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Collective spaces: shape and practices

Fausto Curti

The pages of *Urbanistica* 123 explore many dimensions of communal spaces in urban environments plotting the progress towards a more livable city. It might seem strange that in our opulent society design and care of domestic space enjoy so much social currency, while there is so little consciousness that the quality of the built environment and of civic spaces are a preeminent factor for the collective well-being as much as for the lasting value of those very same private spaces. And yet, the idea of the city as a public and indivisible good, which was one of the founding ideas behind modern town planning, has for some time now relinquished the field to the rhetoric of the *ville à la carte* for those clients who are able to pay. There is one obvious indicator of the public sector's retreat before the "minimal state" ideology and the restrictions on local finances, which is the asset stripping of public real estate merely to repay short term liabilities. The negligence in which State and Civic property in our cities find themselves seems to justify their dismissal. Nevertheless, just the conflicts which arise out of the need of the State Agency to cash in on public real estate and the local town planning regulations are a burden that may urge municipalities to redefine their own land policies, by discriminating the inalienable properties essential to the city's balanced growth from the properties that can be sold in order to obtain funds for selective re-investment in the municipal real estate portfolio.

In the present uncertain climate, civic property is a basic source of *stabilitas loci*, both for social safety and collective identity. So, the idea of networking the multiplicity of neighbourhood initiatives, carried out in the first part of the magazine, is a fascinating utopia put into effect for a fragmented urban society. However, the differing grassroots movements thriving in Milan, as in Florence, in Newcastle as in Trieste, may remain precarious experiments if they cannot metabolise resources from outside and influence the local institutions so as to enrich their ability to respond to new social emergencies. Just those needs of local welfare which are suffering from declining resources impose a radical renewal of the stereotypical administration of service delivery, above all reinventing their spatial system so as to host self-help activities, and private welfare services. In any case, a common requirement of the more mature and enduring experiences is the free availability of space for collective use that can be provided by the town council. The following contribution investigates metamorphoses and discontinuity in the overall structure of the city of Rome. If the slow stratification and mixing of the uses attributed to the historic city the "concave" and hospitable form of the urban fabric, then in the contemporary city is the juxtaposition of specialised functions separating the urban scene into a mass of convex and introverted figures. If the civic space in collage city is the remains of disjointed developments, first and foremost its production depends on the administration's ability to

negotiate a congruous provision of services and environmental amenities during the review process of major operations. With this in mind, research on the urban morphology can provide the interpretative setting in which the strategic projects can be evaluated, and improve the packaging of the call for bids, which drive the principal urban transformations. The system of project contests may not only animate competition among designers, but also among promoters, above all assuming that major urban projects will be implemented with the new negotiating tool of Development Agreements. This change to our traditional planning system requires that, together with the principle of horizontal subsidiarity, which sees the private act economically in the traditional public domain, actual competition will be reinforced in real estate development. For this purpose the reform of the national planning law, now under discussion, may help. The present comprehensive plan will be divided into two distinct tools, the Structural Plan setting a vision, and the Action Plan, setting public and private projects in the short run, and then allocating development rights and urban costs. From this perspective, in evaluating the possible alternative actions which could be taken, compatibility with the state of fact is no less important than conforming to the state of law. In this sense, the "survey of the city" is a useful means of understanding how town planning innovation matures by starting from the resources, opportunities and values of the context in which the action is taken. The service on Trieste documents the effective combination of flexible piloting instruments used in

the major operations and "light" plans" which regulate the small scale modifications to the consolidated city. The succession of contributions shows the roles played by the various instruments and the various actors, whose hierarchical order is not constituted in advance but adheres to specific conditions and local opportunities, which testifies to the fact that town planning is not (only) a general blueprint but a vital experimental discipline.

Introduction

Alessandro Balducci

"To construct contexts, scenarios, overall images of cities capable of producing appropriate settings for local action designed not to dictate behaviour but to direct attention (...) the expert planner promotes general discussion on the style of life, on the design of civilisation. He is committed to stimulating social imagination and to directing it towards the production of the city and the land" (Giusti 1995).

This section presents material and reflections on the emergence of initiatives in contemporary cities that pose interesting questions on the subject of the construction and production of public assets;

experiences implemented and sustained by social actors outside the sphere of public administrations.

The idea came from a research study conducted in Milan on changes in the forms of urban government through which we observed practices for the treatment of public problems by looking at society rather than at public administrations.

The material produced has already been presented in seminar discussions which, with the critical contribution of various academics, explored the more general possible implications of what we were gathering and looked at other interesting research studies conducted in other cities with similar perspectives. This helped to broaden our outlook to include other cases and interpretations.

This section consists therefore of eight brief contributions: the Milanese research is presented in the first in four essays by the group that produced it. In addition to this introduction, a map which gives our vision of Milan, containing a brief summary of the material by F. Cognetti, P. Cottino and G. Rabaiotti and a contribution from P. Fareri which sets the cases in the

context of thinking on the evolution of urban policies in Milan. There is then an article by G.C. Paba on the results of a research study in Florence, a commentary by G.F. Lanzara on organisational dimensions and changes in progress, and an article by P. Healey on the problem of integrating the stimuli that come from society in governance processes. Finally there is a critical commentary by M. Sernini who reminds us that when faced with apparently new phenomena we need to maintain a long term perspective of what the city has always been and of how it has tackled problems of government.

Urban policies in Milan: government or governance

In our research on Milan we examined some case studies, selected from a list of forty actions undertaken by self organised social actors in either the private or third sectors which consisted of initiatives in Milan which suggest forms of government outside the sphere of public institutions. The cases not only allow us to investigate a point of view that I believe is original, but the changes that have occurred in the treatment of urban problems also provide interesting indications on other subjects such as the very important issue of the evolution of how people aggregate as it relates to space or the new forms of participating in the construction of choices that concern the city.

The cases are very diverse: from the 'social centers' promoted in illegally occupied buildings by groups of young people that evolved over time towards the role of real cultural centres (Leoncavallo or Torchiera), to the environmentalist association that manages an innovative urban park that became a

very important resource for the city (Boscoincittà), to the charity institution that, starting from a very traditional assistance activity, decides to develop an interesting urban project that deals simultaneously with social, housing and cultural needs (Villaggio Barona), to the neighbourhood organisations that are developing an interesting new activity for supporting the many needs of the population of historical public housing estates (Comitato inquilini Molise-Calvaire-Ponti) and defending a neighbourhood identity that is threatened by gentrification processes (Cantieri Isola), finally to the associations developing projects for the re-use of abandoned public buildings attempting to create the social and cultural basis for a re-development project that cannot be conceived only as a physical project (Comunità Nuova, Olinda), etc.

All these cases seem to be as new forms of production of social capital that can be analysed in contrast with the impoverishment of social capital due to the weakening of traditional intermediate organisations. The general idea is that we need to go back to study the city and particularly the forms of social organisation of public activities because our old categories are not effective any more.

The research proposes therefore a discussion through empirical evidence about how planning is affected by the emergence of new forms of (private and fragmented) production of public goods.

It is already almost ten years that scholars from both sides of Atlantic have been discussing the type of transformation in the public action that is referred to as the transition from government to governance. In the situation of

fragmented cities, we refer to governance in two ways: as the simple withdrawal of government from complex social processes in favour of essentially delegated and basically private sector action, or in terms of the opportunities offered by the new situation for a profound change in the nature of government action. The latter necessarily also involves a withdrawal from direct action in many spheres, but at the same time seeks, in the changed and more complex context, to govern using new tools and means (Healey 1997). In Italy there is a rather clear neo-liberal right wing approach to local government that is addressed to the reduction of direct public intervention in general and to the sustaining of private action in the field of health, assistance, local economic development etc. But there is also a left-wing 'third way' approach that is directed to a substantial change in the character of public action. Focussed upon the implication of civil society, but also to a new form of governing the deployment of public action through the mobilisation of a wide number of public, private and third sector actors. Given this situation we have been concentrated upon the change in public administration, the relationship of this with planning, and we have in some way overlooked what is happening in urban societies independently from formal, institutional public action.

The research project I want to describe has tried to look at governance the other way round: from the bottom-up, observing the mobilisation of civil society in dealing with public problems that are neglected by formal public institutions.

Key issues

The following paragraphs

focus on some key issues that these bottom-up actions raise. There is a first key issue that is about how territorial aggregation in contemporary cities is changing. Milan used to be a city of strong neighbourhoods. Not only because some of them were ancient villages before 1923, but also because the radial structure and the culture of the city was strongly based upon the web of neighbourhoods, that have significant names (Bovisa, Barona, Corvetto, Greco, Baggio, Rogoredo, Garibaldi, etc.), many socialisation agencies have a form of organization that is based upon a neighbourhood structure: the parish churches, but also school districts, political parties that used to have branches distributed locally; the local articulation of social services, and, of course, an aggregation of neighbourhoods used to be the basis for local government decentralisation. During the last fifteen years we have witnessed a complex process of weakening of neighbourhood significance. In the first place there has been a weakening of some traditional socialisation agencies like parish churches that used to be an important core of local life; secondly there has been the crisis of political parties (starting from the beginning of the nineties) that has immediately led to the crisis or disappearance of their territorial organisation, particularly important for the three major political forces (Christian Democrats, Communist and Socialist party). Furthermore there has been a strong vague of rationalisation and hierarchisation and concentration of all the local services, from schools to services for health and

public assistance, until the local government decentralisation that moved from 20 to 9 great sub-municipal councils. While the real impact in terms of cut to the expenses and rationalisation has been modest the sense of impoverishing the meaning of neighbourhoods has been very relevant. What emerges from many surveys is that trust and significance of local relationships is diminishing dramatically and this is very important for the development of a sense of insecurity. It is ironic that after having taken away all the territorial structure of public services there has been a reintroduction of the concept of neighbourhood for the deployment of a municipal police and in general of security forces structure. The introduction of neighbourhood municipal policeman and of neighbourhood policeman are respectively the more advertised policies of local and national government. Our case studies show a different way of aggregation with a more complex linkage with space. It is quite interesting that the totality of the associations that we have studied are localised, not local. While all the initiatives take place somewhere having as a significant problem the establishment of effective relationships with the local milieu, they are never local institutions in a strict sense. This is true for Comunità Nuova that manages the Barrio's Social Center together with a private foundation not based in the Barona district where the social center is located. The Cassoni Foundation, after a long tradition of activities managed in all the metropolitan area, with the Villaggio Barona decides to root itself in a specific place, selling all the properties to invest in the new Village

and to be identified with one specific local initiative. The Social Centers promoted by young representatives of what is called the antagonist juvenile left just casually arrive in one part of the city or another. Even the Cantieri Isola association is organised by activists coming from outside the neighbourhood that is the theatre and the objective of their activity. The Tenants association Molise-Calvairate is promoted by a leader that used to be a tenant but she is not any more and is formed by volunteers coming from many different parts of Milan. What all this means? In some way we can consider that there is a movement toward a specific place that is significant for institutions and for single participants. Voluntary associations need to link their action to a specific place. Italia Nostra to Boscoincittà (for which now is more known in the city than for its institutional activity), Comunità Nuova to Barrio's, Cassoni Foundation to The Barona Village etc. But also activists and volunteers of all these initiatives coming generally from outside try to link themselves to a particular place. They are a particular type of 'city users' (Martinotti 1993): social actors looking for a place where to root actions that keep relevant non local dimensions. In a city that is highly fragmented and in which the traditional organic forms of socialisation linked to space and places are in a deep crisis we see the raising of new forms of territorial aggregation that are not a manifestation of the emergence of the "community without propinquity" prophesied by Melvin Webber, but rather a need to give to oneself an identity the means for which is again a specific place. Propinquity is not the

engine of community any more but the identification of oneself with a community remains an objective of many activities of individuals and associations. In this movement space plays again an important role even if very different from the past. It is important to reflect upon what all this means in terms of social organisation of cities in its relationship with space. A second key issue is that of the relationship between these experiences and the formal public institutions. Analysing the case studies we have verified that relations are reduced to a minimum when they are not of open conflict. This could be in some way a peculiarity of the municipality of Milan after ten years of right wing government. But there might be something more. There are few situations in which there is cooperation and reciprocal recognition between formal public institutions and new subjects that are active in the public sphere. While these actors are relevant subjects of the territorial governance in many sectors of public policies, formal policies tend to develop their action systems ignoring these experiences. As we have seen in many cases there is the development of appropriate ways of dealing with problems and opportunities that emerge from society, through incremental complex paths of probing means and strategies (Lindblom 1990), while formal policies reconstruct their world dealing in a very simplified way with the categorized problems of elders, youth, mental ill, immigrants, etc. From this point of view it is important to notice that in principle the change from a government to a

governance approach to urban policies does not imply per se any shift in the paradigms of administrative action. There has been a long discussion in the past about the reduction operated by the public administration in approaching social problems. Antonio Tosi (1994) has called this an Administrative Theory of Needs that leads public administrations not only to see only problems for which there are ready solutions in the experimented routines of treatment, but also to consider mainly those solutions that tend to be identified with an object, usually a physical object: the need of children are kindergarten and schools, of adults are health services and hospitals, of elders are homes for the aged, etc. This reductive approach could be even emphasized from the first of the two approaches to governance I have been describing above: in order to decentralise, to cease the direct relationship with the final customer of the service to private agencies you may need an even stronger standardisation. This is the reason why, in our case studies we have seen that the public administration try to build a social center for young people after having cleared away the one borne spontaneously; try to build a public space after having cleared away the public activities that were already there; open a new service of so called 'social porters' in the great public housing estates after having expelled the Tenants Committee that is doing just that kind of accompanying social work. Here we see the true issue of governance as social capacity building. The capacity to guide a system that is growing in complexity and that requires a multiplicity of actors to deal

with a multiplicity of problems. These actors might (perhaps) be protagonists not only of their brilliant initiatives, but also of new processes of urban governance. In Milan what we are seeing so far is mainly the retreat rather than a re-definition of institutional public action. This is the reason why the initiatives that we have studied seem to be projected toward an independent or conflicting relationship rather than towards integration and cooperation. Nonetheless there are some interesting signs of possible cooperation in the Villaggio Barona, Boscoincittà, Barrio's that for the moment start just from a relationship of authorisation or concession of a space but that could evolve positively with wider implication for the redefinition of the paradigms of public action. A final key issue that I want to rise is about the redefinition of the scope of spatial planning in the context of these experiences. The case studies that we have examined are interesting laboratories for the redefinition of the public sphere in a metropolis that is more and more fragmented. They are not just urban protest movement, nor the isolated activities of voluntary associations that give a structure to the "shifting involvements" from "private interests to public action" (Hirschman 1982). They rather seem uncertain signs of the redefinition of the public sphere in a situation of diversification, and accelerated pace, of change in the city. It is interesting that these experiences do not call in any sense for a re-discovery of an ancient sense of organic community. They rather build new "traces of community" (Bagnasco 1999) in a

different situation in which old and new forms of territorial aggregation tend to mix up. In this sense these are extremely re-levant resource for social and territorial cohesion in a city that risks to become just a patchwork of enclaves, micro-societies, individuals (Sandercock 2000). If this is true, we need to go beyond the simple observation of their existence. From this point of view planning and spatial planning in particular can play a significant role in two main directions and with two main tasks. A first task is to give a local frame-work to these activities. All of them need to build a local project out of a specific initiative: from the association Olinda that tries to re-use the mental hospital, to the Tenants Committee of the Public Housing Estate, to the Cantieri Isola association, to the Cassoni Foundation. For their same effectiveness they need to put their project in a local meaningful map. They have been developing deep knowledge and development capacity inside their initiative but the point now seems to transform this capacity in energy that can go at the local level beyond the boundaries of their initiative. And since the localised spatial dimension of these project is such a significant constitutive element a construction of a local project as a network of local places and initiatives can become a crucial point for their evolution. A second task, related to this, is to help these experiences to build a transversal network at the city-wide level. They are quite active in the vertical, integration of each specific experience: Italia Nostra with the environmentalist movement network, Cassoni Foundation with the catholic

charity organisations, Leoncavallo and Torchiera with the network of the antagonists social centers, the Tenants Committee with the organisation of public housing tenants associations, but all these are vertical networks that do not interact among each other for the completely different culture and kind of organisation. Planning and planners that are already active in many of these experiences can help the construction of a network of experiences, places and local projects that can become an important web across the city. They need to put their project in a meaningful map at the city-wide level that is also a way of reconstructing a new type of spatial cohesion after the weakening or disappearance of the organic spatial linkages.

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Milan. Another city

Francesca Cognetti, Paolo Cottino, Gabriele Rabaiotti

The question behind our interpretation of the city of Milan is associated with the role played by social actions which are not part of government practices in the process of producing the city and dealing with its problems.

This partial journey through Milan, this look at it, guided by the places, experiences and voices of what we have met, brings out an opaque layer of the city, that stratum that does not conform to the standard logic of urban consumerism and of accelerating change but which gives life to a plurality of life styles, projects and actions.

There is still a gap between these initiatives and the institutional city and the model that its action tends to create: it is a cross between the two different types that can be seen, the trajectories of a larger, more permeable and more thoughtful city.

De facto public policies

The initiatives succeed with their action in designing new structures, even without intending to. They contribute to a redefinition of the traits: they are *de facto* processes which introduce and/or support new relations in the community (and therefore make a mark on the geography of 'local' relations); they are initiatives which seem to be associated with a potential for innovation and effectiveness in dealing with public problems.

Geographies of 'local' relations

The geography of collective relations is defined by single initiatives rather than being a given starting point that directs its content. If the outline of the

relationships is used as one of the ways or reordering the materials produced by the different experiences mapped as examples, two types of 'ties' can be considered:

- one first network may be interpreted as supporting a process of cultural identification. This network consists of the system of connections that holds together the experiences promoted and animated mainly by young people and is constructed starting from pre-existing interpersonal relationships between those who animate the different projects. Leoncavallo, Metropolix, the self managed Torchiera farm, Cantieri Isola and the Ciclofficina are part of an urban mechanism for diffusing information and tell a story of different ways in which young people can be active collectively in the city. This network is not interested so much in constituting a sort of unified urban movement as in rewarding specificities and in creating the character of its different parts. The construction of a tie between initiatives allows each of them to be recognised and to recognise each other. There is a glimpse of a micro-culture at work;

- a second network introduces the subject of local reconstruction. Through that initiatives act as local catalysts and trigger for processes that (re)define communities (a square, a block, an area, a neighbourhood). What makes them interesting is the type of challenge that they propose and sustain. They are networks that construct a position, an issue, a 'social argument': the Molise-Calvaire-Ponti tenants committees, the Villaggio Barona and the Parco Trotter are projects and processes that have constructed their own local context, from the starting

point of being present in a determined place.

Geography of policies

The potential for innovation is often associated with alternatives and often with completely new ways of acting that are brought into play to tackle public problems and collective questions.

Many of these interventions were started as protest actions, accusations and demands. The battles for the right to housing conducted by the Molise Calvaire tenants committee or the ecological battles of Italia Nostra and the Diciannoverde were expressions that voiced feelings of protest as compared to traditional forms of public (non) intervention. The local context was a pretext for manifesting discontent and a more general dissent, to then raise the conflict to higher level.

With time the action of pointing out the failings and limitations of the institutions fuelled a desire to undertake demonstrative action directly in the field.

The activists started to weigh up the idea of translating the initial feelings and orientations into projects.

More recent actions have been moving in this direction.

These forms of civic, social and community commitment are now showing an interest in dealing directly with some of the problems that affect the city. It is the result of very strong, almost obsessive, motivation not so much to achieve specific long term goals as to open up ways of dealing with questions that appear irresolvable. What seems to be a lack of strategy and rationality is in fact the key to the construction of the first answers.

The capacity expressed by many self-organised experiences to act

appropriately and effectively in the identification and treatment of new needs as well as old problems should not be overlooked when rethinking public action in the government of cities. Is there any exchange of ideas and any overlap in the field of action of social practices and the area of educational policies? And if so, on what subjects and in which directions?

From an operational viewpoint, a few processes that act from the 'bottom up' have found space for interaction, although not without difficulty, starting from openings and opportunities connected with 'top down' instruments. It is the case of the Molise-Calvaire-Ponti Committee which from a situation of open conflict with the institutions has found itself in recent years as one of the main actors in planning changes to the neighbourhood promoted by the public administration.

This occurred firstly with the project Città Sane (healthy cities) and now with the neighbourhood contract. From the viewpoint of partnership instruments, a series of experiences have found the language and means of inserting themselves into the institutional circuits that address difficult problems and have become one of the internal parts of the public planning and administration/implementation process. At times the relationship with these experiences tends to produce changes in the procedures that govern relations between the institutions and local actors. This is the case of the group Italia Nostra which saw its mandate to manage the Boscoincittà (woods in the city) project at the nearby Cave park extended, or of the Villaggio Barona where the broadening of functions compatible with standards was introduced

for the first time to include social housing through the permanent change of the area to public use. From the viewpoint of local learning, it was found that the organising groups had gradually acquired the capacity to use participatory spaces and instruments usually reserved for the use of very selected groups and highly structured interests. The Cantieri Isola association for example participated, in the group directed by Giancarlo De Carlo, in the international competition for the Porta Volta public gardens. It intervened in the urban design of the Garibaldi-Repubblica area, the source of conflict between the association and the Municipality of Milan. Here again there is the use that many of these actors have made of 'community finance' provided by the Cariplo Foundation. These groups conduct dialogue with the municipal administration in different ways and some of them remain in open conflict. It occurs for different reasons. There are the 'radical' experiences that have no intention of retreating in their demonstration that the city can be interpreted and inhabited differently. These forms of resistance are explained more by the history of relations and politics that have set local groups against the public administration rather than in ideological differences. They lead more often than not to tension and in any case damage the chances of coming to even the slightest agreement. One example is the self managed Torchiera farm where the municipality has refused to show any interest in the 'collective' plan to refurbish and preserve the building, just as it ignored the application to connect the old farmhouse to the water mains. Generally speaking we can

make an initial assessment which sees an attitude to make demands and put forward proposals that do not merely make demands but are the beginning of a new way of relating to institutional actors; which brings innovation and rethinking. Listening and taking experimentation from the bottom up as material for defining a different frame of intervention and a different manner of public action does not represent a secondary, less powerful strategy. It points to a possible way of working, a way for public institutions to interpret their role in a plural and complex context. If the city is constructed in the fluctuating space between public sector intervention and the social action of individuals and groups, it is perhaps worthwhile opening up avenues of research and work that move more convincingly in this direction. Approaching this city is probably one of the first steps.

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If we look at the capacity Milan has shown to generate urban innovation we notice rather surprisingly that it has a corresponding capacity to translate plans and aspirations into reality. If we reread the history of the city over the last few decades some of the main phases of this can be identified.

The first is that of the reconstruction after the war, which was in reality the construction of a new city. The years of Milan as the 'economic and moral capital' of Italy were characterised by exceptional performance in implementation and by a constant search for innovation. Various factors helped to make this capacity possible. The decision making network was already sufficiently complex, but squeezed horizontally on an urban scale. The actors that took part in the planning and implementation of projects were not few, but at a very local level they were still lacking, and the municipality operated practically independently of higher levels of government. In this context the experts played a key role both in the design of innovations and in the construction of coalitions. A long period of crisis then opened up. In the seventies the issue of governing change was interpreted above all in terms of integrating decision making networks on a metropolitan scale following the shift of growth beyond the borders of the central city. In the eighties, de-industrialisation processes shifted the centre of attention back to Milan. They were the years of a change to a philosophy of 'planning for projects', which produced a large quantity of proposals which ran into

irresolvable conflicts. Different hypotheses can be advanced for the causes of this crisis. It can be said that Milan failed to reproduce the capacity to generate innovation when the complexity of the decision making processes increased, above all in a vertical direction. It was then that the experts could no longer be given a central role in the generation of innovation and support of its legitimation. After this long interlude, a new scenario seems to have opened up in recent years. This scenario is contradictory in certain ways, the outcome of two styles of governing change, that are essentially different, coming together. One is the style that is gaining ground in the institutional arena and which selectively involves clearly identifiable economic and political actors. It is a style that is re-acquiring decision making capacity while keeping a low profile on the level of innovation and urban quality. It exploits the availability of some new resources. One of these that is certainly significant is the electoral reform which with the change to the direct election of the Mayor and a majority system has made it possible to make decisions, overcoming local conflicts in a way that is completely new on the Italian scene. The large construction sites that have sprung up in the city are the result. The other style is one that develops in arenas consisting mainly of local actors and which is gaining a capacity to act starting with the search for new forms of effectiveness. This is the space in which Milan seems to have been retrieving its capacity to innovate in recent years. It is above all innovation that starts from the process to then reach the product. It is a way of interpreting the planning process that is changing. There is no

philosophy of the expert who promotes it playing a central role. They are methods which recognise complexity as a resource. They are methods that question the sequence of analysis, planning, decision and implementation, at times interpreting the action of change as triggering the plan, at others rejecting the need for 'a plan' as a reference framework and at times using a plan as an analytical instrument. They are methods that overcome deterministic attitudes towards the 'local' by working on their construction.

Changes in social demand and the role of the expert

The relationship between social demand and the role of the expert has changed considerably over the last few decades, following what we might define as the four main cycles of social participation in the processes and policies of urban change.

The first cycle is that of 'social conflict' and can be considered to have occurred in the nineteen seventies in Italy. Forms of grass roots participation occurred when the political movements which previously had existed in factories came out into the city. They had clear ideological traits, with a basically uniform social composition. They redefined the proletariat on an urban foundation and played on conflict with the institutions to demand alternative ways of producing the city. They therefore expressed a demand 'to do', asking the institutions to provide an appropriate response and they counted on clearly identifiable leaders in the political arena. These were the years when the experts were obliged to leave the field and those that moved towards the political movements defined a new

figure that of the advocacy planner.

The second cycle of participation was that of the NIMBY (not in my back yard) syndrome. They were urban movements that grew up in the eighties as a reaction to the drawing up of large projects for urban change. Hardly ideological, these movements were completely independent of the projects that gave rise to them; they were born and died together with the threat. They were explicitly 'territorially based' and their composition runs horizontally across the local society in question. They rejected all planning philosophies. Their demand was an unequivocal 'don't do it'. Their action was very effective and the results were immediately visible. This was the period in which the continuous proposition of major projects was supposed to re-launch Milan in Europe and its decision making performance was close to zero. In this third phase, scientific knowledge and the experts tended to be used instrumentally, both by the movements and by the proposers of projects. The third cycle of participation started at least partly as a countermeasure, as an attempt by institutional actors to tackle the problems of decision making and effectiveness generated by the previous process. The involvement of residents became a necessary condition for internalising objectives and knowledge of actors (who had been taken for 'weak' and today are recognised as 'strong') in the policy, to generate better and at the same time 'shared' planning with the emphasis on consensus as an important condition for increasing the capacity to decide. This at the same time places new demands on the expert. It redefines the expert's role and starts a

process of constructing new professional figures, the facilitators. The innovative forms that we have rediscovered and that are presented in this section seem to be characterised by another fourth cycle.

We are returning to ideologically characterised bottom up mobilisation, but with an idea of 'politicisation' that is completely different from that of the seventies. Like then, these forms of mobilisation can be strongly in favour of planning, but they do not ask others to provide an answer, they do it themselves. And while they do it they point out the failure of institutions to act and at times act as antagonists. They do not refuse to contribute with technical expertise, but rather they know how to make experience, expertise and relations interact. They express demands from the expert which the figures of advocate and facilitator are unable to satisfy. Further redefinition of their roles is therefore required. A temporary definition of this new figure, which remains to be constructed both in terms of functions and skills, is that of 'policy activist' in which policy is seen as separate from politics and activists mark a profound difference with respect to mediators.

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Insurgent City. Topography of another Florence

Giancarlo Paba

James Holston coined the term "spaces of insurgent citizenship" for spaces subtracted from the modern and planned domain of a city: "the realm of the homeless, networks of migration, neighborhoods of the Queer Nation, constructed peripheries ..., ganglands, fortified condominiums, employee owned factories, squatter settlements, suburban migrant labor camps, sweatshops, and the zones of the so-called new racism". Holston considers spaces to be insurgent if they "disturb consolidated histories" of a contemporary city according to a meaning of the term that is perhaps too vast (and contradictory, including both places of conflict and creating opposition and places of new exploitation and degeneration). Leonie Sandercock calls "insurgent planning practices" and resistance/transformation initiatives which are opposed to the existing city and which at the same time positively construct the first tissues of an alternative city. Friedmann connects these initiatives with the dynamics of expanding citizenships and with the progressive broadening of democratic spaces. The new citizenships create a plural and creative context, a true and genuine multiple/city, in which forms of concrete achievable utopia become feasible in the direction of a fuller blossoming of human beings. Although it is worth taking these recent contributions into account, the term 'insurgent' rings bells for me that go back farther in time and are even more interesting connected with the thought of Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford to which we refer. A sort of

"insurgent urbanism" can perhaps be founded on the work of Geddes as an idea of transforming a city capable of putting "the forward movement of life" into motion, "its insurgence and its expectancy". Mumford wrote that insurgence was in fact the "ability to overcome, by power or cunning, by design or dream, the forces that threaten an organism". Insurgent individual and collective practices are therefore a biological and existential fact and only secondarily political: an elementary manifestation of the right to life and to the city for its poorest and most deprived inhabitants. The very movements of bodies in a city, of organisms that want to survive and hope for the future are insurgent. The molecular movements, the trajectories of bodies in the public scene of a city in search of chances of life and of happiness and the associated movements, the interactions between bodies, reciprocal help, the altruism of friendship and working together, organised networks of resistance and action such as new communities taking root in spaces, in the process of construction or the transformation of places and settlements and in the bottom up production of public policies are all insurgent. Today, the life practices of new citizens, the small anthropologies of daily life, the histories and micro-histories of individuals and groups, personal or collective experiences, even the manner of consuming and doing must be located at the centre of research. The insurgent city is not therefore subversive nor revolutionary. It is, however, a field of forces, tensions, desires, conflicts and projects. It is a set of actions of complete or partial transformation, of little utopias that are created

or of simple survival actions, of manifestations of resistance and struggle, of individual or collective conquests and of diffuse micro-powers. It is "unpolitical practices", often bad and bastard and perhaps that is why they are the only effective policies. To use the Geddes metaphor again, we sought to reconstruct the branches of the web of life in our research, the new citizenships expanding in the districts of Florence. The subject matter of our portrait was to be precisely that seething world of the insurgent city: a city of liberated subjectivity, of citizenships in expansion and movement, a fluid and dynamic field inhabited by a plethora of actors and initiatives. The materials to be portrayed did not therefore consist of objects but of a web of human relations, of new relations between actors and of their difficult and controversial relationship with the morphological and organisational structure of the city. We therefore thought of a polymorphous, de-centralised, plural atlas which attempts to portray "the space between the points of view" of the emerging city, its full extension and complication, an atlas of voices and relations, routes and testimonies. The universe of emerging subjectivity is not yet capable of producing an organic and structured change to the city. The insurgent movements give rise to pinpoint modifications, to micro-transformations and sometimes only deposit symptoms of presence. They leave traces of passage. We sort to detect those phenomena which, to use an expression of Bourdieu, can be called the "place effects" of new collective actions. We took account of the many ways

of making a mark on physical and social space in an attempt to record that very vast field of the effects of new social practices: changes of use and function, processes of resignifying buildings and public spaces, the re-creation of collective places, the 'coloration' of urban space (writing, changing the decor, the sounds and signs of social life, markets and fleeting presences), the reconfiguration of urban time (different organisation of the night of the city's rhythms, etc.), projects participated in, the alternative occupations of the ether and intangible space, occupation and the self produced change in the character of properties and urban spaces and in some cases the creation of true and genuine social construction sites of transformation (the Isolotto yesterday, the Piagge today), capable of leaving a more substantial mark on the organisation of the city. Perhaps the most accurate definition, that summarises the effects of place on new citizenships, is that which defines urban space as "contested space", public places, squares, zones and abandoned buildings and outdoor areas in general, parks, public gardens, marginal and connecting areas, abandoned areas and buildings. They are places contested between different options for use, trajectories of life and different expectations and city projects: Homi Bhabha called them "third space", interstitial, in between, in which differences are evident, life is negotiated and existence is bargained over and played for. No ordered classification is possible with some sort of hierarchy of actions and movements. There is no uniform logic and top down planning in the 'other' city. It would be wrong to place planning or rebellious

actions in an ascending line of importance. Many small actions that are repeated can leave a greater mark on urban space than one large organised initiative. In reality, one important trait of the world we explored was precisely the mixture of significant things and their unpredictable emergence in different places in the city, in a simple individual biography, or in the politically managed experience of a squat, or the participated transformation of a property or neighbourhood. The threatening outline of a city hostile to these emerging citizenships can be glimpsed in all parts of the urban explorations portrayed. We called it the "gated city": prohibited city, city under surveillance, the city that rejects and closes itself, in an attempt to bridle and contain these alternative urban energies: a paranoid and "securitised" vision of urban life which contrasts with the deeper substance of the idea of city itself.

Defensive communities or laboratories for social innovation?

Giovan Francesco Lanzara

The research materials presented in the Milan workshop point to the existence of fragile forms of self-organised, collective action with variable goals, nevertheless always oriented towards the construction, recovery or safeguard of a collective asset or resource. The ongoing processes that can be observed are very ambiguous. Individual agents engage in transactions, become associates and start to operate. They constitute themselves as temporary identities or rather as 'hypotheses' of new identities, but the profiles of the identities and the forms of action are as yet unclear. Indeed, the first question concerns the identity of the agents: who are they and how can we 'call them'? As observers we certainly recognise intentions in the organised activity of the actors, but we cannot say with precision what they are and what they want. We can see a large number of highly localised agencies spread throughout the community. They are cultural, social and economic agencies. Some of them are antagonistic towards the institutions and to the city authorities. Some are even born in illegal forms. But others do in fact seek to and succeed in developing co-operative transactions with official institutions, from which they expect to receive a reliable supply of material but also symbolic resources. Others are simply 'a-institutional', unaffected by the institutional situation. Seen as a whole, this landscape is very varied: the new entities pose different questions, have different interests and above all

express different values. What strikes is the extremely strong motivation to acquire an identity as revealed by the statements of the protagonists. This suggests that the motivation behind action and commitment may arise from a need even though temporary to escape from a previous condition of rootlessness and emargination or in any case of substantial poverty. Within these enclosures the city is sort of reconstructed from the inside, with the pieces available from the surrounding city. Consequently what starts from a deficit of meaning and organisation, if not of suffering and emargination, can suggest examples for others to follow. What is innovative in these forms of action? The phenomenon is intrinsically ambivalent. On the one hand we see emergent microstructures that manage to survive locally and could constitute the germs of new forms of social organisation (Weick 1993). They could be the expression of a design potential, available but not exploited in individuals, that is activated by a push to social innovation. On the other hand the research done brings to attention only extremely circumscribed initiatives, very limited practices, intrinsically unstable identities that are still being formed, while the city in which they live remain in the background. The phenomena that we observe in this scenario could therefore be interpreted as symptoms of the falling apart of the city's social fabric, as a loss of urban form. The city breaks into small local communities, into micro-agencies that do not necessarily make a healthy whole. Agencies remain ephemeral and isolated, hardly able to communicate with one other. A patchwork

of pieces, one next to the other, is all that remains of the original fabric of the city. Problems arise in comparing local worlds, in communicating experiences and translating values. The picture of a patchwork-city where a-centric tendencies prevail is certainly interesting. However it also raises some questions. Channels of communication, local knowledge and idiosyncratic jargons take on critical importance in a loosely integrated assembly of local worlds that are not ordered by uniform and unifying principles (an archipelago?). Will micro worlds be able to understand one other? Can they recognise and accept each other? In the absence of criteria of relevance that order and co-ordinate all these micro-worlds, they and their values must all be considered as potentially different but in principle all equally acceptable, and therefore all intrinsically valid and worth within the urban melting pot. These micro worlds retain their own rules (at times true and genuine micro-constitutions) and odd languages and interactive rituals. Those who live in them gain a specific identity in that world and those simply 'visiting' them must learn the rules, exactly like Alice in Wonderland when she is projected into contexts with different rules and idiosyncrasies that leave her surprised and displaced. The effect is a sort of continuous cognitive *déplacement*, a sort of virtualisation of reality and of urban life (Lanzara 1993). It is not difficult to imagine that the institutions and organisations responsible for governing the cities, which are already experiencing a general 'governance' crisis, find it difficult to respond to the pressure of the new urban actors in their search for recognition, identity and

legitimacy. The mixed luck of social centres indicate that many management and communication problems arise not just from the unpredictability of the new social actors, but also from the institutions' cognitive inadequacy, which curbs their capability of making sense of the 'strange' new actors. The encounter between government and micro-agencies can be characterised by either cooperation or conflict, but it is always a delicate question. The opening of a communication channel is un-doubtedly necessary, but the urgency to normalize and control the new agencies, even when recognition and legitimation is granted, can turn into a suffocating embrace. Curiously enough, annihilation of these forms of action sometimes happens as a consequence of recognition and normalization. Whatever we might want to frame the phenomenon, we are in the presence of private, individualistic initiatives that do not conform to the traditional frame of public action. Yet they produce public goods, for example making a public park useable again after a long period of blight. The agencies observed fall half way between the private and the domain. It is difficult to tell, as things stand, whether they constitute forms of social learning, whether they have the potential to evolve and whether they are a prelude to more stable and permanent social organisations. It is also difficult to say whether they are producing new knowledge and whether this knowledge is being diffused in a broader urban context. Like all emerging phenomena, they conserve an enigmatic aura. However, since they make themselves visible, they invite investigation and

interpretation. In general terms we can say that these practices are responses to the growing individual and collective perception of social uncertainty. For many of the actors involved these agencies represent a place to stop and recognise themselves, a home in which to find some shelter and protect themselves, an activity that helps to produce meaning. All societies are faced with endemic uncertainty, but the responses to uncertainty may differ depending on the cognitive, moral and economic resources available to a society and on their social distribution. Social organisations are not always able to respond by taking the challenge of impending problems. They can only accept the challenge if their collective cognitive capabilities are large enough to meet the difficulty of the problems. When the gap between capabilities and complexity cannot reasonably be filled to deal with the problems, then the prevailing responses may be oriented towards formulating and learning rules of conduct which selectively exclude the chances of certain events occurring. By limiting the range of possible behaviours some reliability is assured (Heiner 1983). The response is therefore one of closure self-exclusion from experiences that are too risky to be allowed. Defensive communities emerge as a shelter or a refuge against the brutality of the outside world. However, it does not necessarily be always like that: civilising and entrepreneurial communities that are able to 'inseminate' the outside world with their values and practices also exist. There are also laboratory-like communities that experiment and carry on new practices and forms of association which it would be impossible to

develop in environments that are too uncertain and risky.

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The institutionalisation of collective actor capacity

Patsy Healey*

Over the past twenty years, there has been an explosion of case studies of governance processes examining policy formation, policy change and policy 'implementation'. Initially, the focus of the stories of these cases was on themes such as the inadequacy of the formalised rational planning model to account for the processes described, or the power of particular groups to define what had been assumed to be the 'public interest' which government agencies should pursue. More recently, drawing on policy discourse analysis, there has been a stronger emphasis on how policy change is brought about. A primary inspiration for sociological institutionalists has been the work of Maarten Hajer (1995) who described the processes of "discourse structuration" and its subsequent "institutionalisation". Following these ways of analysing governance processes, urban 'governance transformation' could be identified where a new discursive frame appears and diffuses to a range of arenas with sufficient effect to shift significantly the way resources are allocated and regulatory tools formulated and used. In a recent study on the power of ideas and practices generated in a partnership to diffuse more widely into established urban governance practices, colleagues and I found significant barriers to such diffusion (Healey *et al.* 2003). Our idea is that transformative initiatives which succeed in 'institutionalisation' need to have the capacity to 'travel' not just from one arena to another, but from one level of consciousness to

another. By this, I mean a translation from the level of conscious actor invention and mobilisation to that of routinisation as accepted practices, and beyond that to broadly accepted cultural norms and values.

To analyse this, we turned to a concept of "levels of power", first articulated by Lukes in 1974, and re-worked later by Giddens (1984) and Dyrberg (1997). At the level of specific episodes of experience, those actively involved may develop what they believe are new and relevant conceptions of issues, objectives and appropriate processes which guide their own practices. But it is hard to get these new conceptions and their implications to 'travel' to other arenas just through individual learning experiences. This is not just because there are other actors in other arenas seeking to resist such initiatives or to promote their own learning experiences. New concepts have to challenge and shift an array of already routinised governance processes, with their complex mixture of conscious and taken-for-granted modes of practice. New concepts have to 'jump' boundaries and 'break through' resistances, involving implicit and explicit struggles. For initiatives seeking to create a new concept and arena for territorially-focused collective action, this may involve a complexity of relations between different departments of local government, between administrators/officials and politicians, between politicians officials and citizens, between the state and all kinds of power elites and lobby groups, each with their own relation to allocative power, regulatory power and their own discursive frames. Sustaining and legitimising both governance processes

and specific episodes of governance are cultural assumptions about appropriate agendas and practices of governance held by different social groups in society generally. It is through these assumptions, as recognised by actors themselves and the 'media chorus' of critical commentary on their performance, and as evaluated in the formal procedures for challenging governance actions, that those involved in governance are held to account and their legitimacy judged. Shifts at this cultural level, promoted by longterm shifts in economic, socio-cultural and political relations, influence both those involved in particular episodes of governance and those involved in routine governance practices. These 'prepare the ground' for new ideas and discursive frames. These levels are not separate realities but mutually constitute moments of governance activity and the everyday life experience of 'doing government work'. The reasons for an analytical separation is that the levels move according to different temporalities and respond to different driving forces. The pressure for transformation may come from any of the levels. Episodes of innovation may create pressures to change governance processes more generally, but there may also be mobilisation efforts to initiate such changes elsewhere in governance systems. Shifts in cultural assumptions may put pressure for change on governance processes but provide resources for episodes of innovation. This conception of different experiential levels of governance firstly emphasises the complexity, the multiplicity of interacting and often counteracting movements promoting and

resisting change, the multiple timescales and the likely instability of urban governance transformation processes. Secondly, it stresses that significant transformation would have to affect the level of governance process at the least. To achieve this, initiatives would have to move from the level of an episode to the level of processes, and in some way find resonances with cultural assumptions to have any capacity to be seen as legitimate and to endure, that is, to 'institutionalise'.

Governance transformations: an analytical lens

Linking this conception of levels of governance with a Giddensian approach on relation between structure and agency proposes that episodes of governance are shaped by rules, resources and framing ideas, but they may also be creative of them, implicitly by interpretive work or explicitly by direct challenge. Rules, resources and framing ideas may be vigorously sustained by mobilising work at the level of governance processes. But these processes may also be open to pressures from broader cultural shifts and from the learning and mobilising taking place in specific episodes. At the level of cultural assumptions, the authority of rules, the justice of resource allocations and the validity of framing discourses is under challenge and reformulation, re-moulding the principles of legitimacy and accountability through which governance processes and episodes are judged. In this complex institutional terrain, building a new territorial arena of governance or a new mode of politics is likely to involve very challenging efforts in mobilisation, in discourse

formation and diffusion, and in aligning old practices with new discourses.

More generally, this work on institutional capacity-building emphasises that urban governance transformation which leads to the institutionalisation of a new territorial collective actor with significant authoritative and generative power needs to mobilise and build knowledge resources and relational resources (social networks) which not only help to consolidate power and legitimacy around the new arena but have the capacity to carry the new ideas, understandings and recognitions of opportunity and struggle through to a wide range of other arenas in the urban governance landscape where practices shape how resources flow and regulatory rules are exercised.

To illustrate this approach, the following example briefly describes an initiative arising from outside the range of formal government which has slowly been drawn into a more formalised relationship.

'From outside in, from inside out': the Ouseburn Trust case

Within the UK, the state in the form of national and local government bodies, is a very strong presence. This has meant that governance initiatives outside the state have had difficulties growing and surviving without finding a way to link to formal government in some way. The Ouseburn Valley is an area of the city between the city centre, poor neighbourhoods to the east, and an area of intensive riverside redevelopment initiated in the late 1980s. It is a typical 'in-between' part of the city, with old industrial buildings being used for various workshops, some ecological projects, and pubs which attracted a

distinctive clientele, all clustered down the sides of a steep valley, making it a curious and attractive physical locale.

The initiative which turned this 'in-between' place into an active 'place-for-itself' was sparked off by mobilisation 'against the state'. A group of local people, including someone from the local church, organised first to demand a voice in the development of the riverside area, so that the Ouseburn Valley area would not be cut off from the main riverside. Success in this mobilisation gained them the status to become active participants in the ongoing consultation process which developed around the riverside regeneration projects. This focus soon widened out to include people concerned with industrial heritage and environmental issues, neither of which were well-articulated policy issues in the City Council, where the focus had long been on 'housing' and 'jobs'. By 1996, these various networks around the Ouseburn area had become consolidated into a formalised Trust. They then widened out further to involve other community, business and local groups and the City Council, forming a Partnership which obtained modest funding from central government for development activities. This funding finished in 2002, and the Trust now survives with a more permanent link to the City Council, employing four City Council officers in the Ouseburn Resource Centre in the area, dealing with several development projects. The trajectory of this initiative started off through an activist campaign around neglected issues, developed a wider agenda in order to participate in government opportunities for consultation and funding, became more formalised,

and then was absorbed more closely into the City Council organisation, where its future has to jostle with many other commitments and organisational arenas, and will depend on both the commitment of a few activists and how well the initiative 'fits' the prevailing interests of local and national politicians and officials. To safeguard as much autonomy as possible, the Trust has set out to acquire some land and buildings. It has also built links to a range of national agencies. It has been a local pioneer for a fine-grained, ecologically-sensitive and consultative approach to project development, which is in line with much national thinking but challenges Council traditions. It thus provides an exemplar of a new way of doing things, but has had little wider impact on Council discourses and practices, except perhaps as a demonstration project of 'downscaling' governance activity and what a new mode of local, socially-driven entrepreneurial development might look like. This has been the fate of many other area-focused and project-oriented partnership and empowerment initiatives in the Newcastle area over the past twenty years, many initiated by central and local government themselves.

Governance on the move

The described example of governance activity, as others we have observed in and around Newcastle, seem to suggest the continuing power of the political and organisational practices of a local council to resist change and to undermine the innovative potential of experiments in new government forms. Yet the content of these pressures and the initiatives, conflicts and struggles they give rise to is

not the same as it was in the 1970s or even the neo-liberal 1980s. The context of power dynamics, funding, demands and expectations is different. The terrain of invention and struggle is different.

Our interpretation is that the level of governance processes in Newcastle is 'in movement', particularly since a change of leadership in the mid-1990s (Coaffee, Healey 2003).

What is unclear is the trajectory of this movement, and whether it will ever come to 'rest' in any kind of stable set of networks and coalitions, discourses and practices. Certainly, the council has been experimenting with its organisation in all kinds of ways, which at least provides an experience on which to draw if and when the various strands of initiative come together into a 'new way' of doing governance in the city. But inevitably, turning such innovations into 'mainstream' changes will and should involve struggle, as it would distribute power (over resources flows, regulatory practices and policy ideas) in new ways. What kind of trajectory will emerge remains very unclear, and still strongly dependent on a central-local government power dynamic. In this dynamic, some business interests and residents in some neighbourhoods may gain, but a new inclusive 'politics of space' which could provide a voice for people across the city in relation to the different needs, lifestyles and their different locales of living seems a long way off. The analytical tools summarised in this paper are put forward to help both in assessing these evolutions of 'governance on the move' and as aids to those actively involved in struggles for transformation.

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If practices, tasks and problems do not come together

Michele Sernini

It is remarkable that after more than thirty years of participatory practices there has still been no discussion of the changes in this method that have occurred over the years.

The theory has maintained the concept of participation valid per se, an end unto itself, over years and as the actors and situations have changed in the same way that a plan to which participation is linked is often considered an instrument that is independent of its contents and subject matter. The pride of the older generation has led them to boast of the 'practices', the anti-Fordist, anti-government and appropriation stances of the 1960's, that 'we said it first' as the characters of post Fordist and flexible post modernity automatically occurred and were annexed in every political aspect to an extremely generic 'governance': faults and merits, freedom and control, interests and social aspects each confused with the other to varying degrees. Participation in decision making has not always had the same importance and urban practices have not always had the same diffusion, use and success. These two types of participation have enjoyed different degrees of fortune, passing from the movement stage to that which followed it. Participation as part of official decision making, considered lacking and insufficient, came onto regional statute books at the beginning of the 1970's when it became possible to harvest the first fruits of '1968' of which "one of the original and characterising issues was participation". The decline came a little later: as early as 1974 the

word 'peak' was used in connection with this idea. Non institutional urban practices, participation in the government of a city even though not in the official procedures (seen as bureaucratic), benefited much from the initial climate until the movement lost all impetus after the 'metropolitan Indians' of 1977, and the changes to the general context brought it to an abrupt halt. When scholars continued to surround participation with an aura of myth for twenty years they were in reality supporting that form of social participation in the government of cities practised by the most powerful and they certainly needed no encouragement. Contempt for the law and the institutions continued, when it should have been realised that since the 1980's, recourse to the law as a guarantee for citizens could provide protection in times of crisis for popular movements rather than be a bureaucratic hindrance. Important reminders of the importance of law have been made for years and even those who study the phenomenon of participation today recount cases in which co-operation with the institutions can be useful, sometimes over many decades where there has been a mix of conflict and co-operation, and of urban practices and official procedures. Recently, then, after twenty years of crisis and undoubtedly in the presence of delicate issues of extreme everyday emargination, once again evident as in the years of the urban movements and in the uncertain climate where there is a hint of new world wide movements, the impression is that subject of participation has always been the same. Heedless of the difference in conditions between now and then, the hoped for light heartedness

of then, the hedonism of the 1980's which came to an abrupt halt or the careless, business aestheticism of today, this phase acts as if no changes had taken place. It puts the social and political power of powerful actors, that have grown in the meantime, together with the desire of intellectual and political classes and a great variety of groups of different sizes and types to intervene usefully in urban life or on the socio-political scene. Sometimes a participatory anthropological analysis brings to light a city of citizens that is considered more fluid and real than a physical city, a city number two rather than an anticity; but perhaps a 'rhetoric of urban diversity' should be avoided. The discovery will have to occur case by case rather than through the generalised application of theoretical prejudices. Many of the practices often spoken of as events that show a civil society or at times even a city that tends to rebel, are just the normal seething activity of urban life that has always existed; nor is it perhaps as alive today as it has been in other circumstances and periods. Distinctions must be made between different initiatives on the basis of ends and actors, though in the well-known climate of equalisation that reigns today. The purpose is to judge priorities and importance that goes beyond mere recognition of the quantities and differences between things in civil society which occur anyway. Certainly some issues of rundown or inaccessible peripheries, or the acceptance or integration of minorities or the provision of facilities and services are more pressing even if a substantial and complex joint private-public instrument like the Social Regulatory Plan in Rome, which runs together with the Urban Plan and the 'Charter

for Social Quality' may not always be necessary. New examples of creation in public spaces must not eliminate normal undifferentiated use. One must continue to require public authorities to do what it is their duty to do, and popular or intellectual imagination is not always an effective substitute. As concerns the planner-activist, let us not forget that not even the liberal etiquette of civil society frees him from responsibility for decisions concerning 'content'. Traditional planning issues are also considered elsewhere, a sign that some priorities do exist: Amsterdam makes a plan, Paris discusses density, in England they debate whether to build new housing in the expandable Milton Keynes or in Birmingham in decline. The need to give importance to urban practices on major issues may certainly increase in the near future, especially if policies dry up, if sociology insists with attempts to pretend to be a method of marketing or urban decor, if a single line of thought equalises everything or if an increasingly horizontal society, ever more automatically democratic perhaps becomes forgetful of the freedom of others either in small or in big things. With regard above all to settlements, at times the ineluctable mixing suggests a return to 'do-it-yourself' urban planning as more rapid and practical than carefully studied complex urban policies, but policies will have to be adapted case by case, when necessary. Daily life will not be a nostalgic site of local culture but a 'cross-roads of local, national and transnational practices' of place making practices, if it is allowed that this aspect is more important than that of a well functioning generic city.

Morphogenesis of urban space:

a research study

Antonio Cappuccitti, Elio Piroddi*

Our research project consisted in the diachronic analysis of urban morphology on two levels: the first regards morphologically homogeneous portions of the city recognizable on the urban scale, and the second concerns structuring urban spaces and forms produced by certain types of urban functions. The methodology utilized was comparative field research in the nine cities in which research units are located (1).

The functions that were studied are ones considered strategic for urban morphogenesis (civic, religious, commercial, leisure, and mobility uses) because they can produce, modify and layer urban space and because they take on, or can take on, in the different historic eras, different forms and can be used in different ways by the urban population.

Furthermore, these functions confer significant continuity and permanence to urban life.

Reading, describing and interpreting urban form, and in particular the relationship of form with the functions that determine its origins and transformations, were at the heart of the research project, and served as the premise for the project's conclusive result, an *Urban Atlas* documenting the evolution of strategic functions and their influence on urban formation (2).

Preliminary analysis and data collection were broken down into two distinct, but complementary, tasks regarding two scales of urban morphology. The first concerned analyzing form on the urban scale and was based both on the recognition of homogeneous

urban parts regarding the form and character of the built fabric, as well as on the identification of the system of central places and structuring urban relationships. This part of the project also included the survey of significant parts of the urban fabric, and the application of dimensional parameters and indicators regarding internal form, density, and the quantitative relationships between private and public spaces. The second task focused on investigating shaping processes, spatial characteristics and modes and times of use of certain places (so-called space-functions) with morphogenetic value and hosting functions having great permanence over the course of the city's urban history.

These two different readings sought to evidence the diachronic evolution of the urban situations under study, and both referred to three different eras conventionally defined as pre-modern (the city until Italian unity), modern (from Italian unity until 1945) and contemporary.

Rome: morphology and structure

Analysis took into consideration the following elements:

- morphologically homogeneous urban areas classified by distinctions regarding the form of the urban fabric (texture, modularity, complexity, plan form, correlations among the elementary components, etc.);
- infrastructural axes with structuring value in terms of urban form, classified by rank, territorial, primary urban, secondary urban, railroads;
- urban centralities, classified by character and specific content (functional, morphological, environmental, mixed centrality) (3), rank

(territorial, urban, local), form (distinct centralities, linear central places such as commercial or industrial axes, urban space, particular buildings).

The morphologically homogeneous urban areas were classified into two principal macro-categories: built fabric and open form. The creation of a shared vocabulary rendered the comparison of the different urban situations more effective and led to the following definitions:

- *urban fabric*, settlement forms in which street pattern and built form are complementary and consisting in the substantial and ordered juxtaposition of street pattern, building blocks and building lots, generally characterized by the alignment (in a parallel way) of the buildings with street axes;

- *open form*, urban form devoid of morphological complementarity between street pattern and building position due to the fact that the idea of city underlying the unitary design of the parts seems programmatically antithetical to the fabric of a traditional urban structure, or because of the fact that during the course of urban development, and for single blocks, the traditional relationship between street and building was progressively lost.

We performed quantitative surveys of urban form on two scales:

- surveys of isolated elementary components selected in terms of the aforementioned morphological categories for each of the three historical aeras;
- surveys of more extensive morphologically homogeneous areas.

In the pre-modern city, high floor-area ratios are the result of the compactness of the fabric and its complementarity with the street pattern and open space,

between private and public space.

In the modern city, macro-blocks were surveyed, and the relationship with the corresponding block surveys could not help but take into account the progressive diversification and articulation of different urban settlement patterns. The surveys of elements in important parts of Rome (post-unity and early 1900's) give quantitative numerical value to the progressive expansion of relational and circulation spaces but also indicate the absolute increase in private space, corresponding to the transformation of some traditionally public spaces within the historical city into transitional spaces or into spaces of private pertinence.

The survey of the contemporary city is the most representative in the comparison of the measurements of the block and macro-block in terms of functionalist public building projects. In the block, when this is identifiable, volumetric concentration results in land use ratios with high values. On the other hand, at the macro-block scale, increased open space leads to low values for lot coverage and land use. This attributes a meaning to urban space that can be summed up as a loss of form-pattern and as a passage to 'open' form. In a city like Rome with complex historical stratifications, there are various cases of correlations between urban form, functional and spatial location and content of the centralities. In the compact historical city, the concave open spaces that hosted manifold and different central functions are within the urban fabric, constituting the spatial 'mould' insofar as such spaces originated with the built fabric. The relationship of full formal complementarity between

spaces of complex concentration of urban values and the organization of the built fabric is, after all, an invariant for almost all the space-functions having great social content in the historic European city. When we move to the modern and contemporary city, structural connections show the results of the increasing importance of factors tied to vehicular access and mechanisms of real estate speculation. In fact, many urban policies over the last century favored peripheral location of new projects, infrastructure, and centralities having different functional contents. The extreme limit of this evolution is the location of territorial level centralities with intrinsic social content (though devoid of any real urban concentration) based on mere criteria of vehicular access, above and beyond any relationship of physical correlation with the urban fabric; such are the cases of the new multiplex cinema villages and some commercial centers. These functions, contained in building complexes having singular architectural expressions, become new hybrid forms of 'center' and exert a magnet effect on large parts of the metropolitan territory although they are often devoid of any structuring physical connection with the city that is not a quick access ramp. They tend, nevertheless, to contain, on their interiors, parts and structure which present pure imitation of the the historical city's spatial language.

Rome: function spaces

The sampling of the function spaces studied in the second research 'task' is the following (for every urban function the spaces relating to the pre-modern, modern, contemporary eras are, in that order, pointed out). Commerce spaces: Campo

de' Fiori market, via Cola di Rienzo commercial axis, Cinecittà Due commercial center. Leisure spaces: piazza Navona, Foro Italico, The Village theme park. Green spaces: villa Peretti Montalto Garden, Colle Oppio park, Tor Tre Teste park. Mobility spaces: piazza del Popolo-via del Corso, Ostiense station-via Ostiense, Ponte Mammolo node-viale Togliatti. The single spaces were interpreted according to four superimposed readings: relationships with the urban context; formal characteristics; use characteristics; temporal transformations. Aside from the specificities of the different spaces, certain common elements can be underlined regarding the fundamental characteristics of the functions and the spaces of the different eras. *First.* Some of the urban functions that were analyzed are distinguished by their evolution in which some use patterns remain substantially permanent over the long term while others have progressively assumed, over the same time period, different and articulated characteristics, having different results regarding location within the city and the morphogenesis of urban space. It is sufficient to think about the multiple forms of commerce, leisure time use, civic representation, mobility in the contemporary city. Furthermore, some urban functions, while permanent, are characterized by considerable changes in their intrinsic meaning through the course of the city's history; this is the case, for instance, of the ways of perceiving and using leisure time. *Second.* The changes over time in morphogenetic value of the space for certain urban functions are not so much due to intrinsic variations in the nature of the function,

but to the increase of importance that, in the modern and contemporary city, the conditions of accessibility with modern means of transport have taken on in general. This is particularly true for the function-spaces of commerce, leisure and civic activities that were analyzed in the study. In this light, the disjuncture that we find between the concepts of functional and morphological centralities for some functions of the contemporary city finds substantial relevance. *Third.* In terms of the permanence in the contemporary city of functions and corresponding spaces of the pre-modern city (characterized by being unquestionably linked to the realm of urban public space), new use patterns assumed by some structuring functions seem to point out, coherently with urban globalization trends underway, the increasing privatization of important spaces for urban life, such as polyfunctional containers, malls, leisure time complexes. *Fourth.* The function-spaces of the contemporary city characterized by important socializing content, and that are the result of precise design action, tend towards a functional complexity and internal structural connections indicating attention towards the recovery of an urban spatial syntax, even when they are not true urban 'catalyzers'. This is the case of the Cinecittà Due shopping mall, which includes, within its building volume, streets and plazas, place of commerce but also of leisure, autonomous in its urban design, being at the same time an important functional and morphological centrality. Again The Village theme park and multiplex cinema reproduces a part of a city (a square with a central fountain onto which

the entrances into places of leisure and restaurants open), physically distant from the city but easily accessible from the highway.

Some considerations

The first thing to point out is that the reading and the interpretation of urban structure, necessary for verifying the morphogenetic character of the strategic functions, required the creation of a new taxonomy (insofar as it could not be found in the literature). It was an instrumental task, only indirectly tied to the project's initial idea, which, on the one hand, was perhaps a bit excessive but, on the other, was a useful and instructive exercise. It was useful because it required the different research units to unify their language, also creating it *ex novo* as the morphological analysis progressed. It was instructive because once the same taxonomy was unified, it facilitated the comparative analysis of the different cases and led to some important actions for improving the reliability of the overall analysis. From this, and here is the second consideration, derived a partial reconsideration regarding some doubts about the initial hypotheses. In synthesis, these hypotheses (to be verified) were: the city is born, grows, and is transformed for performing the strategic functions (to exchange goods, to administer society, to manage power, to have fun, to practice religion, to learn, to create relationships) that are its *raison d'être*; by their concretization in physical space (town hall, cathedral, market, stadium, street) these functions produce urban space; through their relationships, they generate the structure of urban form. They are therefore (could be) morphogenetic.

In truth, it is not exactly like this. The structure of urban form is not determined by the locations of, and relationships among, strategic functions. It often derives from ownership maps, from important real estate operations, from the streets that reach beyond or cross the city, from natural elements and reference points, but also from pure chance, or a mixture of accident and chance. Some functions which we do not consider strategic (which, I repeat, is intrinsic to being a city), such as housing or places of production, have, in some historical periods, been no less determining for urban structure than the strategic ones. The same can be said for the functions that are unique, and even genetic, in some cities and not in others: for example, the gate, castle, walls and defensive structure. Nevertheless, by examining the case studies, it is clear that some functions are always strategic, recurrent, and persistent through history. In the last analysis, they are important for the evolution of urban spatial form. As for their effective morphogenetic power, there are (and have been throughout history) many situations in which the structure of urban form is (or was) a result of a series of related causes. The hypothesis that the city is not always structured by strategic functions but that when and where this happens the city works better could make headway. In this sense we might be able to say that the dissociative crisis in the contemporary city has gone hand in hand with the loss of morphogenetic power by the strategic functions. Not by chance do we note that the equation strategic functions = morphogenetic = structuring occurs, as a rule, predominantly in the pre-modern and modern city

(this term should evidently be backdated to the early 1800s if we look outside of Italy to the rest of Europe). In the pre-modern city this happens both in an organic kind of urban structure as well as in the planned kind (planned towns). In the modern city, the new infrastructure representing civic, cultural, transport, leisure functions, become the benchmarks of urban form in the city plans for renewal and expansion (4), while the formation of the new residential districts plays an important role in the creation of urban space (5). In the contemporary city, absolute dominance passes to the mobility and transportation network, with respect to which other functions are situated, in a certain sense, as dependent variables; housing, also continuing to expand, loses its morphogenetic role or it preserves it in an introverted way (i.e. planned districts, especially public housing projects). As far as the conformation of the function-spaces and their morphogenetic effect (for brevity referring only to the contemporary period) is concerned, the following can be stated in synthesis: civic functions (in a general sense, centers of power and political representation, administrative centers, etc.) lose importance both due to the pre-existence of already consolidated centers, as well as to the decreasing importance of the function itself (civic space in the contemporary city needs to be re-invented or re-covered); commercial functions have preserved their strategic importance but tend to self-form or self-reproduce themselves according to their own specific requirements, within enclosures that simulate the city-effect but which have little contact with the real city, both because their position depends almost exclusively on car

accessibility, and because, as a result, they are surrounded by great expanses of parking areas; recreational and cultural functions (from large sports complexes to the 'city of the music') are taking on increasing importance; in some cases they can integrate or be incorporated within commercial functions; they often require specialized spaces and controlled accesses; their integration with the city is much less problematic; green space (in a broad sense) has assumed a strategic importance that transcends its purely recreational function; parks, greenbelts and ecological corridors play an increasingly structuring role and transmit their effects to the surrounding urban context; here we can speak of morphogenetic power; the mobility network is becoming increasingly specialized and hierarchized and, as we have already stated, is the absolute dominant urban element; strategic functions must be located along major networks (it is enough to observe the attractive power of motorway toll-gates or subway stations), but while the search for maximum road accessibility can estrange such functions from the city (with an 'ungluing' effect), accessibility by the collective transport network (for example the railway) can aid their reintegration with the city. Comparative analysis contributes to identifying recurrent elements, the laws of transformation. It helps to understand that if things have always gone in a certain way, perhaps they could have not gone otherwise. Thus it helps to eliminate prejudices and ideological vestiges. In this sense, the documentation of the case studies study gives us some verification (perhaps banal) but we can

summarize it in a few points. The first concerns the nature of urban space, which has enormously expanded, become fragmented and dispersed because urban functions (strategic or not) have become specialized and hierarchized, and because specialization has led to mono-functionality of spaces and buildings and to the social and aesthetic deterioration of exterior space, which has sometimes become residual. Consequently its form has passed from the extroverted to the introverted, from concave to convex as we have pointed out. The morphology of the city has passed from what we have called the form-fabric to open or hybrid or dissociated forms. The second point concerns the so-called centralities: the functional ones have become literally disconnected to the morphological ones; not because the spaces, the volumes, and the architecture of the strategic functions are devoid of their own complete form, but because they are almost always self-referenced, isolated, shielded; because their form is not projected into urban space, it does not propagate its effects on the form of the surrounding space. The third point concerns mobility: since (and really because) it has become the dominant function, a crisis has arisen and it has become the object of more energetic therapies everywhere in the world. This dominance, nevertheless, is destined to remain (despite the competition of the internet technologies) and leads to the fact that mobility infrastructure (from stations to harbors to airports) conforms to its own interior as metaphors of the city interjecting, so to speak, the same morphogenetic power

that, for example, the city gates and post offices possessed in the past. The primary cause for all of this was pointed out by Mumford over sixty years ago and consists in the enormous growth of cities and urban material produced over the last two centuries. This material must be digested or, to use a more elegant term, metabolized: it is a patient and delicate job of metabolization (besides having been already undertaken) and will involve the future of European cities. This history-making process is subject to two contrasting tensions: one that drives some strategic functions (particularly those inherent to the consumption and the mobility) to somehow dissociate themselves from the city and become urban metaphors (or, in the worse cases, caricatures); the other extends to a renewal of the 'urban' through the reinstatement of such functions. Neither one of the two can clearly prevail, it seems; it is more probable that they are destined to coexist within a meeting/confrontation between public planning and private interest that is also of history-making proportions. However there are signs (also deriving from this study) that the metabolization process can occur in a form that might be defined as homeostatic (as has already occurred many times during the course of urban history), developing itself around some of the functions that we have called strategic. There is a strong demand for integrated, flexible, multi-use spaces; the same specialized functions, like those of commerce and exchange, if driven by public management, propose some variations (though subordinated to consumer logic).

In this direction, we believe that the so-called urban projects must seek, anywhere possible, to break down the isolations, enclosures, hyperspecializations, self-referential to recover a form-fabric that will no longer be (and can no longer be) that of the ancient city, and to propose a new network of relationships with urban space. In this sense, we repeat, the initial hypothesis regarding structuring strategic functions rather than a model 'of state' might represent a programmatic model.

*Antonio Cappuccitti wrote the first, second and third paragraphs, Elio Piroddi the fourth.

Notes

1. The research project *Morphogenesis of the urban space. History, Uses, Project* involves nine research units in as many university centers. The national level coordinator is E. Piroddi, the local coordinators are: F. Bronzini (Ancona), F. Selicato (Bari), R. Busi (Brescia), G. Deplano (Cagliari), P. Di Biagi (Ferrara for the Venice group), P. Giovannini (Florence), B. Gabrielli (Genoa), P.P. Balbo di Vinadio (Reggio Calabria), C. Mattogno (Rome). The final result of the study will be an *Urban Atlas* regarding the nine cities (in press).
2. In this sense, the atlas will not have the encyclopedic ambitions of the great atlases in the history of the urban studies from the Enlightenment on, from the *Atlas Général de la Ville de Paris* (1793) to our Morini of two centuries later, but will document the results of the study without relinquishing the inherent iconographic value of such a publication.
3. It is worthwhile to denominate functional as

the centralities that are essentially defined by the presence of the function itself without important consequences on urban spatial form; morphological are those that, also in the absence of important central functions, define a spatial junction of primary urban importance; the presence of these two characteristics denotes the more important centralities.

4. On the subject see G. Zucconi, *La città dell'Ottocento*, Laterza, Bari, 2001, chapter 4.

5. The quantitative prevalence of the residential function in the formation of new urban structures is obvious and, therefore implicitly, also its shaping role. But our point of view is that it is always a matter of a function, so to speak, induced through the genetic factors of an essentially tertiary type that are at the root of urban formation: those factors that here we have called strategic functions. (see on the subject C. Aymonino, *Lo studio dei fenomeni urbani*, Officina, Rome, 1977, pp. 46 and following).

Trieste: a centre on the border

Paola Di Biagi

Thinking of Trieste as a laboratory for policies, plans and projects directs our attention to the recent history of a city which, like many other cities in Italy and Europe, has registered, albeit with some contradictions, an increase in the speed of territorial, economic and social transformations. From the 1990s a number of planning tools, of various types and scales, implementation plans, major urban transformation projects, complex policies and programmes have been devised one after the other. These tools have come to terms not only with the need to manage changes in progress, on a local and regional scale, but also with the necessity of foreseeing possible further scenarios of change and coping with transformations on a supranational level. Such a condition, shared by other complex and changing realities, is rendered even more complex by the peculiarity of a geographical position, which gives Trieste the status of a border city, on the edge of politically diversified and at times unstable territories. As a meeting point for the peoples of the Mediterranean, the city becomes a place of exchange, not only of goods but also of knowledge and cultures. The geopolitical changes in contemporary Europe tend to highlight once again the ambiguous vocation of Trieste for being a multinational and multiethnic city: melting pot and cross roads of different cultures. Since the end of the 20th century, the role and significance of the Triestine territory underwent major changes. Even more significant transformations

are expected today as a result of Slovenia's accession to the European Union in May 2004. Such changes will affect not only the city and the region but to some extent the whole Northeast, giving the city the opportunity, if aptly used, to regain a new centrality within an economic and territorial system bereft of barriers. As a result, a cross-border approach to Trieste's urban issues is gaining momentum, in urban and territorial planning. The 'European macroregion' project, which would include the regions of Friuli Venezia Giulia, Veneto, Carinthia, the would-be regional authorities in the Slovene coastal areas and Karst, Istria and the coastal county of Rijeka, pursued by the new President of the Region as tool and space of cross-border cooperation, will place Trieste, along with Gorizia, within a new network of relations and exchanges between territories and cities aimed at defining a shared vision as far as territorial and landscape planning, economic development and infrastructural layout are concerned. Transnational cooperation projects and programmes, like Interreg initiatives or hypotheses such as the passage on the Triestine territory of the European Multimodal Corridor V, the infrastructural connection projects of the upper Adriatic coast, the hypothesis of an International Park on the Karst, but also the candidacy of the city as the site for the international Expo in 2008, define new opportunities for prefiguring scenarios of complex and integrated transformations, resulting from concerted actions between national and international government bodies. The future prospects of the city and its territory seem to

define new patterns of economic and spatial relations, enacting some sort of return to the past, to the role of Trieste as an exchange point between MittelEurope, the Balkans and the Mediterranean, updating and changing the vocation which the city had up to the beginning of the 20th century. There emerges a conceptual change, rich in implications as far the issues and sites of the territorial project are concerned, where the city gradually loses the feature of *finis terrae* and takes on the characteristics of transnational connecting space, of *centre on the border*.

With this initiative, we intend to take stock of the most recent transformations that occurred in the city planning, and to examine them in relation to policies and tools devised on a wider scale, both from a geographical and temporal point of view.

From the 1990s, there clearly emerges the firm intention to upgrade the consolidated city and to recover its urban heritage. Along with the issues of the physical and functional redevelopment of the Old Port, and more generally of the reconstruction of the city waterfront with the subsequent reclaiming of open spaces and artefacts, there has also been the recovery of the image of a decayed historic centre, from a spatial, economic and social point of view, resorting to a variety of tools like the Prusst programme (Urban regeneration and sustainable territory development) "The reconquest of the waterfront", the Urban Tergeste programme, the detailed Plan of the historic city, the Colour Plan, the Plan of the 'dehors'. The call for upgrading the spaces of the public city and the considerable amount of

buildings and residential blocks built during the 20th century, went hand in hand with an increasing concern for the inhabitants' needs, not only in terms of services and facilities but also with regard to places and occasions for socialization, as shown by the development of integrated programmes for urban upgrading and social promotion like the "Habitat, health and community development" programme. Along with the definition of new perspectives for the city centre renewal, a great deal of attention has also been paid to the housing and environmental resources of a hinterland, the Karst territory and its scattered villages, which had been separated from the 'maritime' city for a long time and has now been reinterpreted as an integral part of the new urban form, in a city lived and inhabited on a territorial scale. In short, a complex cluster of policies, projects, and scenarios, involving a plurality of actors, and touching on different issues and scales, has been set in motion, all contributing to creating the new image of a city, that is internally reorganized and open to national and international contexts. The challenge put out by such an approach concerns the capacity to manage in an integrated way transformation processes which are becoming more and more complex, due to the plurality of actors involved and to the need to bring coherence to an ever more fragmented and kaleidoscopic pattern of actions.

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Arriving in Trieste

Pier Aldo Rovatti

If there is an idea which corresponds to Trieste, within this idea the sea and the city correspond to the same experience and to one way of life. If you live in Trieste, you do not go to the sea, *you are there already*, and this fact belongs to the city itself. Actually Trieste is not a *typical town* on the sea at all. Its *atypicalness* coincides with an experience of the sea which is, so to say, preliminary to the fact that the city looks onto the sea, and independent from where you are in the city, even far away from the sea. This marine urbanity or urbanised sea, characterising Trieste, makes people feel as if they are both living on the continent and on an island. You are at the same time attached and detached from the mainland. You are not really isolated, you are not living on an island but you are experiencing insularity. Do cities have a character? I think so. Trieste's character, its buildings, streets and inhabitants, arise from a constant and general sense of disorientation which has something to do with insularity. It is this slight but constant feeling of unbalance or oscillation that attracts, I think, people coming from abroad, as it happened to me. Are you standing on land or on water or on both at the same time? Trieste is the city of wind, even before the gusts of *bora* come. You lose your balance even before the windblast actually does it. You immediately feel you are on an island; you are on an isolated corner, as you were told and as the map confirms, but you are living an exciting experience, a slight inebriation embroidered with sadness,

but you were not told about this. Insularity is ambivalent and if the sea opens up in front of you, behind you are surrounded by borders which almost encapsulate the city. Trieste is also the city of borders. It has a twofold nature of enclave, where opening and closure are not always in contrast, and rather most of the times these two aspects get stronger and produce something else which is neither only opening nor only closure, but it is something more than an opening and less than a closure, and paradoxically it is an opening thanks to the very closure.

You always arrive in Trieste (or go back to) and every time you have a feeling of extraneousness as if one had to cross a border to reach the city beyond. The sea seems to lead people arriving to a so called *cul de sac*. Whoever comes to this strange island has the impression of being always in transit, although he/she stops. This impression comes back every day, and it does not matter whether you have lived in Trieste for a few years because this feeling is also shared by the people who have always lived in this city. The enclave experience is the experience of this passage, a sort of transit without moving from the spot. It is as if in Trieste nobody really is Triestine but everyone becomes such. There is a deep-felt Triestine character different from any sort of provincialism which strikes you immediately. There is a pace, a gait, a speed, a sort of impatience and rush of living the city. Coming from Milan, I thought I was fast, but instead I realised I'm rather slow compared to the deep rhythm of Trieste. The supposed speed of Milan is actually a way of standing still on the spot. The apparent somnolence of Trieste is actually the insomnia of an

uninterrupted passing, the restlessness of being on the border which calls for a constant adjustment of balance.

The borders are inside, not outside, or they have been interiorised and this is the very secret of the *enclave-city*. The island is inside rather than outside, as it is clear in every respect, and this island which belongs to every background of Trieste, does not bound or close the city but it allows the city to open up, despite the apparent stillness of time. It is a condition of the mind which stimulates bodies and even things. It does not surprise that this city, which seems lost in its memories and even nostalgic feelings, reveals a great care for one's self and body. People from Trieste *would show off* rather than *hide*. In the *enclave* everybody comes into sight. All arrive and thus everybody sees one another. Trieste is the city of glance. In Milan, on an underground train the eyes of people are almost always looking downwards; on a bus in Trieste everybody, both the elderly and the young, *scans each other*. These are insular looks in which the transience of the moment flies through and in turn these looks pass by in a border game. Whoever arrives in Trieste, the city where even the most meaningless details of past times are remembered, learns the art of forgetfulness and can practice oblivion almost at once and build some distance from himself/herself. Soon one finds the energy to imagine another life and is actually able to produce some sort of deviation in his/her life. It is sad to hear, staying in Trieste, about great projects which would cut this city out and damage it. It is a huge mistake because this enclave contains a virtuality of the so-called Europe

which anticipates ways of life and dwelling. Europe will soon need this if it wants to start living. However this confirms, with a bitter taste, that the nature of a *city of deviation* is where who arrives must cut his pace down and get himself/herself ready to continuous dislocations. The external awareness of this unstable balance, which for me is the hidden rhythm of this city, which seems abandoned and almost withdrawn into itself, can arise some fears and not everyone is used to such an uneasy pace. But if you can get into it, and get on the same wavelength of this constant swing between caducity and desire for a new life, you can discover the pleasure of living on an island which is not an island.

1991-2001: from the Local Plan to the Strategic Plan

Alessandra Marin

The nineties have been a period of great changes affecting Trieste but also the wider context of cross-border areas in the Friuli Venezia Giulia Region. Hand in hand with the innovations produced by the changes in the geopolitical context went the need to renovate planning tools. In this period, the municipality worked at the creation of a series of projects, programmes and policies: general planning and guidance tools, schemes and projects for the restoration of the historic city and minor historic settlements, actions for the regeneration and functionality improvement of the consolidated city. The outcomes of that work are today visible in the image and physical structure of the city. They testify to an effort which was able to produce a new urban image, based on the regained European dimension of Trieste, no longer surrounded by a problematic border, but again a Central European city and gateway to the Balkans. The definition of a new layout for Trieste's urban planning situation started with the drawing up of the general Variant to the Master Plan, no. 66, aimed to adjust the agricultural, industrial and commercial sectors to the Regional Plan. This was the chance to provide the city with a real new plan; the last one was approved in 1969. The planning project had to tackle some strategic objectives: the end of demographic expansion (already visible long before), the progressive replacement of traditional productive functions with the service industry, the changed geopolitical situation of the

border. Each of these gave rise to guidelines (the invariants of the plan for the following decade) on the most important themes for the future of the city: from the road network to port functions, from the role of research to the strategies aimed at improving living and service standards. The development process of the plan was marked by a strong innovation in the way choices were made. It was organised by the municipal planning office and was drawn up as a joint document, in its different aspects, by those who were in charge of its preparation and management. In the same period the Building Regulations were changed and simplified into a straightforward document: a light guide with a glossary, urban planning parameters and a few rules. The themes of protection, restoration and enhancement of the historic heritage were constantly tackled over that decade. The context is that of a decaying centre undergoing a strong demographic and economic crisis. The first step involved restoration plans. The Town Council identified a strategic area to be restored and drew up the urban regeneration scheme. The plans elaborated by the administration envisaged the strengthening of the service system and public facilities, the fulfilment of housing needs, services and productive activities located within the historic fabric, the protection of social, cultural and historical values of buildings. These plans were followed by other measures, like those included in the Traffic Plan and car parks, with the aim to solve very critical situations. But the most interesting experience, still in progress today, is the implementation of the first 'Urban' EU programme, the Tergeste

Project, an experimental project integrating urban planning tools with local development and urban regeneration programmes. The target area is the Cittavecchia quarter, built on the original core of the Roman city. It is an important part of the historic city and lies in a bad state of physical, economic and social decay. The Urban initiative was seen as the chance to realise the preconditions to repopulate and revitalize this area: re-settlement of people, improvement of social and welfare services, upgrading of facilities, restoration of collective spaces and public green areas, promotion of economic development, enhancement of tourism and cultural resources. The policy protecting cultural, historic and environmental resources has been extended to the historic villages on the Karst, with specific detailed Plans aimed at ensuring the conservative restoration and functional upgrading of buildings, spaces and sites of historic and architectural interest, the attention to a unique landscape but also the social recovery and restoration of the villages. In the middle of the nineties, a redevelopment strategy of many derelict areas took place. These processes involved production sectors and large public facilities which are an extraordinary resource for Trieste, where scientific and technological research can be developed as well as port activities and cultural and tourism enhancement. An overall vision of these transformations is provided by the Prusst (Urban regeneration and territory sustainable development plan) of 1999, *The reconquest of the waterfront*, which proposes to restore the relationship with the sea, limited today to the presence of port

activities. The last planning instrument drawn up in 2001 is the Strategic Plan for the city. This tool, which is now being revised by the administration, places the plan for Trieste, realised over ten years, into a system, through a visioning operation, in order to make it as much as possible sharable. The plan aims at enhancing Trieste's attractiveness, improving first of all the quality of life offered to its citizens. This objective can be reached by giving stability to the population, favouring economic growth, strengthening social cohesion, promoting an apt policy of services, stimulating innovative businesses, supporting tourism and trade development, fostering port activities, improving city mobility and the road system, upgrading urban quality, regenerating derelict and decaying areas, and giving urban centrality to suburbs. The plan acknowledges the definition of "gateway to Europe" proposed for Trieste by the European Spatial Development Perspective and is linked to the Vision Planet project which, out-lining the strategies for an integrated spatial development of the area included between Central Europe, the Danube and the Adriatic, assigns to Trieste the function of bridge town within the system of international economic relations.

New tools for the project of the consolidated city Marina Cassin

The territory of the municipality of Trieste is characterized by a complex physical-morphological and socio-economic structure, which causes the administration to face a number of major issues related to the management and planning of the existent city: structural and incidental problems stemming from the growth of large housing compounds, from changes in socio-economic conditions, from the traffic volume, from the transformation of large derelict districts that are about to be redeveloped, but also from the numerous challenges and opportunities, which will arise in the Giulia area in the near future. In the last few years local policies have been focused on the consolidated city, stressing the importance of both general issues related to the preservation and improvement of the historic heritage and of specific thematic areas such as the creation of a waterfront space, the so-called Rive, or the redevelopment of the Old Port, a derelict harbour district bound to be integrated into the urban area as a natural expansion of the historic city. As for the tools that have been recently devised, the Detailed Plan of the Historic Center deserves special attention both for its complexity and scope of interest. The Plan currently in force dates back to the end of the seventies. The need to maintain a high level of integration between the different functions present in the consolidated urban fabric, and the development, in the nineties, of a new sensibility to these themes, has made it necessary to use a new management tool for the

central urban area. Along with the establishment of a special office and the appointment of a scientific consultant, the complexity and scope of the issues examined have required a series of specific consulting services for an in-depth analysis of some themes as well as new cognitive elements to survey the pre-existing situation. The rich apparatus of studies on the socio-economic transformations, the examination of statistical data and of the typological-morphological layout have revealed, in particular, the absence of depopulation processes in the historic center and the permanence of a high degree of commixture between the service industry and residential activities, serving as strong points that render this part of the city lively and integrated. The Plan covers an area that goes beyond the notion of historic center as put forward by the current local plan, recognizing the larger 'historic city' as made up of blocks arranged in an orthogonal grid, this representing a distinguishing feature of Trieste up to the beginning of the 20th century. The historic city is divided into zones, onto which are grafted a number of strategic planning lines, defining objectives and specific actions. These issues are currently being studied, using the following special tools: the Regulation Plan for Buildings, including a series of rules, that take into account the typology of the building heritage, the identification of viable modes of intervention, and special measures concerning buildings' internal and external elements; the Public Space Project concerning the identification of intervention planning units for the reorganization of pedestrian spaces, squares, avenues,

parks and car parks; Strategic Projects for the areas subject to transformation, that despite their location outside zone A of the plan, are directly connected to the historic centre.

New planning tools like the Plan of Colour and of the Plan of the Dehors, have been developed, as an appendage to the new detailed plan. The Plan of Colour, whose implementation has just begun, is aimed at improving the urban landscape, through the definition of guidelines for choosing modes of treatment for buildings' superficial and decorative devices that are consistent with their historical features. The Plan of the Dehors, whose planning phase has just been completed, is a guidance plan aimed at setting out the rules for creating various types of artefacts devoted to commercial concerns, and for defining occupancy and upgrading methods for roads, squares, pavements and public spaces.

Moreover, all the areas of the historic city overlooking the sea have been subject to several hypothesis of reconfiguration, some of which are currently being translated into intervention plans and tools. In particular, transformation processes that are currently underway in the area of the Old Port call for the definition of a Variant to the master plan in force, in accordance with the initiatives carried out by the Port Authority. Special attention will be paid to the reorganization of the road infrastructure and accessibility system and to the definition of new viable functions, so as to transform this old industrial settlement, which has been detached from the city up until now, into an integral part of the urban fabric. The former wine warehouse

and the city swimming pool Bianchi are located on the opposite side of the Rive, to the south of the Harbour Station. The private owners of the warehouse have taken up one of the solutions put forward on the occasion of the Ideas Competition for the upgrading of the waterfront, that took place in 2001. They are ready to proceed, following the definition of a common programme with the local administration. This tool, whose definition is still underway, is highly complex, due to the plurality of actors involved. The northern end of the historic city covers a wide area and includes the Old Port, the railway station, Miramare avenue, and the neighbourhoods that adjoin this very important thoroughfare granting access to the city. Following the future reorganization of the Old Port, some planning guidelines have been drawn up for a possible upgrading of the residential areas, located in this section. These guide-lines, developed in agreement with the authorities involved in the programme "Port Authorities and Railway Service" are part of an Innovative Urban Programme, a complex tool recently issued by the Ministry for Infrastructure and Transport. The programme envisages three main measures: the reorganization of the road network to reduce traffic along Miramare avenue; the integration of public road and rail transport; the definition of a new network of pedestrian routes at altitude and on the ground level, to connect the residential settlements to the railway and the port.

The regeneration of the public city: the programme Habitat

Elena Marchigiani

Large areas of the public city of Trieste are currently afflicted by problems of social exclusion and urban decay. In order to resolve this situation, the residential districts of Greta and Ponziana, Rozzol Melara, Valmaura and via Grego have been part of a programme of activities which, since the nineties, has taken an innovative administrative approach to the regeneration of the outskirts of Trieste. "Habitat, health and community development" was set up in 1998, following the deliberations of the Town Council (Department of Social and Sanitary Services and Equal Opportunities), the Ass (local Health Service Authority no. 1 Triestina) and Ater (Public Housing Agency in the Province of Trieste), the owner of the majority of the residential buildings. The programme was born from the desire to set up territorial policies for the prevention of social hardship, whose specific intent was: to resolve problems of delay in payment and neighbourhood conflicts and improve the upkeep of green and communal areas; to reduce the number of inadequate dwellings, activate processes of mutual and self-help between residents; to coordinate social and economic activities for the most vulnerable groups (young people and minors, the disabled and the elderly). The public and tertiary sector (social cooperatives, local associations and volunteer workers) collaborate to give a prompt response to the demands of the citizens, involving them in the

definition and management of public services and activities with the aim of achieving social quality. In this way, the concept of habitat extends to encompass a project aimed at constructing public spaces and promoting the development of active citizenship dedicated to upgrading physical and social living conditions. Recognition of the importance of habitat as a means of fighting social exclusion has its roots in the recent history of public institutions in Trieste. In 1973, during the proceedings of the deinstitutionalisation of the psychiatric hospital overseen by Franco Basaglia, the first patient-driven cooperative was set up. The idea of social enterprise was born, whereby the integration of both public and private resources led to the improvement of living conditions and the opening of the world of work to those members of society who had previously been seen as the passive receivers of social assistance. From the end of the 1960s the then Iapc (Autonomous Public Housing Institute) launched an intense period of research regarding the social dimension of habitation and the needs of inhabitants. This interest led to a greater flexibility concerning interior and exterior living spaces and to the planning of dwellings for the disabled; as well as this, the elderly were assigned small, ground floor apartments in older buildings for which the Institute launched a wide reuse plan since the seventies. The nationwide debate, which in the year 2000 would bring about the Law no. 328 for the construction of an integrated system of services, therefore found favourable ground for the activation of the Habitat

programme. The programme has innovative characteristics due to the arrangement into a system of two different needs: social promotion, which today is supported by the policies of the European Social Fund (Equal); the development of integrated procedures for urban regeneration, which have been promoted over the past decade by complex EU and national projects of more recent creation (Pic Urban, Urban Italia, Contratti di quartiere). One of the peculiarities of Habitat, however, consists in the fact that it was developed from the starting point of a horizontal partnership, based on a rationalisation of the human and economic resources which the Town Council, Ass and Ater of Trieste already had available. Habitat currently avails of regional and European social funds to a small extent, although its integration in the forthcoming new activities of Urban Italia is foreseen in the future. Another characteristic aspect of the programme is its being a reflection in the course of action, which moulds itself to the specificity of places and individuals, laying the ground for a new type of governance based on the construction of subsidiary relations between the various institutions, which carry out the role of promoters and financial providers, and the tertiary sector. Demands and priorities are made in the Habitat centre, set up in each area and managed by members of the social cooperatives living in the district. It is here that the social porter's job is carried out: workers and volunteers collect requests for assistance on behalf of the Town Council and Ass as well as giving immediate help to those in

difficulty. The Ater entrusts the inhabitants belonging to social cooperatives types A and B with the job of communicating requests for maintenance. The aforementioned groups also manage the daily operations on open spaces and the cleaning of staircases and shared areas. Moreover, round table discussions are also organised periodically to discuss the problems of the district and the organisation of meetings between the inhabitants in order to create community spirit. However, Habitat is configured first and foremost as an incubator for local planning and projects. The emergence of residents associations, the development of activities with structured participation, the setting up of new collaborations with volunteer workers for integrated home help and the organisation of training courses all go to show Habitat's capacity to stimulate entrepreneurial initiative starting from the creation of a network for the sharing of participants' knowledge. Perhaps one missing element today is a process of metabolisation carried out by institutions, which should no longer be involved in a simple distribution of services. This process should lead to a stronger synergy between structural activities, ordinary physical upgrading, actions set up for social promotion and a clearer definition of collaborative planning projects between social private and promoting bodies.

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The re-use of derelict port areas: the Old Port

Ondina Barduzzi

The re-use of historical ports poses problems that must be met with adequate urban planning strategies. The first significant redevelopments of derelict ports were carried out in the sixties and seventies in the United States and Canada. This type of undertaking is known as "waterfront redevelopment"; it includes restoration work on abandoned areas of old ports, which have great potential as they are located both near the 'old town' and close to important centres of economic activity. These areas are therefore important to re-use for new urban functions, new activities capable of re-launching the city's economy, taking it centre stage regionwide or internationally. Regenerating this type of area and deciding how best to use it is neither a simple nor a straightforward task. Due to its complex nature, the seafront requires more effort in choosing planning strategies. Indeed, its restoration is not only a method of urban up-grading, but it is also a way of developing the city. It is for the aforementioned reasons that planning for derelict port areas is moving towards a multiplicity of uses, programmed to be both functionally and spatially compatible. The decline of many port areas has been put down to the inadequacy of traditional port structures when dealing with new types of ships and commercial trade. The Port of Trieste has itself had to deal with these intense technological changes in navigation and in the methods of handling cargo, revealing an imbalance in demand and supply of facilities. With the building of Pier VII

in 1973, many activities were progressively moved from the Old Port to the New Port. This was because of the fact that the new area benefited from infrastructure which was sufficiently advanced to deal with new maritime traffic and containers. However, with the progressive abandonment of the Old Port, a debate over re-use began, which still continues to this day.

In 1971, Kenzo Tange presented the "Guiding Lines for the development of Trieste's area", which considered the coast as a unitary organism. In 1974, Guido Canella put forward a project which, whilst still partially retaining port activities, also foresaw new uses. Between the end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties, two new ideas were developed for the area: the Polis project, by Nicolò Savarese, and the Bonifica project, by Luciano Semerani.

The first was a radical urban transformation of the old port which concentrated built-up areas in order to free spaces for public use. The second, on the other hand, formed part of a feasibility study on the economic re-launch of the Giulia area as a whole. The latter put forward a new waterfront layout which removed the State Property status from the old port area and used part of this land for tertiary activities and the creation of two marinas for pleasure navigation. In 1990 Gino Valle presented the draft of a detailed plan which combined the two projects.

1997 saw the birth of Trieste Futura, which considered the extension of the area of the New Port and the regeneration of the Old as one of its primary objectives. Two years later the organisation charged Manuel de Solà Morales with the task of drawing up

the regeneration plan for the Old Port, with the aim of looking at new uses that would be of interest to the city. Finally, in 2000, the Trieste Port Authority, owners of the area in question, entrusted Stefano Boeri with the variant to the master plan of the port in this area.

The variant began its approval procedure trying to reach an agreement between the various governing bodies involved in the planning proposal and on 8 June 2001 the Board of Trieste Town Council gave its approval. This procedure was interrupted, however, by a new decree issued by the Minister for Culture and Heritage, which put new restrictions on already existing buildings, and by a resolution issued by the Port Committee due to a substantial change in the variant.

The Town Council is now drawing up a variant to its local plan for the area of the Old Port with the aim of it conforming to the port's plan, and at the same time verifying, on an urban scale, the coherence of the proposals with structural elements of its planning methods. The Port Authority is at the same time updating the variant of the port plan for the area of the Old Port. The latter will also develop aspects of urban development including detailed information. It seems obvious that the two projects should conform both in their contents and timescales in order to be approved contemporaneously. However, experience has shown the enormous difficulty in bringing together interests, sometimes contrasting, between the Port Authority and the Town Council. These difficulties can sometimes result in critical situations. Agreement between the Town Council and Port Authority seems to be the

main 'way out' for the approval procedure. Indeed, this is obligatory according to law no. 84/1994 and is directed to harmonise the ideas of the variant of the port's plan with that of the Town Council. If the two plans do not agree, then either the port's plan must be modified or a variant to the master plan in force must be adopted.

It is clear that the reaching of an agreement is aimed at ensuring a sound collaboration, not only in the project-making phase but also during the future implementation of projects, and cooperation between the Municipality and the Port Authority. In the case of the Old Port of Trieste, the peculiarity of places requiring special attention to restoration works designed to grant maximum urban quality, and the need to speed up the authorization procedure of the project (the area is candidate to host the international Expo in 2008) call for a technical co-ordination between the bodies involved: Ministry for Culture and Heritage, Region, Town Council and Port Authority. In order to achieve these purposes, a Programme agreement between the aforementioned bodies is put forward as an innovative method for the approval of the two variants.

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Trieste Futura, TriestExpo, Triesteidea
Giacomo Borruso

Over the last twenty years Trieste has experienced a concentrated design effort aimed at identifying a development trend able to bring the city back to the prestigious and prominent role it had in the past; a remote past which has never been forgotten. As time went by, Trieste not only lost its central position in the economy and trade of a great Empire, but also witnessed the loss of its economic and cultural hinterland and the progressive crisis of the State industry. However, this recently created continental situation has clearly paved the way to a new phase enabling Trieste to reconquer its central role within European integration processes and progressive globalization processes involving international exchange. A shared opinion is that in the future of the city the tertiary sector should acquire greater importance, not only the traditional commercial type but also those linked to finance and scientific research. Other important and noteworthy transformation proposals are not going to be dealt with here; this paper focuses on two experiences which, for various reasons and at various levels, are still at the centre of the city's debate: Trieste Futura and TriestExpo. Trieste Futura was born in 1997 at industrial level. The guiding idea of its project is the redevelopment of the Old Port of Trieste which should host new urban activities still to be defined, but able to provide spaces to the new functions envisaged and desired for the city. Despite the widespread success and the action carried out by Trieste Futura Association,

with the involvement of outstanding professionals (among which, Manuel de Solà Morales), the idea has not yet been able to pass from the planning phase to the implementation phase. This is mainly due to the incapability of achieving the political synthesis necessary to bring about a reversal of trend in the declining condition of the city. TriestExpo project was launched in summer 1998, within university and research centres and immediately obtained political consent. However, this consent was never made concrete with explicit provisions and thus the working group decided to form an association of which the author of this paper is the first president. The basic idea spurring TriestExpo Association is that of proposing Trieste as the host city of one of the international exhibitions scheduled for the first years of the 21st century. At the basis of such a plan there lies the conviction, widely confirmed, that the organisation of a great event is an important opportunity to direct efforts and resources towards initiatives aimed at making the city suitable for hosting it. Predictable outcomes do not only involve short term effects and the activity induced by the event, but also long term ones, especially if we think of the infrastructure and structural consolidation of the area for this purpose. Many examples could be brought up to confirm this statement which is also widely demonstrated by the determination with which many countries and many cities try to gain the organization of great exhibitions, sporting and cultural events. The year in which TriestExpo project was launched, the Expo in Lisbon took place and some members of the Triestine association went to see it.

They also went to Seville to get some information on the permanent effects of the event held six years before. Contacts were also established with the Bie (Bureau international des expositions), a body which coordinates and plans the organization of international exhibitions. In 2002 the project was positively acknowledged at both city and national levels and it finally reached a phase which not only entails proposals but also implementation plans. Today the Triestine project proposal for hosting an Expo in 2008, dedicated to the problem of mobility, in a very broad sense, i.e. it includes the effects linked to knowledge and innovation, has been submitted to the Bie as an alternative to the projects of Saragossa and Salonika. Independently from the outcomes that TriestExpo proposal will achieve, during 2003 the activity of TriesteFutura started again. Currently the idea of converting the Old Port area into different uses, which are no longer strictly linked to transport, can be considered as accepted: it should host the main centre of the 2008 Expo. After a period of internal debate, Trieste Futura Association decided to open the way to the young by giving them the task of redesigning a project for their city. A working group has been recently formed, consisting of young researchers and entrepreneurs together with experienced professionals, which has been entrusted with the task of critically reconsidering the much discussed ideas. This is how the new project *Triesteidea* was born, a direct branch of Trieste Futura. This project aims to identify new development and progress trends for the city by designing a future suitable to its relevant potentials and in the light of

the integration scenarios which are shaping a new Europe. In this context Trieste will gradually regain its central position and natural hinterland.

The future of finis terrae: infrastructural scenarios

Vittorio Torbianelli

Urban economics researchers assert that the precondition for the development of western cities in the post-industrial era will be the capacity to generate and attract creative human capital. Cities in order to attract the "new creatives" (and thus companies working in the field of new technologies) will have to meet the pressing life quality requirements put forward by this esteemed human capital, sensitive to perceptive stimuli and to "experience consumption". Having leader universities in advanced sectors will be ever more important, as well as offering a wide range of opportunities (entertainment, shopping, sociality, culture) readily accessible and a high quality of urban and territorial spaces and network services. On May 1st 2004 Slovenia will access the European Union and Trieste, now undergoing a demographic and economic weakening typical of many other post-industrial cities, will regain a more central geographic position within an economic hinterland without barriers. The hope in the opportunities offered by the accession of new states to the EU is great: the prevailing opinion is that Trieste could redevelop economically, as it has already happened in the past, thanks to the relations with its central-eastern European hinterland coming close again. Hence policy-makers draw priority attention to the great infrastructural projects concerning the Paneuropean Corridor V, which links Venice to Kiev. But Trieste, aiming at such projects, is under the illusion that the

development factors are those of the past (infrastructural connections but not the creative human capital), running the risk to miss the chance of regaining a real central position over the next ten years. And yet this city with its research centres can aspire to become a post-industrial development centre, on condition that it goes through a strong social innovation. In such perspective, the relation with distance will not have to be considered on the physical level of the hinterland, but on a global scale, on the immaterial level.

What type of infrastructural choices should be made, then? It is important not to forget about the small scale, i.e. the urban and metropolitan scale, included in a 45-minute trip.

Among the great infrastructures those serving daily mobility play a central role. They make facilities on the territory more accessible by following a logic which fosters environmental quality growth. This does not mean that the city should cut itself off from the outside world; indeed the best results of the redevelopment process will be achieved only if Trieste is able to expand its surroundings and to integrate (and coordinate) completely with the nearest centres, creating a greater critical population mass and greater opportunities. These centres are Monfalcone (with its environs) and Koper across the Slovenian border. If Trieste, Monfalcone and Koper combine into a system, they could form a true integrated international metropolitan area. Such system could be ideally extended to Rijeka, located 60 Km from Trieste, but the two cities have not yet been connected by the motorway network. If on one hand a sound support to these

international projects is provided by the "Euroregions" policy carried out by the Friuli-Venezia Giulia Region, on the other the great projects aimed at speeding up internal connections within the metropolitan area are a starting point for the creation of a new integrated system. To such purpose, Trieste and Monfalcone could be better linked with an underground motorway junction which from the Karst motorway goes directly into town. On the south-eastern side, the completion of the Trieste-Koper motorway connection is of great importance. The actual advantage of strengthening the new railway stretch between Trieste and Monfalcone (along the Venice line), linking the local airport, deserves further investigation. On the other hand, the relatively modest density of fluxes and high implementation costs (infrastructures should pass underneath the Karst) reduce the priority of transborder railway projects like that of the high speed train between Trieste and Ljubljana. But the single projects are not enough, they have to be placed inside a new overall design: a new plan for accessibility (and mobility) involving the whole area. It should concentrate in particular on the interface between the great connections on metropolitan scale and the most densely built and congested areas of the centres. The development of great infrastructure in the historic core of Trieste (tunnels and underground car parks) which do not blend harmoniously with the whole urban system perhaps is not the best solution today. The interface between the metropolitan network and the urban network should rather stem from the creation of some transport

nodes (car parks, park&ride facilities, etc.) placed on the outskirts of the densely-built district, at the end of metropolitan connections (railway and motorway) and should follow an innovative system logics, based on the integration between transport modes, rates and timetable and on the re-hierarchisation of the road network. Such a plan could trigger off new multi-functional urban planning projects along the main access routes and their 'urban heads', i.e. areas which have a great potential in both terms of accessibility and re-generation, such as the south-eastern "industrial area" and the Old Port area candidate to host the Expo in 2008.

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The territory of the Province of Trieste in the new Europe

William Starc

Trieste Province differs considerably from the other three provinces in Friuli Venezia Giulia because of its history and geographical location. Indeed, the size of the Province is such that the difference between the territory run by Trieste city council (where 86% of the population resides) and that governed by the Province is minimal. The Province's political weight derives principally from roles it is assigned by law rather than from any actual role of settling territorial conflicts between the capital of the Province and smaller town councils. The number of inhabitants in the province has decreased from 300,000 in the seventies to 245,000 nowadays. This reduction is a consequence of economic decline of the area, which despite receiving constant financial help since the war, has not been able to bring about structural development. With the decrease in State industries the local commercial networks have suffered a crisis connected to the liberalisation of Eastern European markets. The banking sector and Trieste's historical insurance sector have undergone several resizings and the port activities, the original founders of Trieste's fortunes, now feel the pressure of competition from Koper and Monfalcone. On the other hand, the new science and research institutes at world-class level in Trieste represents a relevant recent development, even though up until now there has been no evidence that research carried out has provided a spin-off for local production. This limited territory also suffers from the fact that the

bodies charged with its planning do not only belong to city councils, but there are also second level institutional bodies which have a say over shared space. The Pa (Port authority) has in part jurisdiction over the industrial zone, which is in its turn run by a specific body called Ezit (the governing body for the Industrial Zone in Trieste). The latter is subject to port jurisdiction where state-owned maritime property is concerned. While Ezit is in favour of a planning project which brings together the municipalities involved, the Pa has not yet concluded its planning process, raising objections to Ezit's choices regarding shared, state-owned maritime areas and the use of industrial areas facing the sea where port activities are to be given precedence. In order to resolve the conflicts between the two parties, the Regional Government has drawn up a protocol of agreement subject to ratification by the bodies of the municipalities involved and the Province itself. This situation with its poorly defined urban planning tools is also affected by the limits outlined by the Minister of the Environment related to the institution of a national site subject to reclamation, which as yet requires an organic plan and financial backing in order for it to be carried out. In the light of its accession to Europe, Slovenia has set forth a global legal reform with particular attention paid to land planning, picking out its strong territorial aspects. Koper plays a fundamental part in the national socio-economic system, as it constitutes the only sea port not only for Slovenia and its produce but also for Central European countries. The preparation for transport infrastructure which can efficiently connect Koper to the rest of the European

road networks has therefore been swiftly carried out. As well as this, a rail connection is planned between Trieste's industrial zone and Koper which would reduce transit times and distances from one state to the other. It is in this way that premises are being set forth for a metropolitan system in which productive, port and industrial systems must be fully complementary and integrated. However, widening the demographic and occupational base entails the definition of planning policies in the various sectors and the heightened need for agreement between representatives of the diverse socio-economic categories involved. Hand in hand with this goes the necessity for a pro-territorial planning culture. Another theme for discussion for more than 30 years has been that related to the safeguarding of the Karst environment even though, stretching on both bordering territories, there are two profoundly different approaches. On the one hand, the Italian side has been more interested in the safekeeping of the natural environment whereas on the other, the Slovene interest lies with the human dwellings located in the area. As EU accession gets closer, there has been a Slovene tendency to think of the Karst more as a unique environment where policies for safeguarding and maximising the potential of the landscape can be activated. With this in mind, closer relations have been set up with the ex Mountain Community (now Mountain District) with the aim of elaborating projects for bordering areas and with the European Community for financing these. On the basis of these prospects and with Interreg III A Italy-Slovenia (2000-2006), Trieste Province,

together with the municipalities, the Chamber of Commerce and the University has elaborated a planning proposal in which the diverse interventions will be part of one system. This has been carried out with the aim of both creating a network between those involved and promoting development of the area with closer links to analogous activities being carried out across the border. On the eve of the creation of a Slovenian territorial body which will be intermediary between State and local councils, there is the concrete and valid possibility of looking into a Plan for the International Park of the Karst. Starting from such objectives and still within the field of Interreg initiatives, the Regional Government of Friuli Venezia Giulia has set up a working group with local governing bodies which is currently discussing the definition of contents of a competition brief for sustainable development. The aforementioned initiatives deal specifically with the elaboration of co-participatory landscape plans; the strengthening of relations networks and creation of shared visions, programmes and policies; the outline of strategic environmental evaluation procedures of a vast area; the innovative realisation of databases and information systems. Sharing some common themes with our Slovene partners, such as development and preservation of the Karst environment and the complementarity of industrial production and port systems which take place in the same Gulf, will give further opportunities for territorial planning in the Province of Trieste. The themes discussed call for the definition of shared policies and tools which are

capable of safeguarding a unique habitat at the same time as integrating and coordinating already existent activities so that territorial resources are not irreversibly destroyed.

The lonely path of the reformist town planning

Federico Oliva

Does it exist today in Italy a reformist town planning? It is a rhetorical question, since I consider myself a reformist town planner, committed to the town planning reform, who works on stubbornly reformist master plans based on public rules but which also consider the market and its requirements, necessarily in line with the present legislative framework, but also anticipating the reform. Master plans which, for these reasons, are not always appreciated by a front which nevertheless consider itself reformist.

Reformists in a minority

The first question intends above all to sound the consistency of the reformist option, committing itself on the three themes of the reform of the legislative framework, of the instruments and of the implementation model. That is, if such an option was or less suited to the commitment and if a marked ambiguity between innovative master plans and disciplinary roots actually prevailed, with the consequent difficulties in defining really shared and effective reference and action frames. An ambiguity that however has not affected the reasons of the plan, because if it is true that the governance of the territory can be entrusted to other instruments and procedures as well, these cannot anyway become a rule of the town planning action, as also the non-brilliant experience of the Italian de-regulation has highlighted. Master plans themselves point out the crisis of the reformist town planning: among all the new Rome master plan, the most advanced Italian

experience, partly diminished by the contradictions forced by the most radical local politics. And even if other experiences have highlighted such a crisis, the confirmation came from the debate in progress about the national and regional town planning reforms, in the new constitutional frame of the "concurrent" 2001 legislation State- Regions that assigns the State the sole responsibility of the "law of principles" on which the different regional laws will base themselves. The old regulations have been hanging on the master plans, sometimes lessened by the regional laws, closer to the reformist project, to such an extent that, to revert to the example of the Rome master plan, the many innovations have not prevented it from being still a master plan, that is a not completely effective instrument; moreover, without the much criticized choice of announcing some forecasts in advance, it would grant today very few effects on the city since the overall implementation is put off to who knows when. As a matter of fact, the first approval by the town council arrived after nearly 10 year work, the sole publication took eight months for including the thousands of amendments of the Town Council in the regulations, while answering the 4,200 remarks presented will take the whole 2004, plus the time required by the local politics and other months of work for the additional adjustment that the second approval will certainly entail. A plan the definitive approval of which by the Region will take besides a long indefinite time (years, not months), with the actual possibility of partial re-adoptions and relevant republications. A master plan that therefore will become executive many

years after its conception, when it will already be old and therefore ready to be replaced by a new one. In front of such mad procedures it appears incomprehensible the non-approval of the reform proposed by INU in 1995, as brilliant as it is simple and convincing. Really, those who committed indeed themselves to the reform are a minority, while in the majority old habits and not updated positions prevailed, that however guaranteed distinction, political and disciplinary visibility. So, just among the ranks of the centre-left alliance some essential points of the reform have been questioned, such as the new implementation model, while the expropriation was resurrected as if it was a credible alternative, when it was on the contrary only an ideological assertion.

Two fundamental knots to be solved

The inability of the reformist town planning to make itself understood, not so much by the experts but by those who suffer the connection with the plan in terms of not very understandable restrictions and choices, of advantages and penalizations, has worked as well against the approval of the reform. So, the two essential knots of the reform of the local master plan, the splitting of it into the Structural Plan and the Action Plan and the perequative and compensatory planning-implementation mechanism have been dealt with in an un-satisfactory way both in the regional laws and in the proposals of 'law of principles'. The question of the restrictions and of their withdrawal in fact can only be solved by a not restrictionist and not mandatory of the owners' rights structural Plan, while

the realization of the plan transformation forecasts can only be left, in the Action Plan (prescriptive and mandatory) to the perequation-compensation, as confirmed by a now more than twenty-year long constant jurisprudence. The other procedure and merit questions are by now largely accepted and therefore easily transferable in a reform, since they do not concern any longer the heart of the political and cultural confrontation.

Simplifying the regional laws

Beside the lack of a 'unitary exercise' of the matter (a precise indication of the constitutional jurisprudence) the real fault of all the new regional laws is the excessive detail: as a matter of fact, they are very complex texts where fundamental topics are treated, but also marginal ones, which risk to offer pretexts and quibbles to lawyers and, even worse, to give cynical politicians a valid and understandable excuses for promoting deregulation. Texts in which the same instruments are mentioned with the most varied names, that, far from evoking legitimate specific approaches, are an additional element of confusion and complications. All the new regional laws, finally, confirm by listing them, the traditional implementation instruments of the old master plan: a contradiction on the verge of a Freudian slip, that keeps an implementation instrument of a no longer existing general instrument alive, only because some of them, those of private enterprise, have worked rather well. Thus forgetting the role the ordinary negotiation instruments could have in the implementation of the Action Plan; the Integrated Programmes that have up

to now shown a remarkable efficiency and can be the real instrument of the town planning management, a not automatic but anyway consistent transition from the plan to the project. The deficiencies of the regional laws are attributable as well to the lack of the 'law of principles'. To make the most significant example, the 'co-operation' is usually put into effect in the 'Planning Conferences', an often wearying and almost useless procedure, which turns out in a standard provincial preliminary inquiry made on the spot, that the main subjects who should be planning together with Town Council, Province and Region (the health and the area authorities, the Superintendencies, the road national enterprise, the railways, etc.) do not attend, while they are although very prompt to ask for analytical examinations, as expensive as lacking of actual effects, do not take part in the European regulations of Strategic Environmental Evaluation, always reserve themselves to give successively their nullaosta to make that specific prevision impossible when they will have to attend to it. And this because there is not a State law which obliges these subjects, often of state level, to work together with the other government offices. The need for the simplification of the laws and therefore also of the plans is an essential element for the relaunching of the plan. The Structural Plan goes just this way, since the adjective structural was meant to point out the forecasts of it being programmatic, but also essential, not detailed. However, today's discipline uncertainties, the divisions, the only ideologically justified different points of view, lead to further complicate the regional laws

and therefore the plans, but also to make the principles themselves on which the 'territory management' should base itself according to the new constitutional choice little clear.

Stating in practice the principles for the territory management

Even more unsatisfactory are the proposals of 'law of principles' presented at the end of 2003; as a matter of fact an only text under discussion, which is the result of the unification of the text produced by the centre-right and that presented by a part of the centre-left. A text with many unsolved points and wide ambiguities, just with regard to the two afore-mentioned knots. The first one, the splitting of the local master plan is only indirectly dealt with when it is specified that it is the implementation acts which have a mandatory effect and therefore, in an implicit way, not the general ones; the second one, the perequative and compensating mechanism of town planning-implementation, is dealt with in a weak and still little explicit way. In the unified text the indication of the perequation as an identical treatment for areas having the same town planning and law characteristics is lacking. The result is disappointing: the implementation is entrusted to the perequation and the compensation model, but also to expropriation. If perequation enters explicitly into the regulations, it seems to do so by the back door, without being acknowledged as the standard mode for the town planning implementation and, above all, as *a priori* mode, by actually applying the equity principle; its full application would not only eliminate the discrimination between the favoured areas and the penalized areas by the master plan, but also

the distinction between public destinations and private destinations, sanctioning the decay of both upon the expiration of the Action Plan. More in general, one can remark how almost no principle among those mentioned in the bill is declined operatively, but the subsidiarity one, by now fully come into the town planning approval procedures in the regional laws; it is not so for the equity one, as we have seen, but not even the sustainability one, since in no text it is required, for instance, to aim to the reduction of sprawl; it is not so at last for the appropriateness one, that should out-line the town planning instruments and their characters more or less mandatory of the owners' rights and that, without encroaching on the province of the Regions, should guarantee that 'unitary exercise' required by the Constitution.

Master Plan, Environment and Environmentalists

The reformist town planning moves back also on the front of the ecological dimension of the plan. After ten year experimentation the integration between town planning and ecology has not established itself yet as a current practice for two reasons: the non-approval of the reform, that has not allowed the simplifications and the rationalization of the town planning system; the prevailing among environmentalists of an ambiguous attitude towards the plan, that favours the conservation and protection aspects compared to the transformation ones, even if aiming to improve the urban environment quality. An ambiguity regarding therefore the master plan as a project and that is also the consequence of the cultural and disciplinary corporativism of the

environmentalist world, which guards jealously its own provinces. Bringing forward the principle that the urban transformation as well may improve the ecological conditions of the town and that such an improvement may be evaluated in objective terms by a balance of the basic environmental resources, means putting forward the principle of urban sustainability itself, just based upon the regeneration and the conservation of those resources. The essential point in fact is not the contrast between safeguard and transformation, but the environmental balance of the transformation: that is, if the rules and the conditions that the master plan imposes to the urban transformation improve positively the starting environmental conditions, measured upon the quality of the basic environmental resources air, water and ground. Should the balance of the transformation be positive, not only this one is possible but it is also useful to the environmental objectives and the master plan, which is always a project for the future, must guarantee its feasibility. Also this aspect is a theme of confrontation in the reformist front: in Rome, to make and other example. The environmentalists have not accepted the compensating acquisition of the areas for public parks and gardens and services in the part of the town less provided with parks and gardens; a position justified by the refusal to allow a minimum permit of building in return for the free of charge acquisition of more than 1,600 hectares of areas destined for parks and gardens, which has put forward one of the basis of the reform, condemning a third of the Roman citizens to live worse, without parks

and gardens and the effects that they produce on the urban environment. But the environmentalists underestimate also the compared values of oxygen production, carbon dioxide absorption and water evapotranspiration of a ground with meadows-trees compared with the same ground utilized for agricultural uses, values which highlight blatantly the advantages of the compensating acquisition in comparison with the inapplicable expropriation bound.

The difficulties of the master plan

Making master plans is therefore more and more difficult; because of political reasons, of the real and instrumental divisions of the reformist front, and because of the inefficacy of the old model that makes the effort of the town planning almost useless. But also because of the weight of the left-over forecasts of the old master plans to be modified, the confirmation of which would distort the new plans, but the refusal of which would make them useless because of the legal disputes.

These difficulties do not relieve the reformist town planning of updating its knowledge and its 'toolbox'. Learning to distinguish the new forms of the urban rent, in order to understand that they can be countered more easily by the perequative approach than by the expropriation one; investigating the present characters of the property market which make a good part of the traditional instruments of town planning obsolete; knowing the effect of an ecologically conditioned transformation compared to a simple safeguard and conservation policy, knowing at last to estimate the urban and environmental charges of any transformation in order

to propose bearable transformations. But also proposing master plans that get ahead of the zoning in favour of a greater functional integration; plans which eliminate the difference between public and private destinations; plans which connect indivisibly transformation and mobility, plans which face up the theme of the revitalisation and upgrading of the historical heritage not only in terms of conservation but also of replacement, when this turns out to be convenient and necessary. An updating that too many technicians refuse, being content with knowing by now obsolete strategies, thus producing often ineffective when not wrong or anyway unnecessarily complicated master plans.

While thinking over just this, I had an other look to the 1993 Berlin town plan, the one of the reunified capital. The most striking and best known transformation of that plan, Postdamer Platz, that is the new centre of the capital, is simply indicated by a bipartite green-red field included in a perimeter and by symbols meaning "Special zone for the Capital functions"; while as light on the paper as it is heavy in the reality is the layout of the infrastructural system which innervates that transformation and makes it admirably accessible. Personally, I always considered that master plan the ideal prototype of the Structural Plan which is establishing itself with so much difficulty. And one cannot certainly say that Postdamer Platz is not planned, that its form and its layout are not the effects of the public rules of its many plans.

The difference between the Italian town planning and that of the West Europe is remarkable, not so much for the formal quality of the plans, as for the issues they

produce and which are basically due to the management deficiencies. Even if the two main knots of the plan will be solved by the 'law of principles' and there-fore it will not be difficult for the Regions to propose laws which allow the drawing up of effective Structural General Master plans and of Action Plans, the Italian town planning will still be far from really satisfactory results. If it does not increase the capacity of urban management required just by the flexibility of the new instruments. The walk of the reformist town planning is therefore still very long and difficult, but there are no alternatives, on pain of putting aside any fanciful ambition of really governing the town and the territory in the interest of the relevant communities.

New environmental scenarios for changing territories

Edoardo Zanchini

There are plenty of reasons for wanting to deal with the phenomena that are affecting the territory, as well as the dynamics that are altering the environment and landscapes so markedly.

The problems and issues are changing within a context where territorial development and management is clearly in crisis, with significant effects on the ecosystem, and growing resource consumption. A new trend has emerged lately, with a reduction in the perception of the distance between global environmental issues and local degradation and pollution problems.

Likewise, public international awareness and environmental advocacy have made it possible to influence several aspects of development, economic globalisation and environmental degradation. However, time has come to focus on territorial policies and processes, with a new way of observing and addressing trends that might be overseen.

There is currently a gap between Europe and the United States, industrialised and developing countries, in terms of the ratification of concrete commitments towards cutting pollution and green-house gas emissions. In ratifying the albeit limited objectives of the Kyoto protocol, European countries have taken on a challenge whereby economic development and competitiveness involve responsibility for environmental issues. This prospect has deeply altered both the way local development is viewed, and the interpretation of the phenomena and problems

pertaining to the contemporary transformation of cities and territories.

A changing territory

Confuting some theorists of the new telecommunications era, development will still have a very strong territorial impact in the years to come. In Italy and Europe alike, the transport demand will grow even faster than the economy, while there will be an increase in ground, energy and natural resource consumption. The repercussions for environmental issues will be ever more obvious and unavoidable. Europe has already become the scene of dramatic events that cannot be blamed entirely on climate change. The causes for floods, but also droughts and desertification, must be sought for in the landscape management and alterations that occurred, especially in the course of the XX century. We must extend our reflection on ways of addressing environmental issues, because they are currently unsuitable for such wide-scale problems.

Nevertheless, one can no longer reason without taking into account the historically unprecedented occupation process of areas for activities and settlements, in terms of dimension, with irreversible changes.

The dispersion phenomenon characterising Europe is the rich facet of globalisation. A geography is vanishing, the images we used to refer to are changing. Changes are affecting the territory and networks, as well as the very perception of distance, with the positive example of the TGV between Lille, Lyon and Marseilles, or the secondary airports system. There are irreversible transformations occurring in most level and periurban areas in Italy, as well as on vast coastal extensions,

with wild repetitions and accumulations of lots and isolated buildings, clearways, junctions and productive areas, with no apparent differences between buildings erected legally or without a licence. The peri-urban areas are characterised by an ever more industrialised form of agriculture that has cancelled the web of ditches and vegetation. In the past twenty years, changes have affected territories that are no longer definable; in the most famous cases, the barely recognizable reference points are the vicinity of the Adriatic coast (from Abruzzo to Veneto), the via Emilia (a continuum nowadays), the extensive plain between Caserta and Naples, the network of secondary roads throughout the constellation of diffuse buildings along the coasts of the Salento, Calabria and Tyrrhenian Sicily.

In such a context, Italy appears to be a spectator waiting to see how the new changes will affect the economy and territory. Parallel debates arise periodically on the loss of competitiveness and capacity of innovation, as well as conferences on the environmental upheaval or lack of infrastructures. However, the territory must be the starting point for understanding the modifications that occurred during the organisational, production and localisation processes, studying practices made possible by the innumerable legal and illegal procedures that allow for portions of space to be modified, regardless of the wide-scale consequences. Such trends express the interest of local economies that need to be supported by infrastructures and policies so as not to suffer a crisis.

It should be stressed that a solution to this development model is sought in a supply-based energy policy

providing for the construction of at least 15 new power plants in the coming years, for a total of about 10 thousand megawatts, hand in hand with the relaunching of coal and cheaper though more polluting sources. The same purpose is entailed in the more important program for motorway infrastructures, devised decades ago, that will also concern ports and railways. A development concept whereby the competitiveness of Italy as a system could be achieved by ensuring freedom of localisation and an in-depth re-enforcement of infrastructures (Legge Obiettivo, 'single counters' i.e. the streamlining of bureaucratic procedures), as well as company incentives, thus reintegrating areas considered marginal into the development process. The approach, viewed favourably by all political parties, has triggered a dangerous race for projects and the relaunch of proposals (1). However, this solution is only apparently 'powerful' in relation to the signals of decline and the dwindling competitiveness of the 'Italy system'. It implies a flexible and indifferent territorial model, without any consideration for the changes in local economies, with new demands and unprecedented leading roles of the Local Economies, or the change in the 'public' role of large network policies (for private groups are nowadays responsible for process controlling and interventions, in any sector ranging from energy to motorways). Supporting such a development concept means renouncing any involvement in an ever more environmentally-oriented process, considered de facto 'natural' and ungovernable, expecting the market to come up with

solutions to the unbalance among Italian areas. In fact, environmental and social issues are eluded, cities and differences in the Italian regions are disregarded, as if economic development and current competition capacities could ignore innovation, or environmental and urban quality. Instead, important changes and significant discontinuity signals have arisen lately among contradictions. With new attention to quality, the recovery of cities, tourism, agriculture; with the destruction, unprecedented in terms of number and importance, of buildings erected without planning authorisations (ranging from the Fuenti to the Villaggio Coppola, from Agrigento to Naples) with signals of reversing trends in awareness of environmental issues. The campaigns and initiatives conducted by Legambiente to support this development concept, concerned the monitoring of rivers, cities, the sea, the fight against illegal building, and the recovery of small municipalities and degraded urban areas. The challenge is to prioritise environmental issues, suggesting a different development prospect for such a complex and articulate country as Italy. To encourage ideas and people in order to fight trends of territorial standardisation, the idea that the Mezzogiorno (South of Italy) is necessarily lacking in water and destined to desertification, that congested and polluted cities are inevitable. One of the most perilous effects of the debate in Italy is the tendency to minimize, simplify and separate problems. Instead, we must, on the one hand, find a way of conciliating issues of economic development and the territory, and on the other, a new approach to environmental issues. Slightly unnormal weather conditions are sufficient to

cause havoc in entire regions. No solution will be found in 'large-scale works', new dams and transregional water ducts, nor in the costly and harmful precautionary measures of raising river banks or 'cleaning-up' riversides. The concept of defence and preservation through protected areas and landscape planning is no longer sufficient if we intend to intersect issues that concern the territory at large. The idea according to which solutions lie in a compatibility assessment of infrastructures and new residential areas, or in the definition project-qualifying criteria, must definitely be discarded. Instead, the approach should be multi-model, or else projects and programs from the supply-side, which at this stage define themselves as sustainable, will continue supporting interests, perhaps merely adjusting and limiting the effects of traditional intervention forms. Just consider the progress made in the past decade in the environmental field by the Italian cities. The progress was significant in several contexts in terms of protection and the creation of infrastructures, though environmental indicators are following a downward trend almost everywhere due to a lack of innovative policies for the regeneration of degraded ecosystems, energy and water management, structural interventions on mobility and accessibility. There is no widespread awareness of the need to change the agenda of national and local policies in order to meet the commitments taken in the ratification of the Kyoto protocol, and the objectives reaffirmed at the Johannesburg conference. Urban and infrastructural policies must be altered so as to contribute to the trend

reversal by means of clear and 'quantifiable' environmental sustainability objectives that must be the cornerstone of every intervention. Or else motorways and plants will go on being built as debates on the ozone hole are organised; schemes and projects on sustainable development will be approved, but without explaining how they can be successful thanks to the proposed interventions. The gap that appears so clearly in any analysis on infrastructures and innovative policies will therefore increase compared to the other European countries, while Italy will remain the negative record-holder in terms of environmental illegality and the lack of water purification, illegal building and energy consumption, the number of cars per inhabitant. It is nevertheless true that many of the environmental-friendly structures and tools setup with much effort in the past years in are today no longer suitable. The institutional stronghold made up of ministries and councillors' offices, agencies and institutions, each with their own programs and schemes, underline all the limits (2) related to the issues above (unless they have already been dismantled or made innocuous).

New views on the territory, new sustainability models

Contemporary territory is undergoing a profound crisis owing to the model of dispersion. The approach to environmental policies must necessarily change because natural processes have been upset. By waterproofing residential areas, draining agricultural land, changing crops and deforesting hills, we have transformed the ground surface into a kind of large

sponge; consequently, rainwater is no longer absorbed by the ground, but rapidly fills the rivers, generating floods that cannot be contained in the riverbeds. The water that used to supply the groundwater level that was slowly restored, replenishing rivers in dry periods (3). The television recently showed the pictures of Milan where the Seveso river regained possession of the asphalt avenues that had buried the river, and of the Elba that invaded Dresden. The pressure on natural elements in residential areas is such that the dynamic biological balances that used to characterise ecosystems have been destroyed, thus undermining self-depurative capacities. The outcome is congested cities where the level of air pollution is rising continuously (notwithstanding a few park areas, electrical buses, and pedestrian precincts in the historic town-centres), territories lacking water, or rivers that overflow because the riverbeds that had been rectified in order to accelerate outflow can no longer contain the water. Time has thus come to devise new territorial references to free the natural evolution of ecosystems, with the aim of recovering lost values and functions, giving river basins new life and the possibility to overflow without dramatic consequences into open areas, thus contributing to biodiversity increase. A changing territorial concept, where the choices of infrastructures and environmental and economic policies contribute towards reversing trends and defining innovative solutions. Local issues play a key role in this context in order to understand specificities, widespread demand, and the different 'paces'. Legambiente is about to face a delicate

challenge concerning the future of Italy. Environmentalism will have to oppose outdated projects and mistaken solutions with proposals and initiatives able to setup alliances and bring together the many positive signals from throughout the country. To prove that economic development is nowadays, in a more widespread and balanced way, affecting those very areas outside the traditional pathways and processes which according to many should be process leaders (from Matera to the Cinque Terre, from Salento to Siena). The causes for the hydrogeological degradation also lie in the sectorial and technical approaches to environmental issues; in the conviction that water problems have nothing to do whatsoever with the territory. Instead, drought and desertification in the regions of southern Italy, the damage caused by inundations, landslides and floods in the central-northern areas, are but two of the effects of poor resource management. In a country that is quite wealthy in water, though with huge problems in terms of waste, from agricultural, but also civilian use, distribution and system losses, the progressive pollution increase, and groundwater salinity. Time has come to follow the example of many countries that have implemented active policies and recovery plans for the reforestation of territories concerned by desertification (4) and environmental upheaval, the regeneration of degraded and polluted areas; natural water-purification must be reintroduced in agricultural areas and untended fields, while new cultures for the more fragile zones must be experimented. It is less expensive and more effective to extend river flatlands (by means of

natural damp zones and agricultural activities that are compatible with periodical floods), rather than to raise riverbanks and pay damages for flooded houses and sheds. Water must once again be considered within the lifecycle and management of buildings and public spaces, through integrated and separate system management, by increasing the capacity of water purification and reuse, to replenish the water-bearing stratum and upgrade unoccupied areas. It is now evident that no effective results in accordance with the Kyoto agreements will be reached without a sharp reversal in energy policies. Instead of boosting the construction of plants using the non-existing risk of a national black-out, one should address the problem characterising Italy of the chronic dependence on fossil fuels, putting aside a theory whereby energy choices are detached from the territory, pollution, increasing emissions. Such an approach must be overturned in order to actually connect it to the various contexts, explaining the tight correlation between environmental problems and energy consumption in buildings and transport. The objective is to progressively cut-down and rebalance requirements by boosting the efficiency of production plants, focusing on renewable sources and energy saving. This will offer unprecedented opportunities, recovering areas by shutting down old and polluting plants, and prevent the construction of new plants and high-tension lines. The approach should aim at defining the most suitable forms for each territory, at encouraging production from renewable sources, after all, Italy is a country where the solar-energy potentials are very

different from the ones in Northern Europe, yet with only one tenth of the photovoltaic plants existing in Germany, and the yearly creation of one twentieth of the solar plants. Mobility policies must turn their attention to energy implications and consequences on overall resource consumption. Nowadays, policies, plans and programs are defined sustainable if their main target is to minimize the imbalance between public/collective transport and road haulage, thereby reducing pollution and energy consumption, congestion and accidents, and to define territorial accessibility plans for activities and functions, by means of assessable objective and criteria. In this context, issues can be addressed that were left to academic debates, such as the consensus and quality of infrastructures, territorial demand and the localisation of activities and residential areas, with the purpose namely of reducing land occupation and consumption. Sustainability is therefore an innovative challenge addressing the problems and new requests of contemporary cities. Supporting this idea means deeply modifying the approach of policies and plans vis à vis the processes that must be both operational and incremental, able to guide interventions and supply a coherent framework in order to assess and modify projects, to deeply alter relations between policies and territories where management must become the central issue. This involves changing plans and the approach to processes which must be both operational and incremental to support interventions and offer a definition of coherence in the assessment and

modification of projects; to integrate networks with activities and resources. An original approach to the problems and new requirements of contemporary cities, starting from ecological balances, in order to define new transformation scenarios, which means focusing on transformation processes within realities are not changing in terms of the number of inhabitants, but in their social setup. The challenge is to reconsider cities, to work on the existing using shared processes, otherwise, interests and power will prevail, while priorities and real problems of social exclusion and degradation are disregarded. The challenge is to work on the in-depth requalification of cities, by demolishing unsafe and unliveable buildings, recovering assets with clearly-defined objectives and concrete environmental budgets for the use and consumption of resources, considering the most suitable solutions, such as the planning of buildings and open areas, and system and technological solutions.

Plans for new landscapes

Let us now dwell upon landscape issues. There is an exponential growth in the gap between the images we are used to associating with the different Italian landscapes, and the mobile and changing reality. It is the very extent of the process that requires us to modify an outdated and ineffective approach associated to concept of the defence of a few 'outstanding' areas. If we shift our attention from the historical centres and protected areas to the territory at large, it is clear that current dynamics go unnoticed, and are therefore never confronted. To outline the different problems of agricultural land, areas

dedicated to tourism, or in a state of abandon, the landscape should be viewed as a project with ideas in terms of territorial issues and intervention prospects. The purpose is not to rekindle a useless, not to say harmful, debate on competences, but to focus on management issues, in accordance with the indications of the European Landscape Convention, in attempt to bring together the different powers and actively reinforce policies. The competitions promoted in the past years by Legambiente on landscape interpretation and planning landscape were inspired by these reflections, in other words by the idea that confrontation must be extended, different ideas and opportunities must be found to explore new themes and issues that can no longer simply go unattended. For especially in the most transformation-prone areas, landscape interpretation is indispensable in order to understand how to intervene against new and complex dynamics. The objective of addressing a new and inescapable theme such as the planning of wind plants (5) gave rise to the idea of a competition on Wind Landscapes. Wind energy is in fact the most rapidly growing sector, and the most successful among the renewable resources. Innovative structures that clearly represent an opportunity environmentally-speaking, but also a delicate issue in terms of the impact on the landscape. Bear in mind that in Italy, around two-thirds of the 700 megawatts used were setup in the past three years, almost exclusively in the hills of Apulia, Campania and Basilicata, without any planning or introductory rules at all, thus giving rise to contestation and conflicts. Therefore, a challenge linked mainly to planning in

order to understand the role that a clean and unlimited renewable source of energy (6) can have for the territory. The competition has made it possible to understand that original and effective solutions can be found, underlining the many different interpretations of contexts, landscape issues and values, the use of areas, relations with innovative structures. The approach defined in the competition notice allowed for quite a free collection of contributions and ideas pertaining to landscape and plant planning solutions (displacement, number and size of structures), always linked to energy targets and to the 'wind map' supplied by the two areas covered by the competition. The implementation of the winning projects, whose technical details are currently under study, for the areas of Pescopagano (Potenza) and Cinisi (Palermo), will be useful in finding a solution to contestations and the chronic absence of rules. Instead, the idea of a competition on Coastal Landscapes (7) was born during the revival of the interest for landscapes (with the first national conference) and the issue of Italian coasts. After having coined the expression 'ecomonsters' in order to depict and simplify the definition of degradation caused by unauthorised building and speculation along the Italian coasts, Legambiente's target was to help in setting-up a debate on how to intervene on such a delicate and complex issue. The competition provided for both photographic and planning themes in order to experiment new ways of interpreting the dynamics of ever-more articulate situations. The photographs illustrated a sample of varied situations in Italy, a kind of overview of

economic and industrial development in Italy, and the evolution of tradition and cultures. Landscape projects seem to be the most suitable for connecting different issues (from public areas to coastlines, from tourist exploitation to the balance of ecosystems) within realities with widespread single values and degradation. The selection of so widely differing experimentation places (the area between the Lanterna and the ancient port of Genoa, the Punta Perotti seafront in Bari, the Ardea dunes) was born from the idea that the approach to coastal issues cannot be reduced to models and schemes. Instead, an original solution is required to outline reconfiguration actions and innovative policies. A new interpretation of landscapes is ever more urgent for territories undergoing transformation. Areas where power and personal interests upset rules, alter characters, but where it is even more important to address the dynamics pervading society and the issues that do not come under any urban or landscape schemes. Where special approaches can be useful for finding prospects for the river systems in the Po valley, nowadays reduced to unrecognisable shapes among residential areas and infrastructures; for enhancing the internal landscapes of the Apennines; for interpreting the changes affecting the coastal areas of the Mediterranean, characterised by the growing pressure of tourism and residential areas, as well as problems of diffused degradation and sea pollution. Let us experiment, like in many European countries, an approach to infrastructural plans (8) starting from landscapes, so as to offer a picture of the territory with its ecological

scenarios, cultural values and new perceptions. Greater attention towards landscapes and the interaction between territory and development forms is currently a must. A challenge for Europe, and for Italy in particular, that entails finding an original and recognizable role within a scenario where diversity risks being cancelled, despite being a real motive of attraction and liveability.

Notes

1. From the Ravenna-Venice motorway (the commercial Romea) to the new link motorway north of Bologna, to the new Highspeed Railway stretches.
2. Just consider the persons appointed in the scientific committees of former ANPA, today APAT, and the curriculum of the people selected for the new VIA commissions.
3. See the CIRF (www.cirf.org) studies.
4. See the works of Shlomo Aronson, in Israel, concerning the reforestation of the Judea region and landscape planning.
5. See *Wind Landscapes*, by E. Zanchini, edited by Meltemi, Rome, 2002. The competition promoted by Legambiente and by Enel Green Power concerned the project of two wind system plants in Pescopagano, Potenza, and Cinisi, Palermo.
6. The benefits must be assessed in the fact of renouncing the use of fossil fuels, thus preventing the emission of noxious substances and greenhouse gases. Denmark, which currently covers 18% of its energy requirements using the wind-system, has been able to cut CO2 emissions by 11% at a time when the economy grew by 23%.
7. Promoted by Legambiente and the Ministry for Cultural Assets,

2000-2001.

8. See the recent achievements within the TEN program (Trans European Network), namely the rail and road connection system on the Oresund, the TGV Méditerranée railwayline, the Amsterdam-Bruxelles railway project.

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Urban rehabilitation scenarios: complex evaluations as learning process

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The paper refers to an experience that has been carried out in a distressed urban periphery of Naples: Scampia. The research has been developed aiming at the development of bottom-up approaches, building an interdisciplinary methodological model, used to draw an alternative scenario to be compared with the institutional one. The main purpose is to create a participative process, that is able to support sustainable strategies by using an evaluative approach as tool to build shared knowledge and consciousness inside the community, and to define a scenario of urban rehabilitation that reflects the needs and the desires of the community itself. At the root of integrated approaches to decision-making processes lies the need to consider and explore concepts of complexity, uncertainty and conflict. Complexity implies the impossibility of fully describing the behavior of a given system by using a single model or a finite set of models. It is associated with the coexistence of modelling methods based on independent logics, thus requiring decoding parameters not belonging to equivalent descriptive dominions (Rosen 1977, 1985, 1991). The concept of complexity implies the possibility of describing the actual behavior of the system from an infinite number of perspectives/viewpoints, which are linked to the modelling relations and dependent on the aim of the study. Consequently, a limited set of mutually irreducible viewpoints may

be selected for purposes of integrated evaluation, conceived as multiple-criteria description. In integrated evaluations, choice is based on the relevance or irrelevance of criteria. This raises the problem of explicitly articulating a "value judgment" (Giampietro 1999). There is an obvious need for an evaluative approach able to handle at the same time non-equivalent descriptions of the same problem, which can reflect other meaningful perspectives and examine possible effects on different scales. Since it is impossible to define *a priori* the features and boundaries of the system subject of evaluation, the greater the number of non-equivalent perspectives whence we can observe the complex system, the more nuanced will be our understanding of the reality it generates. After all, social, political and environmental decision-making is often flawed by "uncertainty, conflicting values, high stakes and urgent decisions". That is why an epistemological structure has been devised, namely 'post-normal science', according to which we may focus on two key aspects: uncertainty and conflict of values (Funtowicz, Ravetz 1991, 1993). Post-normal science is contrasted with 'normal science' (Ravetz 1999) and opens up the debate on collective choices to the wider community, according to a process of democratization of knowledge, where cognitive and socio-cultural elements are entwined (Funtowicz, Ravetz 1994; Ravetz, Sardar 1997). Evaluation is conceived as a 'social learning process' (De Marchi *et al.* 2000; Sandercock 1998), which is dynamical, flexible and adaptive.

Integrated evaluations play a key role as support tool for decision-making, especially in the cases marked by numerous, varied and conflicting dimensions of uncertainty, complexity and values (van der Sluijs 2002). Evaluations thus conceived are marked by:

- cross/multi-disciplinary approach, since they can integrate many different scientific viewpoints;
- participation, as they attempt to increase their knowledge through community involvement;
- transparency, in order to clarify ethical assumptions and the sharing of responsibilities;
- coherence, so as to ensure that results are a true consequence of the principles adopted.

Integrated evaluations must thus be 'complex', i.e. able to apply post-normal science to uncertain systems, improve the quality of the decision-making process and embrace different viewpoints, while ensuring that quality criteria are based on explicitly stated ethical principles, which become an element in the debate. A cyclical evaluation process is thus activated, enabling repeated adjustments of evaluation elements based on continuous feedback, obtained in the various stages and provided by player/stakeholder consultation (Nijkamp *et al.* 1990). Once having adopted this perspective, we can use tools for multi-criteria analysis, such as Problem Structuring Methods (PSMs), a set of methods for organizing data in a decision-making support system, consistent with a communicative notion of planning (Rosenhead 1996; Rosenhead, Mingers 2001). PSMs provide a comprehensive overview of the issues, enabling

stakeholders to clarify their respective positions. They can thus work towards a shared understanding of one or more issues, possibly leading to a partial convergence. PSMs can: enable the mapping of alternative options, which communicate mutually; be accessible and understandable for non-expert players, since the problem is identified through a participatory, bottom-up process; operate iteratively, so that the framing of the problem is open to corrections and/or changes which reflect the progress of dialogue between players; allow targeting of partial or local improvements, instead of a global solution. It is thus possible to account for the complexity of the issues at hand, explore possible solutions, compare discrete alternatives, face uncertainty in terms of possibilities and scenarios rather than probability and forecasting, based on explicit modelling of cause-effect relations. By combining Problem Structuring Methods (PSMs) and Multi-criteria Methods (MCMs) a Multicriteria Decision Support System (MCDSS) can also be developed (Roy 1996; Saaty 1986; Zeleny 1982) based on an integrated approach, which enables study of the complexity of human decisions by building a flexible environment, in which the individual learning process plays a significant role in decision-making.

The context: the Scampia quarter of Naples

The Scampia quarter comprises a number of public or public and private jointly funded housing projects, built over the last 20-30 years on the northern outskirts of the city of Naples. In particular, "Scampia housing project 167" (from national law 167/62 on public housing) is the largest public and

cooperative housing project built in Naples. It is also known as the "Secondigliano periphery" or "167 of Secondigliano". The place is rife with serious problems, the most obvious being deprivation, urban alienation, social unrest, marginalization, moonlighting and unemployment, violence and drug abuse. The built stock is largely residential, with a high rate of public property dwellings, about 70% of total volume. Moreover, the road network layout is mainly longitudinal, based on long parallel roads, while there are few crossroads and pedestrian crossings. Additional features are the scarcity of morphological linking elements, few and sparse retail outlets, and the almost complete absence of craft and service businesses, as well as sports and recreational facilities. The dearth of public spaces and meeting points effectively dampens the development of normal social relations. The most notorious negative symbol of the quarter is the so-called 'Vele' ('Sails') complex, comprising seven huge apartment blocks that were recently partly demolished. This area has affected public perception of the whole quarter and has contributed to the gradual isolation of the residential blocks, the inappropriate use of the road network and privatization of common areas. Scampia may be dubbed an 'inverted city', since the quarter's outskirts are actually its oldest part, which most closely approximates an urban fabric, while the centre, built in later years, is seriously neglected and dilapidated. The various changes that commenced in the 1980s have had a deep impact on the local community's social status. We may broadly divide the quarter's

inhabitants into three main groups: the first group is especially vulnerable to the stress of adapting to a difficult environment and feels the need for basic services and structures; the second, possessing greater organizational skills, has shielded itself by fencing off the plots around their dwellings, thus creating kinds of private gardens, and requires secondary facilities and services; the third, which has acquired special privileges by illicit means, has illegally occupied and controlled spaces, encroaching on the quarter's life and distorting its development and daily activities.

The City Council has embarked on an ambitious regeneration plan through several instruments, namely the Urban Rehabilitation Program Vele-Scampia (L. 457/78; L. 483/93), the Neighborhood Agreement *A Square for Social Relations* (CER 1998) and a new Zoning Regulation. Operations include the demolition, rehabilitation or reuse of existing buildings, as well as the renovation of the urban park and hitherto unused green areas. In particular, under the Rehabilitation Program, drafted in April 1995, the following projects were launched: renovation of the Vele complex; completion of retailing and craft workshop facilities along the road network; completion of the municipal park, parking areas, organizational measures and service management; creation of areas and facilities for productive activities. Moreover, the draft Neighborhood Agreement includes a project for the rehabilitation of the current Municipal Gardens. The idea is to open the area to public use, by constructing a square and adding several services and outlets. None of the above mentioned decisions and

actions were easily achieved. On the contrary, we feel that the Scampia case is a typical example of decision-making in a post-normal context, which implies a number of requirements: constructing a complex knowledge framework; avoiding 'simplification' of a reality that is often seen from a biased, stereotyped perspective; implementing cognitive analysis methods, in order to build consensus-building scenarios; applying evaluative approaches that take into account bottom-up demands, while building open, transparent proposal platforms involving all stakeholders.

Designing a participation-based urban rehabilitation project

Methodology. Starting from the Rehabilitation Program and the Neighbourhood Agreement drafted by the Naples City Council, we attempted to outline a methodological approach which considered possible alternative scenarios, focused on the issue of regenerating the Vele and creating public spaces in the quarter. "What kind of square for Scampia?" and "What should the fate of the Vele be?" were the two key questions to which this approach was applied. Through an interactive evaluation process involving both experts and the local community, sufficient data was collected to outline a broad picture of the situation: its main aspects and significant features, as well as the individual values to be taken as a basis for achieving shared collective decisions (Sen 1970). By adopting an integrated, shared evaluative approach, we attempted to highlight the concept of 'square' as held by the inhabitants of the quarter, and their wishes about the future of the Vele. Desires and needs were

thus brought to light and used to shape a different scenario, an alternative vision to the one drafted by the City Council. This new plan conciliated various coexisting values, reflecting not only the physical and economic dimensions but also cultural and social ones. "Constructing a square" or "Regenerating the Vele" are processes that can take on different roles and meanings. They imply the construction of social processes based on endogenous human, cultural and economic resources, achieved through the empowerment and active involvement of all stakeholders, both resident and non resident, who can contribute both to identifying problems and to suggesting feasible solutions. In this regard, it is important to realize how a dialogic process may be developed to help people communicate, relate with each other and together build a shared scenario; the role of evaluation is to enable the project-plan-ning process to be as objective as possible, enabling the selection of a responsible choice (Voogd 1983). Indeed, in an evaluation process where the players involved contribute to defining choices, the awareness of issues and the ability to handle them stem from adequate knowledge. The various components: knowledge of issues, context analysis, identification of distinctive elements, constraint definition and problem structuring are aimed at in-depth comprehension of the reality we are dealing with. At this stage, we should explicitly state what objectives are being pursued and strive to match them to existing constraints. The next step is building alternative scenarios, based on an iterative process, which takes into account

acquired knowledge and the objectives selected. The process ends with the selection of a final scenario: this will be the solution that harmonizes different requirements, arises from a dialogic/communicative process and, most important of all, contributes to the creation of new shared values (Fusco Girard, Nijkamp 1997).

One of the aims of our research was indeed to build and test a cognitive model for supporting the different stages of evaluation, starting from a survey of the needs and expectations of the quarter's inhabitants and ultimately achieving a new vision for the quarter's future. The method chosen comprises three main steps:

- identify a set of project actions obtained from scenario-building through cognitive processing;
- define scenario-evaluation criteria, where the scenario is considered as a set of project actions;
- implement multicriteria and multigroup analysis to assess alternatives and engage in conflict resolution.

The method adopted is based on a learning process, which we might break down into a number of different but related phases: context analysis; institutional analysis; indepth interviews and focus groups; perception mapping; statistical data analysis. These various analyses have enabled us to plot cognitive maps, build scenarios and carry out multicriteria and multigroup evaluation.

Knowledge: data analysis and identification of perceptions. To achieve our aim of charting a process for understanding the reality under consideration, we selected a strategy and instruments which would enable us to describe issues and their possible implications. Our discovery

process focused in particular on institutional analysis (De Marchi *et al.* 2000), which we interpreted as an expansion of Community Impact Evaluation (CIE) (Lichfield 1988). One of the aims of CIE is to define the choice of a scenario by putting together the preferences of the individual groups of stakeholders and assessing how their usefulness changes depending on the effects of the scenarios identified. On the other hand, in its original formulation institutional analysis is used as a key for interpreting the phenomenon under study from the viewpoint of the evolution in time of the positions of direct and indirect players.

By analyzing the social structure of the Scampia quarter from this historical perspective, we were able to identify the endogenous or available human, social and environmental resources, and detect the community's social and economic perceptions. Through the analysis of main players we came to realize that alternative scenarios must target the interests of a whole community, taking into account stakeholder preferences, whether representing specific conditions or broader needs.

Through coevolutionary interpretation of the quarter's history the following classes of players were identified: city government, municipal district, church, university, law enforcement agencies, the gipsy community, associations, the residents of '167', the residents of the Vele, and those of the 'parks'. Scampia's reality emerged as one comprising several groups, with different cultural models and life-styles, linked to highly differentiated social and economic status. The social

and economic setting is made up of *enclaves*, isolated groups which are unable to cross the many and diverse barriers dividing them.

Context and institution analysis were deepened through interaction between operators, researchers and local dwellers. We thus obtained a deeper understanding of the problems, places and behaviors in the quarter. By the same token, the local community could look at things from a different perspective. Thus a 'double loop' was created, by which the initial viewpoint of group members changed through exchange and interaction, going beyond accepted wisdom and building a common, shared memory (Argyris, Schön 1974).

The instrument of the interview enabled us to focus knowledge on some of these issues which were felt to be essential for understanding the conditions for the quarter's livability, considering lifestyles, underpinnings (institutional, human, social, physical, etc.), resources (economic, human, social, cultural, etc.). The interview was administered to a selected sample of 150 individuals and 8 privileged witnesses, providing a cross-section of institutional and community perspectives. In parallel, a cycle of focus group meetings was arranged, involving students from middle schools and evening classes. The aim was to identify the perception of problems and general awareness levels, self-perception and capability of constructing possible solutions. The data collected was used to draw up 'perception maps', plotting the points of reference and expressed wishes arising from experience and daily life. Moreover, by means of statistical data analysis

using both standard and ad hoc indicators, we assessed the level of quarter degradation, also comparing it with other quarters in Naples. Lastly, by plotting some graphical-visual indicators we were able to make a description of the quarter's deprived status. Next, by analyzing replies to the 150 interviews and the information obtained in the focus groups, we identified the demands voiced by the community, using some key headings which had surfaced during the decoding process. The data confirmed the need to classify inhabitants into sub-groups according to their housing conditions and location, since they are bearers of different demands. This must be supported by multivariate statistical analysis aimed at confirming the suitability of breaking down the community into subgroups. The overall picture which emerged from the different types of analysis enabled us to achieve an understanding of the various issues which moved away from entrenched *clichés* and was rather based on the perception and the awareness level of the quarter's inhabitants.

The cognitive model: building the scenarios. Our theoretical grounds for generating scenarios were Problem Structuring Methods (PSM) and, in particular, Strategic Options Development and Analysis (SODA) (Eden, Simpson 1989; Eden, Ackermann 1992).

The SODA approach underscores the aspects linked to social and cognitive psychology which are reflected in the management of social processes, and identifies four interacting perspectives: the individual, the nature of the organization, the consultation practice, the role of technology and

technique. By considering the complexity and wealth of elements obtained gained from attention to subjectivity, SODA aims at facilitating and stimulating the learning process. This is accomplished by contextualizing the model, assessing the impact of different components, identifying individual preferences, and communicating choices. Through construction of cognitive maps and their subsequent analysis, this method makes it possible to work on complex problems, plotting a map of the perceptions of a person or a group. By transforming a map of ideas into a coherent picture we can improve our understanding of the situation, identify the real issues that underlie the data, avoid unnecessary duplication of concepts and data, solve conflicts between different options and opinions, while at the same time preserving data integrity and managing its complexity, by identifying a common ground for planning flexible, practicable and acceptable solutions (Cerreta, Torre 2000a, 2000b). Based on interviews to privileged witnesses, we mapped the respective cognitive maps having as their dominant theme 'quarter livability'. The analysis of the actual links between physical space and social relations was complemented by an initial evaluation phase, focused on the relations between quarter livability issues and the residents' perception of possible solutions, and aiming at an integrated regeneration process. Next, using the data from the same interviews we constructed two more sets of cognitive maps, centered, respectively, on, "What square for Scampia?" and "What fate for the Vele?". The subjects interviewed are 'field workers' (Lipsky

1979), who experience the reality on which they are asked to expand, drawing from their first-hand, day-to-day knowledge of the problems affecting the quarter. Cognitive map analysis enabled us to identify the features of the setting as perceived by the local community, and pick out the elements needed for planning an urban regeneration process covering the whole quarter, and having as its starting point the project for a new square and for renovating the Vele housing development. Cognitive maps enable identification of links between known elements, by using the statements of respondents. The strength of the links is an indicator of their importance and of the degree of complexity of problems faced. To plot the maps, we used the Decision Explorer software, which can process a very large volume of inter-related qualitative data, and we identified three classes of concepts:

- key issues, i.e. the fundamental elements for interpreting the theme of our survey;
- intermediate concepts, arranged into sequential chains and leading to gradual deepening of issues;
- actions, which identify conclusive concepts and formulate proposals, identifying the components of the setting.

With regards to the general topic of urban rehabilitation, interviews were interpreted from the perspective of 'quarter livability'. The same approach was followed both on the issue of "Vele renovation" and "The new square". The different maps can be aggregated into a single strategic map, by establishing sequential or connotative links between similar concepts. The final scenario is a set of

mutually compatible proposals, defined in the strategic map according to priority rules. Selection is made through map processing using several analysis tools (domain, central, hieset). Thus, it is possible to establish a hierarchy of actions and analyze the chains of implications leading to priority actions. Comparative assessment of the outcomes of analysis yields a set of priorities, which make up the final scenario and provide the alternatives for evaluation in multicriteria analysis. Following this process, we obtained two lists of priority actions: one for the Vele, and the other for the square, expressing the scenarios perceived by the local community.

Evaluation: the shared scenario. In parallel with scenario building, we endeavored to identify and define criteria for final scenario evaluation. These criteria were built starting from the analysis of the quarter's social components, exploiting some interpretative categories useful for making explicit the perception of inhabitants vis à vis the built environment, quality of life, relations with fellow citizens and the institutions. Three main dimensions were considered: physical, social, and institutional space. Five criteria headings were defined, namely: perception of reality, safety, accessibility, lifestyles, participation in community life. Respondents were grouped according to their respective housing areas in the quarter (Vele, '167', Don Guanella, Monterosa and the residential parks). Analysis was completed by multicriteria and multigroup evaluation, which enabled us to compare alternatives to the criteria identified and carry out equity evaluation by comparing alternatives from the point of view of

their impact on each group. Evaluation provides useful indications for drafting a project scenario which takes into account the community's needs and expectations: an idea of 'square' which was drawn up with the participation of the Scampia quarter and a project for renovating the Vele which takes into account both local needs and the overall reality of Naples. Final evaluation was carried out by applying the Novel Approach to Imprecise Assessment and Decision Environments (NAIADE) (Munda 1995). NAIADÉ is a method developed for deal with the inevitable degree of uncertainty or fuzziness in evaluation systems applied to planning. Analysis was two-step: technical assessment, through multicriteria analysis, for comparing alternatives based on different criteria; equity or multigroup assessment: alternatives are weighed according to their impact on the various stakeholder groups. NAIADÉ, by building a fuzzy classification, takes into account the uncertainty involved in the decision-making process. In multicriteria analysis, this is accomplished by identifying the degree of truth of possible relations of indifference or preference and defining a number of membership functions for alternative choices. In equity analysis, on the other hand, we explicitly consider the possibility of forming alliances by assessing the degree of similarity between the positions of the groups and the alternative scenarios drawn up. All analyses are supported by identification of a fuzziness index, whose value varies between 0 (maximum uncertainty) and 1 (maximum certainty). The alternatives to be assessed are the

components of the scenarios plotted through the SODA approach. As regards the Vele, the dominant scenario arising from multicriteria analysis points to the usefulness of planning a variety of functions which could occupy the whole built stock not yet demolished. Turning the Vele into university buildings is one of the preferable options, provided it is well integrated in the local community. To achieve this, a large student body would be useful. This use should be associated with other functions linked to the quarter's life. Furthermore, volunteer organizations and charities, as well as businesses, could be assigned appropriate spaces in the renovated Vele complex. This would foster cultural and economic growth, together with gradual integration. A hierarchy of alternatives is obtained from multicriteria evaluation. High on the list are "cultural center" (B), "community center" (F), "university college" (G) and "shopping center" (A). The solutions closest to the status quo, i.e. those which preserve habitation use, whether through renovation of the Vele or their replacement with a new housing project, are last in the list, together with the option of selling the buildings off to private purchasers. The outcomes of equity analysis are illustrated through a dendrogram of coalitions, which charts the possible establishment of alliances and the degree of conflict. Coalitions express the specific position of each group, reflect its choices and feelings towards the quarter's life and status. Equity analysis highlights an element that plays a key role in the quarter's prospects for social regeneration: coalitions are closed, which means they are formed between social

and institutional actors, but not among groups of residents. Coming to the second node, the square, we may observe that two of the options: "several squares" (B) and a "system square-equipped axis" (F) are non-comparable. A possible solution could be to create a system of squares linked to an equipped axis. The options "market-square" (G) and "squares with different functions" (C) also generate great interest, while a general need emerges for a central square as the 'heart' of the quarter. The outcome of the evaluation process bears witness to the importance of designing a set of public spaces that can play an active role in the context, combining a variety of functions and activities. The square thus becomes the stage for playing out the potential resources of the place, a focus for social, cultural and economic exchange. The coalition dendrogram confirms the winning alliance between the municipal district (circoscrizione) and community groups, reflecting the attempt to harmonize the role of public authorities with informal networks. Another important element was the coalition between the inhabitants of the most dilapidated areas (Vele and Iacp) and those of the residential parks. This commonality reflects shared concerns and their interest in a project targeting social integration. For both the Vele and the 'square' themes, the end result of the evaluation process is a strategic scenario that can be technically compared with the project drafted by the public authorities.

Final reflections

This approach to decision-making aims at helping the parties assess the legitimacy, i.e. the 'social

consensus' of the overall process and the choices made. This is accomplished by analyzing and describing the various relevant dynamics (namely the economic, social, environmental and cultural dimensions) and by adopting participatory techniques that foster interaction between expert and lay knowledge. By applying a variety of methods, taken from different fields of learning, we were able to define a framework for more comprehensive analysis and evaluation, to be taken as a new starting point. The methodological route we outlined highlights the fact that planning and design are entwined with evaluation. This approach enables multidimensional assessment of resources, which is necessary to correctly define strategic action lines. This method broadens the evaluation process, which thus becomes cross-disciplinary (taking into account the complexity of its subject matter) and participatory (empowering the local community).

* This paper is a summary of a line of enquiry carried out in the framework of a Ph.D course in "Evaluation methods for integrated conservation of the architectural, urban and environmental heritage", coordinated by Luigi Fusco Girard. In particular, M. Cerreta wrote the first paragraph and, the third, "Methodological approach", "The cognitive model: building a scenario". C.M. Torre is the author of the paragraphs: "The context: the Scampia quarter in Naples", "Knowledge: data analysis and discovery of perceptions", "Evaluation: a shared scenario". The format of the interview was developed through collaboration with Vincenzo Andriello, Daniela Lepore and Federica Palestino from Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II; Anna Savarese from the Campania branch of Legambiente (a major Italian Environmentalist Association) and some members of two community groups working in Scampia: Granello di senape and Obiettivo uomo.

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