in the land plots themselves then the owner will be willing to carry out the transformation. However, if a considerable surplus value is generated by the upper limit, then the public decision-body will be making a 'gift' of this advantage to the 'sleeping' private owners (Morbelli 2001). A public decision of this nature satisfies the feasibility condition but certainly does not embody the equity requirement.
On the other hand, if the equalization limit reduces the consolidated market value of the land, the owners will not be willing to undertake the transformation envisaged by the town plan. The choices of the Council may be challenged and the owners may have recourse to legal channels, or else may simply remain inert. In this scenario the condition of feasibility is not satisfied, nor in some senses, is the equity condition. In short, the attribution of the upper limit is not only a choice of an urban planning character: it must also be supported by analyses and assessments of economic type.
In the difficult context described above, the lesson of experience is that attribution of the building rights by means of definition of the upper limit cannot be made in a mechanical, repetitive fashion. The definition of the upper limit must also take into account the specific local conditions, of both urban and economic type. The decision must be recognized to possess an important planning value, which is further enhanced by the fact that this is linked to the definition of the land use. Thus all attributions of the equalization upper limits are inevitably entirely original decisions.
In recent years a growing number of Council administrations have endeavoured to put the principle of town planning equalization to practical use in the course of the transformation processes occurring in their cities. The results of their experiences provide a useful store of documentary evidence which can be referred to by other administrations which intend to adopt equalization as a tool for setting up and managing the town planning scheme.
Tables on p. 114 and p. 115 show some cases of town plans set up and managed according to the tenets of equalization. They are presented in order of demographic size of the city, to illustrate how size, and hence population level and residential density, affects the value of the equalization upper limit. In the two tables the upper limit attributed to the 'urban' land plots is distinguished from that attributed to the 'periurban' land to be included in the new urban extension.
Further subdivisions can be made. As regards urban land plots, i.e. those within the perimeter of the built-up area, rundown urban areas tend to be treated differently from areas devoted to facilities in the previous Town Plan or left as open spaces. As regards the peri-urban plots, the agricultural areas identified in the previous Town Plan are distinguished from those with environmental constraints or which are unsuited for building.
The data reported in the first table demonstrate that in cities with a demographic value ranging from 90,000 to 210,000 inhabitants, the equalization limit for rundown areas or those with high territorial density which need to be reclaimed ranges from a minimum of 0.35 sq.m/sq.m to a maximum of 0.60 sq.m/sq.m. In the only metropolis considered (Turin, which has just under 900,000 inhabitants) the equalization index is 0.70 sq.m/sq.m for the urban areas. Instead, the upper limit attributed to areas devoted to facilities in the previous Town Plan and to marginal areas ranges from 0.15 sq.m/sq.m to 0.25 sq.m/sq.m, the most common limit being between 0.20 sq.m/sq.m and 0.25 sq.m/sq.m.
The indexes attributed to periurban land are notably lower. In the areas outside the built-up zone the limit ranges from a minimum of 0.08 sq.m/sq.m to a maximum of 0.15

sq.m/sq.m, if they are flat and lack any particular landscape value. Instead, for areas unsuited to building from the geomorphological viewpoint or because of their high environmental value, the equalization limit is lower, being between 0.03 sq.m/sq.m and 0.08 sq.m/sq.m.
In harmony with the dominant tendency in recent town planning, the equalization limits are expressed in square metres per square metre. However, the surface unit for building land is not always the same, although there is a general tendency to express this as gross square metres, in other words including the wall space.
When attributing the upper limit to the land in the different urban sectors, there may be a clash between the general nature of the limit rule and the presence of particular situations which could confer a different value to the land plots included in the sector. The most frequent situations this could apply to are the following: the presence of preexisting buildings; the existence of building constraints imposed by law; the need to devote areas to different, non residential use.
This clash is often solved by correcting the limit normally attributed in exactly the same way to all the plots belonging to the same class, by introducing one or more new parameters. The parameters are: the type of urban use, any preexisting buildings, any building constraints. To highlight the theoretical grounds and the implications of an empirical nature involved in such choices, some of the solutions adopted are described below.
The elements of flexibility of the upper equalization limit.
In the case of Casalecchio di Reno the upper limits of the Town Plan refer to residential use: when different urban use is involved, the upper limits are corrected by applying a multiplication coefficient. This aims to re-establish equality of treatment among owners of analogous land plots which have been assigned different urban land use by the Town Plan, and hence have different values. The multiplication coefficient, denominated the "index conversion coefficient", is set at the following values: 1 for residential land use, 1.25 for tertiary sector land use, 2 for industrial sector land use.
Moreover, Town Plans based on the equalization principle take into account pre-existing buildings when determining the total building rights.
If buildings in good condition which do not house economic activities and must be demolished are present on the urban sector, the building rights resulting from application of the upper limit will be increased by 100% (Casalecchio, Cesena). If the existing buildings, as well as being in good condition, also house economic activities, then the building rights will be increased by 200% (Casalecchio). Instead, if rundown buildings are present, then the entire quota corresponding to these buildings is sometimes (Casalecchio) added to the overall building rights generated by the upper limits, if the Town Plan envisages their restoration or demolition.
On other occasions (Cesena), again in the case of rundown buildings, 100% of the useful existing built-up surface is added to the building rights in the case of residential buildings and 80% in the case of industrial buildings.
Another method of correction of the upper limits which is sometimes applied takes into account the existence of environmental or infrastructural constraints in the areas to be transformed.
In fact, in some experiences constrained land plots are assigned lesser building rights than those established by the upper limits. This assignment of lower building rights, serving to facilitate public acquisition of the constrained areas, takes into account the urban ground rent they are considered to possess in any case. Clearly, the building rights assigned must be used outside the constrained area.
In practice the building rights accorded are in the order of a third of the upper limits. The Town Plan for Cesena applies a coefficient of 0.30 to the upper limit; this reduction is also valid for constrained areas where the no-building rule is not absolute. The Town Plan for Casalecchio applies a reduction coefficient of 0.33 to the established building index, only in the case of absolute no-building constraints; instead, the building rights deriving from the established index are accorded in full to land plots bound by other types of constraint.
This flexible application of the equalization upper limit adopted in the situations outlined above can be integrated by two further devices:
- the incentive mechanisms accorded to land plots receiving building rights generated by other land plots;
- the production of public residential building rights through incentive mechanisms accorded to land owners or through the accordance of added rights, apart from those established by the upper limits, in favour of the Council administration itself.
In the Ravenna Council area the building rights generated by the upper limit (approximately 0.10 sq.m/sq.m) in the periurban area named *Cintura verde* (Green Belt) can only be used to implement the urban program reclaiming the *Darsena di città* (City Dockyard). The owners of the land involved in this second project who purchase the building rights generated by the green belt plots (land which will be ceded free of cost to the Council) benefit from a 30% increase in building rights.
In the Ravenna Council area the upper limit attributed to the urban areas to be transformed included in the *Darsena di Città* Plan can be increased by a maximum of 30% if public housing (subject to public convention, featuring tax relief and/or public financing) is built. This increase is applied when defining the development program for each urban sub-sector.
In the Casalecchio di Reno Council area the established index defines, in terms of the cadastral surface, the amount of building the land owner can carry out. The amount of building rights attributed to the land is exclusive of the amount of building to be carried out to create public facilities and public residential building. The latter, which will be carried out on the land the owner is required to cede free of cost to the Council, is determined by the Council Board when the detailed Town Plan is being approved.

The methodology set up for the new Town Plan for Catania
From expropriation constraints to the equalization principle. While the new town planning scheme for Catania was being drawn up, a fundamental decision was made, the Council deliberation no. 58 of 1998.

This was passed after a long, indepth debate in which the political bodies and principal economic and social powers of the Catanese community took part. In December 1998 this deliberation laid the foundations for the principle which inspires the overall Town Plan and its actuation mechanisms.
Previously, the first draft of the new Town Plan contained planning choices which would have imposed a number of constraints on many areas destined for expropriation (especially to create green spaces and public parks) and enhanced the economic value of others (destined for new building and private restoring). The above deliberation abandoned this approach in favour of the equalization principle.
In harmony with the national town planning trend, the Catania Council decided on the one hand to treat all owners of land with analogous urban and legal characteristics in an equal fashion and on the other, to fill the lack of collective facilities by acquiring, free of cost or at their valuation as agricultural land, the land with no-building constraints deriving from transference of the building rights to other land plots. A particular feature of the Council deliberation was that it individuated fifteen sectors, named 'resource sectors', and subjected seven of them to executive prescriptions according to art. 2 of the Town Planning law n. 71/78, of the Sicilian Region. The concept of 'resource sector' indicated the intention to use this transformation of the sector as a means of filling the severe lack of fundamental urban requisites such as green spaces, car parks and school buildings.
After this deliberation of December 1998, the planning activities carried out by the Council planning office led to the individuation of other areas, mainly sited around the perimeter of the built-up centre, which could also be qualified as "resource sectors" in view of their ability to increase the quantity of collective structures and public spaces in the city.
Classifying the 'resource sectors'. In general, the attribution of building rights to urban land plots to be transformed according to the equalization mechanism requires prior investigation of their urban and legal characteristics. It is very difficult to identify these characteristics, especially those of legal pertinence, and their interdependencies with the real status. In fact, it is no coincidence that the ministerial decree that should have clarified, for the purposes of determining the expropriation indemnity, the requisites for land plots to be assigned building rights, has not yet been enacted despite the fact that the advance decree was passed more than ten years ago.
Unlike the approach adopted in other planning experiences, in the case of Catania the intention was to make the procedure individuating these characteristics as explicit and traceable as possible, because it was considered important to confer a high level of transparency to this choice, which is the very foundation of the new Town Plan.
Multicriteria analysis was adopted to individuate the urban and legal characteristics and their relative importance. This development of multicriteria analysis relied on the one hand on specific studies and investigations aiming to supply the necessary data and on the other on the specific knowledge and skills contributed by the managers and consultants of the Planning Office.
The scheme shown on p. 117 illustrates the entire procedure followed to establish the rules for the attribution of the equalization upper limits for the 'resource sectors'. The steps referring to the application of the multicriteria analysis are indicated along the centre line. The left column lists the contributions made by specific research projects, investigations and valuations conducted to obtain the information serving to implement the different steps in the multicriteria analysis. The right column reveals the contextual fields of the methodological process: owing to the multidisciplinary nature of the issues addressed, the valuation procedure relied to a large extent on the knowledge and skills of the panel of experts composed of the managers and consultants of the Council Planning office.
The approach adopted refers to the multicriteria analysis method known as the Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP).
The AHP consists of three fundamental phases. In the first, the valuation issue is structured in hierarchical form. For example, the aims are set at the highest level, the valuation criteria immediately below this and the alternatives are listed underneath. The second phase consists of comparative analysis of the elements making up the hierarchy. This is applied on pairs of elements compared with each single element in the higher level. The choice of scale, according to which the elements to be compared will be measured, is made at this stage. It is important to define the measurement scale in such a way as to reflect the heuristics of the experts expressing the comparative judgments, to prevent these from being negatively affected by a lack of harmony between the scale and the experts' valuation systems. Finally, in the third phase the judgments are summarized. The final result is thus no longer a set of undifferentiated elements but a set listed in order of their level of importance, each of which is attributed the appropriate weight.
In view of the ultimate aim of the application (individuation of the appropriate attribution of building rights to land plots) the above approach required first all that the characteristics of the land to be valued be defined, i.e. establishment of the valuation criteria. This first problem is interlinked with another aspect: the relative importance of the characteristics, i.e. the relative weights to be assigned to the valuation criteria.
The characteristics of the land were defined (valuation criteria) on the basis of the indications in the technical literature and the professional experience of the panel of experts. The relative importance of the characteristics (weights of the criteria) was defined by means of the 'pairs comparison' technique, applied by the panel of experts.
In the multicriteria approach, each criterion generically expresses one measurable aspect of the judgment characterizing a given dimension of the problem. When the criteria adopted are of qualitative type, as in this case study, the pairs comparison technique enables the subjective judgments of each expert to be transformed into real numbers. The criteria are compared in pairs and the expert's preference, expressed according to a given measurement scale, is inserted in a pairs comparison grid.
After discussion of the

indications in the technical literature and of the opinion expressed by the General Legal Council of the urban and legal characteristics of the specific local context of Catania to be considered, the panel of experts defined as relevant for the purposes of attribution of building rights the following characteristics:
- the location;
- the accessibility of the land and presence of public facilities;
- environmental-landscape constraints;
- the geomorphological features;
- the microclimate;
- the presence/absence of pollution.

The criteria were weighted after the pairs comparison grid had been filled in by each expert. The weights vector was built by processing the data with the "Expert Choice" software. The relative weights defined by each expert were then aggregated. The final result of the processing was then subjected to further verification by the panel in view of the experimental nature of the procedure and the innovative character of some of the criteria, such as those relative to noise pollution and the microclimate. The weights, totalling 100, were attributed as follows: location was assigned a weight of 35, accessibility of the land and the presence of public facilities 23, the geomorphological features 10, the presence of landscape-environmental constraints 14, the microclimate 10, the presence/
absence of noise pollution 8. It is well known that the relative weights attributed are an important part of the assessment, because they strongly affect the final result. If the priorities of the criteria are modified the ranking of the alternatives will also change (Fusco Girard, Nijkamp 1997; Lombardi 2001). Moreover, it is accepted in the literature that in multicriteria valuation processes the attribution of the weights is a decisional step with a strong political bearing. Therefore, in this specific case it was assumed that the judgment of the panel of experts was the expression, on the technical plane, of the political view of the Council administration, as regards the town planning field.

In parallel, the characteristics of the land plots in each 'resource sector' were verified from the standpoint of each of the six criteria. This phase of the valuation procedure relied on the direct information about the sites acquired during surveys, on the analytical territorial maps prepared during drafting of the Town Plan and on the knowledge possessed by the managers and consultants of the Planning Office. According to the status of the characteristic being examined, referred to the set of lands making up the sector, the 'resource sectors' were assigned to one of five quality classes. This classification was depicted in map form. The classes were attributed a score, applying a scale ranging from 0 to 1 with 0.25 intervals, where 0 was the worst status of the characteristic being examined and 1 the best.

The location was the first of the characteristics considered, defined as the position of the sector in the city fabric, with respect to the subdivision of the territory of Catania as follows: "consolidated city", "city to be completed or restored", "city to be built", "periurban rural city". The first two classes indicate different degrees of development of the built-up area. When setting up the scale for attributing the score, the classes of the plots belonging to the built-up area were ranked differently from those of the "city to be built" and the "periurban rural city", which could be transformed only if this was provided for by the new town planning dispositions.

Accessibility of the land took into account the main transport infrastructures leading to the plots in the sector, regardless of their position in the city fabric. Because the transport infrastructures condition access to urban facilities, this characteristic was assessed together with the local level of facilities (schools, public green spaces, etc.), within a radius of about 500 metres. Five levels of accessibility and facilities were established: excellent, good, sufficient, poor, very poor.

As to the morphological suitability for building, this was rated higher for flat territory with a good weight bearing capacity and other similar physical features, than for sloping, unstable lands with a poor weight bearing capacity. In the Catania Council area, strongly sloping land plots were accorded lower scores than those with a moderate incline or flat surfaces. Moreover, some of the areas have a clay base with deep groundwater. The geological risks posed by the Catanese territory were surveyed in a specific investigation set in motion by the Council, and the results were illustrated in the specific 'risks map' depicting the widening area at seismic risk, the areas in danger of landslide due to seismic activities, cyclical movements due to seismic activities and the areas at risk of landslip.

Analysis of the Council territory according to the geomorphological characteristics and geological risks led to classification of the sectors according to their suitability for building on the basis of the above aspects.

The presence of landscape environmental constraints was considered to negatively affect the building suitability of land; the importance of the limitation was ranked in relation to the level of the landscape-environmental constraint, assuming that absolute no-building constraints were not then imposed on the sectors considered. The microclimate expressed the differences in possible climatic conditions in the urban territory, between the plain and the rest of the city and, inside the city, between the hilly and coastal strips and the rest of the city. The zone near the airport (the least suited to building from this standpoint) was distinguished by the high level of noise pollution, and so to a lesser extent were the zones around the main road junctions and the railways, which were distinguished from the rest of the city.

On the basis of the classifications made according to the above criteria, the sectors in each class were attributed a score ranging from 0 to 1 with 0.25 intervals. Table on p. 118 summarizes the qualitative judgments deriving from the analyses and embodied in the relative scores.

The scores gride was linked with the weights grid obtained by pairs comparison of the criteria. This enables the sectors to be listed in order, by summing the product of the score for each characteristic, multiplied by the relative weight.

The mathematical model used, known in the literature as the 'compensatory aggregation method' or more simply as the weighted summation, is as follows:

$$v_i = e_{i1}w_1 + e_{i2}w_2 + \ldots + e_{ijw_j} = S_j e_{ijw_j}$$

where:
- vi is the final score of the i-th sector;
- ei1, ei2, …. eij are the partial scores, standardized as the centesimal values ranging from 0 (minimum suitability) to 1 (maximum suitability), obtained by the i-th sector for each valuation criterion (1, 2, … j);
- w1, w2, …. wJ are the weights assigned to the various criteria by the panel of experts (1, 2, … j).
Attribution of the equalization upper limits.
After the valuations had been made and the research concluded, the 'resource sectors' were assigned to different homogeneous classes and each class was attributed an equalization upper limit, i.e. a maximum quantity of building rights accorded in equal fashion to all owners of land in this sector belonging to the same class.
The upper limits proposed derived from the following criteria:
- the requirement that the upper limit must possess the character of a 'general rule', which means that it cannot be differentiated sector by sector, and sectors with homogeneous urban and legal characteristics must be accorded identical building rights;
- the experience gained in other cities with areas with similar characteristics to those of each resource sector. Investigation of the experience gained in other Italian cities provided useful indications for individuating the maximum (0.60 sq.m/sq.m) and minimum (0.02 sq.m/sq.m) values, as well as the values marking the transition from built-up land to new building land;
- the sustainable building load for the sectors in each class, taking into account also the overall requirement to fill the lack of collective facilities;
- the compatibility of the land values produced by the upper limit with those recognized by the real estate market.
The equalization upper limit is taken to refer to residential building. As in other reported experiences, in the case of different urban use the value is corrected by application of the appropriate conversion coefficients in order to re-establish equity of treatment of land owners treated differently in the Town Plan because their land will be devoted to different urban use. The upper limit attributed to the land, and hence to the property, does not include building rights for public buildings and public residential housing. These rights belong to the community and, in the context of establishment of the building sector, the owners will be required to cede the necessary areas to the Council free of cost.
Financial verification of the proposed upper limits. The equalization principle postulates that the desired transformation can be achieved thanks to the acceptance and contribution to the Master Plan of the holders of the building rights, i.e. the land owners. Consequently, the value of the land derived from the equalization upper limit must be compatible with the consolidated land values on the local real estate market. For this purpose, specific inquiries were made to qualified operators on the estate and building markets, and the prices of new residential buildings were verified in the urban contexts where the resource sectors were located, as well as the costs of setting up new settlements and the 'ordinary' profits made by the local enterprises. The value of the land was calculated by subtracting all building costs at the current market rate from the market value of the buildings, and was expressed as the percentage of the initial value.
The area value, obtained by multiplying the building index derived from application of the upper limit by the percentage land value calculated as above, was verified in various analyses made by the Planning Office.
Although the analyses were inevitably approximations, as are all summary estimations made in order to set up overall planning tools (Realfonzo 1994), positive results were obtained as regards achieving compatibility of the values deriving from the equalization upper limits with the consolidated prices on the land market in Catania.

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