Urbanistica n. 124
May-August 2004

Distribution by www.planum.net

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Towards a new political reform and social and environmental welfare
Dino Borri

Modern town planning originated from the concept of public interest and the need of protecting it in relation to physical organization of cities. The assumption was that definition and pursuit of public interest and related processes and needs were easily manageable in the standardized societies and communities created by the economy, in particular the industrial economy, of mass production and consumption. It was an important change, mostly at organizational and dimensional level, compared to the charitable efforts of fighting against poverty that had always been promoted in territories and in cities, especially in the large cities more than others attracting populations often desperate (Ritter 2003).
In the XX century a new path of development and wealth in the western countries and of fights for survival in the rest of the planet, the emerging of an environmental global crisis, a shift to industrial, service, and information economy increasingly taking distance from mass society and Fordism, and the appearance of a completely new fragmentation of the social and cultural profiles of cities and territories undermined the monolithic certainties of the elementarily reform-oriented town planning of the origins. This happened in tune with general processes and trends, of political, economic, sociological, cultural, and technological type. Even if its emphasis mostly featured developed countries because of their particularly accentuated phenomenologies, this new uncertainty and plurality in processes and approaches to city government and building is a structural datum of communities, at the bottom independent of levels of development and wealth and instead linked to the diffusion of new spirits and visions of communities and their futures.
As time went by, it has been understood that public interests and needs are as variegated as individuals and groups of the appearing societies and communities, that immaterial interests and needs go alongside with material ones, that 'beautiful' are the cities which promote both citizenship ethical virtues and aesthetical ones, have houses, schools and hospitals (the classic triad of the well planned and designed city of modern town planning) and at the same time offer an atmosphere propitious for the development of persons and in general of living beings as individuals or groups.
The urban and town planning welfare which started with the couple charity-and-assurance of the fight against poverty in the large British cities of the XIX century, with the construction of houses, schools, health unities, today presents relevant novelties, in those cities as in their analogues in the rich minority of the planet. But that basic welfare largely remains a not solved goal in both rich and poor cities: in the poor ones because they are taken in the vise of basic needs affecting populations that increase in figures and poverties, in the rich ones because everywhere, close to the old poverties never completely defeated, pockets of new poverties appear, made of intriguing endogenous or exogenous social fragments.
New goals and organizational frames enrich the above cited basic triad of the traditional urban welfare: care and education oriented to the emerging fragmentations and precariousnesses, operating in both concentrated and diffused ways in cities and territories (new decentralized and specialized health services, services for drugged, injured persons, elderly or in general disabled persons); culture, tourism, and leisure services easily manageable by a market-oriented third sector made out of social co-operatives and no profit firms operating in subsidization with the traditional public structures of the welfare state, not conventional person-oriented services, proximity solidarity activities in urban districts or villages, specialized health attendance and rehabilitation, pollution prevention and monitoring, environmental re-covery, urban wastes recycling, alphabetization and retraining policies; finally, in the face of more advanced situations and problems, protagonism of public services co-ordinated in new ways in sectors like informatics, collective transport, sanitary products and equipments, territorial recovery, restoration of historical centres; all this scanned by reorganized time of life and work (Trentin 1996; Pennacchi 1997).
In the Scandinavian and in particular in the Swedish welfare town planning experience, discussed with up-to-date analyses and case studies in this issue of *Urbanistica*, an experience extra-ordinarily lasting in time which according to the experts was even more successful than the Roosevelt's New Deal in the Usa of the 1930s, the public works theme intriguingly appears.
It is known that in Sweden a corageous politics of public works was the keystone, which generated an economic and occupational engine, no matter its simplification when compared even to the levels of complexity of that age, of the precocious welfare of the capitalism-in-production-and-socialism-in-distribution socialdemocratic compromise (Girotti 1998, p. 213) on which an original regulative, distributive, and redistributive model could be theorized and validated in practice. The Swedish one was an institutional-redistributive model integrating active job-oriented politics with a powerful triad of fiscal reform, development of public housing and urban planning, support to families and women, in the end resolute direct support to the development of the human person.
In the Great Britain of the post II World War period, too, in the powerful architecture of the Beveridge Report of 1942 (quoted also as Plan for its extreme operativeness) with its liberalism-oriented fight against 'the five giants' bringing violence to mankind (need, illness, ignorance, poverty, and idleness), wise policies of urban and territorial development and integration of health services and public housing, pursued by both the Labour and the Conservative parties, constituted an extraordinarily successful experience and an influential model for western countries.
In Italy in the 1960s, just before the radical decentralization in the 1970s of planning powers to the regional administrations, the fundamental planning law of 1942 was changed to host new welfare provisions oriented to the needs of the urban populations: the key of this change was normative and 'universal', imposing minimal (identical for any Italian city or village,

in a country at that time, perhaps, even more variegated than today from North to South) per capita endowments of areas for elementary social services and equipments (green, schools, social equipments in general, and parking areas).
The results of that town planning reform (perhaps potentially more incisive should the radical change of land property rights proposed by the Christian-democrats leading the government have defeated a wide raising up conservative alliance) have substantially incised in the urban and territorial political regime in Italy. Many Italian regions and cities today benefit from more balanced ratios between built and open spaces (also beneficial from the environmental point of view), of newly created, maybe not immense but however relevant, estates of public areas deriving from the compulsory transfers operated by the private proponents of urban transformations according to procedures of agreed detailed plans (lotting plans); a public juridical defence has consolidated and without exceptions converged on the assumption of the intransgressibility, by anyone and for all transformations of urban space, of the social tax consisting in the reservation and gratuitous cession to the public property of part of the intervention area, suited to a legally predefined standard, at expense of the actor of transformation.
Even the ongoing shift in the second half of the XX century from a first generation of reconstruction plans (1940s and 1950s) to a second generation of reform-oriented and welfare plans (1960s, 1970s, and partially 1980s), and finally to a third one of plans oriented to quality more than quantity and to environmental protection (Campos Venuti 1987; Campos Venuti, Oliva 1993) can largely be explained with the structural effects of that reform.
The delegation of planning to the Regions in Italy has prevented in recent years from national uniformity, now perceived as essential, in reorienting welfare policies, for populations increasingly diffused in cities and territories, towards ecology and nature: some more lucky and far-sighted regions are already moving towards relegitimating themselves by a kind of welfare intertwining innovative issues to the traditional ones, this sometimes happening in a political frame where aspirations to extensive taking care of society and individuals are not undisputed (Morisi, Magnier 2003); in the meanwhile, many Italian regions are facing strong difficulties in promoting even traditional levels of urban and territorial welfare.
Normative reflexions like the ones developed above appear useful also due to the "surprising incapacity of learning", from both successes and failures, showed by the welfare systems (Girotti 1998, p. 359).
A reflection on the need of a new urban and territorial socio-environmental welfare, on its new problems of ambit and destination, economic and financial sustainability, public and private ethics, can appear unjust and senseless if one looks at the galaxies of poverties and needs surrounding the richest countries of the planet Earth, at the metropolises of favelas, slums e bidonvilles devoid of all (houses, water, electricity, sewerage, schools, safety, health, etc.) which from Kogorocho-Nairobi to the huge slums of Mumbai today face enormous tasks of city building only armed with shabby and perspectively unpromising investments and budgets. A glance to the whole set of human settlements in the planet, through which immense populations move with increasing intensity and velocity, makes clear that, even due to different reasons, a comprehensive human condition is at risk and differentiated welfare politics remain everywhere at the order of the day.
Likewise, perhaps more than in, other parts of the rich Europe whose model of democracy and co-operation is generally admired, Italy's concentrated or diffused settlements, from villages to metropolises, are in large part not equipped for the coexistence of the basic welfare still demanded by the new poor, endogenous or immigrated, with the post-Fordist, post-acquisitive, and sometimes post-materialistic and oriented to new sacrednesses and spiritualities of public spaces (Scandurra 2003) welfare demanded by both societies of fragments and minorities remained until now out of attention and individuals and groups already fairly protected but unwilling to renounce something in favour of new weaker subjects.
Numerous shortages of new socio-environmental reform and welfare provisions coexist: houses for people who, disabled by the emerging precariousnesses of jobs, are not able to enter markets whose prices are increasing everywhere due to the persistent attraction of real estate investments, as indicated also by the diffusion of real estate financial funds, a phenomenon which furtherly boosts those markets; houses for new emerging demands (disabled people, integration with nature, ecological coherence, etc.); articulation of social equipments, starting for instance from the ones for taking care of children and infants in relation to female work in potential expansion; services for free time, in primis green areas, also to fight against the repellent cities and the continuous escapes from them (in search of better environments, landscapes and territories) which are causing traffic pollution and pervasive anthropization; environment-oriented equipments and infrastructures adequate to social aspirations to progress and development; qualified (lifelong) educational services; multicultural integration services; articulation of urban and territorial places designed for both communities and individuals, for both meeting and isolation; urban and territorial spaces hosting the coexistenxce of different species of living beings; public and citizenship spirits retailored in the light of new social and community pacts, what is essential to refound the equity bases of the new welfare in the urban and regional areas that are the terrain of the human settlements of the contemporary age; reintegration of work-places and houses, an operation made today possible the spread of Its and by the fact that reproductive activities are now seen as important as traditional productive activities; etc.
A long list, which apparently evokes typical dreams and utopias of planning tradition. It has to do instead with stringent needs in both rich and poor societies. If bolds reports and plans and absolute public spirits have been distrusted because of their systematic defeat by the virtuous hidden hand of the market, a new political reform and socio-

environmental welfare for cities and territories still deserves priority in the political and planning agenda everywhere.

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Pan-European Corridor V
Franco Migliorini

The acceleration that has been a characteristic trait of the western world for over a decade now has, on more than one occasion, underlined how useful the network paradigm can be in interpreting or determining evolving systems of relations in various fields. The transport field is definitely one of the most appropriate and prolific in applications at various scales. Here, we will be investigating, above all, the progress of European planning in terms of transport networks at the service of the process of political convergence and socioeconomic cohesion of the Union continent-wide.

Economy and territory in the European Union
The history and geography of contemporary Europe issue the European Union with a common space featuring a stark lack of balance between the centre and periphery in terms of income, employment and accessibility. In terms of GDP per capita in this Europe of fifteen states, there is a gaping sixfold-plus difference between richer regions and the poorer ones. With new countries joining, this difference is set to increase to approximately eightfold, strengthening percentagewise the weight of the regions bringing up the rear. For the most part, the distribution of GDP per capita coincides directly with the rate of employment recorded by the European regions. However, the indicators of the countries' and regions' accessibility form an even better link between the structure of the economy and organization of the European space.
A rich and accessible continental heart appears surrounded, based on a virtually linear function, by a series of concentric rings of decreasing income and accessibility. We could define these rings as corresponding to semi-central, semi-peripheral, and peripheral regions. The centre consists of the Germany-Benelux system and the two 'world' cities, London and Paris. The semi-centre encompasses the central core on practically all sides and so on as far as an extreme peripherality, which can be discerned in the Iberian peninsula, the outer regions of the British Isles, central-north Scandinavia, southern Italy and Greece. The majority of the eastern countries share a similar lot, their peripheral status further accentuated by factors of an infrastructural nature. A peripherality coinciding with the slow economic transformation in progress in the various regions, which proceeds from West to East.
In Italy's case, it appears characterized by the conditions of semi-centrality (North), semi-peripherality (centre), and peripherality (South), respectively. The northern Italian regions owe their semi-centrality to the Alpine barrier. Here, the mountainous conformation becomes a penalizing factor affecting real distances.
This places great emphasis on the issue of infrastructural facilities and how they compare to the demand expressed by a manufacturing economy geared strongly towards exports to central Europe, i.e. towards the continent's rich, accessible centre of gravity.
During the course of the last fifty years or so, intra-European relations have developed, encouraged by the market economy and channelled by a parallel Community institution construction process.
During this period, every part of the European territory has exploited its competitive advantages starting with the individual, regional and local subsystems.
Compared to the regions facing or gravitating around the North Sea, the regions closely associated with the Mediterranean (the Latin Arc stretching from Spain to the upper reaches of the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic seas) suffer from a series of gaps attributable to an enclosed sea, an amount of fragmentation induced by the mountains (Alps, Apennines, Pyrenees, Balkans), fewer infrastructural facilities and delayed industrialization.
Today, however, this delay has been compensated by the recent spread (in some semi-central regions) of the small and medium enterprises and densely organized tourist industry, especially along the coastal Mediterranean Arc.
This is the configuration of the economic space on which Community Europe is attempting to apply structural policies. Policies are aimed to strengthen cohesion (of socioeconomic kind) by means of support measures in the face of an unfolding market economy (competition) that tries to attenuate disparities and to foster (through networks) good opportunities for all members of the Union to access the market in question.

Corridors and domestic market
To sum up the scope of the corridors strategy, the idea is to determine various European-level routes and infrastructures capable of filling these accessibility gaps (detected on a national or regional level) so as to encourage the material circulation of people and goods to accompany the mobility of capital, services and ideas. The aim is to redistribute opportunities in an enlarged economic space, to even out its income growth and employment development (1).
The corridor concept actually expresses an option that is rather broader than that linked merely to infrastructure. Moreover, its transnational dimension puts emphasis on the need to overcome the natural national barriers, whether of a physical or organizational nature or, as is often the case, both combined. The corridor idea essentially consists in:
- the presence of linear infrastructures (more than one) with the option of a multimodal system that incorporates intermodality;
- a spatial reference framework, i.e. a basin of relations served by the corridor;
- a privileged exchange of economic and trade relations, through which the corridor's "convergence" theme transpires;
- a series of long term investments by many actors, as a result of which the problem of continuity and interinstitutional collaboration between the parties, in the long term, increases in importance.
Hence what we have is a mobilizing option, one which comes from the top but which lacks specifications in terms of contents as well as what funding programme it is expected to be backed by.
A corridor, therefore, should be interpreted from the bottom up, first of all in terms of what opportunities it offers the territories it runs through: from the regions and cities, and from the production and business systems that are both part of it and set to benefit from it; from the economic operators; from the infrastructure providers and, not least, from the local communities of citizens directly affected by the route. Nonetheless, the corridors proposed do not

spring from nowhere. They largely trace historic routes on which intra-European relations have developed, to a greater or lesser extent, in a spontaneous manner. In many cases, they propose to innovate the infrastructure of previous routes, road or railway routes, which no longer meet the performance needs, in terms of time and volume, demanded by the trade flows of modern economies. Rather than redrawing the continent's relational geography, the corridors reconfirm it wherever the market force, or existing political and administrative system powers, have not yet set new investments in motion.
Economic delay also incorporates infrastructural delay, in the East much more than in the West, whilst it is above all the European peripheries and semi-centres that highlight the problems of accessibility related to missing links or saturated sections of today's existing infrastructural system.
Moreover, it is not hard to see how the European centre of gravity ends up growing stronger, if for no other reason by virtue of the very morphology of the continent, which has Germany and Benelux snuggled in the centre through which all East-West or North-South flows run.
From this point of view, we can hardly help but appreciate that the oppor-tunity for greater relational balance in the continent is an inherent trait of the corridors. However, this fact has to contend with the force of the existing system of interests (investors, institutions, market) in the economy's arena of dynamic competition, which operates on a short or medium term basis. The response to this is a long or extremely long term plan to restore balance to the European Union, i.e. where only policy and institutions can express options with the intention of maintaining them in the long run.
The scale dimension and dynamics of the forces in action in Europe therefore make territory-based competition an extremely current concept, in addition to the better known forms of competition: company-based and city-based.
Territory-based competition is actually the scenario that fits the corridors. Sets of individuals, numerous and diversified on a regional and supra-regional basis, are called on to express their support for an option of common interest. This, however, entails an organized, cohesive form of action, not just on the political and institutional front, but on the technical and financial front as well.
The aim is basically to outline the evolutionary profile of the territorial (openly supranational) systems that decide to pool considerable financial resources to make common investments (infrastructures) thus strengthening various links of a common lot: a lot that is based on convergence but, despite this, does not rule out options also related to scenarios where relations are established between countries that may be different or different in part.
Convenience, propensities, affinities, precedents, complementariness, and sometimes even mutual prejudice, between governments and between countries, all have a part to play in this.
What we mean is that system relations intervene in territorial competition and, as such, involve every sort of resource present: not just financial means but also historical and cultural resources, with all their roots and antecedent facts.
This is why the systems involved need to represent themselves as parties bearing ideas and plans, as complex all-round interlocutors, the expression of a basketful of opportunities rather than a single interest (for the corridor). Not all opportunities may be explicit or evident, but they must promise to produce a process offering a wealth of supplies and one that is open to interpretations and outside contributions.
The corridor concept is essentially a kind of scene seeking actors to perform there, based on an initial identified and reliable aggregated core of promoters. This seems to be a realistic interpretation of the current state of the European Corridors: a mobilizing option based on a core of persuasion, which needs to form a critical mass around it in order to become political action, financial investment, economic growth and employment prospects.

Centre and periphery in the enlargement and reunification of Europe

Territory-based competition, which is a structural property inherent to European construction, is now contending with the issue of Europe's enlargement and reunification. With reference to Community Europe, which has been under construction for decades, enlargement means a territorial expansion of a set of principles and procedures already in progress, which is now to be extended to a group of new countries, as the end result of the events of 1989. In this regard, therefore, it comes down to new members joining an existing system, one established on a voluntary basis and which continues to work as such.
The arrival of the newcomers, though, could easily be seen as something akin to 'annexation', a somewhat unpleasant definition, which recalls the past dramatic events of 20th century history. Hence the concept of 'reunification' proposed to underline a new union instead conceived based on the new partners' equality and reciprocity, partners sharing common denominators: geographic (all belong to central-eastern Europe) and economic and institutional (the transition from a planned economy system to a market economy).
One particular problem has come to light. When limited to economic and territorial aspects, it emphasizes the issue of coexistence of a set of common initiatives and rules, one applied, however, to an extremely uneven infrastructural and economic base such as that between the western and eastern regions. Of all the various considerations, the difficulties the new European Treaty has come up against bear the most eloquent testimony to the real complexity of this problem.
Corridor V, the South European, transpadane corridor, is highly representa-tive, on an infrastructural level, of the difficulties posed by the issue of Europe's enlargement and reunification with the East. It also incorporates the South issue, by which we mean the Community initiative's projection towards Europe's other great problematic area: the Mediterranean, with all its implications for European policy.
In conclusion, the Corridor V route between Lisbon and Kiev, passing through Turin and Trieste, proves to be not just a transport and infrastructural problem, but the vision of a welcome evolution of economic and spatial relations on a continental level: enlarging the centre and reinforcing the periphery, to the East as well as to the South. On the

other hand, the vision of this corridor, subtended in its central stretch between Strasbourg, Munich and Vienna, as an expression of various legitimate transalpine Austro-Franco-German interests, might nonetheless espouse the cause of transport and infrastructural efficiency. However, all improvements will be to the benefit of the already better equipped central areas and won't encourage extension towards the Mediterranean periphery. Hence it would merely be a means of reinforcing the current hierarchical structure of the European space.

Spatial continuity and functional integration

The corridor theme, spawned as a transport policy to back development of the domestic market, actually refers to the infrastructural reorganization of the countries affected by the corridors, and hence to the urban, industrial and tourist systems served.
The corridor, as a means of fostering development of more intense relations between the areas it crosses, also reveals a need for organic completeness in its geographical development with respect to the areas involved. In other words, a corridor can only be labelled as such if considered along its entire length, whilst it loses its corridor meaning if limited to its individual component segments, namely becoming a local matter and no longer a trans-European matter. Likewise, the value of a corridor is directly proportional to the size of the demand served, i.e. the density of existing and potential relations, necessarily referable to indicators such as GDP, population, number of enterprises etc. of the regions it runs through or, more precisely, of the traffic basins served.
This leads us to consider not just the fundamental backbones of a corridor, which might be over land or sea, or both together, and hence based on railways, motorways and port systems, but also, and above all, the network of minor infrastructural systems regarding a given corridor, with their ability to integrate and interchange with local systems affected by the route. Having network junctions and combined transport systems established is hence an essential prerequisite for the support and development of trans-European corridors. They thus become natural transnational projections of existing functional systems, relating to whole countries or groups of regions.
European acknowledgement of corridors is thus an added value attributable to existing local or national systems. However, those systems must already boast competitive capacities and independent functional specializations, which might gain an additional competitive edge, within the sphere of a corridor policy, by virtue of the relational extension resulting from improved accessibility to the system of locally produced services. This implies a relationship of reciprocity between the corridor and the industrial, urban and tourist centres becoming part of it. Each is put in a position whereby it can boost its own positional advantages through appropriate local policies, which manage to relate to the presence of the corridor in an active, innovative manner on both quantitative and qualitative levels.
Activities associated with mobility of goods, people and carriers obviously benefit directly, though an extension of economies of scale brought about by the corridor can generate a whole series of induced services.
In short, apart from the beneficial flows of materials, the areas of a corridor also benefit from opportunities to develop new non-material by-products.

Corridor V as an East-West link

Unifying the many and varying special interests of a corridor certainly does not look any easier than organizing the procedures and resources required to go from words to action (feasibility, routes, projects, financing, etc.). The Corridor V affair, now a decade old, reflects this complexity. With its plan for the transpadane union of the Iberian peninsula with the Danubian area and beyond, critical profiles have come to light as much to the West of the Po area as to the East.
To start with, the issue of the mountainous barriers, one pass through the Pyrenees and two passes through the Alps (Mont Cenis and Trieste), which, on the railway front, entails a much greater commitment financially speaking than the corresponding motorways through the passes since neither the states nor the market seem able to tackle the problem with their own individual efforts right now.
Secondly, a cost-benefit analysis, which, rather than the assessment of an individual infrastructure, is part of a broader strategic vision involving a whole host of infrastructures, a vision however that is above all economic and territorial at a transnational scale.
Thirdly, the prospect of performing the work over a lengthy period, which calls for institutional supranational and transnational supervision to assure coherence and continuity of the goal pursued for the duration and throughout. Fourthly, the fragmentary perception of the problem by the states, regions, cities and local communities involved, in which the many and often legitimate partialities must be ushered towards a common solution that is not likely to be the result of a spontaneous process, entrusted to the willingness of many or to just the pressure of the market.
This is a subject in which there is likely to be a lot of reference, at both a broad and restricted scale, to the typical customary Eurospeak terms such as 'cohesion', 'competition' and 'development sustainability', in the constant pursuit of compromise between particular aspects and general vision.

The Italian position in Europe

The Italian territory of the northern regions offers a bond to the prospect of Corridor V as just a geographical nexus for direct Iberian-Danubian relations, regarding which European history in modern times has not yet recorded any significant developments. This bond is at the same time both historical and geographical, being the result of relations that the various components of the economic and settlement system of the Friuli-Veneto-Po area have developed and continue to keep up with the other parts of the corridor, both by land and by sea. The area of the plains encompassed by the Alpine range, the northern shores of the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas and the start of the Apennines ridge is indeed home to one of the densest and most diversified settlements and production complexes (industrial, tertiary, tourism and farming) in the whole of Europe. It includes eight Italian regions (Piedmont, Valle d'Aosta, Lombardy, Liguria, Emilia-Romagna,

Veneto, Trentino-Alto Adige and Friuli-Venezia Giulia), for a total of approx. 26 million inhabitants-producers.
When it comes to production and settlement, this is not a unitary system, of course, but a set of economic and functional subsystems, all boasting strong external relations whilst sharing a common geographic location, between central Europe and the centre-North of the Mediterranean.
A sort of macro-region whose relations with the outside world, which in all cases take place through ports or Alpine passes, have historically consolidated bonds with the respective bordering countries. This relationship is based on trade that is directly proportional to the growth of the modern market economies.
This means that the dominant relations today, in terms of volume, are the North-South kind, with the great continental heart (Germany, Benelux and Switzerland). Those towards the West, on the other hand (France and Spain) though equally consolidated, appear to be of lesser weight, when it comes to absolute value, in proportion to the smaller size of these outlet markets. Moreover, eastward relations have experienced considerable growth in recent years, a direct consequence of the markets' opening in the 1990s. In practice, we can consider the Veneto-Friuli-Po area system as being made up of two large production and settlement subsystems: the North-East (Veneto, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Trentino-Alto Adige, and Emilia-Romagna) featuring medium to small cities and SMEs organized in specialized districts over the last thirty years or so; and the North-West (Lombardy, Liguria, Piedmont) where great traditional industry, now that it has also forged the urban system around major metropolitan areas, is today evolving towards more decentralized production models on the manufacturing front, though still centralized on a service level. Of course, these two macro-aggregations in turn host smaller settlement-production units with their own particular specializations. This sort of large enclave, encompassed by the Alps and the Mediterranean, namely constitutes a business container, businesses compressed in an enclosed space, which keeps up external relations in every direction and is now observing a progressive percentage growth in the weight of the East-West axis.
Supporting a similar process, which is the product of the market economy, entails readjusting the orientation of infrastructural programmes, whose very nature meant they were all based on the long term to serve the dominant flows of trade. This is why the more mature, metabolized infrastructural proposals to come from the local systems involved are all North-South oriented, whilst many of the new works progressively being appreciated as necessary instead take an East-West orientation, towards neighbouring countries and regions with which flows of trade are increasing. It is high time, therefore, that the geopolitical vision supporting the presence of the northern Italian regions in Europe be thoroughly updated.

European vision of Italian interests

The plan to establish new links towards the East and towards the West should be seen as adding to the existing strong links with central Europe, the result of post-war evolution, and not as detracting from them.
This all goes well beyond the transport and infrastructural issue. Indeed, it falls within the sphere of international relations and strategic positioning of the country with respect to the relationships of geographic proximity and complementariness it has with the bordering areas and countries in light of the changes in progress. Hence there is a need to amend prevailing viewpoints and programmes at various administrative levels: the new issue to be addressed consists in determining the range of the new developments, overcoming the very inertia of the consolidated platforms of interests to be served, formulated from the end of the last World War on. The aim is to submit new forms of transnational integration, of an economic and functional nature, that interpret the 'European territory' concept in the right historical and geographical perspective.
For this is the concept destined to support the domestic market's growth, in an organizational logic corresponding to the emergence of new transnational 'Euro-regions', defined by new traits and common interests and equipped with comprehensive accompanying policies. These are long term processes, destined to go beyond the administrative life of the actual proponents, whose binding element is better measured with the yardstick of future convergence than with a past of conflicts.
So how should the Italian regions and local systems directly or indirectly concerned interpret the impact of Corridor V? The corridor features two distinct traits: to the West, with the high-speed, high-capacity railway, it strengthens an already satisfactory system of links between areas with a fully developed economy, Italy's North-east with the South of France and Catalonia. By bringing two cities like Turin and Lyon closer, each would reap the benefits of an easy opportunity to integrate economies geared towards post-industrial production.
To the East, the problem is entirely the opposite: creating a system of efficient connections to link the Danubian Basin and areas beyond by completing a motorway backbone that, as things stand, does not even reach the Hungarian border and modernizing an obsolete railway network, many stretches of which are not even electrified, posing major interoperability problems given the close succession of different borders (Italy, Slovenia, Croatia, Hungary). The foreign economies due to benefit from the corridor are all transitional economies, which have yet to determine their industrial and tertiary role in the new international division of labour and whose geographic location is half way between the advanced western countries and the underdeveloped eastern countries (Ukraine, Russia).
The SME production model is one of the greatest opportunities the Italian economy can really offer these countries. Lombardy lies in the middle. The most important of all the Corridor V regions, it has solid channels of communication with the European centre of gravity to the North of the Alps. It also features a strong, dynamic services economy component, which exploits both overland and air connections: historically speaking, it is northern Italy's greatest transport hub, though this does not make it its most efficient.
This means that the perception of the

importance of the corridor for the Italian regions is much stronger on the wings (i.e. to the West and East) than in the centre.
Moreover, the greatest foreseeable increase in flows over land is expected to the East, precisely where the existing infrastructural system is historically much weaker as a result of the direct effect of the historical and political events of the last fifty years.
The apparent clarity of the corridor project is thus countered by a series of local interests and basic infrastructural facilities that is fragmented and unbalanced respectively, in an administrative and entrepreneurial context that has yet to fully metabolize the usefulness of the corridor plan as a great geoeconomic 'opportunity-cum-necessity' of the near future.
Whilst the central issue is that of the routes and financing of the infrastructures, an issue common to all corridors in the TEN-T network, we should point out that the problem does not end here. Indeed, we are required to make the effort to determine a whole series of intermediate stages that associate the final objective with all the supporting policies required to confirm its importance, and to reveal its mobilizable and mobilized interests.
This field of initiatives requires the efforts of public administrations as much as private firms, who may benefit from the corridor, stimulating above all the role of foreign partnerships that can be associated around the tangible advantages of common interest. The sectors of industrial and business integration, in particular, are set to reap the most direct benefits from facilitated overland communication. Land transport is to be improved with the redrawing (already under way) of the network of platforms and combined transport hubs, due to support the distribution system for the European domestic market flows, which is restructured organizationwise and expanded geographically. These are high-level political actions (intergovernmental, European Council) aimed to ensure that the Community priority attributed to the corridors is acknowledged.

The AlpenCorS project: Corridor V's thematic development

The European Union sets up funded programmes for member states, and states about to join, to encourage the development of common initiatives of a transnational nature, aimed to emphasize contents of 'Community' significance. One of these programmes is Interreg IIIB 2000-2006. It identifies a large sub-area known as the 'Alpine Space', which includes the mountain range and its surrounding plains, like a large area of integration positioned between the Mediterranean and central Europe. As a result of the priority given to the transport issue, prescribed by this programme, the AlpenCorS (Alpen Corridor South) project was approved in 2002. It was proposed by the Veneto regional authorities as a strategic approach to the trans-European Corridor V issue, considered limited to its central segment, between the French Rhône-Alpes region and Slovenia's border with Hungary.
Five different disciplinary approaches preside over the development of the whole work. First of all, a multisectorial analysis of the economic structure of the regions concerned, with forecasts of their evolution from 2010 to 2015, associated with the transport demand induced by the estimated growth in GDP on a regional basis owing to the effects it will have on mobility and on the use of infrastructures. Secondly, a thorough investigation into today's existing transport demand, to include the creation of a model to simulate corridor mobility (between Lyon and Budapest), by road and rail, based on data produced by a specific field survey conducted during the course of 2003 (volume counts and OD surveys) in dozens of locations. This enables us to determine in detail the critical aspects, the existing ones, and those expected for the future, to the end of 2015 at least, with a direct estimation of the future demand generated by the economic growth (GDP) of the corridor's various regions. Thirdly, a close examination of the supply of technology (RTI-ICT) available to the transport sector with the range of services in favour of mobility efficiency and safety. The end purpose is to serve both the demand and the supply, on the supposition that there will be a growing integration of common technological standards characterizing the mobility of European countries in years to come. Fourthly, the construction of an intermodality and logistics scenario as part of the corridor project, as an internal approach to the organizational and entrepreneurial dynamics and interests of a sector (haulage) that constitutes the necessary complement to the development of the European domestic market. It is a question of seizing opportunities both in and outside the sector, with an entrepreneurial approach intended to determine opportunities and needs, interpreting all those cues required to create intermodal platforms as well as innovative services characterizing the radical reorganization of continental mobility, which is already well under way. Lastly, the construction of the territorial background against which the corridor is set. By this we mean the programmes and actions to be carried out by the parties (states, cities, regions and local communities, as well as motorway authorities, railways, freight centres, etc.) determining how the physical transport infrastructure is altered and influencing the course of its flows, producing tangible impacts on the spatial organization of the countries involved and on the points of view expressed by the local communities.

Corridor policy profiles

A corridor, unlike an infrastructure, must be interpreted as a long term territorial programme. A programme in which many actors take part, requiring a sequence of actions to be carried out in various places at different times, whose goal nonetheless converges on its fundamental lines of inspiration.
Each corridor features its own theme. Hence it is a programme in its own right, developing around an initial core of assumptions that are then verified, extended, translated into measures, into actions and into forms of management. It is helpful to draw up a list of general assumptions for a corridor policy that are confirmed with the pan-European Corridor V, in its transpadane version:
- first of all, a corridor must be considered akin to a territory. It is home to urban and industrial systems and, in some cases, tourist systems, which are the corridor's primary beneficiaries as well as being an integral, component part of the corridor itself. Each system has everything to gain from making a contribution to the creation of the corridor, so

as to get benefits for its enterprises (accessibility and profits) and for its citizens (income and employment);
- a corridor is actually an infrastructural grid, made up of junctions and shafts. Within it, importance is attributed to the service rendered to flows in a given direction, though it also exploits all the relations that the actual corridor keeps up with the set of areas crossed (local systems) and with other major national and European routes intersecting it (TEN-T network and such like);
- the prerogative of a corridor is to be extremely permeable and to allow short and wide-ranging exchange. In this regard, it resembles a sort of sponge, absorbing and releasing along its path, rather than a pipeline, which instead transfers whatever is introduced into it from one end of its route to the other, without any relationship with the space crossed;
- a corridor is in itself multimodal and takes advantage of every possible form of intermodality: from road-rail, the first prerogative of land routes, to landwater intermodality, an essential component of sea routes, to the point of including all links with other intermodal technologies, including air transport: a corridor actually has the chance to connect the network of European airports with the major overland distribution axes;
- creating a corridor entails a process of convergence between national communities and local communities. The process progresses in programmatic and institutional terms, finally evolving into an investment, infrastructure, economic and cultural exchange, integration on a transnational level. All this adds up to a long term process requiring joint, permanent institutional supervision;
- the convergence process within a corridor is necessarily expressed through various forms of collaboration: of an interinstitutional nature between states, regions and cities falling within the geographic areas affected by the routes; of an organizational nature between firms in charge of infrastructures (motorways, railways, waterways, ports, freight villages, airports, etc.) managing transport flows; of an operational nature between transport firms (traditional, intermodal, logistics operators), which ascribe added value to the chain and make the flows profitable; and of an economic nature between firms capable of exploiting, in terms of profits, the productive complementariness introduced by the corridor;
- the complexity of the programmes and extent of financial commitments mean a corridor has to contend with the issue of partnership between the public and private sector. This applies both from the point of view of investments to be made and from the point of view of shared infrastructural and tariff policies established to ensure investments are both effective and profitable;
- all this leads us to the conclusion that a corridor is the product of a process involving the strategic sharing of mobility policies, convergence on investments, the creation of integrated forms of transnational traffic flow management. In this context, infrastructural orchestration is certainly the most significant commitment, given the financial burden involved, but is not the entire essence of the problem;
- in addition to transport and infrastructure policy, the process for the implementation of a corridor can give rise to economies of scale encouraging secondary actions. Possible examples include the creation of energy corridors, infrastructural reordering, forms of environmental protection or complementary organizational forms between local cross-border systems, such as firms taken over by the municipality, health systems, university networks, tourism firms, etc. Within the European corridor notion, conceived as an interaction between market economy and transport systems, the trans-scalability of the large infrastructures involves a new kind of territorial planning process, with a strong local basis.

Notes

1. All material regarding the subject of European corridors (Trans Europe Network-Transport, TEN-T) is derived from work by the European Union on the subject of transport, economy and territory, in a period from 1990 to 2003. Both the events and relevant documents can be split into thematicgroups: Pan-European transport conferences: Prague (1991); Crete (1994); Helsinki (1997); European Councils: Copenhagen (1993); Essen (1994); White Papers on transport: Delors (1993); Loyola de Palacio (2001); European Spatial Development Perspective (1999); Van Miert report (June 2003) on revision of the TEN-T network; European document on 'Growth' with revision of the TEN-T network (Quick Start List, December 2003). Note that by the term Trans Europe Network-Transport (TEN-T), we mean the network inside the European Union, whilst the term Pan-European Network is used to refer to the geographic extension of the network to the whole continent. With the enlargement of the Union, part of the pan-European network will therefore become trans-European.

Towards a European territorial government system?

Umberto Janin Rivolin

Territorial governance is among the most important yet less obvious phenomena produced by the integration process that is being promoted by the European Community since the middle of the 1980's. Its importance yet low visibility may be both explained through paradoxical data: the rapid and growing evolution of Community intervention in the field of territorial and urban policies, in spite of a lack of acknowledgment of pertinent institutional competency.
Perhaps something is destined to change for territorial governing systems now in effect in Europe if ever, governmental intention and capacity allowing, the existing project for a European Constitution is sooner or later ratified. The constitutional proposal now under discussion in fact provides that the European legislation will establish the function of a 'territorial cohesion' policy. On the other hand, because it deals with territories and cities, the objective of cohesion tends to be in apparently irreconcilable conflict with that of subsidiarity, which is also a fundamental aspect of Community treaties.
On the contrary, as will be attempted to demonstrate in this paper, a European law for a territorial cohesion policy established upon the principle of subsidiarity is not only possible, but also contributes to improving, perhaps in a decisive manner, the effectiveness of territorial government systems currently being implemented in Europe.

The territory in the new European Constitution

The discussions on voting systems and national representation in the future of the Commission have overshadowed, within the debate that accompanies the passing of the European Constitution (European Convention 2003), some significant innovations. These include the recognition of the territorial dimension of 'cohesion', the Community principle which, having been introduced with the 1986 Single European Act, incarnates the political decision for European integration perhaps more than any other. "Economic, social, and territorial cohesion" already appears in the first lines of the constitutional project among "The Union's objectives" (art. 3). More precisely, there is the same title in part of the document concerning "The policies and functioning of the Union" (*ibid*. part III, title III, chapter III, section 3).
This section would therefore substitute the current title XVII ("Economic and social cohesion") of the Treaty establishing the European Community (EC Treaty) which, even though territories are not specifically mentioned, established in the early 1990s that "the Community shall aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and the backwardness of the least favoured regions or islands, including rural areas" (art. 158). To this view therefore "Member States shall conduct their economic policies and shall coordinate them in such a way", while the Community exercises action "it takes through the Structural funds … the European Investment Bank and the other existing Financial Instruments" (art. 159). In particular, the European regional development fund (Erdf), which is the most consistent among these instruments, "is intended to help to redress the main regional imbalances in the Community through participation in the development and structural adjustment of regions whose development is lagging behind and in the conversion of declining industrial regions" (art. 160).
The novelty of the European constitutional project is not limited to the nominal recognition of territorial co-hesion policies, but is extended to the institutional modalities of such policies. The new article III-120, which replaces art. 162 of the EC Treaty, reads first of all: "Implementing measures relating to the European Regional Development Fund shall be enacted in European laws. Such laws shall be adopted after consultation of the Committee of the Regions and the Economic and Social Committee". Even though similar, the new text differs from the current one in at least two ways. In the first place, the explicit provision of relative "European law" would take the place of the vaguest Council deliberative procedure. Furthermore, the law would not be aimed at establishing "decisions", but rather more concrete "implementing measures" for territorial cohesion policies.
In brief, the European Constitution project may mark an important step, perhaps a decisive one, in the affirmation of that Community competence related to territorial governance which, in spite of noted difficulties (Williams 1999; Husson 2002), the European Community has demonstrated that they cannot do without, since they opted for integration.

European integration, cohesion, and territory

The objective of European integration was reinforced, following the Single Act, by the Treaty on European Union in 1992, and by the subsequent treaties of Amsterdam (1997) and Nice (2000), and culminated, in addition to the constitutional project, in the adoption of a common currency and in the upcoming increase from 15 to 25 member states. At the roots of such an immense constituent assembly, which would have otherwise been incomprehensible over a century after the formation of modern states, laid the desire for prosperity (or even more simply, survival) for the European community in the face of the growing costs of a global market. Compared to the vital need for integration, therefore, the cohesion principle expresses nothing more than a concern for rebalancing the uncertain distributive effects of an internal market with no borders, and avoiding, instead, the pernicious risk of 'disintegrating' Europe. For this reason, in spite of formal reticence, the implementation of territorial and urban Community policies immediately proved itself to be as indispensable as it was agreed upon. With increased efforts during the end of the 1980s, the European institutions and national states found themselves cooperating in various territorial governance activities, generally known by the name of 'European spatial planning' (Williams 1996; Janin Rivolin 2000; Faludi 2002).
First of all, the elaboration and the approval of the 'Esdp, European spatial development perspective' (EC 1999; Faludi, Waterhout 2002) by the European Ministries responsible for the territory became, at least symbolically, the most successful result attained so far. European governments are currently involved in the 'application' of the Esdp (Faludi 2003), according to a common 'Action

programme' that provides, among other things, the progressive operability of a European spatial planning observation network (Espon 2002).
More generally, the first of the 12 actions programmed contemplate the need to consider the Esdp in the implementation of the structural funds (currently equal to approximately 37% of Community expenses). Since the introduction of the cohesion principle, on the other hand, such resources have begun to be distributed through 'territorially oriented' programming. Even clearer is the territorial orientation of the Community initiatives, through which a specified quota of the structural funds (5-10%, according to each programming period) is aimed at sustaining actions that the Commission determines to be of particular strategic significance: after a decade of articulate experimentation, since 2000 three initiatives out of four (Interreg III, Urban II and Leader+) promote interventions in the territory and in the cities, with a total community investment of 7,6 billion euro (73% of the total) until 2006.
Even if less evident in its manifestation, the perhaps most interesting aspect of European spatial planning regards the overall results, expected and unexpected, of its implementation. Community urban and territorial policies, in fact, have been developed through complex and progressive processes of innovation in practices and in local, regional, national institutions for territorial governance. In other words, in order to result in concrete forms of territorial transformation, European territorial governance passes through and modifies the variegated and stratified prism of instituted territorial government practices (Janin Rivolin 2002; Janin Rivolin, Faludi 2004).
If this is true, the constitutional indication of a European legislation that establishes the implementing measures of territorial cohesion policy reveals implications, for territorial government decision-makers and technicians, that are much deeper than they apparently seem. In fact, the opportunity to govern the effects of the cohesion policy responsibly, rather than be satisfied to measure them periodically (EC 2001a, 2004), demonstrates regard not only for community institutions, but for all public authorities that, knowingly or not, already participate in this very same policy and are transformed by it. From this point of view, a framework of territorial governance principles, shared on a community level, may prove itself to be a potential outlet of the European constitutional dictate.

Territory, subsidiarity, and efficiency of public action

It may be opportune to specify that the so-called 'competency issue' (that is to say, whether or not to attribute a competency in the subject of territories to Community institutions) did not emerge due to pure academic speculation. The argument has been officially discussed several times, and since the middle of the 1990s has been discussed heatedly, even if up to now there have been no appreciable results (Faludi, Waterhout 2002, pp. 89-92; Husson 2002).
In brief, the unresolved discussion between national and Community institutions, opposite in geometries that vary according to the specific themes on the agenda, may be reduced to deciding whether it makes sense to institute a supranational dimension to territorial governance, since each nation is experimenting the need to decentralise such competencies. The possibility of a positive answer to these issues will probably be as demanding as the variety and distinct characteristics of current forms of territorial governments in Europe: the effort made by the 'EU Compendium' on national planning systems (EC 1997) to summarise them into four models constitutes, as is evident, a simplification of only relative usefulness.
On the other hand, being an integral part of the EC Treaty and of the future constitution, P*rotocol n. 30 on the application of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality*, adopted in Amsterdam (1997), clearly states: "For Community action to be justified, both aspects of the subsidiarity principle shall be met: the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by Member States' action in the framework of their national constitutional system and can therefore be better achieved by action on the part of the Community" (art. 5).
The subsidiarity principle, up to now, has played into the hands of detractors of a community competence in territorial government and, in any case, is called upon more than any other as a principle of 'safeguarding' for national petitions for subscribed Community commitments. The current tendency in the political debate, now that the territorial cohesion policy has officially made its appearance on the institutional scene, would be to maintain it as an entity that is distinct from the territorial planning system instituted in 15, soon to be 25, European countries (Faludi 2003).
Attention must be paid, however, to how the cohesion and subsidiarity principles coexist in the community constitutional charter, so that the spread of the European spatial planning and the contextual decentralisation of planning powers become, in practice, simply two sides of the same coin: if it must pass by the territory, cohesion will probably be implemented through government systems that are more effective and responsible on a local level. In other words, when faced with the vital necessity of European integration, the essential principle of territorial cohesion does not appear to be threatened, but rather favoured by the procedural principle of subsidiarity, as a guarantee of public action efficiency. In conclusion, subsidiarity, rather than maintaining territorial government systems separate from the territorial cohesion policy and maintaining them as two separate entities, may serve to articulate a framework of territorial governance principles to be shared on a Community level.

Instituting European territorial governance

If the above arguments are accepted, a European law on the implementing measures of territorial cohesion policy may be essentially finalised in the institution of three key principles, to be subjected to the enforcement of national territorial government legislation: vertical subsidiarity; horizontal subsidiarity; the relationship between subsidiarity and cohesion.
Vertical subsidiarity regards relations between the administrative levels of European territorial governance and, therefore, the relationship between plans and programs on different scales. Besides recognising the scales of territorial government instituted in the European states (local, provincial-

regional, national), a community law should formalise objectives, instruments and procedures for those strategic scales of intervention that have been more recently identified in relation to specific EU objectives (cross-border, transnational, supranational). In brief, the scope would be the establishment of a shared framework of relationships among multiple territorial governance instruments and among competencies, autonomous and co-operative, of the institutional subjects responsible for their formation. In essential terms, the subscribed principle of subsidiarity would constitute the ratio upon which the vertical relationships between instruments and competencies are structured, aiming at an overall simplification and the progressive convergence of currently instituted national systems. Subsidiarity would suggest, for example, that all prescriptive land use regulatory powers in all European countries be reserved exclusively for the local level, assigning higher level institutions different tasks concerning the construction of general policies and territorial strategies, to which local policies must be coherent.
Horizontal subsidiarity is an apparently more complex concept, which is justified through an authentic sharing, even in the fields of urban and territorial policies, of governance prospects as an alternative to the 20th century model of public intervention, of welfare matrix, which has proven itself incapable of meeting the challenges imposed by the global market (CE 2001b). If, in fact, the contraposition between the models of 'government' and 'governance' has a significance that goes beyond a taste for academic dissertation, this must regard a radically different way of conceiving the interactions between private and public and, in the specific case of urban and territorial polices, between individual projects and collective strategies. From this point of view, it is necessary to recognise that even the recent experiences of European spatial planning and the international debate that it sparked were decisive in their contribution to defining territorial governance as a 'performing' practice, rather than a 'conforming' one, of relations between projects and strategies (Faludi 2000). The challenge of a European law appears, in this case, by nature to be exclusively cultural (in terms of political culture as well as technical culture) and may be overcome according to what measure we are able to accept that, in dealing with the territory, the fundamental principle of subsidiarity must extend towards a 'horizontal' plane of relations between citizens and institutions. In concrete terms, attributing performing capacities to the territorial government appears possible, provided that the prescriptive planning powers are limited to regulating existing uses and rights, and separateness from 'previsions' of transformation is maintained. These would continue to be legitimately and more opportunely pursued by each institution through non-limiting, but much more effective programs and strategies capable of involving and channelling the local planning capacity. Choosing to give up the institutional power to prescribe the future of cities appears to be not only a gesture of elementary intellectual sobriety, but implies a decisive added value for planning practices, even if we only consider the increasingly scarce and often perverse effectiveness of territorial government systems that, in spite of the evidence and criticism that have developed over time, continue to operate according to the principle of conformity of transformations to prescribed previsions. On the other hand, it is not necessary to deal with European spatial planning in order to recognise that, in today's Europe, on a continental scale as well as a local one, the previsions of territorial transformation require no prescription in order to be carried out, but reliable strategies and shared programs.
Otherwise, according to growing indications, collective strategies, when they exist, prove to be obstructed, or at least impeded, by those projects justified by conformity to transformation rights that have been assigned a priori, as well as needful of the coordination of local projects that are effectively capable of attaining the expected results (and deserving, only consequentially, of being assigned the relative transformation rights).
The relationship between subsidiarity and cohesion.
Besides technocratic heritage and obvious professional and political interests that benefit in different degrees, the persistence of institutions and planning practices founded upon the prescriptive powers of previsions of transformation may be explained by the concern, which is sometimes authentic and simply misdirected, to guarantee urban and territorial transformation with an overall coherent plan. This concern is not only legitimate, but indispensable, if we believe that territorial government continues to be, even if only within a framework of relationships founded on subsidiarity, political activity, that is to say, justified by public causes. It is, in fact, one thing to sustain that subsidiarity implies a giving up of the power instituted to prescribe territorial transformations; but quite another to derive the corollary, which is unacceptable in the contexts of a market democracy, that individual projects can substitute or determine collective strategies. In practice, this corollary, which is theoretically equivalent to confusing subsidiarity with autarchy, is gaining support among technicians and decision-makers who, instead of repudiating it, tend to apply it by exploiting the prescriptive power of transformation. On the contrary, in territorial politics, as in any social practice, collective strategies are not born of simple summations of individual projects, as a plan on a higher scale is not triggered by the juxtaposition of a smaller scale plan. Rather, experience teaches us that, compared to aggregated projects, individual projects and local plans are rather more often and more easily in conflict. In terms of territorial governance, therefore, the problem of the relationship between subsidiarity and cohesion touches more upon vertical subsidiarity than the horizontal one, since the conflicts are common between either plans or programs on similar or different scales, or among local projects, or between these and plans that should include them. The principle of cohesion expresses, in this light, the need for the giving up of the power to prescribe previsions of transformation does not imply, by public authority, the abandonment of the prerogatives to orientate territorial transformations according to regulations and

strategies shared by the community of citizens who are represented.
In a European system of territorial governance founded upon vertical and horizontal subsidiarity, "economic, social and territorial cohesion" is, therefore, the constitutional principle on which public authority, at various levels of government, bases the resolution of emerging conflicts in planning practices. As long as this is possible, the European legislation should concern itself with the establishment, referring to the application of national legislation, of simple but clear compensation principles for collective and individual interests which are subject to losses due to territorial transformations.
Compensation to losing parties, aimed at guaranteeing the cohesion of the distributive effects deriving from the territorial transformation that are carried out, would allow public authority to resolve emerging conflicts in planning practices on any scale, thanks to technical evaluations that would be both more responsible and independent of transformation previsions backed by prescriptive value or moral or ideological concerns towards specific distributive results.
The Community principle of economic, social, and territorial cohesion, in conclusion, may supply the constitutional reason capable of developing, within planning decisions, regulations for compensation among interests and needs involved in territorial transformation, which would otherwise be inhibited, as national experience has demonstrated, by the difficult practice of inspiring territorial government to consider 'institutional' needs of solidarity (10). On the other hand, compensation to losing parties seems to constitute the most concrete way to eradicate the fundamental conflict between cohesion and subsidiarity which, as has been said, has up to now prevented European territorial governance from being attributed that institutional recognition that, if the current constitutional process is not pure fiction, appears to be vital for the future of European citizens.

Conclusions

The considerations presented in the preceding paragraphs were not induced from the assumption that a European territorial law is necessary; they are, rather, born of the realisation that a European law that establishes implementing measures for the territorial cohesion policy is being provided for by the Community constitutional project. The reasons, if we reiterated briefly in relation to the overall sense of the European integration process, that justify this even lead to the conclusion that a law of this scope, in order not to fail in its intentions, should interact with national territorial government systems and, in particular, with procedures instituted for planning local transformations.
The impression of an unacceptable interference from higher levels that a similar aim might suggest is only apparent, since, on the contrary, only a top-level veto could prevent a European law from recognising the elementary premise that any territorial policy (including territorial cohesion) is implemented, by definition, through local actions. From this point of view, the law cannot aspire to instilling effectiveness into local transformation processes; it should, rather, set the simple objective of establishing new Community constitutional principles, especially subsidiarity and cohesion, within the institutional context of territorial government practices in Europe.
Furthermore, if it is true that laws intervene to confirm standard procedures rather than establish new ones, it is also true that territorial governance practices, which are rapidly spreading also thanks to Community innovations that have been appreciated by technicians and decision-makers across Europe, struggle to be recognised in established or attempted reform processes by national (and regional) institutions based upon constitutional models of 20th century hierarchical government. Existing laws and instruments, in other words, in spite of attempts at reform, not only appear incapable of adequately serving the emerging needs of territorial government, but as seen above, they appear to obstruct them considerably. Not by chance, the aspect of this process of change most deserving of attention in recent years is the innovative ideas, implemented a bit everywhere in Europe by more enlightened operators and decision-makers in the attempt to make territorial governance practices functional, even within inadequate institutional contexts.
With the upcoming challenges that Europe must face, however, creative innovation risks becoming, for lack of a conscious and adequate effort in institutional regulation, a grotesque consolation for noble souls or, even worse, an easy pretext for promoting unspeakable interests in a context of uncertain regulations.
The conclusion of the proposed hypotheses is that the institution of a Community level of territorial government is not the objective of a European law to apply territorial cohesion. It is, if anything, the means (as effective as it is founded upon constitutional reasons) to confer institutional dignity and shared regulations to innovative practices of territorial governance, which have already been experimented, but are otherwise destined to become exceptionality or remembered simply as good intentions. Unless territorial cohesion is a mistake being made by European constituents (which is always possible, but this would be another story), exceptions and good intentions are no longer sufficient.

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Experiences and representations of design for living (of project for dwelling)
Mariolina Besio

"I am often irritated with certain colleagues because they seem to me incapable of appreciating the difference between the obvious and the profound" (Bateson 1977).
When the industrial city finishes its cycle of expansion, the attention of urban planning turns to address the forgotten places, previously outside the interests of the discipline; the old city centers and the countryside become the spaces of "rehabilitation", of "reuse", of "redevelopment", of "re-evaluation" (Clementi 2002; Gasparini, Latini 1997; Lanzani, Fedeli 2004; Palermo, Savoldi 2002). In response to this renewed interest, I had the opportunity to participate in three urban planning projects during the years spanning from the end of the 1980s into the beginning of the 1990s that were particularly innovative for that time.
The first experience involved a few communities of eastern Liguria in the years between 1986 and 1989. The environmental features were typical of the Apennines: the abandonment of agriculture was accompanied by a demographic decrease and by social and economic marginalization. Promoted by a spontaneous association of more than ten communities, the project was a landscape plan proposed as an alternative to that which the regional administration had drawn up in compliance with the Galasso law (national law no. 431/85, on preservation of areas of relevant environmental value). The scope was that of making an indepth comparison with the regional plan during the phase of receiving the formal comments from the inhabitants (Besio 1989).
The second experience took place in the early 1990s in the Cinque Terre area of eastern Liguria, where the landscape is characterized by the terracing of the land for vineyards. The project, promoted by the winegrowers' cooperative of the Cinque Terre, was a *Programma Integrato Mediterraneo* (PIM, or Integrated Mediterranean Program), that involved the rehabilitation of the rural buildings surrounding the Sanctuary of Madonna of Montenero. It was drafted with the participation of the numerous members that owned agricultural property (Besio 1995). The third experience developed in the years from 1989 to 1999 in the historic center of Genoa. The urban environment was characterized not only by its architectural merits but also by the values of a civic identity of a human dimension. The project was a Programma Organico di Intervento (POI, or Organic Program of Intervention), that involved the recuperation of an area surrounding Piazza Vigne, and was promoted and drafted by some of the neighborhood associations (Besio 1999).
In all of these cases, from the very beginning there was an awareness on the part of the local community and its inhabitants that the deterioration was social and civil, and not only architectural and territorial. The images of physical degradation were perceived as pathologies of a malaise whose nature was anthropological and civil. In these conditions the local communities and their inhabitants promoted projects for the protection of the landscape and for the rehabilitation of the historic city different from those having precedence drawn up by the urban planners working in the public administrations concerned (Besio 2001). The first difference regarded the procedure of formation, with a form of subsidiarity common to each of the different experiences; the decision-making system was innovative when compared to well-established methods, since a bottom up process was activated which was not widespread in Italy during the years in which these projects were advanced (Alexander 1977, 1979; Balducci 1992; Bookchin 1989; Forester 1989; Geddes 1970; Kropotkin 1982; Krumholz, Clavel 1994; Lynch 1967; Maciocco 1995; Magnaghi 1990; 2000; Muratori 1967; Sachs 1981; Toesca 1984).
A second difference regarded the participants having a claim in the realization of the projects: the residents were considered responsible for the betterment of the environment which they occupied, on account of their identification with the places in which they lived; the design parameters made reference to the experiences of everyday life and the economic dimension called into play factors that were not exclusively assessable in monetary terms; the resources involved were not only those of an architectural heritage or of the financial assets to invest in the works, but human resources as well were also taken into account (Seravalli 1999, 2002).
A third difference regarded the evaluation of the current state and representations of the future: the images of the old center, brought up in the meetings, in the public assemblies, and in the analyses of the inhabitants, revealed a situation very different from that represented in the documents prepared by experts and technicians; in the mental images of the inhabitants of the Vara valley and of Cinque Terre the landscape had the significance of a collective project in continuous evolution, consolidated through the mutual bonds of belonging between the communities and the places in which they lived; the term 'identity' did not correspond to an abstract reality or to a literary metaphor, since the links between the people and the land were codified in the materiality of the possession of the fields or the houses (Aragona 2000; Bauman 2003; Castells 2003; Flanagan 1998; Levi-Strauss 1996; Morin 2002; Sen 2000; Sennett 1999; Decandia 2002).
The experiences made evident that established planning instruments were inadequate to represent the evaluations and mental images which the inhabitants formulated for their own living environment. Perhaps for this reason they did not consider the social, economic, and civil processes while the projects of the inhabitants proposed the integration of building interventions with those of environmental redevelopment and of civil responsibility (Ferraro 1998; Jonas 1993; Toesca 1994).

Representations
"Reality would seem transparent to that which represented it. Naively we think to establish a direct relationship with it. We should, instead, distrust this fable and know that there is an enormous labor to the origins of representations, since we represent reality by making use of instruments, enframing it, establishing differences, utilizing all of the means of language" (Cauqelin 2000).
The above mentioned experiences had common elements on which it was worthwhile to reflect. For

this reason, subsequently, a theoretical research was addressed to the relationships between scientific knowledge and 'common sense'. It involved the exploration of the possibility of analyzing common sense knowledge with the help of innovative scientific means, made available by disciplines that in recent times had been involved with this topic (Besio 2002).
Common sense knowledge and scientific knowledge have different methods of constructing mental images of the world and of reasoning. Representations generated by common sense are valid only in the single local situation: their recognition allows understanding the deep meaning of each place, but they do not have universal value and are not generalizable (Frixione 1994, 2002). They tend to be conservative and to construct models that are handed down by 'tradition' (Alexander 1977, 1979; Habraken 1998). What seem to be limits and errors in the light of scientific logic are instead forms of awareness structured to extremely high levels that express rich and articulate expectations and hopes about the world (Betti 2002; Vaccari 2002).
Today we have to recognize that 'unaffected knowledge' is also a heritage just as important as the historical cultural heritage of built property.
Common sense knowing possesses an empirical authority regarding the comprehension of the nature of good building techniques, in which we notice a refined environmental and ecological awareness, having the naturalness and the spontaneity of things 'unsaid' because they are 'obvious'. The questions emerging from these first theoretical reflections were faced in a subsequent applied research: how to decode the common sense way of knowing that in the past had contributed to give form to the territory and to foster mental images of the landscape; how to formalize the awareness and the representations of common sense according to a town planning language adequate to promote dialogue between technicians and inhabitants.
The scheme of a project is imprinted on the territory, realized in a preindustrial age but still operating, that has integrated the contributions of individuals in a singular structure. The mental image of a structure appears through the landscape, in which coexist nature, history, and the gaze of the people that have worked there. The knowledge necessary to bring about the structure does not come first, but is formed together with it. In the circular relationship between action and knowledge, a 'latent project' lies dormant in the territory and an 'implicit plan' is developed in which is accumulated the knowledge for activating evernew actions. The 'latent project' and the 'implicit plan' correspond to an ecosystem sui generis, called an "ecosystem of the rural settlement" since at its center is the community of people that have inhabited it (Bateson 2000; Lynch 1981; Magnaghi 2000). The 'latent design' refers to a space and time dimension different from that habitually considered in the urban planning project. The actions that have given form to the 'implicit plan' were not provided for in a unique initial design, nor were they completed at the same time. In traditional history, that we are habituated to consider as planners, time unwinds at a constant velocity, regulated by the conventions of the calendar, that is external to the territory and is the same to all territories and for all communities. By considering history instead as an 'operating structure' of the 'design in process' the speed of time is not constant, but is measured by the rhythm and events of the life of the community (Muratori 1967; Campari 1997; Papagno 2000, 2002).
The 'implicit plan' operates on the basis of knowledge acquired by experience; the 'latent design' is manifested in a space that has a larger number of dimensions with respect to the two dimensions of traditional town planning projects. In the third dimension there are the natural processes governed by the law of gravity, that conditions water balance and soil conditions, and determines the differences in the microclimate. In the third dimension are also perceived the perspective images and the panoramic views of the landscape. But there are other dimensions that explain the meanings and the values attributed to the visible forms of the cultural and civil systems: these consider the situation from different perspectives and project it in spaces that to the three dimensions add other dimensions of meanings attributed by the filters with which the situation is observed (Morin 2001; Longo 1998).
They may be given diverse versions of the same reality; the same phenomena may be evaluated differently if they are seen from the inside or the outside. The things that one sees are the same, but the framework of relations and of meanings that connect them changes, no longer giving back to us a composition of images as it represents the different world views that underlie them. From different points of observation one even has different projections of the future. The representations operate in a multi-dimensional space in which the 'objective' elements of the territory coexist with the observer, the point of view from which the observer observes coexists with the cultural and cognitive models that act as filters of observation.
In representations and interpretations there is always a deformation: we cannot continue acting as if this were not so.

Urban figures

"In contrast to reason, the imaginary does not open to exactness or to verisimilitude: it is only a vector of contemplation that puts one in communication with the others. The mental image is relative, in the sense that it does not claim an absolute, but puts in relation ... The materiality of a place is crossed by a series of collective images that give it sense" (Maffessoli 1996).
The reflections that guided the research were kept in equilibrium with a double contradiction. In one way they analyzed common sense knowledge to codify it in the technical language of town planning. In another way they sought the traces of a stable means of dwelling, considering change as an unavoidable condition of the contemporary age (Raffestin 1984; Sacks 1986; La Cecla 1993; Mitchell 1995; Vattimo 1998; Bauman 1999; Salomone 1999; Magnaghi 2000). The terms 'dwelling' and 'stability' have assumed, nevertheless, particular meanings that warrant elaboration.
The meaning of dwelling has profoundly changed today with respect to the past: one no longer lives in one place for her/his whole life; one is able to live simultaneously in many places, where part of a lifetime, of a year, of a

week, even of a single day, is spent (La Cecla 1993; Magnaghi 1996; Immerfal 1998; Bauman 2001).
Stability does not mean to fix the relationships between inhabitants and the places in which they live permanently in time and space. In the age in which mobility and change constitute the dominant metaphors of the urban condition, such meaning is not pertinent. Nevertheless, even in conditions of high mobility and change, the condition of dwelling characterizes the only relatively stable 'ecological' relationship between people and the urban and territorial places in which their lives unfold (Park 1967, Maffessoli 1996).
The ongoing change in the urban situation was addressed in different research endeavors and extensively studied by many authors (Dunford, Kafkals 1992; Clementi, Dematteis, Palermo 1996; Hall 1997; Giddens 2000). New forms of settlement have expanded urban space according to architectural and building structures that are antithetical and at the same time coexistent with each other (Boeri et al. 1993; Boscacci, Camagni 1994; Maffessoli 1996; Basilico, Boeri 1997; Camagni 1999; Martinotti 2002; Maciocco, Pittaluga 2003). Simultaneously with the broadening of space, we assist in the multiplication of rhythms and in the acceleration of time. Activities that formerly took place in sequence can be practiced contemporaneously; ways of living that corresponded to different evolutionary phases of the history of civilization are now coexistent in a system of relationships that connect them globally (Bonfiglioli 1990).
The 'empty' space interposed between one city and another is refilled with great infrastructures, onto which face the out-of-scale volumes of tertiary industry: malls, office districts, entertainment centers. The isolated monuments of the religion of consumerism and of mythical immaterial production, together with the highways connecting them to the traditional city, have occupied the countryside, reorganizing the rural world according to typically urban activities and relations.
The dimension of the global city spreads in a generalized manner over the whole planet the macroarchitecture of commerce, of entertainment, of the supranational representativeness of financial enterprise, confirming the same models of urban functioning. The originality of languages and of architectural forms serves to conceal the validating uniformity of ways of life. But it is also the dimension in which is propagated the social styles and images that seek to render ethnic groups, civilizations, and cultures homogeneous (Scandurra 1997, 2001; Sassen 2002; Frattini 2000; Colarossi, Frattini 2001; Mattogno 2002).
Seizing the opportunity of technologies of telecommunication, even the minute dimensions of the house, of the work of the individual and of small groups, are extended across the countryside according to diffusive, interstitial, and areal forms. If considered in single units the dimension is imperceptible, but considered comprehensively, the effects are considerable.
The dimension of living space and the speed of time, linked to daily life, persist, even if in forms different from those of the past, together in the space and time of globality. The new global rhythms have not cancelled the rhythms of days that continue to regulate in different places the organization of diverse communities.
Contemporary urban forms break the unity of time and space of the modern city. Urban figures function simultaneously, while still having different dimensions of space and speeds of time. The two measures, of time and space, are not alternatives but interweave reciprocal relationships, not juxtaposed but coexistent even if it is not always easy to distinguish the one from the other. Different paradigms are brought together in describing them, without being mutually exclusive. The models that they propose are not closed and self-sufficient, but prefigure mental images and representations that make evident the dynamics of the one, rather than those of the other (Ilardi 1999; Maciocco, Tagliagambe 1997; Magnaghi 2000).
Yet even if they are coexistent, the two images are not interchangeable. Each of them requires appropriate forms of knowledge and particular styles of research. One cannot pass with impunity from one to the other without confusing the truths that justify them, and the diverse ethical and esthetic contexts to which they make reference. Theories, methods, instruments, images, styles utilized for formulating effective representations are necessarily different (Berlin et al. 1990; Ricoeur 1992; Longo 1998).
The case studies and the theoretical reflections which have been addressed fall within the figure of design for dwelling, of the ordering of space and of the forms of the landscape to draw attention to the life of people in communities, to the interaction through the 'daily rituals' and with the 'common story'. These things are not neutral, since there is the risk that the citizens will be increasingly excluded from the construction of the city (and of the territory), and of losing the collective vision of that which is good and that which is bad for everyone (or almost everyone).

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Suburbs: from zenith overlook to eye-level view
Daniele Virgilio

André Corboz concluded his famous essay *Hypercity* by pointing out we can no longer use the terms that normally allow us to describe and understand urban phenomena. This uncertainty, both about the definition and the semantics, seems to be caused by the processes of standardization that characterize the contemporary city and also seems to have produced the loss of meaning of the traditional opposition between 'center' and 'periphery'.
New urban characters and social behaviors show a trend toward making the spatial and symbolic codes of urban settlements more uniform, making different situations and objects appear similar such as, for example, consumer society's 'containers' and pedestrian town centers (Boeri 1999).
The global megalopolis has put an end to the opposition between the inside and the outside of the city, unifying the world into one zone which stands "between nowhere and nowhere" (Foucault 1997). From the analysis of urban structures through a morphological point of view, the study of the changes of urban territories in Italy has shown that the diffused town is not a specific spatial character of urban forms belonging to the borders of towns but rather a behavioral, mental paradigm that unifies compact and sprawling urban dimensions in the same transitional, nomadic practices (Barbieri 1996).
A new concept of contemporary space, based on the ideas of transition and flows is changing cultural and perceptual references from 'stability' to 'rapid sequence' (Mello 2001; Boeri 1999), making the run across territories the geographical basis of a new theory of society (Ilardi 1999). Furthermore, the shift from urban growth to urban transformation in contemporary town planning in developed countries has widely demonstrated that conditions of the periphery also belong to downtowns just as much as the features of good urban quality often belong to suburbs (Piroddi 2000).
Even so, though many of these signs seem to imply a new concept of 'suburbs' that of a city scattered in the *continuum* of the global city, and though in representing nowadays the landscapes of metropolis the attention is often mainly put on the sequence and the flowing of the zapping perception from the nomadic viewpoint of freeways, peripheral urban areas seem to keep very peculiar and lively characters, especially if considered from the point of view of everyday life. It is mainly in the suburbs that new forms of social interaction are taking place, as well as the spontaneous transformation of physical environments by groups of residents (Mello 2002; Ilardi 1999). It is in the suburbs that we guess new places for cultural production (Purini 1998). Suburban spaces become, sometimes, the experimental fields of insurgent living practices for new citizenships, whose diffused actions and transformation micro-projects can generate new dimensions of place (Paba 2002).
Terraines vagues are becoming new laboratories for social and cultural innovations, even by means of illegal and conflictual practices, as a factor of the destruction of established urban order (Ilardi 2002).
Suburbs' vitality is not detached from the interpretation of suburban landscape as an expression of discordance and chaos, unmasking the violence and the pathology partly concealed by the self-celebrating aesthetics of official urban scenery as well as showing the creativity coming from the inhabitants' sometimes rather utopian wish to become a 'town' (La Cecla 2000). This condition becomes more evident when watched from the inhabitants' point of view.
For these reasons "starting from the borders" seems to be an interesting approach to understand the nature of the city and to forecast a new urban identity (Maciocco 2001). The initial phrase in J.F. Lyotard's *Suburbs* (1997): "One has to come into a town from the suburbs", seems to suggest a strategy of deciphering a town from its periphery to its center. Also, this cognitive strategy has a certain similarity with Geddes' approach in experiencing planning in India, when Geddes (in Ferraro, 1998) refers to the opportunity of approaching a town's problems from the periphery towards the inside. The suggestion we expect from that is to reassemble the sense and the vital connections of urban identities (an often ambiguous and non-objective idea: "we think of our identity when we are not sure of our belonging", Bauman says) starting from the feeble signs which constitute, at the urban borders, a background of diffused relationships, developing a point of view from the universe of the inhabitants' everyday life.

An approach to the 'weak town'
On the one hand new urban forms are chaotic and on the other hand the traditional idea of city based on the uniqueness of urbs and civitas in a holistic subject has completely vanished. Suburbs are the lively scenery of this negative complexity, the borderline where an uncertain identity seems to be a prelude to new possibilities (Decandia 2000). A possible approach to learning and interpreting the meaning of the city is that of starting from the places where the traditional elements of the idea of urban identity are not intelligible, deciphering the micro-phenomena belonging to the inhabitants' landscape, which are considered by conventional plans like background noise. In front of the apparent world's destruction, a knowledge project cannot but start from an elementarist move: "trying again to name the things that make the city and territory and show their change" (Viganò 1999).
One must try to 'reconstruct the world' by understanding the connections of its fragments, not to nostalgically re-establish a hypothetical order but to develop the specific, original character of the suburbs' identity, starting from a sort of 'zero degree' to imply the preliminary release from any learned language to adopt the 'spoken' language of everyday life. The first action of this kind of approach is the drafting of an inventory of minimal facts, by surveying elementary distinctions even before we can recognize a structure, making a sort of survey about the objects and their relations, both physical and symbolic, which make suburban landscape. First of all, trying to decipher the diffused multiplicity of individual and collective micro-projects connected with the inhabitants' lives, to forecast, afterwards, a hypothesis for a representation within a complex and systemic pattern. We have to produce first what is so

obvious in everyday life experience of the city that has been forgotten and then even 'censored' in the grammar of planning, proceeding from ordinary things, which are never banal but more likely the result of complex phenomena and selective syntheses (Besio 1995), and trying to understand what has become incomprehensible by working in homology with the typological and morphological inventory of the hypercity as suggested by Corboz. Starting from these premises, in the following pages we will describe an experiment of observation of the inhabitants' world looking ahead to the, interrupted and hidden, horizon of the continuity between people and places.

Representations

The representation of the city in planning has been traditionally dominated by a 'zenith overlook', implying a vision of reality from afar and from an infinite height. Patrizia Gabellini has focused on the planimetric mode of representation as a support for an allseeing look, with a two-dimensional way of drawing which tends to neutralize the holistic character of the world, emphasizing more the metric and economic features of space than perception of space (Gabellini 1996). The overlook of the planimetric vision seems to be directive, absolute, and selective. Louis Marin says that the zenith point of view is dominant but it is not situated in a specific place: it is everywhere and nowhere. The plan has absolute power, deciding what can and cannot be represented (Marin 2001). It is from these premises that the rational approach of planning, through the zenith-overlook representation, becomes predominant in the other forms of knowledge and representation, causing the final separation between man and environment (Decandia 2000).

Also, this reductive side of planning is emphasized by zoning as a tool of analysis and design. Its way of representing by areas tends to replace the complex and manifold nature of reality with a uniform composition based on the quantitative and functional aspects of spatial phenomena. Similar problems seem to characterize the culturalist vision, whose attention is focused on the architecture of the urban phenomena, more on the morphological analysis of spatial objects than on the connections, often unforeseeable, which construct the relational nature of reality. It seems that the conflict between the two traditions of European urban planning, the one focused on the objects, more mechanistic, and the other on the relations, based on development and participation, is still unresolved (Kroll 2001). The inadequacy of the zenith-view approach to urban phenomena can be evaluated on two sides: the inability of interpreting new urban phenomena, especially as to the city-region characteristics, whose flowing cannot be represented by Euclidean geometries, with a perimeter of separate parts (Gabellini 1996; Boeri 1997); the 'censorship' of the effects of the physical interaction between the inhabitants and their spaces (La Cecla 2000). The zenith-view cannot interpret the inner nature of the inhabitants' world, its vitality and its richness of signs that a conventional map cannot express. The aim of the research seems then to be that of an experimental construction of a way of knowledge and representation based on the need of approaching the inhabitants' point of view and of focusing on the signs of everyday life: a way of expressing the spatial images of the inhabitants with a common sense language, putting in evidence the network of connections making the structure of living space. These are not new questions in planning, as they were part of the planner's aim in using an iconic language in plans in the early 1980s (Gabellini 1996). Photography has a main role in the approach we now suggest, because it emphasizes the shifting of the point of view from the zenith to man's height. Photography can be the instrument to portray the spatial vision the inhabitants have of their territory, of their fragments of everyday life, to show the way they reorganize the image of the city (Leotta 2000), representing things with a common sense language. Photography has an immediate ability to show the irrefutable presence of things, to be a sort of certificate of the part of reality it portrays 'in the flesh': though being tendentious, it can lie on the meaning of the thing portrayed, but never about its existence (Barthes 1980). Photography always implies being in a place: the 'seeing' of the photographer lies in the fact 'he was there' (Barthes 1980) with his/her physical presence, creating a "living connection", according to an expression by Merleau-Ponty, between the subject of knowledge and the world. Also, this is the basis for the development of an empathic link with places and people, beyond the limits of the modern approach. This recalls the method suggested by Geddes, that of "watching by walking through" with camera and notebook as a deep and complex way of approaching the knowledge of the city, to decipher the place's identity and to unveil the "heritage", that Geddes defined as the deep essence of the collective soul, lying in urban spaces (Ferraro, 1998).

Photography allows, then, the creation of an interaction between the observer, the inhabitants, and their places, so that he/she cannot be an outside watcher.

A complex view of the inhabitants' space

In the construction of knowledge, photography is the instrument to record, from a person's height point of view, differences and recurring phenomena in the inhabitants' space in suburbs. But beyond the 'elemental' step represented by the survey a further one is that of reorganizing the elements within a complex conceptual framework based, in this view, on the representation models of the "ecology of the human settlement" (Besio 1999). The hypothesis is that in a chaotic condition such as that of suburban territories it is still possible to identify unitary spheres which can be defined through the interpretation of local spatial connections and interdependences between the elements of the inhabitants' landscape: a spatial configuration based on a syntax putting in evidence the structure of the context in which the inhabitants' organize their lives. The attempt, based on what has already been experienced in the rural and periurban context (Besio 1995, 1999), is that of reconstructing an idea of a local system that can figure the links between the different parts of the inhabitants' space of life starting from the elemental rules of spatial organization, interpreted as recurring phenomena in different contexts and represented

according to the inhabitants' point of view. The main theoretical references are to Lynch (1990) for the construction of a normative theory based on common sense, to Alexander (1977, 1979) for the linguistic codification of the interaction between the different components of human settlements as a result of a multiplicity of individual actions within a common language, and to Muratori, especially for the holistic and organicist interpretation of the settlements' structure, even if this one is characterized by a rather deterministic view (Naddeo 1998). In previous research experiences the definition of a local system have been that of "minimal territorial units significant as to the behavior of local communities". Minimal life connections build up (and keep alive) forms of organization of local space maintaining their individuality: the criterion by which it is possible to identify these minimal units is that of understanding the structure of the smallest part of territory in which an organization can be surveyed, in which the interaction between different phenomena of everyday experience shows considerable recurrences (Besio 1995). Experiences developed in the periurban domain have led to define this model as "structurally and functionally non-homogeneous organic parts of urban territory, with which the inhabitants identify themselves", a "neighborhood in which the actions of everyday life take place", in which the objects which are part of the collective memory are the significant elements of identification and in which residences, commercial activities, paths and parks are connected both from the use and the perceptual point of view (Besio 1999).

On this basis we can identify (or even re-discover) a subdivision of the suburban continuum in a polycentric system made of "small cities within the larger city" to integrate the small with the large dimension (Colarossi 2002; Frattini 2000). The spatial setting of the model is based on two elements: center and border, which identify a settlement as 'to settle' means to find a place in the vagueness of space (La Cecla 1993). To find a place according to the significance that can be recognized in a territorial sphere from the inhabitants' point of view is, again, the main question of the analysis of suburbs. It is a question that remains unsolved, hanging between two opposites: the dismissal of concepts like "identity", "belonging", and "territory" (Scandurra 2001) and the searching for a sense of proportionality in the relation between people and places (Paba 1998).

The suburbs of La Spezia

The experiment refers to the suburbs of La Spezia and stems from the work done for the master plan of the town (by Luciano Pontuale and Federico Oliva), and has been developed as a doctoral thesis. Starting from a morphologic analysis of the built landscape of suburbs, the aim is to elaborate a representation of a system of local units as an expression of the multiple identities hidden in the borders of the town. The context is an unexplored field, with a high-density of residents and heterogeneous from the typological-morphological point of view. There are environmental threats, such as a power station, a spur road, a double railway line, a port area in conflict with the dwellers' spaces, traffic congestion. There is no 'euphoria': no shopping centers, no malls. Marginality dominates. The reconstruction of the idea of a local system of settlement proceeds from a photographic survey of recurring phenomena, interpreted as rules in the organization of space, elemental and obvious, that can be recognized in different contexts of the same suburban sphere. It is possible to organize an inventory of these rules, even before trying to detect and represent the connections and the interdependence that generates the small organized local units. First, with the survey of morphology, interpreted as the form of urban space in the small dimension (Colarossi 1999): there is always a distinction between enclosed and open spaces, the first being those created by two continuous sides of buildings along a main road in the metropolitan area, enclosing a public space, the second being the typical 'pavilion-system' way of land occupation, in which buildings are placed in the central part of their lot. There are always 'planned' fabrics, identified by the regular geometry of their spaces, set near the small enclosed spaces. There are main roads, axes of the structure of local space. There are borders, some physical, as a viaduct, some less obvious, as the decrease of a density gradient. There are small public buildings and spaces (a church, a collective space). There are the signs of history and culture of the places: place names, which are a strong sign of belonging, as well as their reelaboration in the writing practices, sometimes to express the awareness by local groups of being different from the rest of the town, or rather a conflictual protagonism against environmental threats. There are always historic buildings, those built before the Second World War, often concentrating in the above mentioned "enclosed" spaces. There are always little monuments: memorial plaques, statues, objects that form some sort of affective pole in the everyday environment. There are specific uses: in the "enclosed" spaces, at the ground floors of the buildings, there are often shops, small offices, workshops; the concomitant presence of the form of enclosed spaces, of the historic buildings, and of these mixed specific uses identifies a small, microcosmic local center, as recognized by the inhabitants. Also, from the use point of view, there are always obvious signs of social life, often in spontaneous and ever changing ways of organization: a small club, a row of chairs, a pavement. There are always natural and rural remnants: a little stream often flows near the small local centers; residual spaces are often used as small kitchen gardens, which do not represent an improper intrusion of the country in urban territory, but are rather projects of domestic microlandscapes. There are always areas of 'artificial nature': parks, gardens. The territorial dimension, interpreted as the perception of self-location within the region, is represented by visual landmarks: a factory chimney, a freeway, an industrial area. From the photographic inventory, a further step is that of the reorganization of the different rules of recurring phenomena within a structural framework representing their connections and interdependences organized according to the relation between centers and borders. The various structures of the local units are represented with

synthetic maps gathering ideograms and photos to express the rules of organization of the local units. These forms of iconic and symbolic representation can be seen as a "background vision" (Piroddi 1999), an interpretative model of the possible spatial organization of each little city, as also a simulacrum of the local settlement's structure, a sort of DNA of local space (Purini 2000): a mandala of suburban places, representing a possible firmness in uncertainty and a prophecy for future developments (Rykwert 2002). The detection of local systems in the territory and their representation imply the possibility of defining, in the suburban continuum, the discontinuous and non-homogeneous structure of various local identities, starting from common sense experience of urban space. Possible developments of this method are the definition of a model for the interpretation of local dimension in suburbs, to enhance and facilitate participation practices, to direct the urban renewal planning practices to a coevolutionary approach, to overcome the 'horror' of letting people govern their own way of living (La Cecla 2000).

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Urban planning in the aftermath of the Nordic welfare state model

Göran Cars, Abdul Khakee

The visions of the modern welfare state as formulated in the aftermath of Second World War included a comprehensive approach to urban planning in order to implement various welfare reforms. The article presents the current situation and the likely developments concerning welfare and urban planning.

The rise and fall of the Nordic welfare model

The welfare models developed in the North-West of Europe after the World War II showed significant differences compared to those adopted by other European countries. The more comprehensive welfare systems introduced in the Nordic countries have three components in common: an educational system designed to meet the skills required to enter the Fordist labour market; a social insurance system designed to support workers through periods of unemployment, illness and old age; a housing system designed to ensure that the population was well housed (Allen, Cars 2000).

The welfare systems created were closely interrelated with the economic system for production. The welfare system should guarantee the availability of a workforce skilled to meet the demands of the Fordist economy, as improved effectiveness in production was the key to increasing incomes and improving welfare and housing conditions. This linking of the welfare and economic system was generally considered successful. Economic development was rapid and the advancements in welfare, both in terms of private consumption and public services, were notable (Cars, Johansson 2002).

However, in the aftermath of the oil crisis in the 1970s the situation changed. The balance and interaction between the welfare system and the economic system was disturbed. The welfare model, which was successively built up, was questioned and challenged from a variety of perspectives. It became a real question whether or not the welfare system was effective in meeting the most urgent needs. Policies and programmes in place were not sufficiently shaped to cope with the new problems that had emerged. In the past, social problems emerged from issues such as overcrowding and substandard conditions characteristic of poverty. Although these factors still existed, they were now often exacerbated by other conditions, e.g. stigmatisation, social tensions and social exclusion (Alterman, Cars 1991). In the Nordic countries the 1970s and 1980s brought about societal developments that made it necessary to rethink established housing and welfare policies. Issues such as standards and space of flats were no longer the primary focus; rather problems that called for attention were increased stigmatisation and exclusion of neighbourhoods.

As the economy of the Nordic countries has successively developed from 'mature Fordism' to 'post-Fordism' these problems have exaggerated. The long run unemployment numbers have gradually risen to levels that were unthinkable during the heydays of Fordism. The growth of the service sector has been associated with increasing demand for flexible labour, that is, labour which is willing to work e.g. casually, part time, on contract basis, on temporary contracts, at home.

Thus, it can be concluded that the economic system in Europe has undergone substantial change over the last decades, and in many ways it functions in a significantly different way today. Keeping in mind the close relation between the economic and welfare systems, it is important to look at how the welfare system has responded to the changes in the economic system. Simply stated, studies indicate that the welfare system has been unable to respond adequately to changes in the economic system. Public financial constraints is an obvious explanation for this. Also noticeable is the inability to redesign social programmes to reflect the changing economic structure (Allen, Cars 2000). The effectiveness of welfare systems also has been criticized from a neo-conservative perspective in which the welfare state has proven itself to be bureaucratic and unresponsive to welfare needs. It is claimed that rather than solving the problems, the welfare state itself is a part of the problem.

Further, criticism has been raised on the ground that the welfares system is based on formal arrangements from which the voluntary sector and residents have been excluded. Improved performance and effectiveness presupposes that more informal opportunities are opened up (Miller 1999). Similarly Sanderson (1999) argues that traditional perspectives on renewal process embody a 'technocratic' conception of decision-making that disempowers citizens. The short-comings of rehabilitation efforts triggered a debate on how new effective approaches could be adopted. Thus, in the present debate the traditional welfare models are challenged from two perspectives. From a perspective of effectiveness, it is questioned whether the systems are capable of delivering services in an optimal manner. From the perspective of democracy, it is argued that present governance arrangements are exclusive to residents and informal actors, e.g. local organisations.

Parallel changes of the planning system

The emergence and the development of the Nordic welfare state model are closely linked to a parallel development of the planning system. A state-managed urban development policy with extensive public housing available to households of all categories was a key element of the Nordic model. But also, the planning system played an important role in improving education, medical care, recreational opportunities and other services, which were considered important ingredients of the welfare model. In order to minimize administrative costs, achieve a proper spatial allocation of collective consumption in every municipality and insure sufficient input of public concerns and preferences the Nordic welfare model exhibited considerable decentralization. Cities, towns and urban centres became the arena for planning and implementing a majority of the welfare services but under central control and financial support (Khakee 1994).

Thus, an eminent presence of the welfare ideology pervaded nearly every walk of public life. Urban planning was no exception. A reference to the welfare state determined public interest pervaded local authorities' planning efforts

even where a substantial amount of pragmatism was required (e.g. Lex Norrmalm and the large scale renewal of central urban districts in Stockholm).
The emergence of the globalized economy and subsequent structural changes in society eroded the strong role of local urban planning. In the post-Fordist society the relation between territory and production is different than before. To an increasing extent companies have become foot-loose, i.e. they are not tied to a specific geographical location. At the same time fixed assets of companies have decreased in importance compared to human assets. The paradox is that in a world characterized by increased mobility and flexibility, the 'quality of place' is becoming increasingly important. The planning implications are obvious. The increased mobility of labour and economic activity means that competition between cities and regions is increasing. These regions are compelled to indulge in extensive space marketing and to develop a flexible 'host policy' to attract transnational companies (Healey et al. 1997). It is not at all unusual to find Nordic towns and cities advertising specific assets e.g. 'internet town', 'biotechnic town', 'conference town'.
In perspective of these changes the role of planning has been reconsidered. Today we can see the development of new approaches to planning. These are based on the realization that the economic conditions for urban development have changed, that 'new' stakeholders claiming a role in the process have emerged, and that conflicts between economic, environmental and social objectives seem to become more and more frequent.
The shift from the provider state to an enabling state, the rise of network society and the neo-conservative trends has resulted in political as well as administrative fragmentation. Political fragmentation implies the devolution of power from the public authority to the business sector, civil society and public agencies at supernational and local levels. Administrative fragmentation is characterized by a rearrangement of public administration in order to enable market-like transactions, competition between public service agencies and partnerships with the private sector and voluntary organizations. In this context the concept of 'partnership' has become a catchword. Collaboration between different actors is not a new phenomenon in Nordic planning. However, currently emerging partnerships differ substantially from traditional collaboration in several aspects. One significant feature of partnerships is the mutual dependence. No single actor is capable to bring about change. Real change presupposes joint and coordinated action. Each partner contributes with resources and shares the responsibility for the decisions and their implementation. Bargaining, singular interest-based and marketled development has become common in Nordic urban planning.
Thus since 1980s various forms of planning exist side by side: marketled solutions are dealt within the premises of bargaining planning, sustainable environmental management requires deliberative approach, increasing social exclusion relies on advocacy planning and other circumstances requiring various inputs of rational, incremental, social, strategic and radical planning.

Current trends in urban development and planning

One of the major spatial changes follows the reduction and transformation of collective consumption. Schools, youth recreation centres, post offices, social welfare centres have been closed and this space is increasingly occupied by all sorts of sundry activities e.g. beauty parlours, dog nurseries and internet cafes. Space in and around what were formerly centres of collective use have been privatized and only those who can afford have access to these spaces (Khakee 2003).
Many residential neighbourhoods and housing districts have undergone substantial changes. The divide between the well-to-do and poorer residential areas has increased. This may not be apparent in all areas but under the façade of reasonably wellkept exterior there are many signs of social and physical dereliction in the poorer districts. This is especially visible highrise apartment estates from the 1960s and 1970s. The Nordic countries nowhere have the type of gated communities found in the US cities and increasingly so in the western European cities but exclusionary forces gather strength as the welfare state declines.
The emergence of property-led urban regeneration is also a conspicuous phenomenon in Scandinavian cities. Such regeneration often in the attractive areas in large cities and towns or in adjacency to cultural centres is often for the high-income households. Old inhabitants are evicted or compelled to purchase at exorbitant price apartments and flats as rental occupancy is replaced by owning occupancy. Many of the regenerated areas are former industrial or harbour sites and their transformation to posh residential areas are a far cry to the welfare state inspired public housing available to all households regardless of income.
Strip development, often devoted to commercial centres, science parks, conference centres and other post-modern activities is yet another characteristic of the post-welfare development in the Scandinavian cities. Specific groups in the society mainly use these earmarked areas and their exclusionary impact is quite significant.
In his inaugural speech as the leader of the Social Democratic Party the present prime minister of Sweden launched the idea that Sweden should be a forbearer of an innovative ecological society to meet the challenges of sustainable development and redress the current global ecological crisis just as it was a forbearer of the Nordic welfare model. All local authorities in all Nordic countries have been required to prepare local Agenda 21 and propose tentative proposals for the reduction of air, earth and water pollutants, recycling of household and industrial waste as well as new education to reduce consumerism in the society. The idea of combining welfare and ecological perspectives in planning has been difficult especially as the former are on retreat. Moreover the global economic requirements have constrained the fulfilment of any farreaching changes towards a Nordic model in ecological planning.

Concluding remarks

The Nordic countries developed strong welfare models and despite the fact

that these models have been questioned and challenged in the 1990s, Nordic cities and towns still live on the assets that were built up during the heydays of the welfare state. Nationally and locally the Nordic societies find themselves at crossroad. As part of the new globalized world there are no prerequisites to go back to previous state of conditions. At the same time recent developments show that neoliberal approaches do not provide solutions to the challenges posed by ecological sustainability, social exclusion, migration from low income countries and transnational corporations demands for infrastructural and other investments. Urban planning shall have a 'new' role, more proactive, more collaborative and more economic, physical and social sustainability-oriented.

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Urban challenges in Sweden

Jerker Söderlind

A common cliché of the present is to say that we are living in turbulent times, or to be more dramatic: "We are in the middle of a paradigm shift". This does not apply well to the Swedish built urban landscape. But, it certainly fits well in a description of the forces that, with so far few visible effects, are creating a widening gap between supply and demand of urban products. This text examines a number of economic, social and technical changes that underline the need for a new 'urban politics' as well as some suggestions of what that could mean in reality. The basis for the analysis is, apart from literature and reports, the executive courses in Urban Management that KTH, the authors' university, has been arranging for local decision makers, city architects and community leaders since the year 2000.

Cities in the wrong places

Out of Sweden's 290 communities, only 40 have today a growing population, around 40 are balancing at *status quo* and the rest are in a state of 'reversed growth'. The reasons are simple to formulate but just as hard to accept in a society in which growth has been taken for granted since the start of the Swedish economic miracle in the beginning of the 20th century, supported by absenteeism in Europe's two great wars, an efficient centralized state, a peaceful labour market, close social ties between entrepreneurs and the financial sector and an extraordinary strong industrial development. Ericsson, Saab, ASEA, AGA, IKEA, Volvo, Scania, Facit, SSAB, MODO, Avesta, Pharmacia, Astra, Tetra Pak, are just a few names of what used to be 'Swedish' companies active in the international arena, brand names that made possible the build up of the Swedish success story: 'Sweden, the middle way', combining capitalist efficiency and socialist solidarity. This period is now over, with the sell out to 'foreigners' of the two strongest icons, car manufacturers Volvo and Saab. With global networks of production conglomerates replacing the national companies, in intensified search for economy of scale, cost cutting, research intensive urban areas and specialisation, our built geography could be described as 'too many small cities in the wrong places'. The situation is similar to the one before the previous geographical revolution, the mechanization of farming leading to depopulation of the country side and urbanization in the late 19th century. If form, as the old modernist architects used to say, follows function, a functional (in the sense of being well adapted to the production system) geography of Sweden would be three major cities: Stockholm the capital, Gothenburg the 'West side story' and Malmö in the South (now, with the Oresund road-train bridge in place, more or less being transformed into a giant suburb to its Danish both stronger and more attractive neighbour Copenhagen). If, just as a minds game, every building in Sweden was given wheels, supply and demand would allocate them to a few dense, and hopefully beautiful, cities, returning the country side to animal life, EU-subsidized farming, summer huts and vacation areas, from skiing to golf courses. How come? As stated numerous times by regional development expert and professor Åke E Andersson of KTH, the natural size of cities is directly linked to the level of division of labour. The more diversified our economy becomes (simply put, the thicker the 'yellow pages' of the phone book directory of companies) the greater the need for a larger number of people to gather at the same spot. In Sweden, being a technically advanced country with a strong political leadership and a strong sense of *status quo* being the best formula for the future, houses are not put on wheels. Instead, under the banner of 'let the whole of Sweden live' the population is put on wheels. To preserve the uncomfortable and unpractical dispersion of our population, much effort and money is put on the second best solution, let people travel! Following the strategy of the national board of planning, the *Vision of 2009*, commuting from homes in distant housing areas and small cities, to the three major cities is more and more becoming a normal life style. If the same strategy had been technically and economically possible a hundred years ago, the former farmers would not have become city dwellers at all. Instead, we would have had large factory areas, intact villages (turned into housing areas) and a lot of trains and roads in between. And no cities. But, there is a second reason for this strategy being successful. With work-places having less closer ties to raw material (farming, mining, fishing) companies move to where the workforce is the best (best trained or cheapest). And decisions on where to live is today a family decision. The quality of life, the view from the window, the attractiveness of the city and other 'soft' factors play an increasingly important role. Apart from the older parts of the big cities, the historical core and some garden city areas, the post world war two suburbs are not offering these qualities. Thus, families choose gladly to move out to small and green traditional towns and one family home areas, and commute to work in the big city. Freedom of choice challenges the present urban landscape. What most people want today is either the traditional dense and diversified pre modernist city, or the garden city environment.

A non-urban heritage

At two points in history, strong political decisions have generated major changes in the built landscape of Sweden. In the 16th and 17th century land reforms were conducted to create a more efficient production system. In the historic villages, each farmers land was scattered as small strips on numerous different places, as a result of inheritance and subdivision of land between many children. This pattern which fostered a large amount of communal work and cooperation, was replaced with large and efficient farming areas, placed around each farmers free standing house, what is called the "village blow up reforms". Instead of the old intense, and economically speaking unpractical village structures, with a large amount of social interaction, the Swedish farmers found themselves in splendid isolation, with kilometres instead of meters between neighbours. In the second half of the 20th century, the population of the countryside and small towns moved into expanding urban areas, without actually becoming city dwellers. Inspired by mostly British principles of neighbourhood planning, traffic separation and the need for decentralization of cities, the explosive building

activities of the post world war two period created a pattern of dispersed and geographically separated apartment, one family house, industrial, office, university, and shopping areas. It seems that the later in history urbanization takes place, with the introduction of cars and modernist planning ideals, the smaller is the amount of real dense and mixed use cities. The Swedish capital has in comparison a much smaller inner city than Denmark's capital, not to mention cities more top the south. Today, the housing areas of the 1960s and 1970s are more and more turning into ethnically and socially segregated 'cities within the cities'.

From strong planning to weak markets

The time of heavily subsidized social housing production, with local public building companies, national control of money markets and controlled housing prizes that fitted well with the 'Fordist' production system, has been replaced with a market situation characterized with low economic incentives for building and an oligopoly structure of the building sector. The four big construction companies that dominate the building sector are more and more converting themselves to master planners, sometimes even taking over the previous role of public planners. New building activities are directed more and more towards specific demands such as life style housing areas (elderly but healthy, golfing communities, students areas, ecological communities). Due to a much debated national economic transfer system (in short, rich cities with high wages and a thriving economy subsidize the majority of the weak, small and often northern communities and cities) we are confronted with troublesome housing shortages in the potentially growing (often university) cities. Many local politicians say that new inhabitants, due to this transfer system, actually decrease tax revenues over time. The abolishment of local property taxes about 20 years ago, also decrease the political will to open up new areas for building. In the same time, demolishing empty housing in the 'reversed growth' areas, has become a new part of the building sector. The legal planning system itself, presently under revision, has a strong tradition of openness, communication and plenty of possibilities for actors that do not approve of plans, to delay or obstruct decisions. The low speed and the well organized criticism (often of NIMBY type) against building in areas in with high demand of new buildings, creates unnaturally high housing prices, and in the same time new opportunities for smaller cities and the newly established university towns. In short, Sweden has left the previously successful politically administered supply oriented building of distant suburbs, to a yet to come privately led demand oriented building of dense and mixed city environments, garden cities and concept areas. Troublesome as this picture may look, it is also true that creativity is the child of troublesome times.

A totally new discussion

During the last 6-8 years, the urban discussion has totally changed direction and the use of words. Under challenge is most of what was true only 10 years back. The initiative is back on the local scene, with identity, image and tradition as important ingredients to success. The public demand for real city qualities, as well as private homes in attractive natural surroundings, has so far led to more innovative building companies and projects. The next issue on the agenda is probably a revision of planning legislation and economic conditions. A few examples will illustrate the tendency of traditional town developments replacing the 20th century suburban tradition.

In Staffanstorp municipality, outside Malmö (third largest city), a decaying suburban centre surrounded with housing only areas was converted into a small mixed use traditional town in the beginning of the 1990s. The proposal by architect Peter Broberg and the Landskronagruppen architectural company put forward four concepts: Structure, Coherence, Cityscape and Regional Tradition. A new main street, with parking along both sides and shops in the bottom floors of new housing blocks, totally changed the municipality identity, and attracted new inhabitants and shops. The architecture was strongly controlled, with sloping traditional roofs and traditional materials. A remake of the local history, proved to be a successful recipe, with close cooperation between politicians and private developers.

Outside Stockholm, in the Nacka community, an old and partly abandoned industrial area with a rich industrial heritage was in 1996 planned to be totally demolished and replaced with traditional housing boxes. Due to heavy protests from neighbours and the initiative to talk to the real estate owner, architects-planners Håkan Jersenius-Vernon Gracie, were given the chance to put forward an alternative scheme for a small mixed use city with 600 housing units and 1.200 workplaces, in a traditional small city block structure, mixing new and old architecture. One important reason for the success is said to be the question the real estate owner got from Jersenius-Gracie: "What do you want to do with your life, What do you want to show your kids and point at and say: 'I did this'?" Protests against the plans for destruction of the old industrial buildings also gave a clear signal to the real estate owners: listen to people, create an attractive small traditional town instead, and building activities can start this year, not in 2-3 years in the future. Making profit is today linked to quality and listening to both the market and what the neighbours demand. A large number of offices and shops, a bowling facility, a large furniture company and schools, in old buildings has created an unusual side effect: a large number of persons involved in planning and building the Järla Sjö Project are today themselves living in the area, as well as the land owner, the Oskarsborg real estate company's headquarters.

A third example of this tendency is Jakriborg in the South. Planned and developed by brothers-developers Jan and Krister Berggren, (borg meaning 'castle') directly at the local train stop between Malmö and university city Lund. Sweden has been given an almost exact replica of a medieval Hanseatic trade town, in the design of architect Robin Manger. With stone laid streets, brick walls, lampposts, windows, pitched tile roofs, all designed as 'the real thing' the Jakriborg project is growing from today 240 apartments to a projected 6-7,000 inhabitants town. This 'concept city' surely beats even the Walt Disney

project Celebration in authenticity. With the difference that a lot of apartments are for rent only, possibly preventing the gated community effect. Bottom floors in most houses along the main street are prepared for shops, offices, restaurants. The project also challenges the meaning of 'modern architecture'. A large number of Swedish architects have followed the international trend to build neo-modernist housing and offices (cubist style boxes with flat roofs, minimalist glass facades or white non decorated concrete walls). If the shift to demand led building becomes stronger, we are faced with a situation in which the 'modern consumer' demands more traditional looking urban districts and houses. An update of the meaning of the word 'modern' thus could mean that the consumer has the right to choose, not that architecture should look 'modern' in the sense of being 'modernist'. Apart from these three trend setting projects, a large proportion of housing is built according to the 'garden city' concept, one family housing along traditional small scale streets with trees and public parks.

For the future, one question that is high on the agenda is the conversion and restructuring of the post world war two apartment housing areas. Most of these areas are still centrally owned, by public municipality companies or large private real estate companies. The lack of local ownership gives few if any incentives for the inhabitants to care for their home areas. The inhabitants are here, as opposed to the situation in the projects described earlier, still treated as willingness 'clients' in need of help from central decision makers. The word 'urban politics' has so far only generated a number of help projects directed to engage inhabitants (many of them not born in Sweden) in leisure and educational projects. As a symbol of the situation, a common question of conflict in these areas is the satellite antennas placed on the balconies of apartments, giving inhabitants a possibility to view programs from their native countries. These antennas are often regarded as security risks by the owners of apartment houses, they 'might' fall down and hurt someone. In some cases inhabitants are threatened with eviction, if they do not remove this technical symbol of freedom of choice. The previous "one nation, one culture" concept is here threatened by the new multicultural reality. The cul-de-sac structure of the road net in these areas also creates bad conditions for shopping and services, that in most cases are moving out from the small neighbourhood centres to new shopping centres along the main highways. Small shops and local enterprises are badly needed in these areas, but are still not given the two basic preconditions for a thriving urban landscape: a diversified ownership pattern, a continuous street grid that generates meeting places and through-traffic. These two basic features of what a city is still remains to be introduced, as part of an urban policy for the 21th century. The question has been raised: how come that the new inhabitants, immigrants of for example Denmark and Britain have a much higher degree of employment than their Swedish counterpart? Two answers are obvious: they often live in premodernist planned areas, in which it is possible to own your own apartment, restaurant or shop. They live in areas not planned according to the neighbourhood principle (secluded areas with no through-traffic). The pattern of the city thus becomes highly political. It is the firm belief of this author, that the 'apartheid light' structure of Sweden's suburban areas, have to be changed. In many areas there is a potential for Swedish versions of Chinatowns (self manged city areas) to emerge. Traffic planning and chopping up property, from public to private, are the two most important questions.

Meanwhile, the drive towards diversification of cities and new roles for public planning are emerging. Laws and norms are changing, as a result of public pressure. In Eskilstuna, formerly an industrial city in decay, the biggest housing project today is, according to leading politicians Hans Ekström, the self managed and self financed conversion of 3,000 summer houses into permanent housing.

Only eight years ago, public planners put much effort in prohibiting people to live permanently in their summer houses. Today, Eskilstuna is helping its inhabitants to fulfil the dream of living in a house designed and built by themselves. As a closing remark, the legislation on the "protection of beaches and shores" is probably the next part of the Fordist concept of planning, that is to fall. Established in the 1950s to prevent building along shores and rivers, this legislation is now threatened by a coalition of companies, public planners, politicians and individuals.

In the new place hunting time, where businesses follows households in search of the most attractive and dream-fulfilling location, this legislation is under growing attack. If people want to have a home, or an office, with a view to the lake, why should they not have it? The answer is, that this is against the concept of sustainability and ecological diversity. Especially for small cities and towns, competing hard with the big cities, building along shores is becoming a more and more popular concept. In the landscape of Sörmland, new ways of interpreting this legislation is currently discussed. The opposition against this is in part led by the 'green' part of our state agencies and local planners. As a result, new ways of interpreting the catchword sustainability is needed. Preserving the green structure for 'future generations' becomes more and more futile, if the present generation wants something different.

Combining ecological, social and economical perspectives on sustainability and replacing the old legislation of 'restrictions' with a new legislation of 'attractions' could be the next step in Swedish planning development. The global paradox is here: the spatial freedom of enterprises and households does not make the 'place' less interesting. On the other hand, when places and spaces become more of a commodity the image of these places turns out as one of the major factors in attracting capital private and local as well as public or global. The major paradigm shift has yet not happened. But, when big changes take place, you can not see it happening. But they take place. And arranging places for new dreams to be fulfilled, that is what Swedish planning is just now all about.

Geography matters. The map is being redrawn. In legislation as well as in reality.

Urban planning Nordic style. Implications of public involvement

Interview of August E. Røsnes, by Christian Hofstad

Christian Hofstad: How can urban development be facilitated and controlled?

August E. Røsnes: It might be fruitful to start with the distinction, as Morris does, between organic growth and planned growth. He argues that these two terms are mostly suitable to describe the evolution and origin of cities. Planned growth can probably either be stimulated, or regulated, to achieve the desired ends, the production of space (Lefebvre 1991). Urban settlements at any given period of time can be seen as a result of a number of locally effective determinants: topography, climate, economic, political, religious, aesthetic, legislation, construction materials, etc.

During the twentieth century all the developed countries of the world created comparable planning systems for the development of urban areas. All of which were founded on the general determinant, or what we can call the idea of a public good to be served. Closer examination suggests that the superficial similarities, the making of development plans and of applications (the issuing of permits) cover significant differences of underlying rationale and approach. These differences are related to process and content as well. Besides, the systems for controlling urban environments do not share the same purposes and objectives (Booth 2003). However, planning in the Nordic countries has shared much of the same objectives under certain common ideological visions of a political and economic welfare model. During the 1990s this model has been contested by globalization, post-industrialization and privatization. In consequence, planning in the Nordic countries have met challenges of the reintroduction of the market as one of the coordinative forces in the society. In this context it is tempting to argue in line with Williams (Williams 1970, p. 81) and emphasize that the quest for control of land use in general and urban development in particular is not only reliant on the regulatory force in planning. At least four, partially competing, institutional systems could be mentioned:

- the official system, comprising among other regulatory instruments for public intervention, the urban zoning regulations;
- the system of public works, comprising planning for public infrastructure, i.e. direct public intervention for the building of streets, networks, open spaces, etc., and public facilities like kindergartens and schools;
- the taxation system, especially the local real property tax. Generally, levying of taxes affects the uses of land. A real property tax will normally vary according to property values and to the services required by their occupants. Where, how and when the planning authority opens up for new developments will then create new conditions for the levying of local revenues, as probably the level of taxation will be impacting where, how and when to build;
- the real property right system relating to private law. The right to build is not only dependent on regulatory approval, but also on consents from the property owing neighbors. Likewise, the use of legal instruments based on trusts and agreements for the binding of interests represents alternatives to public regulations (Pearce 1981).

Rooted in its welfare tradition, the Nordic planning can be characterized by strict performance of the regulatory power in urban zoning regulations combined with extensive use of public financial means for the implementation of urban developments. It implies that the focus of public intervention is found under the two first points above.

C. H.: Where do expected challenges most likely appear?

A.E. R.: In recent years, the Nordic planning have faced a decline in available resources for city planning and building. It means primarily that the municipal budgets both for planning and the implementation of building activities are shrinking. Partially there has been a decline in the transfer of money from the state sources to local building purposes. These changes give rise to three different categories of challenges.

First, the lack of money will increase the struggle in adjusting the planning ambitions to the constraints of resources for the implementation on the ground. Because of public withdrawal from direct intervention, the implementation phase is becoming more decisive for the realizing of plans. This will be requiring a change in planning performance. Moreover, monetary deficits will intensify the search for more money through existing and invented sources. Levying of fees and taxes, using regulations to promote planning gain exactions and the construct of market-based public-private partnerships are all relevant sources in this regard. And finally, urban planning in the future will be more reliant on regulations and other legal devices for facilitating urban development. How can the private law system be utilized in combination with regulations in order to compensate for the loss of capacities due to the weakening of the public works as a directing force?

C. H.: What will be the consequences?

A.E. R.: In general, land use decisions are made by different kinds of agents and agencies (land owners, developers, banks, investors, etc.). In planning all these stakeholders need a coordinating power to avoid chaos and inefficiency in the property market and intolerable conflicts for the community as well. Buitelaar (2003), partially using Powell (1990), argues in favor of using both the market and the government as models of coordination. But he suggests also a third one, network, partially based on the growing importance of public-private cooperation, and partially on the reintroduction of the market forces. The network approach, however, will have implications for the urban planning in many respects.

Planning performance will clearly be dependent on how urban planning succeeds in combining these three coordinated forces: market coordination through the price mechanism, hierarchical coordination through command and control in public organizations, and network coordination through trust, solidarity, negotiations and agreements.

Second, the regulatory instruments as well will have an impact, because both affects the functioning of the price mechanism in the property market, and the statutory power to control future development. The planning authority will here need a connection to the

real property right system. In this new situation the formulation of the regulation will be decisive in order to reach agreements as a result of negotiations that are necessary for the enabling of plans and development projects. Third, network is probably very important, and quite crucial for coordination between various actors in linking financial responsibilities between public stakeholders and the development projects.

C. H.: How well are the planning systems designed to tackle or use network in the urban development?
A.E. R.: In this regard, there are of course important differences between the Nordic countries. A brief characteristic, in spite of certain exceptions, is that the taxation systems are generally not created for these purposes. Provided that the requests for a more network-oriented planning will be continuing, it should be taken for granted that it will require changes both in planning systems and planning practices. It might then be asked what kinds of tasks are so to say decisive for the success of planning in this coming situation, and the needs for adjusting the planning systems accordingly.
One important issue is how the regulatory frameworks can be used in order to facilitate and release development potentials through market mechanisms (Micelli 2002). Rigid regulations are more suitable for fighting market-generated initiatives than to facilitate them. Another one is the possibility to combine regulatory frameworks with private law instruments in order to promote the efficiency of the planning system. Our tradition in combining these two institutional systems is rather weak. And formally, for the recent dealing with trust, negotiations, and agreements connected to the realm of private law, the planning systems are generally not well equipped. The same might be said about the possibilities to initiate public-private cooperation and partnerships for the financing of infrastructure and community facilities. However, the distributive effects of financial means related to individual development projects are far reaching (Watkins 1999). The needs for updating of the legal instruments regulating the financial aspects of urban planning can probably not avoid considerations towards the taxation system.

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From Rio to Johannesburg. Environmental concerns, neoliberal climate change and planning in the Nordic countries

Petter Næss, Arvid Strand

Since the publication of the UN report *Our Common Future* (Brundtland Commission, 1987), the issue of sustainable development has been a common challenge for all nations. Environmental sustainability appears to be emerging as one of the competing rationales for planning in western democracies.

Following the Brundtland Commission, the concept of sustainable development combines ethical norms of welfare, distribution and democracy while recognizing that nature's ability to absorb human-made encroachments and pollution is limited.

According to the Commission, a sustainable development is first and foremost about ensuring that everybody (both in poor and rich countries, and today as well as in future generations) can have their basic needs met. This must be obtained without jeopardizing the natural systems on which life on earth is dependent.

Furthermore, the decision processes leading to such a result must be democratic and legitimate. Thus, the concept of sustainable development comprises a strong element of distributive ethics, focusing on the distribution of benefits and burdens over time (across generations) as well as spatially (within generations).

As the saying goes, a pet child gets many names. Concerning the use of the concept of sustainable development, one might perhaps as well say "a pet name gets many children". Today, a manifold range of strategies and projects are promoted with the claim that they are derived from the very concept of sustainable development. It has become politically impossible not to be a supporter of a sustainable development, so there is a clear danger that the concept will be watered out. Instead of declaring openly that a sustainable development is not wanted, those whose interests are threatened by the requirements of a sustainable development may attempt to redefine and deradicalize the concept. For example, by twisting and stretching the concept to mean 'sustained growth' instead of development and fulfilment of human needs, and by omitting the clear requirement of the Brundtland Commission that the content of economic growth must be changed by significantly reducing the resource input per unit produced, and that growth must be channeled primarily into activities that are less energy and resource demanding (Brundtland Commission, 1987, p. 51).

The concern of a fair distribution spatially (between wealthy and poor countries and between different population groups within a country) also appears to have been down-played in much of the later literature on sustainable development. Such a downplaying is at odds with one of the main principles of the Brundtland Commission's report, exemplified by the following statement (p. 43): "Even the narrow definition of physical sustainability implies a concern for social equity between generations, a concern that must logically be extended to equity within each generation". In the years immediately after the presentation of the Commission, ambitious environmental goals were presented in several Nordic countries. In Norway, for example, there was a virtual competition among the political parties, at least to the left and in the middle segment of the political spectrum, on formulating the goals with the highest carbon dioxide reductions. After this somewhat euphoric situation, politicians came to second thoughts, as the real policy implications within different sectors of society of pursuing such goals were realized. In addition, the dominating ideological climate has changed. Today, the willingness among decision-makers in rich countries to pursue a sustainable and globally solidary development appears to have declined significantly. Instead, cynicism and hostility against 'the distant Others' seems to have gained momentum. The sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1993) has characterized this way of thinking as casting the people who are far away, spatially or temporally, in a position at which they are denied the capacity of moral subjects: "we are only morally responsible for what happens to people who are culturally similar to ourselves".

The emphasis on the Brundtland Commission's goal of closing the gap between wealthy and poor nations was considerably downplayed in the Johannesburg conference in 2002. Compared to the Rio de Janeiro conference on Environment and Development in 1992, Johannesburg was a backlash for the global equity objectives as well as for the goals of reducing global warming and protecting biodiversity. Among the Nordic countries, such a change of policy has been especially apparent in Denmark, where the present government pursues a considerably more refusing policy on global distributional issues than its predecessors. In all the Nordic countries, environmental concerns have dropped to a lower place on the agenda of policy-makers as well as in the population at large (NSD 2001), following the general trend among OECD countries.

In this short article we shall take a look at how the professional and political discourse in the Nordic countries goes on land use and travel and how the development has been over the last ten to twenty years in those policy areas.

Professional and political discourse on urban sustainability

There are indications of differences between Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Norway in the professional and political discourses on the relationship between land use and travel. In Norway, this was a subject addressed in the so-called TP10 project, initiated by the ministries of Environment and Transport in 1989 in order to find better transport solutions in the ten largest Norwegian urban areas. As a followup, Governmental Policy Provisions on Coordinated Land and Transport Planning were issued in 1993, instructing the municipalities to plan their land use and development in a way that limits the need of transportation and facilitates the use of public and non-motorized modes. Compact city development in order to limit travel and auto dependence was also an objective in the governmental white papers on land use policies in 1993 and 1997. According to Hoftun, the compact strategy is hegemonic in the Norwegian urban sustainability debate. In the national level discourse on sustainable urban development, strong discourse coalitions have

been formed around the story lines of 'save land' and 'transportation', making it difficult for urban strategies placing less emphasis on these issues (notably the 'green city' model) to gain foothold among planners and policy-makers. In comparison, the Danish emphasis on these issues seems more modest, with guidelines by the Ministry of Environment and Energy recommending new office buildings in the Copenhagen area to be located close to urban rail stations as the most spectacular example. In Denmark, much of the debate on environmentally friendly housing has evolved around the concept of city ecology, focusing on local self-sufficiency, waste and water management, and closed circuits of substances. The features regulated by the overall physical planning, such as the emblemic issues of the compact strategy (land consumption and transport), are not given much weight in this strategy (Hoftun 2002).

A compact building strategy, supported by many local policy-makers, dominates the professional discourse in Sweden. In the national context the Swedish Parliament has formulated environmental objectives including one that prescribes physical planning to support environmental-friendly transportation and a decrease in the use of automobile (Government Bill 2000-01, p. 130). At the same time there is a professional critique arguing for a policy of closed circuits of substances in garden city-like building structures (Rådberg 1997). Another contradictory element in the Swedish discourse is the location of new shopping malls in the periphery or even outside the urban builtup areas without considerable hesitation from local policy leaders.

In the Finnish political and professional discourse, the compaction strategy has also acquired a central role. This can be seen in both the National Land Use Objectives ratified by the Council of State in 2000, and in the specific policies of the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry of Transport and Communication. There is, however, a clear confrontation between this strategy and the traditional Finnish life style with non-urban one-family houses and summer cottages.

These differences in political policy making indicate that the framing of the problem of urban sustainability may be different in Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway, and that this difference is an important explanatory factor for the differences in the outcome of the planning and decision-making processes.

Actual urban development

Urban development in recent years differs considerably across Nordic national borders. In some countries, like Sweden and Norway, urban sprawl slowed down in the 1980s and nearly came to a halt in the 1990s (Statistics Sweden 1992, 2002; Larsen, Saglie 1995; Næss 1997). Instead, a considerable densification has taken place, both in the form of renewal of older housing areas and redevelopment and transformation of derelict and under-utilized industrial and harbor areas. Although perhaps led by market demand following from new 'urban' life styles rather than being a result of environmental policies, this development must be considered favourable, seen in the perspective of reducing energy use, land consumption and carbon dioxide emission. In Denmark, the spatial expansion of cities is continuing, in spite of an increased pace of inner city regeneration and densification. While the growth of urban area in Danish cities dropped from 49 square kilometers annually in the period 1965-1982 to 30 square kilometers annually during the next 13 years, the conversion of non-urban land into builtup areas is currently increasing in Denmark (Damsgård, Olesen 2000). In the Copenhagen area, an increasing share of new office development has taken place in areas far away from urban rail stations (Hartoft-Nielsen 2001). In Finland, the general trend has been a simultaneous growth of population in the urban regions, and an even faster growth of the urbanized space. Thus the population density in the 40 largest Finnish urban regions (with the exception of Helsinki) has decreased by 20% in 1980-1995. This has increased the difference in urban density between Finland and the other Nordic countries. As the recession of the early 1990s was followed by the rapid growth of the four major urban centers (Helsinki, Tampere, Turku and Oulu), resulting in the growing demand of land and housing, a new wave of urban sprawl can now be seen. One of the indicators of this development are the longer commuting.

Whereas urban land use patterns appear to have followed different paths in different Nordic countries, the development of transport infrastructure seems to be more similar. In Norway an intensified urban road development has taken place in the late 1980s and the 1990s, alongside with urban densification (Strand 2001). A strong pace of road capacity increase has been observed in the same period in Denmark and Sweden too, in urban areas as well as in more rural regions, but with implementation obstacles in Swedish urban areas (Tengström 1998, pp. 180-181; Falkemark 1999; Isaksson 2001). In Finland the emphasis in transport policy has shifted from major new investments to maintenance. On the other hand, the connections considered essential in the globalized economy have taken precedence over provincial needs.

These similarities and differences between urban development in Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Norway during the period since the concept of sustainable development entered the political agenda makes up an interesting background for a comparative research study. How can the differences in land use development between neighboring countries with quite similar political and economic contexts be explained, and why have these countries continued to increase urban road capacity in spite of official goals of reducing the share of car travel? But how to finance such a study?

From sustainable development to sustained (local) growth

In all the Nordic countries, specific national goals of reducing domestic carbon dioxide emissions, formulated in the beginning of the 1990s, are 'sleeping' or have been officially abandoned. Instead, purchasing emissions quotas abroad has become a main approach. However, quota purchasing can at best only postpone the necessary changes of production and consumption patterns. This approach does not promote the necessary change-over towards energy saving and energy production based on renewable sources, but rather delays it.

The disappearance of concrete objectives of emissions reduction is particularly evident in the traffic sector. In Denmark, for example, the emissions from the transport sector will, according to the latest projections, be 26% higher in 2005 than in 1988. The emissions have thus evolved in the opposite direction of the governmental goal from 1993 of stabilizing the 2005 emissions at 1988 level. This objective was abandoned in 2000, and so far no policies rendering a continual rise in the emissions unlikely have been implemented. Instead, extensive motorway construction is underway in urban areas as well as in the countryside, in spite of official goals (so far not abandoned) of increasing the proportion of travel accounted for by public and non-motorized modes. Based on current transport policies, the emissions from the transportation sector will make up 32% of the internationally agreed limit for the total, national CO2 emissions in Denmark in 2010, compared to 21% in 1997 (Jespersen 2000, p. 107).

Governance towards which goals?

The Brundtland Report emphasized that a sustainable development requires a political system that can secure its citizens a real influence on decisions. The Report mentioned the need to support grassroots initiatives, give more power to non-governmental organizations and strengthen local democracy. These recommendations are repeated in the Agenda 21 of the Rio de Janeiro conference in 1992, where local authorities are encouraged to initiate processes where, among others, young people, women, and enterprises are involved in local work to promote a sustainable development. In planning and decision-making in the Nordic countries alike with most western societies, there has been a shift from planning and control by representative democracy towards governance through collaborating stakeholder networks. However, the stakeholders gaining more influence are usually not young people and women, and the purpose of this collaborative planning is not necessarily to promote sustainable development. Rather, increasing the economic competitiveness of the local city or region is at the top of the agenda.

Several studies have illustrated the frequent success of corporate interests like, for example, property brokers or the local chamber of commerce, in making coalitions with leading politicians and municipal administrators, effectively blocking environmental policies perceived to be unfavorable for the business climate (Flybjerg 1991; Logan, Molotch 1996). In Aalborg, internationally known as the host city of the charter on Sustainable Cities in 1994, the 'growth alliance' has succeeded in redefining the concept of sustainable development so that the overall goal of the Planning and Sustainability strategy is "a strong and responsible Aalborg". And the first mentioned among seven major goals of the strategy reads as follows: "Aalborg is to be the energetic and innovative large city of northern Denmark, with a strong position in the global competition".

Thus, what is to be "sustainably developed" according to this plan is first and foremost the economic competitiveness of the city. Continued growth in car traffic is taken for granted and considered as a fact necessitating extensive highway development.

Best practice planning?

However, there are indications from other Nordic cities of a gradual change towards more sustainable developmental strategies, in particular as regards land use, but in some cases also concerning transport policy. Forerunners are cities like Stockholm, Oslo and Trondheim, where many policies recommended by research into urban sustainability issues have actually been implemented. Let us say some words about the two Norwegian cities Oslo and Trondheim. Oslo has for nearly sixty years maintained a protection line in its municipal master plans between the urban area and the surrounding forests. In recent years, this has been supplemented with similar demarcations around valuable elements of the green structure within the city, drawn in the city's 'green plan'. The municipality of Oslo has increased its population from about 440.000 to 515.000 during the latest 20 years, with virtually no spatial expansion of the urban area. A tollring charging motorists for driving into the inner/medium zone of the city, originally established to finance urban highway construction during a limited period, now seems to be made permanent, with a higher share of revenues allocated to public transport improvement. In 2003, Oslo was one among the three European cities awarded a Sustainable City prize.

In Trondheim, the latest municipal master plan is based clearly on the principle of densification, with little urban expansion into the surrounding natural and agricultural landscapes. At the same time, the green structure within the city is given a legal protection against the construction of buildings and other technical encroachments. Moreover, the Dutch ABC principle for workplace location has been followed, as the plan requires new office buildings and other workplaces attracting many employees and/or customers to be located in areas easily accessed by public transport, bicycle or by foot, but with a low accessibility by car (except workplaces generating much freight transport). Finally, about a half of the previously planned highway construction in the urban area has been cancelled. On the other hand, a tollring hitherto charging car drivers for access to the city center will be abandoned in 2005.

The review above shows that examples exist of Nordic cities having followed a course in urban development more compatible to what is usually considered key principles for sustainable urban development. They still only represent the beginning of a long struggle to turn urban development from unsustainability to sustainability. Today, the very idea of sustainable development, understood in the way the concept was used by the UN World Commission on Environment, seems to be in lack of political support. However, if the vision of a globally equitable and ecologically sustainable development manages to live through the barren conditions resulting from the neoliberal and xenophobic ideological climate change, the above-mentioned examples may become important inspirations for other Nordic cities.

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Environmental planning in a Nordic context: the case of the Hedebygade Block, Copenhagen

Ole Michael Jensen

In the Nordic countries there are two competing approaches to environmental planning, two adversaries so to speak. They are urban ecology and environmental management. In short, urban ecology aims to solve all environmental problems in one locality, whereas environmental management aims to solve one environmental problem in all localities. This means that urban ecology places the individual building site at the centre of environmental consideration. In contrast, environmental management focuses on a single environmental aspect. This is the dichotomy between a comprehensive and a goal-oriented approach; design opposed to implementation of new techniques, in short 'place' opposed to 'space'.
To show their own excellence in their mutual competition aesthetics and benchmarking, respectively, in short 'face', is important as well. Nevertheless, in most projects the two adversaries are forced to find a *modus vivendi*.
A key example is the Hedebygade Block project now to be finished, an environmental urban renewal project of euro 40 million in Copenhagen. Consisting of a block of old five-storey buildings originally built in the 1880s, twelve architect and contractor teams carried out their vision of an environmentally sound renovation, each team connected to a specific building of the block. A single winner cannot be singled out, although it seems clear that the best teams include both urban ecologists and environmental managers.

Urban ecology and environmental management

Since modern planning was first conceived, two paradigms have fought for dominance of building and renovation of the urban house and the urban body: one dominated by architects following the utopian urban planning tradition and the other dominated by engineers following the techno-hygienic urban planning tradition. Classic examples of these two paradigms are Howard's garden cities, widespread in England, and Haussmann's boulevards cutting though Paris. Howard was attracted by the utopian way of thinking where planning is a process starting from scratch, whereas Haussmann was attracted by the surgical operation where planning is a process starting with a diagnosis of the illness of the already existing town (Benevolo 1980).
When environmental topics and the concept of sustainable development became central to urban planning and building in the Nordic countries in the late 1980s, the old planning paradigms had a renaissance as two approaches of environmental planning. The utopian urban planning tradition became urban ecology and the techno-hygienic urban planning tradition became environmental management, and it became clear that the old planning paradigms had their advocates, still. Hence urban ecology has been fighting for the attention of environmental issues departing from the place, focusing on citizens' responsibility, local traditions and heritage. In the same way environmental planning has been fighting for the attention of environmental issues departing from space, focusing on universal demands, international legislation, and technical standards. Essentially, urban ecology aims to solve all environmental problems in one locality, whereas environmental planning aims to solve one environmental problem in all localities (Jensen 1994). This means that urban ecology places the individual building or individual site at the centre of environmental considerations, while environmental planning, in contrast, focuses on a single environmental aspect. While a solution used in urban ecology is unique, a solution provided by environmental management is general.
Unique or general, place or space, nowadays environmental planning cannot perform without a post-modern face radiating beauty and scientific correctness: both actors of environmental planning need to show their excellence. The urban ecology approach displays its excellence by using design and aesthetics, in the approach of environmental planning the excellence is displayed by use of benchmarking and public mention of large scale projects. Each of them has its supporters, on one side residents, non-professionals and architects, on the other administrators and engineering consultants. In the field of green building efforts are made to overcome the conflicting views of the supporters by establishing commonly accepted environmental indicators (Dammann 2004).
However, in a Nordic context the two approaches are adversaries and so much the better, as the adversaries are focused on their own advantage.
This way all concepts of reflection are in play. Seen from the place, the world is mainly primordial, seen from the space, the world is mainly conceptualized and seen from the face the world is mainly developing (Jensen 2004a). Place, Space and Face: small narratives of urban ecology belong to the place, a big narrative of environmental management to the space and the wish of promoting your argument to the face.

Small narratives of urban ecology

In a strictly scientific sense, ecology is the study of living organisms' relation to their external conditions. In the Nordic countries, 'ecology' in the concept of urban ecology is used figuratively in order to emphasize that the city itself can be seen as a living organism depending on external conditions for life. Like wild nature, an urban organism, whether small or large, interacts with its surroundings. Hence it can be studied through the metabolism that links the urban body and the environment.
Since the Brundtland Report of 1987 called for sustainable development, the significance of the term 'urban ecology' has become normative, taking into account that the urban metabolism has to be minimized in order to reduce its impact on nature. According to the concept of sustainable urban development, the purpose of these efforts is to give future generations conditions of life comparable to those of the present generation. In principle, reducing the turnover of fossil fuels, water and natural resources can do this. In real life this implies a need to recycle and to reuse and in addition strong efforts to increase the biological diversity in and outside the city.
Within the framework of this thinking, urban ecology planners have to combine a number of tested and

untested techniques in new and often creative ways, constantly adapting them to local conditions and considering heritage. Not searching for final solutions, urban ecology is always a matter of finding solutions that open up new perspectives of action.
A broad variety of measures are used to reduce the impact of the urban activity. Well known measures are for example planning with respect to solar orientation, a maximum of insulation against the winter climate and use of environmentally sound materials, and furthermore technical appliances such as solar panels, solar cells (photovoltaics) and wind power turbines. What is more, water saving and recycling, waste separation and recycling of refuse are promoted in daily life. But also the planting of greenery in courtyards, on roofs and facades are common measures of urban ecology planning. The list can never be exhaustive, and within each field new technologies are constantly being developed and new initiatives relevant to the subject of urban ecology are being taken.
According to the philosophy of urban ecology, it is not sufficient to implement one or more measures to improve the environment. In building it is not enough to take a conventional building concept and add glass facades, solar heating panels or rain-water percolation; the technique and the individual measure need to be adapted to the locality, its architecture, its residents, and the experiences that have been gained in the locality.
Ideally, urban ecology is an effort to link global and local environmental requirements based on the dynamics and creative abilities as well as the cultural and natural history of the locality. Urban ecology endeavours to grasp the locality's character and demands collaboration across environmental themes, vocational disciplines and administrations. The secret is to integrate measures in such a way as to achieve the greatest possible synergetic effect and the greatest possible local backing for the least possible expenditure of resources. As such, urban ecology is an attempt to make the city part of the living world, and the living world part of the city. Moreover is an attempt to promote dynamic rather than static quality. Basically it is a mixture of architecture and tinkering. In practice this means a wide range of urban ecology projects with a high architectural standard at one end and a low standard at the other.

A big narrative of environmental management

Environmental management is an effort to benefit the environment but apart from that a strategy for avoiding a number of threatening the environmental catastrophes. While urban ecology searches for lasting improvements in the state of environment, environmental management is an emergency service for the global society.
The Brundtland Commission's message about sustainable development has also made an impression on the environmental management camp. Opposite to urban ecology, where the demand of responsibility to future generations became a normative element of the concept, to environmental management the same demand has become a yardstick for progress in the field of environmental protection. The term 'sustainability' has become the international 'brand label' for environmental management.
The most common instrument used for environmental management is to control through policy levers, although economic instruments are becoming still more and more widely used. Policy levers encompass various forms of injunctions, prohibitions and standards.
Injunctions to reduce the loss of energy in buildings have long since been sharpened by the Nordic building regulations. Following this recipe, the European Union recently issued a directive on energy performance of buildings. It includes an energy performance certificate for buildings that also take into account the CO2 emission. (EU 2002). Most prohibitions concerning the environment address the use of environmentally problematic chemicals, such as CFC gases, which cause ozone depletion of the atmosphere.
According to the idea of standards, energy labelling in Denmark has been propagated for white goods and cars and has even become standard for the sale of single family houses. Moreover, it has become compulsory for all owners of large buildings to accept an annual energy advisory linked to a energy certification in order to reduce the energy and water consumption.
Economic instruments enable the political sector to enact the broadly based management of energy and resource consumption in society. This is effected through taxes and opposite through economic subsidy schemes. In the Nordic countries, this can be exemplified by subsidies for establishing solar heating units and wind power plants. A new instrument is the trade in the CO2 quotas, which the energy sector and large energy demanding companies like for instance cement works or tile and brick works will very soon experience through allotment of quotas. According to their respective EU Directive, these quotas will be allotted in 2004 to take effect on 1th January 2005.
Environmental management may be intended to bring about a change in behaviour and result in innovations that in the long term will help to reduce the negative impact on the environment. However, many environmental effects are so complex that they are difficult to tackle with traditional forms of environmental management. To evaluate the total environmental effects on a given product, researchers have developed a life-cycle assessment tool that sums up all effects of a product's entire life-time. Life-cycle assessment (LCA) is also denoted 'cradle-to-grave' analyses. This tool can indeed be used on buildings, although there are many problems associated with the use of the LCA tool for that purpose. A building is a 'product' put together from a large number of components of different technical and geographic origin and it is difficult to predict its life-times as it can pass through several renewals within its life time. Nonetheless, building design can be improved by using LCA-based tools. Such tools have been developed the Scandinavian countries and in UK, Germany, Holland and Canada as well.
LCA addresses traditional environmental themes like resource consumption, pollution, and destruction of the environment. Speaking of resources: both energy and non-energy resources are being considered, renewable and non-renewable as well as scarce resources. In dealing with pollution, the topics are the greenhouse effect, the

disintegration of the ozone layer; acidification, eutrophication, and pollution as a result of refuse deposition. The category of environmental destruction focuses partly on degradation of ecosystems, partly on degradation of cultured landscapes. In contrast to the themes addressed in urban ecology, the LCA themes and environmental management as a whole are based on strictly scientific considerations.

Positioning

As environmental problems are becoming more visible, society's answers to these problems are becoming visible as well. In the late 1960s and the early 1970s, when the first environmental grass-root organisations and the Ministries of Environment were founded, the environmental consequences had slowly become apparent. However, it was the drastic consequences of the 1973 energy crisis that really caused public concern. In the course of a few years, the price of oil quadrupled and rose 16-fold within a decade. After this 'manifestation', both grass-roots activities and governmental initiatives at the national and local levels expanded drastically and became visible in the public landscape. Due to the high energy-prices, building insulation was given high priority, and very soon the first '0-energy house' was introduced. Grass-roots activists, experimenting architects and engineering experts contributed to this development, although in very different ways.

It was in this context that the two adversaries entered the environmental planning arena. Urban ecology, a bottom up answer to the environmental problems, found supporters primarily among grassroot organisations and architects. Environmental management, a top-down answer, established its stronghold mainly among engineers and public administrators. The two environmental planning approaches were launched. Although reacting to the same kind of environmental problems and both heading for sustainability, urban ecology and environmental management did not converge. Very soon it became clear that they belong to two different planning paradigms. So far, they cannot be brought to have a common denominator just as place and space can never be the same. Hence, urban ecology and environmental management will always contrast (see table) and they will continuously need to position themselves in opposition the other.

Taking the point of departure in a concrete place, urban ecology follows a comprehensive approach to its problem solving. Taking the point of departure in an abstract space, environmental management would prefer to follow a goal-oriented approach. This basic difference leads directly to numerous oppositions. The first opposition has to do with the problems to be handled. The actor who tries to solve all environmental problems in a specific locality (urban ecology) will be confronted with a 'problem complex' since all possible and impossible proposals for environmental improvements at this specific place have to be weighed against one another. In contrast, the actor who tries to solve a specific environmental problem in all localities (environmental management) will be confronted with a 'complex problem', since the instrument he/she chooses has to be of a type that works everywhere regardless of human relations and the field of building and urban design.

If it comes to some kind of a technical solution the actual work will either consist of the 'adjustment of relevant techniques' or 'the implementation of new techniques' and as a consequence it will be about 'small' versus 'large' scale projects, 'simple technology' versus 'advanced technology', etc. In the meeting between man and technology, urban ecology invites us to take part in 'bottom-up grassroots activities', while environmental management urges 'top-down public participation'. This is why uncertainty about the quality of an ecological building project is best overcome through 'practical experience' in a local context, while uncertainty about the quality of an environmental management project is best overcome through the display of 'demonstration projects' and their evaluation.

Thus, urban ecology measures affect a locality's culture and lead to 'cultural development.' In contrast, environmental management generally interferes with social life in a way that requires 'social evaluation'. The ambition for urban ecology is 'to change attitudes', for environmental management the ambition is 'to change behaviour'.

In their mutual competition, urban ecology and environmental management fight for control of the situation and to promote their individual excellence. So, when it comes to the showing, to urban ecology, it is obvious to perform by use of aesthetics, to environmental management to perform by use of objective criteria. Accordingly, urban ecology will normally stress the quality of the architectural design, whereas environmental management will stress the factual environmental gains.

The Hedebygade Block: a case study

The renewal of the Hedebygade Block has been part of the renewal of Vesterbro, a central district in Copenhagen. Vesterbro was built as a working-class district between 1850 and 1900, indeed one of the first town districts outside the ramparts of the old city. A characteristic of the 1880s, when the Hedebygade Block was built, was very densely built blocks of buildings with both side houses and back houses. But unlike another central districts of Copenhagen, Vesterbro did not go through an urban renewal with large scale demolition of houses as carried out in the 1960s in other parts of Copenhagen. Instead scattered demolition and hollowing out of the blocks became the preferred procedure.

In 1993 the Hedebygade Block was declared worthy of preservation, and the municipal plan included the Hedebygade Block in a major renewal plan for the district. This plan stated that the environment, architecture and social life of existing houses should be preserved.

A board of residents from the block took on the challenge and together with the property owners, the municipality and an urban renewal company formed an 'ecology group'. An objective of this group was to carry out an urban ecology renovation of the Hedebygade Block by means of economic resources. In 1995, the urban renewal company, being part of the ecology group, initiated a proposal for the renewal of Hedebygade Block. At that time environmentally considerations were given much attention, and an

Urban Ecology Action Plan was initiated by the Ministry of Housing.
On this background a co-operation arrangement between the Ministry and the municipality of Copenhagen for the Hedebygade Block was confirmed and the Hedebygade Block renovation was declared an urban ecology demonstration project. High technological performance featuring competitive products and catalysing an international exchange of knowledge was the main objective. Then architects, engineering and manufacturing companies with an interest in environmentally sound building projects were invited to build teams in order to develop project proposals. In each case, the teams were requested to dialogue with the residents, and eventually to establish a fixed cooperation. In 1995, 16 draft projects were submitted of which 12 so-called section projects were selected for execution: 10 was to be carried out on the buildings of the block, one was the implementation of a new community house and one was the renovation of the courtyard. The 12 section projects deal with a large variety of measures and appliances concerning ecological and environmentally sound building.
In 1997 the first section projects were initiated. Four years later, in 2001, the last building project was finished. Finally in 2002 the renovation of the courtyard was finished. Hence in August 2002, the total renovation of the Hedebygade Block was opened in an open air ceremony on the terrace in front of the community house. Measurements of energy and water consumption will continue till 2004. Moreover, a total evaluation of the Hedebygade project has been prepared (Jensen, 2004b).
The budget of the Hedebygade Block renovation project totalled euro 48 million. Euro 5 million of this amount were dedicated to urban ecology appliances, and to some extent their invention.

A modus vivendi

Most of the measures employed in the Hedebygade Block project were actually employed in the name of urban ecology. This original predominance reflected the visions of the ecology group presented in the sketches made in the very beginning of the process. In these sketches the block was adorned with solar panels, windmills, greenery on the roofs and glazing along the walls. In the courtyard, rootzone grounds, deer park, kitchen gardens, waste separating facility, a reuse shop and a water playground were thought of as well. Also the vision of a community house dug into the ground was displayed on these first sketches. A common feature presented by the ecology group is an appeal to residents' involvement, and consequently a demand for simple and small scale technology.
When reaching the project-design phase, where architects took over, many original ideas were abandoned. According to the experts they were impossible to carry out because of legislation, lack of space or due to budgetary limits. Still, some were kept, and among these were solar panels, growing herbs, glazed balconies, and open water in the courtyard. Also the idea of a community house dug into the ground was maintained. In addition, some new appliances were presented, some using simple technologies, others more advanced technology. New 'low tech' appliances were used for environmentally sound kitchen furniture and plants for air cleaning. New advanced technology appliances were the use of a daylight prism and the installation of prefabricated bathrooms combined with new drawn-out glass facades. These high-tech appliances were met by protest among residents. However in some cases an advanced measure made it possible to meet the residents' demands, like prefabricated bathrooms and new drawn out facades. In other cases joined flats were a prerequisite for the use of advanced measure, like the application of a prism to reflect daylight into the flats. Here the joining of flats permitted an old staircase to be used as a light shaft. On the side of the architect teams, special attention was shown to the architectural expression, both the yard-facing facades and the street-facing facades. The yard-facing facades were changed radically with glazing, energy walls, solar cells and plant trellises. Nevertheless, much was done in order to make the new facades fit the old. This was achieved by keeping the old facades on the ground level intact and by a choice of colours for the uncovered facades that on one hand is close to the original expression of 1880s and on the other matches the expression of modern glass and aluminium facades.
Reaching the phase of economic and technical calculations some further ideas were abandoned and once again replaced by new ones. Here standard engineering products were applied, such as the sun walls combining insulation, ventilation and heat production. And as a representative of a typical environmental management measure a very advanced technique was implemented to take care of the individual measurement of heat, electricity and water consumption: the consumption measurements are transmitted directly from meters and are displayed in each flat. The measurements available on the display show the residents their daily, monthly and annual consumption. Furthermore, the measurements are available for quarterly and annual accounts distributed to the residents, but have also been made available for the evaluation of the renewal of the block. This way it has become possible to evaluate the different techniques applied in order to save energy and water. A judgement about the total series of projects in the Hedebygade renovation can be delivered. In short, this reveals that some of the renewed buildings have achieved levels of heat consumption that correspond to the low consumption of new state-of-the-art buildings. However, regarding CO2 emissions, the total environmental accounting reveals with that much technology installed in order to reduce heat consumption has increased the electricity consumption so that projects with a low heat consumption cannot always boast of their total CO2 emission. Nevertheless, the Hedebygade Block can show key figures of consumption that are at a lover level than those representing the average of Copenhagen.
Since the recent conclusion of the Hedebygade Block renovation, the project has received much public attention, mirrored and provoked by extensive media coverage. It has sharpened the feeling among the tenants and among the companies responsible for the section

projects that the Hedebygade renewal has become a success. All the same, the actors may have the impression that they are being promoted. In this showing it once again becomes clear that two adversaries have fought for their vision of environmental planning. One is urban ecology, stemming from the residents' visions, and then transformed into reality by professional designers. The other is environmental management, stemming from experts, and then been turned into reality by entrepreneurs. At the building site the final battle took place between these two representatives of environmental planning. In the case of the Hedebygade Block, this battle has been particularly long drawn-out because of the mere dimension of the project and because of the big number of architects and entrepreneurs involved.
In this competition the tenants feel like true losers on the battlefield. Their original ideas have been amputated and foreign appliances have destroyed their houses. In the long term, nonetheless, it is likely that they will feel like winners. The adversaries left the battlefield, and a garden appeared. In a modus vivendi, urban ecology and environmental management were mingled, once again.

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Environmental issues and debate

Interview with Tuija Hilding-Rydevik, by Maria Håkansson

Tuija Hilding-Rydevik is engaged in research in the environmental policy area at the Nordic Centre for Spatial Development (Nordregio) in Stockholm. She is also, together with Eva Asplund, the project leader of the research program The Municipal and the Territory. Arena for Sustainable Development at the Department of Urban Studies at Royal Institute of Technology (1). Her main research focus is on processes for Environmental Assessment and also on other processes for integration of environmental issues and sustainable development in different planning processes. Recently she is initiating and leading projects concerning these issues on the arenas for regional growth and development.

Maria Håkansson: What do you see as the most challenging environmental issue today in a Nordic context?
Tuija Hilding-Rydevik: The most challenging 'environmental issue' today, seen from my perspective, in the Nordic as in the European context, is the poor relation between environmental policy goals and action. There is, from the policy and the research community, a missing recognition of and focus on the societal processes that hinder environmental goals and policies to become every day professional practice and action.
In Sweden, and also in the other Nordic countries, the environmental sector has become institutionalized in the sense of being a strong sector in itself, in relation to the knowledge base, the professional competence, legislation, as being an important policy field etc. Environmental issues are today selfevident on the societal and political agenda. This is a radical change that has taken place during the last 20 years. There are also areas where the environmental policy and practical work has achieved good results in the sense of actually contributing to remedy existing environmental problems, diminish negative environmental pressure (for example the emissions of acidifying and eutrophying substances and the fresh water abstraction, seen from a European perspective) (2) or preventing the reoccurrence of old or occurrence of new environmental problems (as in the instances where environmental assessment legislation and processes are effective) (3).

M. H.: A lot of positive results seems to have been reached. In what way is then the mentioned weak relation between policies and action a problem?
T. H. R.: It seems that most of the institutional setting for a successful environmental work is at hand. The baseline is however, for several existing environmental problems, that there are huge difficulties in changing the negative environmental trend, for example concerning climate change and the depletion of the ozone layer. It also seems, so far, that the normal functioning of societies leads to firstly the reproduction of old environmental mistakes and environmental pressures. Secondly also occurs the creation of new environmental problems, one example is through the constant introduction of new chemical compounds with detrimental environmental and health impacts.
There is no lack of strategies and policies aiming at solving existing environmental problems and preventing new ones. But the implementation and institutionalization of these goals in different contexts outside the environmental sector and in the every day professional practice seems still in many instances to be difficult and a struggle, which is evident from a number of research studies concerning environmental management practice. This struggle becomes evident when environmental, ecological and economic issues are to be judged and handled in relation to each other in different policy, planning and decision making contexts, and now we are talking not only about achieving the political goals of environmental integration but also achieving sustainable development.
Since environmental problems are societal problems, since sustainable development challenges the sector thinking and organization of society and since the implementation of environmental and sustainable development goals needs to be enhanced, policy and research must to a greater extent focus and recognize the crucial role of the every day professional practice at the micro level.

M. H.: Can you give an example of what this implies?
T. H. R.: The every day professional practice, for example in the context of a planning process where a multitude of sector actors participate and a number of sector issues are to be handled, negotiated, weighed etc. takes place through social structuring processes. The existing norms, values and attitudes, ethical standpoints, language, organization etc. can hinder ever so good environmental legislations, political goals and environmental tools to be implemented. When discussing environmental issues these structuring factors are many times foreseen. In Jensen's Danish case in this journal an example of this kind of thought-structuring process is given, namely the discourses of urban ecology versus environmental management. They represent two quite different ways to approach and manage environmental issues, mainly at the policy level. Another example is the concept of 'integration' that is common in the environmental debate and policies, the environmental issues are expected to be 'integrated' in other sectors in order to solve environmental problems. What this implies of changes in the actual professional practice is not however defined. At the national level, the creation of preconditions for integration to come about is left to be handled at the micro level in every day professional practice. This has in many instances proven to be a too challenging task.

M. H.: In your research you have studied these kinds of processes. Can you us give some examples?
T. H. R.: We have to recognize that the implementation of environmental goals in for example planning processes takes place at the micro level through complex and dynamic social processes, between actors with differing standpoints, but also between the actors and the structures surrounding them. Studies we made in the Swedish municipalities show that environmental issues are sometimes neglected unintentionally, through these structuring processes. Another example of

processes is when the low status of environmental actors and their work is manifested through that they are 'aloud' to enter the planning arena when important planning issues, like for example economic and development issues, have moved to other more highly ranked planning arenas, where sustainable development hardly is discussed. It is also clear from our studies that environmental issues often do not become institutionalized in an organization (for example in the municipalities) since environmental work is only tied to strong key persons. When the persons leave, so does the work tied to these persons. Interrupted organizational learning prevails often. There are of course exceptions from this negative picture for example in some of the Nordic regions today working with sustainable development. The question here is if it is possible to change old existing conservative planning arenas to manage also environmental issues and sustainable development issues or do we need to create new ones? Existing administrative structures and professional perspectives are sector based, and have inherited firmly established hierarchies, which hinder new ways of thinking and acting. In new arenas the actors might be able to find new roles and ways of sharing their knowledge and by this promote sustainable development. But at the same time the risk is that creation of new arenas is used to diminish certain issues and put them aside, by giving them a shielded 'playground'.

M. H.: Do you have some concluding words?
T. H. R.: The micro-levels every day professional conditions and processes do to a large extent hinder the existing environmental and sustainable development goals to be implemented. The hindering processes are found also in the environmental sector itself for example just because its actors act from a sector perspective. The existing but 'hidden' structuring social conditions and processes can be made visible and reflected upon and thus make organizations become more professional in their management of changing professional practice and planning arenas to contribute to sustainable development. There is both an empirical and a theoretical research gap to be filled here in relation to environmental issues and sustainable development. This gap can however not be used as an excuse for not going ahead with practical actions in this field. There are good examples and enough knowledge from other implementation fields to go ahead.

Notes

1. Financed by the Swedish Research Council for Environment, Agricultural Sciences and Spatial Planning.
2. European Environment Agency (2003), "Europe´s environment: the third assessment", *Environmental assessment report* No. 10, Copenhagen.
3. The effectiveness of environmental assessment legislation and processes is a delicate issue to define and by effectiveness I do, in this context, not refer to the situation when EA stops development projects. I see effectiveness more in relation to the power of EA to contribute to a decision process that is based on a well developed knowledge base in relation to the nature and possible impacts of the decision, to provide enough 'power' to all relevant sector actors to have and participate in a dialogue concerning impacts, solutions, etc. and to be democratic. So far the effectiveness of EA in this sense seems more related to the 'preparedness' of the planning arena itself to manage environmental input than to the design of the EA instrument itself. The 'power' of EA as an instrument to change planning arenas seems so far to be week.

Integrated conservation in the age of modernism: mission impossible?
Interview with Christer Bengs, by Mia Geijer

How well has integrated conservation been managed in the urban planning process of the Nordic countries? In this interview, Christer Bengs, Senior Research Fellow at Nordregio in Stockholm and Professor at the University of Technology in Helsinki, gives his view on cultural planning in the Nordic Countries.
Christer Bengs forms a severe criticism concerning the results of the management of built heritage in poswar town planning. A source of the failure is, according to Bengs, the heavy dependency on modernist ideals which still influences architects, planners and conservationists. Another reason for the massive destruction of historic city centres is the reltively late urbanization. There has never really been an urban culture to identify with in many of the Nordic towns. In postwar society, the political situation in combination with the rapid growth of industrial towns and the modern movement favoured renewal of urban centres through demolition of the symbols of the bourgeoisie traditions. Though the political goals set for preservation to day seems to be high, they are rarely met by concrete cultural planning efforts. The modern planning systems are in the hands of the real estate market and investors.

Mia Geijer: Nordregio has arranged a number of courses in integrated conservation. Through these courses you have met with many urban planners and conservators. Is there a common way of dealing with questions of preservation planning in the Nordic countries?
Christer Bengs: The development of the process of planning is very much the same in all the Nordic countries. The previously dominating system was based on central decisions with a high degree of details. In the latest decades we have seen a development of a planning which aims at declaring overall principles in rather vague terms, for example general principles of preservation. The result of the new system is that the liberty of exploitation of the cities has increased. In my opinion the Swedish planning and building system is an example of a very liberal law in which almost anything goes.
It is rather obvious that the preservation of historic buildings have suffered. Politicians are on general terms positive to public goods, such as preservation. But at the concrete level the efforts are not very long ranging. It lays with in the present times that the official language is as indefinite as possible, so that there are no obstacles to exploitation when a project is in making. Unfortunately planners give a sad picture when it comes to matters of preservation. Most planners are architects by profession, few are specially educated for their task. In the Nordic schools of architecture the modern movement have had a strong influence during a long period. In my opinion the aim of the architectural education today is to socialize the students to a common aesthetical ideal, which is not necessarily shared by the citizens at large. Questions of preservation are extremely peripheral. Further more, the planners lack sufficient training in the cultural fields which are needed to embrace the questions of preservation.

M. G.: To what extents have the conservationists managed to take part in the city planning?
C. B.: The field of integrated conservation has not been thoroughly explored until recently. Planning and preservation have worked within two different administrational sectors, each with its own traditions and ideals. Though the importance of integrated conservation should be an increasing part of the planning, it is only one among all the special interests that the planners have to administrate.
The conservationists are trained to think in terms of monuments and classification of cultural values. They view the single buildings of the planning area separately and rank them as very valuable, valuable and valuableless buildings instead of treating them as meaningful environments. A typical statement from the cultural management administration in a planning process is a list of single buildings of cultural value. We just have to look at what have happened to many Swedish towns to see the disastrous results of the grading systems.
From my experience the Danish system, which is the most conservative, with a rather high degree of central planning, is working well from a preservational point of view. The Danish planners are often initiated in these matters. We also have to recognise that the urbanisation process and town morphology are important to how well preserved the cities are. Denmark was the first Nordic country to be urbanised and there is a great number of medieval towns. The medieval town pattern with narrow and deep grounds tends to be hard to exploit on a grand scale. The Finnish towns, on the other hand, with their vast grid system and large grounds, have been easily adapted to the modernist ideals and large blocks.

M. G.: The Norwegian trade agglomerations on the Scandinavian west coast are also characterized by their fine scale morphology. Is it for the same reason that they are relatively well preserved?
C. B.: Not necessarily. In Finland the autonomy in 1917 was a victory of the Finnish-speaking majority. They did not identify with the Russian town pattern, the Swedish bourgeoisie living in the towns and the buildings that was connected to the foreign rulers. Instead the Finns identified with the modern heroic architecture that represented the future. The urbanization in Finland mainly occurred in the postwar period. There was a need for new dwellings and public service in the urban areas. Modernist buildings were suitable for manifesting the new era.
In Norway, which became independent in 1905, there was a genuine Norwegian urban building tradition, which had never been oppressed by another ethnical group. The Norwegians have taken pride in their built heritage because they can identify with it.

M. G.: A number of towns have been through periods of fast economical growth: how does this affect the urban development and preservation of historic environments?
C. B.: I do believe that the same rate of exploitation often would have been possible if the planners had been open to continue the growth by continuing with the same low, wooden buildings, in a similar pattern as the old structures. I think that the case is that the politicians and planners want the new

building types as symbols of the modern times. When efforts to preserve have been made, it is rather obvious that the success of preservation is proportional to the economic importance of the planned investment. It is much easier to enforce preservation when it comes to private, small scale objects than when large enterprises are ready to invest.
The planning systems of the Nordic countries are emphasizing on participation of the citizens in the planning process. To what extent can ordinary towns people in our countries influence preservation in the planning process?
The postwar demolitions have been justified by pointing out the disadvantages of the existing built environment. The old buildings were regarded as unhealthy, hazardous or whatever was suitable to motivate their destruction, this was irrefutable. The main argument for town renewal in the postwar period has been hygienic reasons.
The majority of people are conservative when it comes to changes in their neighbourhood. The democratic process in the Nordic countries is working in ways that means that the opinion of the people is not really asked for when it comes to important matters. If a large investment is at stake, the planners will not take the risk to ask the people what they think of the actual matter until very late in the process. The newly issued Finnish law on planning and building is an example. The invitation to participate comes at a rather late stage, when the investment deals are already made. Sometimes not even the politicians are informed.

M. G.: In European urban planning during the last decades there has been attention given to the phenomenon of gentrification, is this a problem in our countries and is there a difference in preservational status due to different forms of ownerships?
C. B.: In the town centre of Helsinki the real estate prices are the double compared to peripheral locations. This means that rich people gradually have moved into the city centre while the less fortunate have moved out. This is due to the real estate market. The houses that contain apartments are organised as tenant owned companies. The apartments are sold on the open market, without restrictions. The prices are completely submitted to the market laws. There is a correlation between interest rates and the price of dwellings. In Sweden blocks of apartments that have been controlled by public housing companies are being transferred to the system of tenant-owner societies. Depending on the legal organizations of these societies, this might be an advantage when it comes to preservation. If there is a system with majority decisions, it will be harder to make agreements of exploitations.
The large public housing societies have not been inclined to work in ways of preservation. Their decision making have been on a higher level, disregarding the individual buildings. The construction of centrally located post-war apartment buildings has been preceded by demolitions of historically valuable environments and objects. The public housing companies have in fact been one large source of demolition in Swedish citycenters. Another has been the department stores. During the 1960s and 1970s the politicians in numerous Swedish cities made deals with the cooperative movement and the private retail enterprises. They were given one central ground each to build their department stores on. The houses that already existed were demolished.

M. G.: Finally, is it possible to identify an ideological superstructure when it comes to preservation among the Nordic city planners and conservationists?
C. B.: In the view of the heritage management sector the main opponents are identified as architects. There is a belief that the conservationists and architects embrace two different ideological and ethical points of departures. But if we look into any of the documents issued by the heritage boards of the Nordic countries, we will find that they are entirely influenced by the modernist movement. In other words, deep down the ideologies are the same among the conservationists as among architects.
When dealing with the past, the modernist view of the history is inherited from the Romantic Movement. We may call this historicism. The history is regarded as a process of development. Each time has its own special features, a "zeitgeist". The job of the conservator is to make sure that some remains of each time is preserved. It is not the objects that are to be conserved, it is rather the objects as pedagogic illustrations of the historic development that should be secured. In the long run, this means that each time will be represented by a certain stylistic model.
When it comes to our own time, the preferred aesthetical ideal is the modernism. It is therefore a virtue among the officers of heritage management to demand modernist features when it comes to adding new structures in historical environments. There may be a sense in regarding history in this way but it is out of range when it means that experts, such as architects and conservationists dictate ethical and aesthetical matters. It has led to a conservation of the modernist ideal. We still build the same boxes of glass today as we did 80 years ago.
Instead we could learn from the previous thousand years of Nordic urbanization. This would give a broader range of morphological and formalistic possibilities for urban development. Matters of preservation could be ruled through economical support systems and better management. A good law is merely a "paper dragon" if it is not implemented in a sensible way. Finally preservation is very much a matter of cultural views in society, in a cultivated country the historic environment is not necessarily abused.

Resisting strategic planning

*Francesco Domenico Moccia**

Territorial Integrated Projects (TIP), a new planning tool in European Structural Fund program, are a field of large strategic planning spreading. Looking closely to the planning process this program may highlight how strategic planning is being received in Italy. I will try to identify the major misunderstandings coming from cultural differences. In fact, as Italy comes late in the use of such a planning model, our professionals and academicians may advantage themselves of theories and practices of other countries whose interpretation, in the lack of knowledge of their context, let some inertia of local planning culture survive. This is what I call resistance to strategic planning innovation. The paper present, first of all, TIPs. They are considered at the convergence of integrated planning and strategic planning to each of one a paragraph is dedicated. In them are identified models of both type of planning to present the different proposals to solve shortcomings of the existing planning tools, and the contribution of strategic planning to this research of more effectiveness. The last paragraph deeply analyzes what I think the reasons are of misunderstanding trusting that their knowledge will help to overcome them. In the conclusion there is the identification of two elements in which strategic planning could be rooted and aspect its future development.

What are the TIP?

The European Union (EU) has planned to manage its Structural Funds (SF) for the years 2000-2006 in tune with principles of integration, concentration and partnership.
Development policies are, for the most part, left to Regions, where States playing the role of coordination and indication via institutional agreements on programs and control over regional program implementation. In the Operative Regional Programs (ORP) and in the subsequent Planning Complements (PC) which concretize ORP's decisions, following negotiations with Italy and EU and respecting the Southern Development Plan proposed by the Department of Development and Cooperation Policies (DDCP) of the Ministry of the Treasury, six axes of intervention have been identified to put the final plan into effect. Their focus is Object 1 area, where EU funds have been specifically allocated. These axes are measures for the valorization of environmental, cultural and human resources, local socio-economic systems (including agriculture, industry and tourism), and urban areas with their physical and intangible infrastructures.
Furthermore, support, for technological innovation and internationalization of enterprises and institutions is foreseen, in the projects initiated both in the public and private sectors, via scrupulously administered competitions. And, at every stage of development of these axes, the principle of environmental sustainability will shape the whole process and its various strategies. In addition actions will have to conform to the communitary policy and norms concerning the environment, including Strategic Environmental Evaluation (Cavelli 2002).
The present proposal and action mechanisms are identical to those of the previous five-year SF development plan, but, with the introduction of new EU principles (of fund concentration, extended partnership in decision process, policy sectors integration), the integrated projects (IP) have been included. The latter are not a further instrument of the ORP or the PC (one more axe to add to the former one); rather they represent SF's diverse modality of utilization. With a IP it is possible to coordinate projects under diverse umbrellas of axes and mechanisms and to give them a unitary sense of direction (Moccia 2002b, c).
Thus, multisectorial interventions con be integrated to deal with complex problems. This convergence toward and unifying objective can also help to concentrate resources so that a critical mass con be reached to overcome certain obstacle of stagnation ad to set processes of change in motion. This is a crucial point because, aside from the element of plurisectoriality, the complexity of the issues entails the involvement of a multiplicity of actors for whom participation in project design and policy development must be facilitated. Such a process is rooted in the principle of partnership.
In the present phase of the EU, since economic integration works via a common currency, the issue of the political integration as become paramount. Therefore, EU economic programs, now include experiments in governance. Their main goal is not to isolate constitutional questions in the upper echelons of intrastate relations, but to integrate them into a progressive participatory structure of a multilevel system of governance designed to reach citizens and their political life. This kind of partnership, in connection with the project designs and development policies of European programs, sets in motion the building of organizations, the development of interinstitutional and interorganizational relations, the participation of economic and social actors, and the involvement of citizens in a chain of decisions-making processes extending from the grass root to the upper echelons of government, and vice versa.
For example, a IP aiming to valorize a local system that specializes in the production of clothing can develop and support the cooperation of related firms in coordination, thus setting up a network implementing at all levels technological innovations and external marketing strategies. At the some time training programs can be set up to improve the quality of the labor market; and infrastructural logistical works can reduce the costs of transportation and general transactions.
Clearly, such a program can draw funds from diverse axes: local systems, human resources, internationalization, connecting networks, etc.
This is the case of a sectorial IP. Other such equally important sectorial IPs focus on the valorization of parks and nature reserve, regional transportation networks, tourism development. Regarding the latter, itineraries need to be improved to encourage appreciation of cultural attractions, and space will be provided of better complementary services.
More sectorial IPs issues are urban network consolidation, soil protection and flood prevention.
Instead Territorial Integrated Projects (TIP) are called that plans comprehending a specific geographical area comprised of approximately ten adjoining municipalities,

each within a population of at least 100,000. These municipalities enter into consortia to develop projects in common that effectively utilize their major resources. In this second family of IPs integration can spread even larger joining more economic, social, environmental policies. For a program to improve tourism, for instance, can be involved cultural and environmental resources, expertise in tourist and educational services, support of related enterprises, and international networks.
While the IPs involve sectorial regional initiatives, the TIPs emerge from the grass roots and contribute to the shaping of the identity of sub regional areas presently lacking administrative structures and technical apparatuses to plan and implement local policies. These structures, in fact, must be devised for pragmatic realization. Their creation come mainly from interested local governments (cities and towns), negotiated through the three level of government in institutional agreements, as happen in Campania. Other Regions, as Puglia, identify geographical areas to plan with TIPs in a topdown process, on the bases of territorial analysis, and decide strategic issues for each of them. There is a third group of Regions (Sicilia e Sardegna) that identify TIPs in a competitive process during which are valued and compared proposals coming from free coalitions of municipalities within a simple framework of easy norms. It is always more evident how TIPs, as well as ORP are increasingly becoming pivot point in the regional planning system.

Italian premises of the TIPs

Integrated planning in Italy are developed in three major 'families': negotiated programming, complex urban planning, and social policies (Padovani 2002). Negotiated programming involves a policy of support for economic development, especially in the area of small industrial firms. The CNEL (the National Council of Economy and Labour, collaborative authority made of national government and Unions), headed by De Rita, has backed such initiatives. Thus the tradition of Catholic communitarianism has, paradoxically, merged, at present, with an intellectual movement of opposite ideological matrix. This confluence, in the socio-economics, has resulted in the success of small and medium-sized firms in the Northeast. Both sociologists and economists involved have reinterpreted the Marshall Plan Theory of industrial district of development and Porter's theory of 'competitive niches' to clarify how things 'Made in Italy' can penetrate international markets (Becattini 1998). Economies of accumulation and productive flexibility deriving from the ability of various enterprises in specific areas to collaborate via systems of social relations (social capital) and actions favorable to local political, economic and financial institutions were identified as the basic factors making for success in the Northeast. Such systems have also been proposed as courses of action to support weaker local productive apparatuses and give them a sense of direction with analogous development model. The overwhelming prevalence of small firms in less developed regions have allowed for the realization of such policies and practices on a large scale. The interconnection between enterprises and local communities, whose civic sense (Putnam 1993) and social cohesion created a favorable environment, made the grass root communitarian movement work the way De Rita, among its first proponents, hoped it would.
Via Territorial Pacts the government provided up to 100 billion Lire for development programs conceived in a coalition of municipalities where businesses, industries, unions, and financial institution cooperated. Agreements required the commitment of the above actors, to realize projects. Usually local agencies were expected to provide infrastructures and to accelerate authorization processes; the unions were to handle issues related to the job market; and the banks were asked to offer credit and financial assistance to back business plans (De Rita, Bonomi 1998).
The 88 TPE agreed upon in 15 counties focus on various issues: the promotion of a good business environment via innovative advisory services, financial engineering, environmental infrastructure; the development of human resources; the integration of people in the job market; the improvement of endogenous potential (schemes to develop the economic fabric, support for small businesses, tourism, new sources of employment); agricultural and rural development.
I have dwelt up the above forms of integrated projects because they resemble most the TIPs (Formez 2001). Moreover, given the regionalizing tendencies in development policies and the market approach of the present government, especially in the Pact for Italy endorsed by the unions and Confindustria (association representing industrial interest), with an overturning and readaptation of the Pacts, the TIPs have been viewed as the only possible route for continuing negotiated planning.
The second trend in integrated project design is routed in policies addressing the fundamental urban problems of the 1980's. Reduced economic growth and the end of urban expansion, along with the deindustrialization of the major metropolises and the progress of transportation and communication technologies, have necessitated a new approach to city planning. After the crisis of the General Regulating Plan (GRP) which come into conflict with projects of the revitalization of central and nodal urban areas and the failure of Rehabilitation Plans to preserve and valorise historic centers, the Ministry of Public Works initiated an experimental program of integrated plans to broaden the just regulatory Italian planning culture and practice toward a development perspective. One of the Ministry's main goal was to deal with the crisis of public financing by having recourse to private capital, thus involving enterprises in the planning process and encouraging projects of private initiative. Via Urban Rehabilitation Plans this formula was extended to initiatives in public housing. Such neighbourhoods, built up in the massive public works programs from the 1950's to the 1970's were gradually deteriorated. Funds reserved for the construction of new neighbourhoods of low cost housing were redirected, more and more, toward the repair of already built one. This development tendencies took one final step forward with the Neighbourhood contracts, an idea imported from France. In that country there was the last version of the

socio-political approach common in UK and in the USA to treat exclusion. This problem was addressed the fist time in a complex way in the Model City Program of the 60's (1). The idea of the Contract, then, does not limit the policy just to the morphological and physic spheres; it also deal with social and economic issue. On the other side, this formula regulate relations among public and private actors on a contractual basis, permitting negotiations and bottomup planning. Although relegated to the confines of marginal economies, these programs are proposed in order to integrate local people into the job market, to propel small manufacturing and service activities, to sustain local initiatives and forms of cooperation, and to accelerate processes of socialization by improving social services and cultural, sport, and recreational centres. These projects are considered essential to reverse the process of urban decay and to support works to give a better shape to public spaces and to repair housing.
In social policy as well, this convergent direction has been taken in the awareness of how crucial spatial dimensions are. The Social Zone Plan is an organic tool in which diverse social policies seek integration on territorial bases and bring about the some administrative decentralization verifiable in the sector of economic policies. Such a goal is feasible especially because policies in urban planning have, for the longest time, been rooted in local realities. Thus the zone can develop as an aggregate of municipalities or the repartition of a large city and can represent some issue of intermediate planning dealt with by the TIPs. At this some level of planning, furthermore, already one planning tool, named PRUSST (2) has been located aiming to a series of integrated urban projects to transform pluricommunal areas and their infrastructures.

Strategic planning

Only recently strategic planning model has been used in Italian integrated projects, in contrast with its development in other European nations, Canada and USA. More than the work of Friend and the Center for Operative Research, strategic planning experiences like those of the 'Latin Arc' as Barcelona and Lyon have had considerable influence. Maria Cristina Gibelli is among the first (in 1996) to call for Bryson's transposition of strategic planning to the public sector in a volume where Roberto Camagni proposed his original model for city planning well rooted in a business administration culture. Claudio Calvaresi (1997) assesses British structural planning vis-à-vis the most recent proposals made by Friend and Hickling (1987), Bryson (1989) and Lindblom; and he stresses the valorisation of participatory, cooperative project design, the importance of the stakeholder's roles, the construction of networks of actors in shared scenarios, an approach he funds wanting in innovation, rather than rationalism via the sequential steps of a model. Thus he hide the continuity of strategic planning and the rational comprehensive models, but presents to the Italian reader only the contrasting features of them. Moreover, a public not used to planning theories and planning process models, as the Italian one is, understood, from this account, just philosophy or an approach to planning and not a technique.
These authors deemed it necessary to distance themselves from the corporate matrix which, with its emphasis on management and its ideological mistrust by a leftist audience, seems opposed to dialogue with grass roots elements. In fact, strategic planning is well received by planners committed to work in neighbourhoods on the frontline of social integration with the goal of setting bottomup decision-making processes in motion. This assimilation of collaborative tendencies favours a rapid dissemination of strategic planning at the cost of a generic comprehension of its nature and a full understanding of all its technical aspects.
In a deep sense, two more elements contribute to the ambivalence regarding the reception of strategic planning in Italy. They also correlate strategic planning to participatory, interactive and communicative, in a neo-current in opposition to traditional Italian urbanism, named, inappropriately, 'planning theory' conceived as an approach rather than as a field.
The first element regards the confusion between social and development policies. Political agenda of the left, that favour strong partisanship, have led to the criminalization of negotiations to develop projects that might transform cities via the cooperation of public and private sectors. Several instances where there were accords to convert abandoned industrial sites belonging to large companies provide evidence of how local governments lost their chance for private input and had to sacrifice public interest to the promoter's partial agenda. Given this lesson, it become urgent to harmonize redevelopment plans with plan to improve the quality of life so that economic development and social integration goes hand in hand. Without compensatory solutions, development plan must assume social connotations, i.e., the building of its legitimacy focused in solving the problems of the disadvantaged. With such an approach to policy-making, crucial is the fusion of planning techniques with strategic planning (the development instrument) and participatory planning (the social integration mechanism). The move to the technological layer of equity policy has its shortcomings. Confusion of tools may give less effectiveness to each program and the mixing of contrasting aims in the some organization may obstacle the work leading to a paralysis. I suggest, as a solution to this problem, to face complex issues with more tools and organizations linked in a network and unified by a leadership to give them unity of aim. Moving back to strategic planning reception in Italy, this planning rhetoric join his model to other one and confuse its profile.
The second important factor determining the difficulties of strategic planning in Italy concern the lack of knowledge regarding the constitutional valence of local government in the USA. Herein, the difference between corporations and municipalities has been clarified by Calise (1998). In contrast with the universalistic value of local Italian administration, corporations limits and tunes its rule with functions considered essential for public interest. Their existence depends only from a specific identification of such interest and from the constitution of a public organization aimed to pursue it. This process is

nor in a general neither in an uniform fashion applied to the nation. On this background, Bryson's research and proposal of transposition of strategic planning from the private sector to the public makes much more sense, because, in his setting, public and private organizations are more similar than we can conceive, on the basis of a Napoleonic model of government. Probably due to European unification process, the Anglo-Saxon model of local government and the Latin tradition coming from the Napoleon code are converging. We can notice this trend in some changes happening in Italy as the recognition of autonomy in the representation of specific collective interests for every one of our public agencies, with room for conflict among them, combined with the end of the unitary and hierarchical organization of the State, with its principles of command-and-execute, the valorisation of localism, local autonomy, decentralisation, and the introduction of the principle of the concerted effort to harmonize sectorial and territorial public agencies and institutions. All these new rules and procedures perimeter and identify local government, in the act of planning, as an organization, limited in its scope, with defined resources, and responsible for its action, in contrast with the absolute entity coinciding with the local society of our cultural tradition.
When the Bassanini Law can set in motion in Italy reforms in public administration, Franco Archibugi reminds us with a convincing argument, a similar reform initiated by Al Gore clarifies the role strategic planning plays in orienting federal agencies toward achieving their goals (Osborne, Gaebler 1993).
Archibugi identifies with the continuity of strategic planning in the Anglo-Saxon and American North American tradition, and he still sees it as an evolution of the rational comprehensive model. He works to interweave the planning process and the administrative procedure via an articulated model of implementation of public policy (Archibugi 1998, 2002). Thanks to his commitment in the Higher School of Public Administration (3), public officials has been exposed to progressive ideas in this field. Due to the bureaucratic setting, strategic planning is not viewed as a problem-solving, decision making tool, but rather as a method to help an organization to reach results. This approach calls in the forefront one more issue, we can not develop: what role public administration officials have in front of elected officials?
Given its corporate matrix, another field crucial to strategic planning has to do with economics. In the Territorial Pacts, referred to above, seminal plans for local development have been applied. A pioneer work in this area has been done by the Development Agency of North Milan. Its technical support work has been done by Sandro Balducci (1999) and Claudio Calvaresi (1999) through the Department of Architecture and Planning of the Politecnico of Milan. This agency is one of the first to develop a strategic plan in Italy. The issue was to give an answer to the deindustrialization of large areas in the northern suburbs of the city be coming more and more service oriented.
Other plans that employ, at least in part, strategic planning methods are three-year operative plans for works in seaports as proposed by the Port Authority. Its proposals aim to involve local government and the relevant Ministry. Herein, the SWOT Analysis has been adopted to understand development perspectives as related to present realities of the transport of freight and passengers.
The first Italian city to approve a strategic plan was Turin, where the strong monosectorial economy focused on FIAT. Faced with its industrial crisis, the city find itself forced to initiate as soon as possible economic diversification that may attract new activities and convert the obsolete automotive plants, thus changing land use and infrastructure throughout the city. Herein, Turin is searching for a new identity to invite outside investments and major international events (like the Winter Olympic Games). Its strategic plan represents a crucial process, guided by a technical group including Roberto Camagni, Giuseppe Dematteis, Arnaldo Bagnasco, that involves citizens and all civic (and civil) forces of the city to coordinate cooperative efforts and articulate projects. It is clear that, given the nature of the city crisis, the commitment of the economic actors is crucial. Upper level officials (CEOs) of leading corporations operating in the city personally joined in working groups to focus on some of the faced issues. The continuity of such commitment is assured with the creation of the International Turin Association, an NGO.
Similarly, new strategic plans have made progress in large cities like Milan, Genoa, and, recently, Rome: Moreover, medium-sized cities like Pesaro, Trento, La Spezia, Piacenza and Trieste (Bobbio, Gastaldi 2002; Gastaldi 2002) have committed to generating strategic plans and creating policies to implement them and networks to exchange informations.
Virtually all the experts on the field emphasize that the Strategic Plan (SP) should not be regulated via rigid legislation nor imposed on cities. But there are not unanimous view regard the relationship of the SP with the GRP, especially because the SP offers solutions to diverse problems that have recently emerged in city and regional planning. One of the first of these problems entails the inefficacy of city plans concentrating on the space and on the design of the physical shape of the city without attention paid to the actors, forces and resources that might be involved in concrete actions of urban change and in the management of the resultant development (especially public or social facilities).
In addition, urban plans try to be less ineffective, given awareness of concrete difficulties in proposing longterm projects, focusing on the main objectives. These may be the preservation of the major ecological resources, cultural heritage, development of longdistance rail infrastructure, port facilities, i.e. On the other side, GRP may identify the main crisis areas, as large deindustrialized sites. This kind of design is called structural plan, being suggested by the homonymous British model. Having adopted this solution to face uncertainty, a more flexible and recurrent in time planning process is required to identify a list of projects aimed to pursue the objectives and solve the problems given in the structural plan. The coherence of these projects may be assessed on a strategic base: are they, linked together, building up

a strategy to make the plan reality? This strategic plan has been proposed as 'the program of the Major', because, clarifying candidates platform and commitments. From a conservative viewpoint, such a program could be interpreted as the implementation step of the GRP, implying that all the decision process has already been settled in the GRP. However more and more experts and actors are convinced that the GRPs' instruments are sufficient to fully grasp and render effective urban policy. For example, they have realized that there is no way to identify subjects able of utilizing the public facilities foreseen or the modalities of management to keep them functioning. Furthermore, the capacity major urban transformations that might mature on the basis of new contingencies has been demonstrated as severely limited. Nor is it likely that urban economic trend can be sustained only by regulatory tools. For the above reasons SP become vital as a supplement ad a complement of the GRP. In fact, being GRP essentially a land use plan and a public work program, it does not offer room to face the above issues. Its action goes on with regulatory tools and public investments. Furthermore, the dissemination of complex planning has generated over time numerous projects in each city. The rehabilitation of public housing neighborhoods has been planned with Urban Rehabilitation Programs (URP) and Contracts for Neighborhoods. Historic centers has been the focus of a number of Preservation Plans (PP). A PRUSST has often been used to reorganize metropolitan infrastructures. In a number of specific zones Urban programs have had results together with other sectorial programs for the improvements, for instance, in railroad and general transport systems, sea-and airports, networks of health and assistance centers (via Social Zone Plans), the establishment and protection of parks and natural reserves. Furthermore, in many of these areas, to attract new investment, private, individual, groups and businesses are invited to submit proposals for development. Clearly, at this point, a need is felt to manage effectively this complex set of actions. Enacted as Lombardy Regional Law, the Document for the Integration of Urban Policies (DIUP) should delineate the development directions cities should take in empowering local government to give shape to varied planning opportunities and to channel private proposals in ways that might revitalize their built environments. It is still being debated whether this document should apply to all Italy, lead to a strategic plan, or pertain only in cases of crisis in order to mobilize actors capable of setting a process of strategic planning in motion. Luigi Mazza analysis have been crucial in involving GRP features in so far as they have revealed a duality: the land use plan vs projects of expansion and transformation of cities. Mazza (1997) has shown how this two functions are mutually exclusive and obstructive and would impede the efficacy of a plan in a complex and conflict-ridden milieu where it is always difficult to foresee longterm results. To solve this apparent stalemate, he has proposed the division of the two functions. As to the land use plan he sees its scope as preservation of property rights and real estates values joined to a stable shape of the built environment. On the other side, development plans should be assessed on the bases of goals of urban policy defined in DIUPs, not in conformity of the land use plan (that they may change) and other fixed for all norms. After that analysis, Article 14 of the Law 109/1994 introducing triennial programs for public works, and requiring cities to make it part of their budget, a plan interpreted by some municipalities as strategic, seems to have accepted Mazza's remarks. The slide summarize in three models the above description of different trends in the process of GRP revision under the pressure of strategic planning. The complementary model does not delete GRP, but add SP to it for the many rationale already presented. GRP and SP are two independent documents, the first one regulatory, the second one of development (4). SP projects have to conform to land use rules of GRPs, but they pursue SP goals and strategies. The cross model is presented by Marcelloni speaking about the last GRP of Rome (Marcelloni 2001). He explain that a SP will follow. The Rome GRP is made of two levels. The former is for large scale planning as is similar to British structural plan, and second, a more detailed plan, consequently is local. This vertical articulation may be crossed by an horizontal succession of two more steps: strategic and operational, in the sense that both structural and local plans are to be divided in strategic and operational. The dual model propose to divide the GRP in two independent documents, according to the above criticism of Mazza. This is the more difficult proposal to carry on because require related national legislation. That is why we can fund only indirect reference to this model in Regional Legislation or in planning practice.

ITP and Strategic Planning

In the ORPs, PC and the guidelines for IPs and TIPs, the employment of strategic planning is explicitly required. Project must describe the geographic area and the chosen sector via SWOT Analysis and identify a guiding concept in a Document of Strategic Orientation (DSO) written in partnership with the identified stakeholders in a process of interactive planning. These guidelines might make me think that the SP would spread rapidly in the Objective 1 Regions (5). But a closer analysis of DSOs and the PITs does not confirm this hypothesis. We face a series of obstacles that are evident from the outset. The first comes from the contraposition of the speedy spending of the public funds to accurate planning. Since the programs extends for five years, the lack of a strong planning culture and its products, as a planning doctrine, as well as an adequate pool of available projects quickly shifted the focus to the search of immediately implementable projects. Furthermore, skepticism in the speed of administrative procedure, and the large presence of red tapes, is deeply rooted. Calculation have even been made as to the average time it takes for procedures to bear some fruit from the commitment to the project works, it is three-and-a half years. Often forms distributed supported the attitude of municipal official as to their thinking in terms of projects. So they could proceed with strategic planning by cataloguing various available projects in different steps of elaboration. This method

was backed up by the theory of the DSO as 'a process of ideation' pertaining to the project cycle (Colaizzo 2000). Thus support was given to the subjective accentuation and a virtual justification of the inherent Good of Ideas in themselves and their autonomous capacity for realization.
In general terms, it is not workable to prefer the inductive or deductive method. Nor can we prescribe a formula to judge how much we should trust creativity in the planning process. Certainly this component should not be under-estimated; but, it usually involve risks.
Correctly many experts maintain that the Territorial Pacts were precursor of the TIPs, and that the latter readapt many of the former's policies and procedures. As to the limitations regarding these programs, I concur with Meldolesi (2001), who sees them lacking in a profound understanding of the territories targeted by their projects. When initiative remained in the hands of local politicians free of the control of a socio-economic partnership, the plan was quickly packaged with some trendy ideas coming from already available electoral program or taken from more popular, at the moment, development prospects that appease uninformed public opinion. Such levels of 'common knowledge' have proven to be far from productive reality. In some settings, the economic actors, to avoid the hostility of certain dominating groups still hostile to industry and businesses, prefer to work backstage also to resist misappropriations aimed at them by public and hidden powers. By way of contrast, the SP, can anchor the DSOs in economic, social and territorial research allowing carefully thought out TIPs to work via authentic local protagonists capable of solving their problems.
The second obstacle is the scant knowledge of strategic planning on the part of TIP project designers and public officials. In this area, the gap between Italy and other European countries is dramatic.
Among the few experts who have bothered to notice, we have already seen how academy itself has emphasized political and theoretical discussions to the detriment of dissemination of technological competencies. Rare are the university and professional training courses that teach strategic planning. Moreover, the training of agents of development occurs under the aegis of economy. It exclude planning, which is still regarded with the diffidence that liberalism, once again revived, propagated. A further difficulty planning has in penetrating public administration where it meets opposition of the judicial culture.
The consequences of this state of affairs is clear. Administrative organisms from the regional level on down do not creatively territorialize Ministerial directives. This is obvious in the striking similarity among most of the ORPs in the regions of South of Italy. Economic and bureaucracy unite to replace planning with programming. Thus public policies are administered according to a logic totally confined to public administration, meaning that it is confined to implementing procedures as efficient execution of orders imparted updown by political decision makers in the context of a large rational organization. When planning is ignored, we miss the tools to have a fully understanding of problems, to analyze them and foresee spinoff tendencies, to evaluate resources and see how they can be best utilized. Economism and bureaucracy stifle the creativity needed to imagine new solutions.
In turn the TIPs are repackaged with the most traditional technical elaborations of analysis and planning. Unfortunately, the very professional experiences of SPs are too recent to be well known in the field. One issue of Urbanistica did try to review the Italian major experiments in 1996 (Curti 1996); but it dealt only with incomplete if not merely potential SPs. Only in the last two years have more developed SPs emerged. There is, however, more extensive knowledge of the practices and findings of integrated project design. Such is the result of the campaign for city and regional planning innovation run by the Ministry for Public Works and INU (6).
In fact, many of the projects elaborated for the PRUSST, URPs, and the integrated PP have merged with TIPs to provide continuity of implementation or to add more sources of grants. Thus the former asset developed with this culture of innovative planning in the form of professional groups, public officials and local government organizations, community activists with experience in the called above Ministerial programs have given competitive advantage for grants to their local. Their expertise, in fact, can be fully appreciated in the design of their TIPs. In this process, Europe's encouragement of models of collaborative planning cannot be overlooked. Beyond the Urban Program, one should recall the Local Agenda 21. In this perspective strategic planning may give an help to environmental planning. Yet the TIPs have created conditions encouraging successive development of the strategic planning as a continuously progressive, more efficient praxis. These basic conditions are the intermediate level of planning called development local systems and the Local Development Agencies. Local systems represent the geographical area where a development issue may be addressed, at list in one of its interpretations. In another essay (Moccia 2002a) I have treated local systems identified in Italy's Southern regions. Their average area is approximately 82,000 square Kilometers, with an average population of 120,000 people spread over about fifteen municipalities. These system have been assessed according to very variable criteria from region to region. I synthesized this criteria to three fundamental models I call analytical, contractual, competitive. These models can also be interwoven. The analytical model is based on regional geographical studies; it identifies objective criteria of homogeneity among continuous areas. The criteria given precedence is those comprehending economic and social structures. Often the industrial district is the objective toward which the development of the local system is pushed. In such a case, the industrial district statistical indicators are used to identify local systems. To the contractual model pertain those systems whose formation comes about via political decision-making in municipal coalitions or program agreements between provinces and region. These systems can also develop from the initiatives of associations and organisms that are not public. But they can develop partnership involving local institutions. The competitive model employs selection of TIPs proposals presented by local coalitions,

represented by a leading municipality, to regional competitions. Its evaluative criteria is made explicit in competition guidelines, and the decisions to accept proposals are made with TIPs rating system. The most interesting point to be stressed here, is hat among the modalities of identification in TIPs areas strategic approaches are also be taken. In other words, the crucial idea is that a geographical zone cannot be mapped out unless there is, among fundamental parameters, a clear notion of the policy goals involved. Thus the aims to pursue must indicate whose key actions must occur and which area these action are designed to involve. Pursuing this strategic approach, we can reconcile divergences in Italian southern region criteria for TIPs identification because, in the strategic approach analytical knowledge is joined to policies to be adopted, and to the vital coalitions to be built among political actors and civil society to carry then forward. Morever, we can thus keep alive an healthy balance between competition and cooperation.
Local development agencies have already sprung up all over Italy and the Mezzogiorno as Local Societies of Intermediation (LSI) constituted under the European program for employment Employment Territorial Pact (ETP), and even earlier, via municipal initiatives as for the Development Agency of North Milan (Moccia 2002d). With the 2000-2006 Agenda, progress is being made from the first isolated cases of pilot projects to a more widespread network of organizations. In the region of Calabria, there has been established an intermediate level organization dedicated to local economic development stabilizing TIPs and giving, to the municipal consortia managing them, the task to administer all kind of grant. In the region of Campania a new law has been proposed to institute local development agencies and define their role in development policy. As to the nature these new organizations will assume, the multilevel governance of the European Union will take shape (Balducci 1999). In fact, as agencies enact development programs, they practice styles of decision making in the public domain.
Strategic planning does not determine the organizational structure of agencies (which are often charged with the task of providing technical assistance to territorial bodies); nor does it shape their relations with local governmental organs. Its influence is exercised, instead, in its proposing of a style of decision-making based on the interaction of expertise, technical knowledge and interests. Strategic planning does not conflict with prerogative recognised by the representative system of democracy, nor does it redesign the map of the distribution of powers and responsibility. Nevertheless, strategic planning favour collaboration and the commitment of a large range of actors. In other words, empower local actor in the political arena. If strategic planning take place in LSI, if their officials will become used to start strategic planning processes cyclically, LSI will increase their strength as agency of change. They will have more effective tools to gather stakeholders, let relevant decision-maker communicate, plan actions, and pursue successes. As well as, strategic planning may disseminate as a tool of development policy if LSIs will learn this model and more and more frequently will use it in their work (7).

Notes

1. *Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act* of 1966 in the word of its author, Lyndon Johnson was: "To built not just housing, but neihbourhoods, not just to construct schools, but to educate children, not just to rise incomes, but to create beauty and end the poisoning of our environment" (Powledge 1970, p. 149).
2. The Italian acronim means: Urban rehabilitation and sustainable development plan.
3. This government institution for the training of the higher ranks of bureaucracy has been designed on the French model, but it does not substitute the university instruction for the some employs.
4. Tassonomic categories "regulatory" and "of development" are taken from the Alexander's model of planning (Alexander 1997).
5. Objective 1 Regions are the geographical areas where the most part of European Structural Funds are addressed and include all Italian Southern Regions.
6. Most prestigious and ancient city planning non government association: National Institute of City Planning.
7. I acknowledge the indispensable help of Justin Vitiello in translating this paper in English.

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Notes on Drawn Architecture
Lino Sinibaldi

"Rustchuk, on the lower Danube where I was born, was a wonderful city for a child, and when I say it is located in Bulgaria I give an inadequate image of it, because Rutshuk was the image of a people of extremely diverse origins... in only one day you could hear seven or eight different languages. Besides the Bulgarians, there were the Turks, the Greeks, the Albanians, the Armenians, the Gypsies. From the opposite side of the river came the Romanians…" (Elias Canetti, *La lingua salvata*).

A summation of representations accomplished, of their continuous and constant re-arrangements, of their impulsive and amorphous transformations: this seems to be the image of the city today. The insistent proliferation of appearances precludes all avenues of action, it superimposes itself on the pertinent intersubjectivities, transforming them into structured wholes, modular but uncertain, functional to the reproduction of already codified images. The signs of the city are representations and reproductions of schemes; they are images that stand out because of the idea of a norm which they simultaneously expose, as if it were a reconciliation of structures bleakly uniting all things.
An ephemeral but crucial digression from codes, depriving the image of the contemporary city of any practical depth, was the experience of the inadvertent representatives of what has been defined as *Architettura disegnata* (Drawn architecture). This movement attempted to draw attention to the out-line of a feasible reform of the real, perhaps imposing an emphatic reiteration of itself, yet justified by a deeply felt need to give figurative depth to its drawings. It poetically converted rules, offering formal interpretations of literary, rationalist and avantguarde references, and making space for contaminated inscriptions, which constantly shifted and modified the emerging equilibriums between nature and artifice, between the city and architecture, between citation and invention.
The exhibition titled *Post-War Italian Architectural Drawings* of the Francesco Moschini Collection A.A.M. 'Architettura Arte Moderna', which took place not long ago in the Scuderie medicee of Poggio a Caiano, within spaces recently restructured by Franco Purini, seems to offer a significant opportunity to reflect on this moment in our contemporary history of architecture. For the first time, in fact, the first signs of a discipline that was to develop at the end of the 70s and throughout the 80s are here brought together.
It is difficult to give a single interpretation of the exhibition. Indeed, a sense of suspension remains in the memory: a feeling of 'affectionate non-familiarity' that governs the collection's mechanism and outlines the image of something with its own autonomous nature, made of 'idols and ideas', as if inevitable fatalities had intervened and casually brought together the works of this exhibition/narrative. A pragmatic approach might make the exhibition's choices appear to be disorderly for the eyes of the visitor, somewhat skewed by their philological individuality and lacking a proper installation. We, however, would like to consider the happy coincidence of a missed setting of the space. Had this setting happened, it would have had to sift through the untranslatable, and the plethora of relations would have had to be filtered through premeditated spaces; it would have had to consider and give formal structure to the 'frenetic turns' and the varied questions, in other words, it would have had to translate into an installation the very same peculiarities of the mind that gathered these drawings together. In this case, it has probably been more important to avoid making use of the great compromise that architecture imposes on ideas, because this exhibition shows us, more than anything else, how to distance ourselves from architecture, and its most important suggestion might be that it makes us still imagine our desires, without ever having to touch them. This indeed seems to be the kind of exercise required when visiting the exhibition.
It is an account of the different determinations to 'bring together' and to comprehend, in a kind of dodecaphonic vision, a unique testimony of a moment in the most recent history of Italian architecture. The drawings and the authors have independently participated in a unified representation. Everything, however, has happened within a kind of inverted 'know thyself', which has traced the distances and empathies created by heterogeneous relations, and which has made visible, more than anything else, the history and complex dynamics of a *modus operandi* that proceeds according to the desires of someone who owns a private collection, giving it more than one logic over time. A double reading thus becomes necessary: a literary consideration and a scientific evaluation. The works shown entrust to the viewer an interpretive key, which allows for the vision of a private writing, simultaneously performed in a plurality of registers, with their meanings all disconnected, because for each drawing one has to consider both its references and its achieved results: "in these dialogues it was our intention to put antitheses in opposition/and have them strike at each other more than once/and thus illuminate doubts this way" (Weiss 1997).
If in the 70s architectural pluralism and the emergence of many realities in crisis represented an articulation of interests, a liberating displacement of inequalities, which distinguished itself through a widespread exercise towards a correct and important dissemination in different fields, they have also, however, rapidly and asymptotically moved us closer to that borderline, marked by what today is a hyper-referenced architectural nihilism, which has allowed very few people to reach a result where they could stand out, both on the formal and the theoretical plane. The evolutions of architecture's intelligentsia and its doctrinal precepts, began to control the education of those who, interested in the discipline, had to measure themselves against 'elegiac but indefinite' visions, against exclusivist considerations, entrusted to examples which take doubt into account, and teach it. An inversion of meanings has come to be required from this contradiction, such that meanings themselves have been transformed into ambiguous communicative tools. The result has been the destabilization of a series of dispositions, which has complicated a more easy understanding. In many cases we should anticipate, for the aleatory considerations of contemporary art criticism, a 'bad will in good faith'. In other words, the results seem to be made of valid but not always ethical interpretations, which

participate of the hopes, but also of the sadness, of a circle that closes in on itself. The outcomes can be verified by considerations of "refined and failed qualities", the very same ones synthesized by Manfredo Tafuri, with a reference to Carlo Ginzburg, in the figure of the dog biting at its tail. Subsequently, what has positively remained of the will to build is the encouragement to reconsider "discussing about the relativity of meanings, and to recompose what has been shattered" (Tafuri 1988); the encouragement to evaluate the emergence of a creative complexity with regards to probable and reciprocally comparable trajectories, not only in relation to the schemata of apparent formal solutions, but also on the basis of a personal and subjective quest.
These have been, in brief, the theoretical premises of what, in the 80s, came to be defined as Drawn Architecture: an almost autonomous discipline, a chimerical structure persuaded of, and almost entirely obedient to, a kind of nietzschean mannerism and disenchantment, which characterized its recourse to a poetic exile from any act of building. This alternate reality allowed for the existence of mental spaces, where artificial forms and substances were better specified and individuated than the natural ones, because they were characterized by extremely subjective aspects, which have contributed, with an uncommon endowment of new figures, to keep a fugitive architecture alive, an architecture of literary cities, cities flattered by the drawing, seduced by one and only rule: "to dream knowing that one is dreaming". Consequently, the qualities of the qualities of the drawn space were not exclusively determined by existing objects, cities, or geographies. Held against reality, these theorized cities and forms seem to be destined to fall back onto projects that can be understood only in relation to those selfreferential evocations, which Aldo Rossi with extreme precision defined as "scientific autobiographies." Exemplary moments of these have been the intellective urban planning experiences of *Roma interrotta* (Rome interrupted) (1978), and the last moment of the laboratory of Cerreto Sannita (1988). The task of describing, of figuring and narrating, the city, and of representing an architectural whole with its new rules, led a whole generation of architects to express themselves through visionary means, accomplished both through literary and historical sensitivities, and through the exploration of artificial morphologic properties, which returned new ideas of architecture and of the city. In the exhibition everything is unified by a contaminated rule, which, through the order of a cataloguing logic, has brought together architects become artists, valorizing all learned implications. Fortunately the movement has now let go of the masks and costumes which 'dressed' a great part of its architectural research, revealing itself for what it has come to represent: an institution, the yet to be exhausted result of a never happened, though deeply desired, confrontation between the architects and the city space. In the theory of Drawn Architecture the problem of the relation between subject and object requires to let go of an epistemic relation predicated on an immediate analytical understanding, to let go of an exact vision of images, which instead become provisional. To inhabit and 'to think the city' becomes to plan for a world made of many different and non-axiomatic languages. It is not by chance that the tension towards utopia and the treatise, both inscribed in the very concept of Drawn Architecture, has offered a valid thinking ground for contemporary architectural articulations, with regards both to altering theoretical cores, and to legitimizing some of the structuralist assumptions of contemporary criticism, and always finding in Francesco Moschini and his gallery an important reference point. Today, twenty years after the first and not casual exhibition on the drawings and writings of Edoardo Persico, these relationships represent an institution to be studied, a starting point for studies that could go beyond the obvious and common sense architectural logics, for the purpose of conquering new questions. Collections and exhibitions such as these highlight the potential of becoming closely involved with the drawings' intimate openings (a potential that goes beyond the self-evident appropriateness of a comparative study, producing new personal mythologies, and validating new representational values), and invite the viewer to grasp the reflection of images capable of setting into motion a 'machine of vanities', such as the one of drawing, or the one of a private collection. The A.A.M. Moschini collection could easily translate into the reading of a manual, instrumentally helping us understand many of the results of contemporary architecture, which cannot be reduced to a simple commentary on the architectural event or of its secularized formal interpretation, but create a reversibility that can be returned to forms of critical exercise that deepen the relations between subject-poesis-planner and objectcity-plan. Today both the subject and the object of architecture no longer speak the same isolated language to which they had happily confined themselves at the end of the 70s. Quite the opposite, their most significant accomplishments juxtapose a second isolation, the more creative the more it has become cognizant, or actively aware and in wait, al-most as if putting things in brackets, of the necessities mastered by the long and disciplined practice of drawing.
Manfredo Tafuri's critical comment about "turning one's back to the city", which was anticipated by Ludovico Quaroni in his participation to the building of the Tiburtino district in Rome (1951), seems to be the first romantic legacy of this contemporary tradition, which has allowed the city to interpret itself, to insert itself in a play of transformations that will become new subjects of study, moving away happily and heedlessly from a strict professional stance, and invading different domains. The epistemic paradigms of the building certainties of the 50s and 60s will be reconsidered, although it is important to remember the exceptional experiences of Mario Ridolfi and Maurizio Sacripanti, whose technical certainties of building already participated of intellectual corrosions, conceded by the expansion of the ideations of a highly sophisticated instinct.
The drawings in the Moschini collection emphasize the compatibility of more than one 'story', and show the kinds of involvements undertaken by people who took up the task of 'creating new cities'. Thanks to the availability of its offered readings, this collection has the merit of revealing how each drawing measures its own high

degree of scientific quality, obtained through a commitment to transversally assemble, in personal and critical interventions, a series of consoling projections. These drawings then become 'reactive objects', of which we consider the forms and changes that interact with that complex system of relations we call city, where all subjective representations inevitably present ambiguous visions. The formalizations of the gesture, as pure event, but most of all the revolution of language began on the drawing sheets, offered an important support for a series of important theoretical inputs against the fragmentation of cities sensed by Argan, Benevolo and Gregotti. At the end of the 70s the studies by Aldo Rossi, whose most intimate drawings can be admired in the exhibit, on the city, understood as a "great artifact, a research of paradigms which would verify meanings" (Rossi 1969), and Carlo Aymonino's visions of "cities that lend themselves to evaluation only if reinterpreted in a project" (Aymonino 1975) constitute points of theoretical support for a mode of planning where typology, morphology and mental representations faced each other, and sketched the beginnings of a new vision that contests the given and compulsory connections to specific modes of recuperating places. They also gained a new dignity of thought through a subjectively elective recuperation of the meanings of the urban space. The parallel drawings produced by Aymonino and Rossi for the Gallaratese residential complex in Milan (1967-72), are a clear and extraordinarily descriptive index of this new mental attitude. It is in these drawings, also present in the exhibit, that the two architects' initial attempt to reform begins to unravel. Here one can see the beginnings of a deepened principle of individual ricomposition of the project of architecture. These drawings can be read at the first real and representative examples of Drawn Architecture.

It is also because of the quality of these first experiences that Drawn Architecture has become a kind of specialized discipline: for the knowledges of those few who know the truth, the architectural drawing has become an artistic event emerging from a direct experience and moving towards new explored interpretations, which no longer correspond to the given model of living and of dwelling, but move the object in a game of passionate and transformative relations.

The most important contribution of the period of Drawn Architecture has been, in fact, that of the rediscovery in architecture of the 'category of wonder.' It has avoided labels and conventions, prompting schemes no longer inhibited by an exclusively pragmatic vision. It was an opposition, wanted and imposed by the times and by a negligent grasp of formal and figurative superstructures, which have found asylum in a metaphorical and documented notion of the urban spaces.

Given their importance, it would be proper to make a complete list of all the drawings exhibited, however it is worth recalling the extraordinary analyses of Costantino Dardi's drawings.

There are the artistic incursions of Dario Passi's Immagini della città (Images of the city), true evocations of the urban subject; Franco Purini individualistic plates; the extraordinary reduplications of signs in Franz Prati's plates, true story-plotting of different cities; or the literary urban intimacies present in Arduino Cantafora's plates; "the different destinies drawn for every space" (Criconia, Mondaini 1994) by Michele Beccu and Filippo Raimondo, and Efisio Pitzalis's tense urban asymmetries, which belong to a different historical moment. The same possibilities are present and expressed in the exhibition, by the plates of the GRAU group (Alessandro Anselmi, Anna Di Noto, Pierluigi Eroli, Roberto Mariotti, Massimo Martini, Francesco Montuori, Giuseppe Milani, Franco Pierluisi), and in the drawings of the Studio Labirinto (Paola D'Ercole, Paolo Martelletti, Giuseppe Marianelli, Pia Pascalino, Antonio Pernici).

The widening of the aesthetic domain in the plates of Drawn Architecture, which has allowed architects to not reduce the experience of drawing to the important but limiting technicalstylistic aspect, has made architecture "divest itself of its own completeness" (the phrase is by Vattimo, and, behind him, Heiddeger). Thus historicity, technology and stylistic identity seep into the sheets of paper in order to found an individualistic and poetic subject of study.

Each and every idea, each and every plate exposed, deprived of the practical act of building, concrete and legitimate end of architecture, has found refuge in a narcissistic relation with the drawing. In this, however, these works have avoided intellectual vagrancy and have carried through and interpreted a work of 'constant and crossed looks', which, not by chance, also represent the defining aspect of the Moschini collection. In conclusion, these considerations and this mode of understanding facts and ideas appear to be the necessary premises, almost instructions for use, for envisioning the exhibition, for the individuation of doubts. The collection as whole then represents an extraordinary celebration of this visual rhetoric, and it requires a difficult effort towards understanding. However, the end result is that of finding oneself in front of individuals who have been able to consider the importance of intentions in and of themselves. One can then begin to understand and to look the diversity of faces and of signs borrowed from different semantic fields, which are again affectionately drawn to each other. Similarly to what happens with the magnitudes of an oxymoron, for each drawing, one can simultaneously and visually discern all of the mind's figurations underlying the stratification of signs, where the idea constantly returns. Paradoxically, this demonstrates that the magnitudes of pure and abstract observations coincide with the true and effective meanings of a concrete gesture. In this sense, the collection emphasizes what is irreconcilable in the thought and history of architecture and of the city, both understood as 'decorative and monumental' disciplines. Furthermore, for the recent realities of this field of study, the collection offers new forms of awareness, those very same forms of those who took on the responsibility of showing a glimpse of other possible worlds. Francesco Moschini's collection compels to recognize the importance of a practical theory, which does not simply constitute a storehouse of values, but is also a compilation of

utopias, of failures and of betrayals, the end point of many different poetics of restlessness. A collection such as this is more than a simple collection of drawings. More than anything it is a compilation of attentions, not a horizon of immutable and constant architectural value, but rather the diary of a personal history, which, in its transformations and in its constant attempt recreate its own ends and enthusiasms each time anew, gives meaning to the collection as a whole. This latter may casually have become history, finding it-self to be a perpetual metaphor of an architectural vision still searching for its own credits in the world and in the illusion of the senses typical of the language of poetry. Someone has questioned the ethics of this private collection. Here, specifically, given that the it still remains open to the latest, and still realizable, ideas of architectural drawing, and given that it incessantly remains on the threshold of an identification of its personal history with the history of Italy's last thirty years of architectural history, the collection Moschini gives credit to those who question the meaning of the word private and thus not shared. One cannot substitute ethical reasons for the idiosyncrasies of personal moralities. It probably becomes unethical, beside all pretence to truth, to interrupt a method, a scientifically intuitive self-analysis. The work of criticism, which has been promptly carried out and is evident in the collection, offers transmission of the memories and possibilities possessed by a subject in order to transcend him-herself. To claim an understanding of intellectual egotisms, to appropriate to ourselves a private method of keeping things together, would likely be a useless exercise. More valid analyses would be those that pay attention to the presences in a collection. The morality of a private collection consists in the constant need to overcome within itself the limits of a single person. In other words, the author seeks with his own collection, through its oeuvre, that which is, and that which will be, he disputes the highest achievements and the inevitable debilitations; in this sense it is as if he no longer took part in the miserly corruptions. To subtract anything from this composite and private identity would somehow produce its collapse, similarly to what happens to professor Kien in Autodafé. The acceptance of a peculiar social identity, never burdened by its own conditions and never steeping to the compromises of its social role as gallery owner, leads to a form of survival where the means coincide with the ends. This implies that the collection, by means of collecting and considering the end results of each and every meditation, differentiated between consciousness and decisions, becomes comprehensive oeuvre and object, in the sense that it keeps for itself and in contradiction of itself.
This is what happens in the drawings and the cities of the Moschini collection: each of its parts exposes, always and in all ways, its own heavy human servitude, it exposes the possibility of putting its hopes in the collection itself. It is, however, at the exact same moment when this double negation begins, when the drawings go beyond themselves while remaining themselves, suspended between human legacies and hopes of eternity, that each of these works is returned to the greatness of its own temporal determination, projected and inverted within a mechanism that let's one in the circle of the reinterpreted image and of simulation, thus opening onto a process of inexhaustible reflections.
In his autobiography, Elias Canetti tells of the city where he was born, Rutshuk in Bulgaria, where he spent his first six years. As if to legitimize is multiple identity, he writes: "I'm destined to be a being made of many people".

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Archaeology and urban planning

Francesco Fazzio

When Andrea Carandini, Francesco Infussi and Ugo Ischia wrote in *Urbanistica* n. 88 about archaeology and urban design, their reflections traced different perspectives about the view of new urban archaeology experiences in Italy and their consequences on architectural and urban planning practices. They wrote during a period of time when urban transformations and protection of archaeological heritage seemed to be linked although often in contrast: efforts for protection of heritage andat the same time destruction of historical traces due to urban growth.
More than fifteen years later, the contradiction of this situation is still evident but many issues have been investigated and new practices have been introduced. Consequently, a reflection about the peculiarity of archaeology as urban planning theme is useful, looking also to the way in which this theme has been approached in recent urban planning experiences and to possible perspectives.

Archaeology as urban planning issue

In contexts like the Italian one a reflection about the relationship between archaeology and cities is inevitable. Every kind of master plan or urban project in cities having archaeological relevance must face situations whose complexity increases with the growth of possible cases of superposition between archaeological remains and structures of contemporary cities.
Focusing on the links which exist between archaeology and urban planning it is easy to notice the peculiarity of this issue as regards its role in the debates. On a side, archaeology is normally regarded as similar to other 'invariants' (see environmental values or historical heritage), on the other side, archaeology is regarded as different 'by nature' when compared to other historical traces, especially when one considers its different roles in urban changes. If to find new uses for them is the most common way to achieve conservation of historical buildings, often the only necessary condition considered in dealing with archaeological traces is the absence of any use.
Going from the single trace to the urban context this usually means systematic subtraction of large urban parts from a domain of possibile transformation.
The usual consequence of this condition is strong physical separation between archaeological areas and urban contexts and deep diversity in languages and practices of different institutional subjects, leading to dividing archaeological protection from urban development.
There is nothing new in saying that archaeology must be regarded as an autonomous terrain but that at the same time it must be considered like many others in the decision making process; but this second statement, for different reasons, is not a shared point of view neither between architects and planners nor between archaeologists, given that it would mean the abandonment of the idea that archaeology can be regarded only as a 'specialistic' matter. The most common consequences of this controversial view are well known: lack of cooperation between different enterprises and institutions, increase of time and costs, low quality of interventions, and, most of all, the degraded conditions of many archaeological traces, when they are far from the most celebrated monumental areas.
A new reflection on the relationships existing between archaeology and planning must consider both meanings of the term 'archaeology', as a discipline and as the subject of this discipline.
Considering archaeology in the light of urban changes, what seems to be fundamental is that the common aim of the two different disciplines of archaeology and urban planning must be twofold: protection of archaeological traces and general requalification of cities. This kind of perspective could help to show how the diversity of possible situations can lead to change many common approaches in conservation as well as many common urban planning practices and procedures.
As it has happened for a very long time with historical cities, master plans have faced archaeology with indifference or renunciation. Abandoning the idea to define interventions on archaeological areas only based on a monodisciplinary and internal view (a perimeter "where just the Superintendent decides") or worse as a simple scenario for urban changes ignoring historical values, means considering the present and possible different relationships between archaeological ruins and different urban forms. This relationship (that can be physical, functional, or symbolic) allows to define different fields according to conditions of both different ruins and urban contexts, leading towards different strategies for plans and projects.

Master plans and archaeology

A new awareness in planning practices for archaeological cities has started producing more concrete changes. To single out current behaviours and innovations, it's useful to consider a synoptic view of some experiences where archaeology has been treated as a specific theme for master plans, comparing different contexts distinguished by different relationships between archaeological remains and urban forms. Some big archaeological Italian cities, such as Naples, Syracuse and Rome, can offer many starting points for reflection; but also smaller Italian cities like Aquileia or Pozzuoli, o others where the hidden archaeological substrate assumes an urban importance, like many cities and towns in Emilia-Romagna (particularly Modena, Cesena, Faenza, and Forlì) constitute a good point of reference for reflection. Though they cannot be considered 'statistically representative', the examination of these cases can be useful to explore novelties.
Two issues seem to be essential: master plans' rules and procedures in archaeological areas, relationships between archaeology and urban planning and design. The nature of archaeological remains often determines the master plans' articulation. Among cities and towns in Emilia-Romagna, for instance, the remains can be defined by their belonging to two major categories of urban and/or territorial structures: ancient cities buried beneath the urban structures which have been gradually built during the centuries, persistent territorial and urban structures related to the Roman centuriatio.
Therefore master plans face only two issues: the

underground and the systems of territorial signs. A "simple" situation, compared to the ones found in Naples, Aquileia, and, most of all, Pozzuoli and Syracuse, where the variety of remains and urban forms is much bigger. Thus, differences between master plans must be related to these aspects. In these cases, master plans express operate with a list of historic preservation regulations or the prevision of different forms of controls exercised by the Soprintendenza (the peripheral, at the regional level, state administration of the Italian Ministry of Cultural Goods): to sum up, with procedures more than rules for possible transformations.
This is strongly linked with the uncertainty of archaeological knowledge in urban contexts: the structure of the master plans is strongly related to how this is formed and organized; procedures are clearer when master plans have also been based on urban archaeological risk assessment maps or urban archaeological potentiality maps. Actually, among three different forms of inserting archaeological data in master plan documents, i.e. historic preservation regulation maps, archaeological maps, archaeological potentiality maps, only archaeological potentiality maps are built purposely for their direct use in urban planning, because they allow to articulate procedures according to different probabilities of running into new archaeological discoveries.
These maps, especially in Emilia-Romagna, are going to constitute ordinary procedures in many cities, supported by different regional and provincial laws and initiatives. Where archaeological potentiality maps are present, master plans derive their regulations from different areas as they are organized in the maps. Even if depending on the different contexts, the master plans we are commenting are usually 'defensive' of historical urban structures, regulating excavations and surveys, and often also 'proposal makers' for the centuriated territories whose structural and infrastructural organization quite directly comes from the Roman age (see Cesena). In this case regulations are similar to usual landscape regulations: signs of centuriatio are not considered as they were bearers of informative potential but as a sign of an ancient territorial order and they are not considered, moreover, as a reference for urban growth for expansions are not allowed in those areas. So there is no need to face the matter of integration of the archaeological remains in the new urban forms.
In other cases the absence of potentiality maps and the bigger articulations of archaeological remains involve more complex links between archaeological knowledge and master plans, sometimes leading to a more complex design: in these cases not only direct but also indirect implementations are envisaged, with different plans designed in cooperation with the Soprintendenze in archaeological areas which are already known (Aquileia, Pozzuoli) or in particular areas where archaeological surveys must be continued during the successive phases of the implementation of the master plan (Syracuse, Naples).
Furthermore, the utility of these dynamic forms of archaeological research is really remarkable, whether what is concerned is a document in a master plan or a preventive survey for every single urban transformation; also, they reduce the risk of compromising archaeological conservation or urban renewal, indicating areas where different degrees of caution must be considered, and, most of all, force different institutions to cooperate.
This is a fundamental condition: uncertainty in urban archaeology always imposes continuous control by conservation authorities during interventions, whatever the nature of these interventions, a control which is made easier, of course, when interinstitutional relationships are consolidated.
The influence of local contexts and interinstitutional relationships on archaeology and planning has direct consequences on the articulation of the choices made by the master plan, with a prominent role of archaeology in it and the prevision of specific design issues. Some master plans only confirm the actual configuration of archaeological areas, or they merely assume valorisation projects which are already defined by the conservation authorities. This happens when the relationship between urban contexts and archaeology is considered to be already solved. In this case the previsions are not dedicated to design new connections between archaeological remains and the city, but only contribute to define general conditions, to continue archaeological researches and valorisation activities, both with specific rules and orienting the urban growth in areas without ruins.
In other situations, where there is a stronger connection between archaeology and settlements, master plans differentiate themselves according to types of remains. However often one can find a sort of identification between archaeological areas and green areas (as showed by common expressions like 'archaeological park'), also because archaeological contexts are rarely endowed with uses different from fruition. Plans have recourse to green areas as a design element also when, for instance, the reconnection of separated archaeological areas is realized by proposing new paths or systems of an environmental value.
However, master plans can also explicitly assume that archaeological areas are a fundamental structure for urban renewal and general urban design.
Among the most important recent Italian experiences, in the general scheme for the new master plan of Syracuse, Sicily, the prevision of the new Parco delle Mura Dionigiane cannot be seen just as a 'green' rehabilitation of a Greek monumental context as it contributes to create a new margin for the city, based on a new designed relationship with archaeology. New interventions introduce service functions close to the green areas containing archaeological remains: the city enters the park not only allowing 'green' fruition but also with local facilities, promoting the social knowledge of archaeology by multiplying the daily chances to meet archaeological remains.
This is an attitude which can be found in other European examples and particularly in Cordoba, Spain, where urban expansion is structured around detailed archaeological knowledge, which is possible thanks to the archaeological risk map: thus, the form of the new urban expansions is

determined as a 'negative' in areas of concentrated archaeological remains but organized according to a strong reciprocal integration which will be better defined by successive studies.
The three models recognised in the observation of how archaeological areas are considered in master plans could be defined, respectively, as the maintenance model, the park model, and the design regulating layout model. They can also go with a further type of intervention, which is needed to give 'daily' uses to archaeological areas or structures when these uses are allowed (because of the conditions of the archaeological remains, regarding their conservation state or their urban and social role). This intervention is really of a rehabilitating type. In this case archaeological remains can be regarded as urban facilities, not only reserved for particular kinds of citizens, as visitors are. This model can be found in the new master plan for Naples, in the renewal areas of the historical centre, and mostly in Spain where in the last decade it has been successfully applied in Tarragona, in particular after the rehabilitation of the Roman cirque located in the core of the historical centre.
Those kinds of operations, even though they cannot be directly exported elsewhere, constitute a very important precedent not only for their direct influence on urban contexts where they have been developed but also as a solicitation for the cultural debate about the possible relationships between archaeology and cities.

The case of Rome as a crux

A context of extraordinary complexity like Rome can be seen of course both as an exceptional and as a summarizing field for different connections between archaeology and the city, where contradictions and opportunities are shown at the maximum level, as numerous at least as the possible crossings between different conditions of ruins and different interpretations of the term 'city'.
Monuments, still used infrastructures or facilities or buildings, but also indecipherable fragments or excavations fields seen as urban voids: all these categories may vary according to the quality and definition level of urban contexts, in a situation that can be the synthesized recognition of the presence of congested and abandoned areas.
Most central archaeological areas are rooted in the general consideration, whilst many peripheral areas of minor impact but of extremely important value have been negatively affected by undesigned urban growth: in many cases important complexes or single elements have been subtracted from public knowledge and fruition because of carelessness, absence of even minimal informative structures, or bad integration in urban renewal processes.
New interventions should solve these different problems, each one reflecting a different theme, in the general frame of the new master plan for Rome.
Procedural aspects of this master plan, relationships between the master plan and the archaeological remains in Rome, and connections between knowledge and design are issues that have already been discussed by the professionals who prepared the master plan, so that there is no need of a new analysis of the plan. Maybe one can remark how archaeology explicitly enters the urban design process in two fundamental aspects: the role of preventive archaeological knowledge and the role of the urban project in public and private debate and decision making. In both cases the new master plan for Rome is innovative. A fundamental novelty can be found in the type of archaeological protection which is proposed by the plan, which goes beyond mere conservation by regulations inspired by historical coherences, and in the extensive prevision of impact assessment studies for urban transformation. An important novelty is also in accomodating special urban projects for interventions regarding areas where the presence of archaeological remains is known or supposed.
Filling a paradoxical gap, the new master plan for Rome is featured by a preventive research aiming at reducing archaeological risk and promoting valorisation of archaeological remains by a new integration between archaeology and new interventions. This is a big innovation, given that by now there is no planning rule that imposes a valorisation project. This project, even though sometimes previewed, is often substituted by the prohibition of any modification of the archaeological remains, leading to a physical conservation obtained only because the ruins are isolated from urban context, which often causes a successive neglect.
The new master plan for Rome was conceived in a design process that includes the necessary resources to integrate valorisation of archaeological remains and urban transformations as two distinct aspects of the general urban renewal process. It was a very important jump. The master plan will impose frequent exchanges between different operators: archaeologists, restorators, architects, and planners will be 'forced' to dialogue for every urban intervention, much more than today. The real effectiveness of this procedure will certainly appear only after its concrete application. So particular attention must be paid to the capacity of answering by projects, being aware that the extraordinary variety of archaeological contexts and urban forms make Rome a city expected to be able to give not only 'correct' answers (a sort of 'damage reduction') but also innovative answers.
The above mentioned novelties of the master plan for Rome will modify the situation of the central areas of the city, particularly in the Strategic Sectors, but most of all they will promote valorisation and reconnection in peripheral areas between the urban fabric and major historical and environmental systems.
To confirm this forecast, there will be the need of developing the studies started with the Quality Guidelines, a pillar work that recognizes the conditions of archaeological remains and investigates all the essential parameters so as to integrate them in the city, and, in addition, the need of finding specific sectors where to define general headlines for future coordinated projects, whose extension appears to be wider than the present Strategic Sectors: one could say, indeed, that from an archaeological point of view every principal consular road is a strategic sector in Rome, fundamental to reveal major archaeological systems as fundamental ingredients of the urban renewal.

Urban planning for archaeological cities

In an effort to capture the full picture of the most important solicitations coming from recent examples, the necessity of an integrated vision of archaeology and urban transformations gives as a result a direct consequence. Every intervention must be seen as a chance for research and valorisation of archaeological remains, as well as archaeology has to be considered as one of the major subjects for a master plan, not as a specific theme independent from urban strategies or outside its competence. Therefore, the integration of archaeological knowledge with planning generic knowledge is a fundamental condition achievable by a general recourse to archaeological potentiality assessment: in this way it is possible to pass from building control to preventive evaluation of plans and projects, a shift which must be encouraged by regional and provincial laws and technical supports. But a narrow consideration of preventive evaluations, as mere input data for avoiding unforeseen events, would imply unacceptable limitation. Considering the fundamental meaning of urban archaeology, as a scientific support for the comprehension of the history of cities, archaeology must envisage different ways of integrating the remains in the city through the instruments of master plans. This issue means considering the attribution of meaning and value to the archaeological remains as the result of a collective knowledge process. Reflecting about the relationships which link collective knowledge and value, it is easy to understand how the major 'use' for an archaeological remain is the knowledge of it, which is necessary to start the process that leads this remain from a condition of fragment to a new role in the city structure.

Therefore, if one considers the Italian situation, one of the most important aims for a master plan is to reveal all the archaeological areas now abandoned in a city. In this sense the entire proposal of a master plan assumes the role of a knowledge project for archaeology, that can be defined and explicitly showed with results on the entire urban image, similar to the examples of Tarragona and Athens, even with their contradictory aspects.

To sum up, a master plan for an 'archaeological city [must define projects and not only procedures. So the identification of different 'urban archaeological contexts' is an essential base for the issues regarding definition, to provide models of interventions and offer specific design instruments, which trespass simple protection regulations. Therefore, master plans must face every archaeological are, not only the consolidated ones, as a design sector, promoting the conditions to link in a system all the related interventions. Certainly, the definition of a general model, everywhere effective or imposed as a rule for an entire city, would be an impossible and absurd attempt. But if a master plan has the ultimate role of a shared decision, its knowledge function is fundamental even if its unforeseen elements are not eliminable. Possible situations are as many as the forms of the stratified relationship which exists between archaeology and the city: non-stratified archaeological areas for they stand outside of present urbansectors; inner areas in urban contexts (consolidated or in definition) without any relation with urban stratification given that they constitute a hidden substrate; stratified areas as a 'second nature' for the urban stratification process. All these situations represent different design possibilities that suggest different kinds of solutions. The master plans' construction process can be the precise moment to define a general frame based on dialogues between different disciplines, determining general relations between archaeology and the town and defining criteria for the local projects. First, the plan should define new proposals for the border areas, but it could also admit partial renewal of archaeological remains with compatible functions, or it could assume ancient directions as a layout for new interventions. A high level of attention must be on the increase legibility, on the restoration of major archaeological systems at an urban level and on the promotion of single remains' comprehension throughout the accesses' and paths' reconfiguration and the systematic prevision of informative structures. Moreover, thereductiveness of answers only based on the remains' isolation, even with protective intents, must be finally recognised; particularly when it is structured simply on a fence, and most of all when it is considered as a generally valid and necessary intervention rather than as a temporary or peculiar solution but. The large amount of 'urban lost chances' demonstrates this clearly.

Built on these principles, master plans can express a sort of 'cultural project' for archaeology, starting from a critical synthesis of the suggestions coming from archaeological researches and urban renewal, as a strategic and structural aspect of the idea of the town that every plan must express. Single interventions then can be based on usual master plan's implementations, like controls and regulations for maintenance operations when it is possible to operate in a condition of reduced uncertainty; or on the contrary with specific programs and projects, for instance in situations where the urban and archaeological stratification requires a detailed design definition.

As the examined examples illuminate, the integration between different disciplines does not need a strong modification of the institutional frame, though it is affected by many limits, provided that archaeology and town are regarded as integrated sectors, as they actually are, and both considered in planning process. In some contexts these seem to be possible objectives. Now it is necessary that these initiatives lose their exceptional feature to become ordinary procedures in every urban sector with high archaeological potentiality. Every design discipline not only has to give technical solutions to modification questions, but also to promote the birth of ideas about the town's future with the conditions for their realisation. Master plans can represent a primary point, for they include the process of definition of a shared idea of transformation which can allow the town to attribute new meanings to its history, while encouraging the conditions for their knowledge according to methods and techniques of design practice.

Public participation and environmental integration in transport decision-making

Maria J. Figueroa

This paper is concerned with the issue of whether deliberation over the environmental consequences of transport can be improved in institutionally arranged and non-institutional forms of public participation and the ways in which this deliberation can in turn propitiate changes in transport policy and decision-making towards consideration of more sustainable transport options. The paper argues that there exists a potential for enhancing the level and effectiveness of public discussion and deliberation of environmental issues related to transport development and that this potential could profitably be channelled and better coordinated with the implementation of the EU Directive on Strategic Environmental Assessment in the interests of advancing democracy and sustainability in transport. The first point to be made concerns the existence of a potential for improving the general level of deliberation as regards transport issues. The potential is perceptible at the local level in the voluntary work of individuals and in different forms of public involvement in matters of transport through direct or indirect involvement at the local level, for example local initiatives, environmental groups and local Agenda 21. However, the results, in respect of the proposals and ideas emerging from these efforts lack the institutional link to actually affect transport policy or its decision-making processes. More concrete possibilities exist within institutionalized forms of public involvement such as EIA, as will be discussed below with regard to the empirical case in this paper, however, the strength to change 'core decisions in transport' of this participation is also minimal due to the fact that, consultation in transport EIA begins too late in the decision-making process, and that it offers little space for deliberation of more sustainable alternatives. Additionally, participation is further restricted by hindrances that are specific to decisionmaking and policy processes within the transport sector. In its final section the paper proposes that effective participation in transport should promote an enhanced debate of the alternatives for sustainable transport options that can have a progressive impact in changing transport policy and decision-making. With the implementation of the EU Directive on Strategic Environmental Assessment there will be some opportunities for addressing the mismatch between the intended goals of participation in planning and the real framework for decision-making, as well as the possibility to address the issue of the late stage at which participation in transport occurs in the policy process, however, in the Danish case it is not yet clear how, and if, the SEA directive applies to transport sector projects, plans and programmes since the planning law in Denmark do not require a separate system of transport sector plans. A review of some of the SEA directive objectives thus helps to make the point that the implementation of the directive for transport sector planning is an important and indeed very necessary to achieving the overall goal of sustainability. SEA could become the tool for enhancing democratic participation in transport through the early public consultation and consideration of alternative transport developments, and in this way it could thus facilitate the integration of environmental concerns into transport decision-making.

Methodology

An empirical case of public participation as regards road transport in Denmark forms the basis for the analysis here presented. The case has been selected because it represents a special process of public involvement in transport where considerations for alternative transport development and its environmental implications formed an important part of the public debate. The case has been initiated during the last ten years. An extensive number of publications regarding the case are available. A good part of the research for this paper consisted of a desk-bound review of the existing documentation. The systematic analysis of the scope of the public debate was based on criteria inspired by the work of Smith (1984), looking at relevant criteria to evaluate the process and the outcome of the process. For the process the criteria was: institutional, non-institutionally arranged participation, the breadth of public actors that were involved in the process, the type of resources available for participation, time and cost. In evaluating the outcome the research focus concentrated on: environmental issues; the representativeness of participants, the degree of discussion of transport alternatives with a concern for the environment, the impact on decision and concrete results of the effort.

Public participation in EIA: the case of the Herning-Århus motorway

This case reviews the results of a process of public participation that has as its core the activities surrounding the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) of the proposed extension of a motorway that, if built, would cut through one of Denmark's most beautiful landscape and nature protected areas, namely, the valley of the Gudenå river (Vejdirecktorate 2002), located in and around Silkeborg, a small town in central Jutland, which is the continental part of Denmark. The decision to build the road was taken around 1993, after the confluence of strong regional interest on the expectation that a high class road or motorway would attract some of the activities and economic growth that were already set to take place after the building of the Great Belt bridge connecting East and West Denmark and the decision to build the Øresund bridge, connecting Sweden and Denmark. In this same spirit, it was thought important to facilitate a fast connection between the cities of Århus and Herning to bring some of the potential economic benefit of these fast connections to the overall region (Nielsen, Anderson 1994). Since 1993, the budget and approval for the road had to be submitted for consideration to the yearly finance law that takes place at the Danish Parliament. Also, an analysis of the environmental impacts of this project had to be undertaken in accordance with EIA directive 85/337 (Nielsen, Anderson 1994). The case for the need to build the road through the Silkeborg area has proven to be very difficult to argue to the public who initially did not support the idea of building through a protected nature area. To attenuate the effect of the public opposition to the road an infrastructure act was passed in Parliament in

1993 to construct both ends of the road, the section from Århus to Låsby and from Herning to Bodolt, which had in any case created much less public opposition. For the section through Silkeborg, a new EIA assessment for additional alternatives was requested by the Ministry of Transport from the Road Directorate who subsequently presented, in 1998, an additional 10 proposals (Vejdirektorate 2002). By then however the grassroots organisation 'People from Jutland against superflous highways', had been established which had 130-180 paying members, among other actions they collected around 1.000 signatures against the latest road proposals. After no decision had been taken, the Road Directorate presented later in 2002 its two most 'viable' alternatives, to which some of the organized public groups through 'People of Jutland' responded that neither proposition should go ahead. This group, subsequently resorted to civil disobedience, painting a bridge's foundation and climbing trees that needed to be felled for the road to pass. At this point public support against the road soared and a collection of signatures in one of the affected communities Gjern, showed that 75% of households were against the road. However signature collection and support from households in Silkeborg soon showed signs of weakening as regards the levels achieved at the beginning of the process. While the government still proceeds with its original plans, it nevertheless sustained a considerable loss of legitimacy leading ultimately to the project's stalled status. While the government still proceeds with its original plans, it nevertheless sustained a considerable loss of legitimacy leading ultimately to the project's stalled status. Other public constituencies emerged in this case. For instance, an individual, Jacob Løchte (engineer), presented an option of his own design 'the combiline' that received attention from the media and from some political parties. In a later move the Ministry of Transport instructed the Road Directorate to produce an EIA of this 'combiline' in what constitutes an unprecedent decision in Denmark. One of the largest NGO's in Denmark, the Danish Society for Nature Protection, has also played a role in this case and has informally said that it could even take the case to the European Union court for violation of the Habitat Directive, if the decision was made to go ahead with the road. From the State-side other actors involved in the decision and EIA process have been the Municipalities of Silkeborg and Gjern, as well as neighbouring municipalities, Aarhus County, The Ministry of the Environment, the Railroad authorities and some private nature and industrial organisations. The Government though represented by several actors is thus still only one of many influencing this event. The Road Directorate is the technical body that presents its views as highly technical and non-political formulations, and thus it tries to adhere strictly to the rules. It acts only upon request from the Ministry of Transport to conduct an EIA. The Road Directorate registers all inputs from the public hearings, as well as individual comments and inputs from interest groups and carefully keeps records of who and what has been said in the process. They claim this makes for a more transparent process. However, the reasoning of why the final number of alternatives was restricted to two is not a matter open to public debate. Neither are its recommendations for the most viable option presented by the Road Directorate to the Ministry of Transport. On the 1st of July 2003 the ministry of Transport announced that it is likely that the construction of the westernmost section of the motorway from Bording to Funder will be given the go-ahead, as there is only one alignment proposal for this section in the EIA report. The section from Funder to Låsby, the most controversial section however remains under consideration.

Overall, until now it can be argued that the public opposition to the road has succeeded, as no political decision has been taken on this case by the transport authorities, creating a lag time of some ten years. The EIA process has served as the centre of attention since it is about the different alternatives produced and subjected to EIA that the public and environmental groups have concentrated their efforts to voice their demands. Thus this case presents an interesting test of some of the virtues and limitations of public participation in transport planning and at the project level stage in EIA.

In the first place, the case has proved that a significant and consistent demonstration of public dissatisfaction with a project may leave the pertinent authorities in a difficult position as to how to proceed with the project, without loosing legitimacy. The end result being, as in this case, that no decision is taken. The long delay in the decision may be perceived as both creating and restraining opportunities. On the one hand it limits the economic opportunities of the potentially affected areas for selling properties and land, on the other, the delay may create an opportunity to change the decision if new elected authorities were prepared to reconsider alternatives and potentially incorporate some of the public's demands into the new alternatives.

This case exemplifies the existing model for public participation in land use planning and in transport EIA where attempts are made to elicit public participation via the exercise of some of the principles of collaborative planning which involved the use of methods for public education, involvement and shared decision-making (Lawrence 2000). In Denmark, the EIA directive has been integrated into the planning system and environmental permit system, which have existed since the beginning of the 1970s. As such, the EIA system in Denmark has two tracks: one integrated into the environmental permit system and the other integrated into the planning system. In Denmark the EIA process is carried out by the regional authority, in this case it corresponded to the Road Directorate because of the classification of the proposed road as a national motorway. The Road Directorate initiates public information at an early stage of the EIA process by making available to the public pamphlets with information of intent of a project's implementation. Later the EIA process establishes an 8-week period of public consultation where people can make objections to the proposals during public hearings. Public participation during EIA's public hearings is oriented towards the goals of facilitating efficient project management, information provision, conflict resolution, the development of confidence and trust in the project and the implementing office, and depolarisation of interest (Bjarnadottir 2001). The

Road Directorate maintains a detailed account of the opinions expressed during public meetings. It also keep records and compiles all of the letters and other forms of public communication (i.e. signature collection, alternative routes proposals) people may present and respond to each individual claim with an acknowledgment letter on behalf of the authorities. The documentation produced from the public hearings is kept for the records of each specific project. The Road Directorate produces a summary of this process and passes it along with its own recommendation to the Ministry of Transport where the final 'political' decision is taken. This decision then needs to be validated, in the case of roads under national jurisdiction in Parliament, where a transport commission within Parliament and the general assembly will have the final say on the approval of the projected road. A national road project needs to be approved by law.
A decision that reaches Parliament has little chance of being either totally rejected or changed. It is interesting to note though that the State, by furthering the decision-making procedure from the Ministry of Transport to the Parliamentary level, may have intended to regain a certain lost legitimacy particularly on road building decisions. This process was not in place twenty years ago when road infrastructure decisions were not as contested politically or environmentally as they are today.
Public participation in the EIA process is structured in a similar vein as that of participation in spatial planning, and shares a lot of its principles and central features. However, there is a mismatch between the principles and goals that guide the theory and practice of participation in EIA and planning procedures in general, and a reality where transport decision-making occurs within a technical-rational planning model (Nielsen, Anderson 1994) and the world of *realpolitik* (Flyvbjerg 1998) where corporative-entrepreneurial decision-making prevails at the national-regional and local levels (Sehested 2001). A decision to build a road such as the one through Silkeborg, Jutland, has more to do with economic rational and the interests of different economic pressure groups and the desire of the local and regional authorities to grow economically than with expressions of a collectively formulated vision of how to develop the region in a sustainable manner.
The production of new alternatives or the evaluation of new possibilities arising from consultation do not form a part of the participation model in transport planning and EIA. In the case of Silkeborg, as it was presented before, this did not stop members of the general public from formulating additional alternatives and presenting them to the Road Directorate. The case of Silkeborg thus presents an interesting case of active public participation that has succeeded in stopping the road administration from taking a decision over many years. The question arises then at what cost can the debate be maintained and the number of alternative proposals subject to EIA be evaluated and presented again? How long can this process go without a political decision? Public hearings focus most commonly around changes in road alignment and so it has been the case in Silkeborg that the most fundamental question that needed to be addressed before initiating the process, whether this road was necessary or not cannot be addressed in the public hearing any more. It is also the case for other issues such as whether other alternatives to road transportation could be more suitable (train, bicycles, public modes or no road). The political decision to initiate the building of both ends of the road makes the process even more closed around the necessity to build this last stretch of road.
One of the reasons why the discussion of integrated modal transport solutions is rather difficult at the project level has to do with the typical segmentation of transport authorities into road, train, air, and water that makes it rather difficult for a single institution such as the Road Directorate to present and discuss integrated modal solutions to particular problems (Sørensen 2003). Other factors hampering the effect of participation in the planning and EIA of transport projects are, first the fact that public involvement comes at a later stage in the policy process, which means that deliberations pertain mostly to how a de facto decision would be implemented. Second that the real arena for decision-making in transport continues to be the back stage corporatist type of bargaining between major interest players. This will be discussed below under the mismatch of theory and practices of planning and EIA. Third, the mismatch between the type of claims that the public bring to the planning and EIA process and the rationales that are brought to the process by the authorities in charge of conducting the public hearing and the other economic actors affecting the decision-making process acting under the rational of regional economic growth.
Public participation is also further complicated by the number of public versus private bargaining issues that arise. Some of the participants may be of the NIMBY type. In Silkeborg, individual actors with particular private issues have been more successful in articulating their concerns in connection with larger public concerns such as the environment. This is how a number of the pressure groups came to be involved in the case of Silkeborg (Nielsen, Anderson 1994). What could easily have been an incoherent group of disapproving NIMBY voices against the project at the beginning thus turned into an articulate group raising larger public concerns about the environmental implications of the project. As such, opposition became more effective. The joint efforts of private and other actors in such a case had the effect of creating more significant levels of pressure than would have been the case where a single private concern, or even a number of unrelated private concerns, were raised at a public hearing.
The fact that private 'civic society' actors can exercise greater pressure in the public hearing through the expression of public concerns may therefore favour further inclusion of general issues such as the environment over issues of a 'nimby' nature and this may favour a fuller consideration of the environment and its attached issues in future debates.

Problems and perspectives

In a study comparing European experiences with public participation and sustainable development, Jamison and Østby (1997)

pointed to the existence of a gap between rhetoric and practice in participation. According to them this gap is in part explained by cultural tensions between different policy domains, namely, the bureaucratic, economic, academic and civic and their often-incompatible policy cultures. Each of the different policy domains has different 'rationales' or principles, steering mechanisms and types of ethos. Whereas democracy is the main principle within the civic domain, the principle of growth prevails in the economic domain and the principle of order in the bureaucratic domain. From this Jamison concludes that what is necessary for public participation is a process of social innovation that creates spaces for interaction across social domains, processes of communication or translation across discourses or domains (knowledge brokers), change agents and political entrepreneurs, enlightened civil servants, political support from above and mobilisation from below (Jamison, as cited in Lund 2003).

Applying Jamison and Østby's analytical interpretation to understand our case of participation in transport decision-making it is possible to see that the spaces for interaction across the economic-bureaucratic-academic-civic domains that exist are indeed currently very limited. Moreover, the opportunities for translation and communication across discourses are also limited or non-existent, for instance in the case of the EIA report there was no intention on the part of the authorities to negotiate the technical and economic rational motivating the decisions that were taken in respect of the building of the proposed road. The second important mismatch existing in transport decision-making occurs between intended actions to implement participatory processes within the context of the principles of communicative planning and the dominance of corporative-rationalistic-elitist frameworks for decision-making that dominate certain urban policy areas of national or international interest and large physical constructions (Andersen 2002; Sehested 2002). In Denmark the dominance of corporative-rationalistic-elitist frameworks for decisions are to be found in recent examples such as the large physical construction of shopping malls or new towns as the case in Ørestad suggests (Andersen 2002), or in the case of new transport infrastructure like the Øresund and Great Belt bridges and smaller examples such as the road between Århus and Herning considered in this paper.

Communicative planning or planning that is about collaborative consensus building (Lawrence 2000) is mostly to be found in Denmark in policy areas related to housing and in local urban planning processes (Sehested 2002). In Denmark, the system of Land use planning is regulated through the Planning Act, which establishes the framework planning ensuring that provisions in local planning are in correspondence with regional and national goals for urban development (Miljøministeriet 2002). A separate system of transport plans is not required in this Act. Because of this system, SEA may not be directly applicable to transport sector decisions in Denmark. However, there are good reasons why transport decision-making processes may benefit from SEA implementation. SEA will permit early opportunity to be given for the participation of those members of the general public, environmental authorities and others affected by the plan (EU-Directive 2001/42/EC, Art. 5). This prescription of the directive alone will potentially eliminate cases like those of Silkeborg where long and expensive EIA processes are needed. SEA will allow for early consultation of the different constituencies and sufficient formulation of alternative development. An SEA report at an early stage of decision-making will take care of limiting the scope of what needs to be assessed at the project EIA level.

It is also conceivable that two of the main hurdles to participation that have been discussed in this paper, namely, participation during the earlier stages of the policy process, and the mismatch between communicative planning goals and reality dominated by rational-technical and corporatist-elitist decision-making, will be challenged by implementation of this Directive in transport. This will happen if some of its principles are implemented, such as the considerations of different alternatives, the transparency and intended openness of the process of plan making and the intention of achieving significant protection of the environment with a view to promoting sustainable development (EU-Directive 2001/42/EC, Art. 1).

To conclude, it is fair to say that participatory forums are plentiful in Denmark, which is a society that values consensus, public enlightenment and democratic participation. However, authentic political deliberation on transport policy decisions and the environment still remains a goal to be accomplished in practice. The examples discussed here show how public efforts can encourage the wider discussion of environmental issues into the public debate even when the actual pattern of decision-making in transport remains unchallenged. The presence of a multitude of actors and interests in the transport policy realm creates a need for more open deliberation on the issues surrounding transport and the environment. The Danish State will thus need to show readiness in providing economic support, openness to experimentation and a stable scene for the participation of these policy actors as part of the coming demands for the full implementation of the Strategic Environmental Assessment directive in transport.

Deeper democracy in the transport realm, and the fuller inclusion of environmental concerns in decision-making will depend both on the opportunities made available for new debates to 'gain space' within the State via institutional instruments such as EIA/SEA, and on the quality and enhancement of the debate that civil society maintains over the types of transport development they are ready to accept and live with. This is a complex process and also one that is in constant evolution.

Notes

1. Interview with Bente Fluglsbjerg, 24-2-04.
2. Interview with Kaj Tårslund, Road Directorate, Telephone, February 2004.
3. Interview with Leif Thomsen, Local Danish Nature Protection, 25-2-04.
4. Interview with Kaj Tårslund, Road

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Colophon

Urbanistica published quarterly by Inu

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Publisher
Inu Edizioni Srl

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