citizen /ˈsitizən/ n 1 an inhabitant of a city or entitled to the rights and privileges of a freeman of a state; specif a native or naturalized person allegiance to a government and is entitled to protection ~) 3 NAm a civilian as distinguished from a member of the state [ME citizen, fr AF citezein, alteration enced by MF denzein denizen) of OF citeien citizenly adj, citizenship n

citizenry /ˈsitizənri/ n, taking sing or pl vb the citizens

citizens' band n, often cap C&B a radio frequency communication (e g between motorists)

Citlaltépetl /ˌseeˌtlahˈtayˌpetl/ — see ORIZABA

citr-, citri-, citro- comb form 1 citrus ‹citriculture› ‹citrate› [NL, fr Citrus, genus name]

citral /ˈsitrəl/ n a liquid chemical compound, tained in many essential oils that has a strong le is used esp in perfumery, as a flavouring, and in of other organic chemical compounds (e g of vita

citrate /ˈsitrayt, -rət/ n any of various chemical formed by combination between citric acid and an alcohol, or another chemical group [ISV]

citric acid /ˈsitrik/ n an acid, $C_6H_8O_7$ in the KREBS CYCLE (final stage in the breakdown fats inside a living cell), obtained esp from lem juices or by fermentation of sugars, and used a because of its tart taste [ISV]

citric acid cycle n KREBS CYCLE (final stage in the sugars and fats inside a living cell)

citriculture /ˈsitriˌkulchə/ n the cultivation of citr riculturist n

¹citrine /ˈsitrin/ adj resembling a lemon, esp in c MF citrin, fr ML citrinus, fr L citrus citron tree]

²citrine n a black quartz changed in colour by semiprecious yellow stone resembling topaz

citron /ˈsitrən/ n 1a a fruit like the lemon in sp structure but larger and with a thicker rind; also medica) that bears citrons 1b the preserved rind used esp in cakes and puddings 2 a small watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris citroides) used and preserves [ME, fr MF, fr OProv, modif of L tree]

citronella /ˌsitrəˈnelə/ n a fragrant grass (Cymbop of S Asia that yields an oil used in perfumery an repellent [NL, fr Fr citronnelle lemon balm, fr c

citronellal /ˌsitrəˈnelal/ n a lemon-smelling liq compound, $C_{10}H_{18}O$, found in many essential oil perfumery [ISV, fr NL citronella]

citrous /ˈsitrəs/ adj of citrus trees or their fruit

citrulline /ˈsitrəleen/ n an amino acid, $C_6H_{13}N_3O_3$, an intermediate in the production of UREA t urine) in the living system [ISV, fr NL Citrullus g the watermelon]

citrus /ˈsitrəs/ n, pl citruses, esp collectively citrus often thorny trees and shrubs (Citrus and relat the orange family grown in warm regions for the with firm usu thick rind and pulpy flesh [NL, ge citron tree] — citrus adj

cittern /ˈsitən/ n a plucked stringed instrument shaped flat-backed body; popular esp in Renais — compare GITTERN [blend of cither and gittern]

city /ˈsiti/ n 1 an inhabited place of greater size, importance than a town or village; broadly a larg incorporated British town usu of major size o that has a cathedral or has had civic status conf the crown 1b a usu large or important munic USA, governed under a charter granted by the incorporated municipal unit of the highest cla 2 the people living in a city ‹the ~ shivered in the 3a the area of London in which financial and com ities are centred ‹I think he's something in the influential financial interests of the British econo state [ME citie large or small town, fr OF cité ML civitas, civitas, fr L, citizenship, state, city of citizen — more at HOME]

City company n, Br a corporation of businessm from the ancient trade guilds of the City of Lon

city editor n 1 Br the editor of the financial section or newspaper 2 NAm a newspaper editor in ch news

city father n an important official or prominent ci

city hall n, often cap C&H 1 the chief administra a city 2a NAm a municipal government 2b cha officialdom or bureaucracy ‹you can't fight ~›

city manager n an official employed by an elect direct the administration of a city government, e

ENGLISH
VERSIONS

Editorial.
Territorial forms and dimensions of a new urbanity demand - *Full English version*[1]

Alberto Magnaghi

In the face of a global process of urbanisation which appears hardly containable or reversible (MAGNAGHI 2013, 48-51), we experience today a general *fall* of the urban in which the "*mort de la ville*" foreshadowed in 1994 by Françoise Choay seems to come true. Such a "kingdom of the post-urban" (and the post-rural) arose with the breakdown of the *co-evolution relationships* among human settlement, nature and work that, for better or worse, characterised the previous civilisations. The *one-way path of de-territorialisation*, started with the enclosure of commons, goes in hand with the gradual commodification of *common goods*, be they *natural* (the Earth first of all, and then water, air, natural energy sources, glaciers, forests and so on) or *territorial* (the city and its historical infrastructure, agro-forestry systems, landscapes, water works, factories, power plants, down to the electronic networks). Within this double loop, de-territorialisation and commodification of common goods, a path is being accomplished, leading to a *condition of global urbanisation* (but not of urbanity) as the exclusive destiny of humanity on the planet on the one hand, on the other, '*extra muros*', to the abandonment and reversion to a wild state of so many open areas, made unsuitable for human life by degradation, desertification, chemicalization, floods and other not entirely 'natural' disasters related to the commercial use of environmental assets.

If this global urbanisation is no longer the 'promised land' of the cities, whose air used to 'make you free', we need to find the forms of a counter-exodus - a movement which, regaining rules for the self-government of commons, is able to reverse the trends towards the forced urbanisation pointing back again to the urban as quality: increasing the resistance (already in progress) of peripheral and marginal areas to their final colonisation and encouraging their repopulation with new farmers allied with aware citizens, to build a new, urban *and* rural civilisation. This counter-exodus is a "comeback to territories" as common goods (MAGNAGHI 2012) - to the earth, the urbanity of the city, the mountains, the local socio-economic systems, just to follow the thematic agenda of the first issues of this journal - to dig up places and find the human measure of inhabiting the planet. Which means rebuilding synergistic relationships between human settlements and the environment; helping the growth of "place consciousness" (MAGNAGHI 2010) or the ability of active citizenship to develop, starting from specific controversies (often closed, defensive, fragmented), knowledge and relational, open forms of the care for places, *in primis* for the reproductive factors of life; fostering new, sober and convivial styles of living and producing; enhancing the current forms of social mobilisation, civic networks and self-management of territorial and environmental commons, in order to produce lasting wealth in every place of the world through an ecological and territorialist conversion of economy and building solidarity networks pointed at a "bottom-up globalisation" (AA.VV. 2002).

Of course, this implies that the life project, or rather, the *local projects* for future of human communities are repositioned on the legs of the regained *sovereignty* of the inhabitants of a place on their patrimonial assets: *natural*, as said above, and especially *territorial*, the latter rethought and restored as historical products of the human action of domestication and fertilisation of nature. Among them, the *city* is a key construct, that we need to *rebuild* to be able to reintegrate it as an organic polarity in the new territorial ecosystem.

[1] Translation from Italian by Angelo M. Cirasino.

In the kingdom of the post-urban, dominated by individualism, by the transformation of dwellers into consumers and of public spaces into private commodified precincts, we witness today fragments of a reconstruction of shared forms of living, of self-management experiences, of plural public spaces. This tenacious community tension runs transversely across abandoned suburbs, urban spread districts, interstitial spaces, periurban agricultural area, fringe territories as well as neighbourhoods of the compact city, large metropolitan areas as small inland towns; it is a movement of reconstruction of the public city that emerges in many social behaviour: social and creative reuse of appliances of malls (Aquila 2006) and the purchase or the collective use of urban areas in old towns (see Reyes in this issue) in order to mimic urbanity; the many experiences of self-management of common properties or brownfield (*Teatro Valle*, *Officine Zero*, *Nuovo Cinema Palazzo* in Rome, *Project Rebeldia* in Pisa, etc.; see also Belingardi in this issue) that, from employment, propose re-signification of urban places that suggest new relationships between living and producing; the growth of community living practices as urban villages, co-housing, communal houses with ecological, fair, frugal principles, with self-management of services, vegetable gardens, etc. (Geneva, Lyon, Berlin, Milan; see also Bianchetti and Musolino in this issue); activities of direct care and 'bottom-up' re-appropriation of territories and landscapes (v. the Network of Tuscan committees for the defence of territories or the case mentioned in Vanni et al. 2013), in which a project (bio)regional project for future is built up as a mosaic from local disputes usually placed at the confluence between urban and rural; forms of local self-organisation of the food system (Gas, urban gardens with direct sales, local markets, rural districts, urban and periurban agricultural parks: Milan, Rome, Detroit…) sometimes intertwined with new forms of local development through an expansion into real planning acts (Butelli in this issue); local food systems, through the reactivation of traditional supply chains of excellence, are often the basis for new and complex urban agro-tertiary economies related to environmental and landscape enhancement (Corti et al. 2015); experiences of re-organisation of community economies that rebuild the urbanity role of small towns and villages (see the SdT Observatory SDT sheets on the City of Castel del Giudice, the Paraloup township, the City of Mezzago, <http://bit.ly/1E5JK5G>); practices of self-organisation of the care for cultural heritage (such as those described in Nannipieri 2013) or, finally, re-appropriation and community management of green spaces and farmland in urban and periurban areas, rethinking the relationship between town and country by promoting a synergistic rebalancing which alludes to new models of self-sustainable local development (*Mondeggi Bene Comune*, see. Poli 2014), also in connection with redevelopment projects of urban public spaces (Piva in this issue).

In the twine of these experiences the demand of urbanity extends, in new and unexpected forms, from the old towns to the fluvial surroundings, where the river contracts turn into socio-institutional agreements for the community redevelopment of entire urban areas; from the metropolitan suburbs to repopulation experiences of hilly and mountainous areas, where new farmers and new mountain dwellers "by choice" (Canale, Ceriani 2013; Dematteis 2011) reconnect with the city via proximity production networks and communication and innovation cultures. To such insurgent and widespread signs of a new urban civilisation, rather than to the bogged visions of the archistars or the instrumental ones of corporations, we need to link the project for rebuilding the city; averting it from alleged forms of 'smartness' (Vanolo in this issue) that risk to technologically increase the city fragmentation, to access a broader idea of the urban connecting living, production and consumption in the shared care for the life environment.

This means giving back the urban question a territorial dimension, in order to rethink it, within a trans-scalar and trans-disciplinary perspective, as a part of a broader movement actually capable of opening a new territorialisation cycle for the planet.

The conceptual and operational tool I propose to start this "comeback to territories" is the *urban bioregion*, territorialist declination of the historically consolidated concept of bioregion: a way to redesign, in countertendency, the virtuous relationships among human settlement, environment and history which, exactly like in building a house, can identify, reconnect and (re)put in place the 'building elements' (Magnaghi 2014) of a territorial project apt to produce self-sustainable human settlements.

Two necessary warnings. First, the dimensional exuberance of the spatial relationships in the contemporary urbanisation and the dominant role electronic hyperspace plays in it, which place the phenomenon clearly outside the scope of the old conceptual disciplinary apparatus, frustrate from the beginning any attempt to 'mitigate' it, perhaps by inserting here and there cycle lanes and urban parks to compensate the loss of 'territorial biocapacity': "rebuilding the city" is only partly a matter of environmental balance, it is above all a problem of re-appropriation by the inhabitants of the powers of determination on their life environments, stolen by an increasingly global and a-spatial techno-financial machinery. Second, since those features of the post-urban set a real *anthropological mutation* in the relationship between human settlement and environment, they make it impossible to think of "rebuilding the city" as a 'return' - to old towns, rural village or to the concepts of *polis* and *civitas* - or, even worse, to inscribe it in vacant *anti-urban* drifts; it is instead a *forward* movement aiming at redesigning urbanity in itself, making it one of the pillars of the new territorial civilisation.

This, in brief, is what the following pages try to do: to compose a catalogue of possible ways/worlds where it is possible to rebuild a brand new urban dimension starting from the disfigured and spoiled one that the advent of the global city delivered to us. A sort of atlas of viable paths that does not turn its back on urban disasters (slums and skyscrapers, gated communities, megacities etc., see Paquot 2015) nor accepts them fatalistically as an inexorable fate (as the last lines by Scandurra fear in this same issue), but takes them as the starting point of a movement representing, at the same time, a reconstruction of life forms and a return of sovereignty to the living.

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The forthcoming City - *Extended abstract*[1]

Enzo Scandurra

Marx's enthusiastic positivism, which leads him to believe in the progressive character and the historically inevitable affirmation of the urban model of life with respect to the isolation of the countryside, makes him ignore even the description of the inhuman conditions of urbanised workers done by his friend Engels: the city, "the leading place of productive society", would have favoured their emancipation with the formation of a genuine class consciousness. But this position has a distant ancestor in the Middle Ages, when it was said that the city air makes you free because slaves, subject to work in the fields, could become truly free if they found work in the city. So since then, and until today, the city has always been a land of opportunities, of wealth, meetings, innovation, culture; in a word, the promised Land of Progress.

At the dawn of capitalism, the new production systems, affirming the centrality of industrial, commercial and financial power, reshape the city with a geographical distribution expanding its domain to the countryside, that eventually becomes a reservoir for labour and looting of resources. The city organises into sectors: industrial areas, residential areas for the new rich, bedsit lands for the proletariat, the new cathedrals of civil power with the representative offices of companies, banks and institutions. How this plan of colonisation (which urban planners call 'zoning'), with the destruction of territories, of all forms of social ties, and the alienation of *persons* 'legally' transformed into *individuals*, could have succeeded up to be confused with Progress, remains an inexplicable nightmare, a holocaust of communities and cultures which today we are paying for.

At that time modernity and the city were sisters; but the Bologna city plan by Agostino Carracci is one of the last where you can see people roaming the streets: after which, they will be even perceptually expelled, cities will no longer be represented by their crowd, by the *flâneur*'s disenchantment, by Benjamin's phantasmagorical *passages*, but just by inanimate structures - streets, squares, offices, administrations, services, information flows. Since then an actual divorce starts between the city of planners (the stone city) and the daily life of its inhabitants. The history of modern city, its grand narrative, is interrupted when 'classic' capitalism gives place to the great neo-liberal transformation, preceded by a long and molecular ideological work force relying on personal success, self-centrality, international competition, efficiency, speed.

The crisis of national states, the deterritorialization of the Great factory, the obsolescence of values that had formed the ideological basis of modernity (identity, belonging, state, country, national community, even family) abate the structural components of the modern city changing its very complexion: mattresses, cardboard beds, squalid household goods stacked one on another, bottles, trolleys stolen from supermarkets, blankets, rags are the heroes of the new urban landscape in the city where the only surviving structure is the division between those who adapt to dominant paradigm (the orthodox) and those who cannot make it for cultural or social reasons (the excluded). Next to the bodies of the latter, motionless or nearly so, the first whiz on the way to work and ignore the others, leaping not to trip over them.

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[1] Abstract written by Angelo M. Cirasino.

Once a place of welcoming, the city has turned into a nightmare, a gang fight, in a Darwinian landscape where only 'the strongest' survives. If there is a way out from this havoc, it only can begin by acknowledging a major defeat: things went differently than we had thought. Among hyperrealists who see no future outside the market laws, mindless optimists who believe one illuminate administration will be enough to change history, and utopians who design future scenarios never coming to terms with reality, we can choose to trust (and help) those places, communities and persons who not only resist the mainstream but fight it by building tangible spaces of possible alternatives; which is almost mandatory, once recognised the material inconsistency of neoliberal economy with democracy - which is to say the rules of living together founding the very definition of city.

The city. An ecosystem of commons - *Extended abstract*[1]

Piero Bevilacqua

That the city arises, survives and develops within a network of environmental constraints, is a surprisingly recent achievement of social thought: a truth long hidden by the dominant culture, stubbornly inclined to represent it as a pure hub for the exchange of products, so that the market rises to generating principle of urban space. The explicit declaration of Max Weber (2003, 5), for which the necessary condition "to speak of a 'city' is the existence of an *exchange of products* in the settlement", is echoed even by Mumford (2013, 111) and Braudel (1982, 510), who consider rivers little more than natural infrastructure designed to carry goods without even get to perceive their structural connection with water supply, increasingly critical for social agglomerations of increasing size.

This operated a subsumption of basic needs - and therefore of nature - within the categories of economics, a vision which concealed the organic exchange relationships that cities have had for thousands of years with the surrounding countryside, feeding with their waste and manure the fertility of lands intensively exploited. The ideological mechanism of removal, so clearly detectable even in such great minds, responds to the imperative (unveiled by Marx) for which science, wearing the clothes of his age, tends to eternalise what is only a specific historical phase. The millenary subjugation of nature to economy and technique - its full integration into the capitalist mode of production - ended up obscuring it to the eyes of social analysis. Thus nature, even if still working in and outside of us, becomes invisible.

The extension of the market networks has thus obliterated the networks that used to link the cities to natural resources. But what they have done is just to transfer and dilute the ecosystems that supported its existence on an increasingly wider area. Today, in the era when the world market penetrates the innermost recesses of local life, this dilution becomes less important s we cannot avoid to see an environmental network that envelops the world, held together by ecosystem rules and constraints. This appears clearly as soon as, under the millenary bark of *homo faber*, the producer of the *oikos* he lives in, we dig up the *natural being* that he is, in spite of all subjection of the living world.

Ironically, it is precisely the totalitarian success of the technical man what unveils its unresectable ties with the biological reality. Today, the city lives so much outside its borders that one is tempted to think of cities with no territories; however, after all this accumulation of domination, territories emerge in all their natural fragility: just think of the extreme weather events, in which they show in negative their undeletable connection with the urban core because of the disturbed hydro-geological balance.

Such events bring to the general awareness the existence of certain commons precisely because of their violation, of their endangerment. If urban spread, making soils impervious, increasingly undermines the fundamental human right to safety, a seizure of the *common good soil* by private individuals appears more and more clearly as a private interest in conflict with the common good of the security of all.

[1] Abstract written by Angelo M. Cirasino.

Similarly, the explosion of an increasingly alarming risk to human health has revealed as common good *air*, until a few decades ago completely ignored as unlimited and relatively intact but now facing severe threats as the new seat, after the conversion of landfills into incinerators, of the massive waste produced by the city in the age of planned obsolescence of commodities.

Cities make us experience the new globality of local, and this is especially evident in the case of global warming: every city in the world, as an energy-eater of various size and power, consumes more and more oil and coal, so altering climate and weather, through its emissions, at a permanent and potentially irreversible rate. Under the threat of its degeneration *climate*, along all the previous human history imagined as not to be affected by our action, becomes a common good increasingly valuable to our fate. This also shows how the action of habitat alteration by individuals, so far recorded by the dominant ideology in the intangible realm of freedom, actually work to the increasing detriment of climate as a common good, as it helps warming the roof of our common house.

And yet right in the heart of the city, without anyone noticing, a fundamental common good has been historically regulated with egalitarian criteria among its countless users: the public space used for the free movement of men and vehicles has been divided, indeed, into a grid of possibilities and prohibitions in which each one exercises its right to move respecting those of others. This is perhaps the model of egalitarian use of territories, soil, air and resources which will be necessary to comply with in the future.

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For a new *polis - Extended abstract*[1]

Tiziana Villani

The transition from land to urban territories is a massive change that has not ceased to be produced along the last centuries: as pointed out in 2007 by the IMF report on megacities, by 2030 the urban revolution will be entirely realised on a global scale, as more than a half of the world population will live in urban realities. Together with a re-definition of the basic notions of analysis for social, economic and biologic practices, such a process involves a series of dramatic alterations at different scales, concerning resources, land use and consumption, living conditions, institutions and, primarily, the economic and social models underlying this epochal change.

The very notion of space seems now obsolete, in the face of such a manifold and fast urbanisation that continuously redefines living, relationships and the same people involved in them. The category of public space has been actually deleted, removed and intended only for consumption, marketing and the 'brand': instead of the civic magnificence of public space in the ancient cities, we remain with a patchwork of spaces demarcated and enclosed, where slums lay at short distance from traditional residences and gated, exclusive, gentrified areas - even though this proximity is a real tear for everyone, a mirror image of a threatening and imminent insecurity.

All these spaces are peripheries in a way, since each of them is permanently excluded from the sharing practices that constitute the urban. Photographed, poeticised, feared, abandoned, in the meantime peripheries continued their mutations, in which every change of skin, language, relationships, legal and 'parallel' economies show the accelerated metamorphosis under way on a global scale. The urban space in itself has become 'periphery' on a global scale, multiple, varied, segregated or degraded, but still periphery. The different peripheries of the world can thus tell us of a country far more than the symbols set up by branded architectures, trying to mark urban identities but actually confined to the repeated design of competitive scenarios.

Indeed, if concepts like space, but also the landscape, could be taken in the dual perspective implying a dialectic between humans and their artefacts, it is not so for territories that can be understood only through an environmental approach, and where the above mentioned relationships are connected and produced in a continuous chain, which keeps reinventing subjectivities and configurations of the post-modern '*polis*', thus providing the necessary redefinition of environments designed to 'meet' new ways of living in which projects, use practices, recycling, technological innovations must cooperate to rethink what the urban might be in the third millennium.

The trends shown by this process are certainly not neutral, since the economic models of capitalism, in its most recent modulations, marked it with its own ultra-liberalism, thus outlining conflict areas increasingly large and painful. But in any case cities, urban territories are still a 'land of hope': scattered, self-built, chaotic and temporary settlements describe attempts to experience life places that could be less excluding and devoid of hope. The 'Nature' we live in is then the only reality, and will never be again the nostalgic myth of a happy state lost forever and, after all, still very hard to discern.

[1] Abstract written by Angelo M. Cirasino.

The 'artificial nature of the urban' is thus the basic condition in which we have to apply all our 'fantasy' in order to achieve an escape from the insane dominant model. And it is in this context that knowledge must play a new, critical and creative function: a knowledge that, not by chance, appears again as the prerogative of techno-bureaucratic elites that limit as much as possible any form of access. To desire a withdrawal is pointless, even though some keep thinking that there is still some untouched 'nature' that will save us. We ourselves are this very nature, constantly changing and evolving, and we must understand that what is at stake is something that concerns our life conditions, the expropriation of existences, the plan for a conflict that, in such a classic manner, sacrifices the many for the benefit of the few.

New *passages*. Benjamin and the contemporary city - *Extended abstract*[1]

Filippo La Porta

As a starting point for a reflection on the contemporary city, let's take up the boundless and rhapsodic work of Walter Benjamin on Parisian *passages*, seen as an allegory of the triumph before, then of the ruin of the nineteenth century bourgeoisie: "sensual trade streets", miniaturized cities containing luxury stores and theatres, restaurants and hairdressing salons, beauty farms and a number of crafts gradually becoming obsolete, whose decline begins with electric lighting, which washes out their splendours. Lost in these *passages*, Benjamin's *flâneur* accepts (and this is the passive side of knowledge) the multiple fragments of an urban phantasmagoria - images, spaces, objects, people - however reassembling, refurbishing, re-updating them (the active side of knowledge) and so freeing their utopic-emancipatory potential. Thus the shocks, the bumps of everyday life in the metropolis (lights, fashion, novelties, advertising posters, all the "sensational" in information) become 'used': which discloses an entire universe made of missed or lost opportunities, of the unexploded potential of things apparently irrelevant becoming relevant, of failed lives revealing a different, possible fate, of all an unredeemed past showing us a promised future.

With respect to the time of Benjamin's *Passagenwerk*, the utmost novelty is the network. If in Benjamin's metropolis citizens always felt like having missed something, in a "bittersweet mixture of anxiety and hast", today it goes the opposite. The Internet is a huge archive of everything that happens. You will never miss any events. Nothing is irreversible. Rather, you are desperately, hopelessly alone in front of this huge container. You have to choose, you can not watch or follow everything. This continuing obligation makes you more responsible. The *cyberflâneur*, the intangible traveller, can get lost just up to a certain point: he has a duty to be aware. If he hasn't got a project and a route, his guidance is to be secretly decided by others. He becomes hetero-directed.

Hence, wandering the streets of our 'smart' cities, among so many 'smart' devices, implementations, sensors, systems, environmental detection, Intelligent Telephone Booths, acronyms of edgy elegance as ICT etc., we are seized with the doubt that not the old cities but the very humans have become 'obsolete', no longer up to their inventions and sophisticated devices. Lost in the present cosmopolis, robbed of his own experience and 'colonized' in his everyday life, the *flâneur* experiences a tragic split. On one side he fancies to cognitively indulge the playful intoxication of the metropolis, its possible profane enlightenments, hashish and nightly meetings. On the other he is every day called to active citizenship, commitment to refurbish and re-update the scattered fragments identifying new shared spaces, self-organized, to form - at the local level - nuclei of democratic 'surveillance' on the various chapters of public spending and services supply.

Today, the urban sprawl without rules and maps must be faced by a citizen no longer bewildered, but able to "read, think, wait" re-enabling the active, reflective side of knowledge, to regain a sense for his own experience, to redefine shared rules, to understand how and where he is. To the bad infinity of experiences chaotically available on the Net, all fungible, he will oppose the finiteness of a personal path, of a coherent story of himself, of a narrative reasonably unified and orderly.

[1] Abstract written by Angelo M. Cirasino.

So today the *flâneur*, indolent gentleman savouring ephemeral sensations - utopian figure of the sensation amateur, idle contemplative dandy - might notice that he contains within a Jedi Knight - the active citizen - armed with the lightsaber of criticism, committed to retain, in the disorderly flow of information, only what matters, that is the fragments apt redeem the past and the missed opportunities. And then the 'revolution' on which, for Benjamin, the free space of the city is based is nothing but the creation of new molecular shared spaces: urban gardens where people grow vegetables like in San Basilio and Torpignattara, places where rationalist architecture is redesigned from the bottom through sociality experiences like in Corviale and Laurentino 38.

The future is urban - *Extended abstract*[1]

Matilde Callari Galli

Due to the increasing urbanisation, today humans are genetically more similar to each other than they have ever been. Thus influencing even the biological complexion of human species, the city becomes a metaphor of the paradoxes and complexities of the worlds it lives in: as a space unified but at the same time more and more heterogeneous, it transcends - with its mixing of languages, customs and traditions - the state and the nation, boundaries built in the past to guarantee citizenship rights. In the city there is violence and oppression, will to power and self-centredness; but where, if not in the city, are born and take strength models of thought and behaviour resisting them, talking about solidarity as a component of identity, cultivating the culture of limit, carrying on the social scene the voices of otherness?

The city urges us to follow the twists between local and global, to analyse together the processes of globalization and indigenization that gave rise to new forms of organisation of economy and labour, new perceptions of space-time relationships, new financial interactions, completely transforming the relationships between cultures, the dynamics of the identity processes, the rhythms of daily life for increasingly impressive masses of individuals. To transnationalization of economies responds a local disintegration of policies and daily practices, while instability spreads across every social group. The cities are increasingly becoming the 'dumps' of globalization, the ground where the problems arising from it converge, even if their size goes often far outside the urban borders.

Faced with such a situation, ranging throughout Europe together with the spread of exaggerate localism, violence and intolerance, a policy for the city could also raise the white flag in front of the mass of problems that, for decisions taken by entities hard even to perceive, download on its territories. But it is from territorial policies that we must move to draw a new anthropology of differences, to talk to the various groups composing the urban mosaic about new citizenship rights, new uses of urban areas, participation in the management of urban time and space. A policy of re-appropriation of the territories you live in or go across is the only possible starting point to escape the dimension of fear and helplessness in which the 'risk society' model compels us.

A survey by the Gramsci Emilia-Romagna Foundation exemplifies this peroration: it shows how even in Bologna, as in the whole country, a worrying change within the universe of poverty can be detected, so deep as to talk of 'new poverty'. That can be read at two different levels of analysis: the first one shows the progressive disintegration affecting institutions and established groups, toughened by a cultural and educational model that emphasizes owner individualism, personal success, competition and devalues social cohesion and community responsibility, nurturing isolation, anonymity, indifference; the second refers to the new entities now featuring on the scene of poverty, which belong to social groups that until a few years ago seemed immune from this risk: middle class and the age group from 18 to 34 years.

[1] Abstract written by Angelo M. Cirasino.

This forces us to reconsider the whole welfare system, which must now take care also of those who are at risk of falling into marginality, identifying energies still in their possession to re-admit them to the field of social and economic productivity and encouraging them to develop, in everyday life, those 'relational goods' that we begin to consider vital for the well-being on a par with economic ones; the goal is to trigger a virtuous circle in which the base of welfare is no longer assistance but the principles of solidarity and active and working community. The Bologna project called 'Zanardi Houses', the same name of the mayor who, exactly a century ago, opened the 'Zanardi shops' to relief the serious difficulties of population, intends to embrace this perspective building new 'common houses' apt to oppose poverty, exclusion and isolation by promoting social cohesion, solidarity, sustainability, consumer awareness and community responsibility; and converting in a new wealth the very diversity that, dominating the urban universe, is now creating the conditions for a new and more terrible poverty.

Are shared spaces able to rebuild the city? -
Extended abstract

Cristina Bianchetti

Contemporary living is increasingly marked by different kinds of associations, collective but not necessarily long-lasting actions, and either little or very determined communalities. This paper considers forms of living that reject individualism and shy away from communities. Indistinct forms, based on living 'side by side, walking in step' which Bauman described as "a desperate need for 'networking'"; and Sennett as "the force of wandering emotions shifting erratically from one target to another". Characterised by values such as ecology, frugality, reciprocity and solidarity. We believe that the key issue is to understand whether these forms are able, as they say they are, to metaphorically rebuild the city.

In other words, can they implement a different concept of urbanity and public space by adopting the role played in late capitalist cities by conflict, rationality, functionalism, and the market? To address the question we must first understand how they affect three different issues. The first involves changes in the values assigned to living. In the contemporary society, shared territories reveal significant changes in the values assigned to living. Suspended midway between the search for individual solitude and collective *pathos*, they reveal another perspective: the end of the protection of the individual and his liberties, or the protection and establishment of communities, which marked the twentieth-century architecture and town planning, and the emergence of a desire to live *entre nous*, with a small circle of friends and neighbours where the individual opens a window on a world which is of his own, but not only of his own. A world which creates and reflects common beliefs, actions and experiences.

The second issue involves the new logic of spatial organisation. How do these phenomena occur in space? Sharing is not based on the traditional spatial logic. For example, it is not based on a hierarchical and oppositional logic which distinguishes between centre and suburbs, compact city and sprawl, exclusive and degraded areas. Neither is it based on a radial or annular logic emphasising continuity and directionality, like the large twentieth-century residential complexes which created a satellite-shaped, radio-centric expansion, an expansion which is multifaceted compared to infrastructure and urban layout. Nor is it based on an isotropic logic similar to the one characterising the 'fine dust' of single family houses in the diffuse city. And finally, it is neither based on an elitist, exclusive, club-style logic of *enclaves* and *gated communities*. A *proliferation of exceptions* replaces pyramidal hierarchy, linearity, or isotropy.

Finally, the third issue involves the revision of the notion of public and its political consequences. Sharing clearly does not base its sense of belonging on the modern functional city with its defined orders, a city capable of incorporating differences in a coherent civic space and reflecting conflicts, values and rights in a transparent manner. Shared spaces tell us that the modern city is a thing of the past. Even the most powerful mythology, the one between polis and democracy, seems to have lost its grip, and so has the notion of public. However, since the latter replaces a polished and powerful concept, it can help explain the ambiguous combinations between common space and personal space. In today's world many people want to reconcile a focus on the individual with universal aspirations for justice and social equality including,

In the background   on the one hand, the so-called theorists of radical democracy (Butler et Al. 2010; La-clau, Mouffe 1985; Mouffe 2007), and on the other, those who want to recover the pragmatic idealism of the progressive era (Amin, Thrift 2002). A sincere aspiration which often ends in an overemphasis on the prismatic pulverisation of the social and its virtues. It tends to acknowledge, more often and more cautiously, that the multiplication of horizontal ties gives rise to revisable and sporadic forms of solidarity. Apart from the two extremes of opportunist cynicism emphasising the pulverisation and religious adherence to solidarity and trust, it's still doubtful whether the political dimension is relevant to shared living.

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Urban sprawl and climate change: (un)sustainability paths at local scale? - *Extended abstract*

Giuseppe Forino, Luigi Perini, Luca Salvati

In the background

The recent worldwide urban dynamics have brought the traditional compact city to lose its specific connotations while adopting dispersed settlement patterns with a high degree of housing and infrastructure fragmentation. This implies the transformation of previously rural areas into urban land, with significant operating costs in terms of energy consumption, soil-sealing, increased demand for transport and pollution. This may increase the vulnerability of these areas to the impacts of climate change. This paper aims at exploring some of the potential effects that urban growth exerts on the heat balance and the climate at the urban scale. Initially the article reports some basic concepts for the study of urban climate. Subsequently, the potential effects of urban form spread on the rise in temperature and precipitation extremes is described along the urban-rural gradient. Finally, the need to use methods of analysis and specific weather forecast for urban climate adaptation strategies and to prepare cities to climate changes is discussed.

Urbanization is a global phenomenon steadily increasing. United Nations estimates indicate that by 2030 the world's urban population will reach 5 billion. Although we can consider urban areas as the most widespread settlement pattern worldwide, they may present uncomfortable weather conditions and high level of vulnerability to the impacts of climate change, particularly due to extreme events (floods, droughts and heat waves). Generally, urban climate conditions are significantly different from other natural, semi-natural or rural environments, especially due to the Urban heat island (U$_{HI}$) effect, which configures the urban area as a particular 'bioclimatic island'. The U$_{HI}$ is determined by structural factors (albedo of surfaces, thermal peculiarities of materials, shape, orientation and ventilation of buildings, etc.) and heat production factors (air-conditioning systems, traffic, production of gas fuel).

The solar energy that reaches the Earth's surface is made up of short wave electromagnetic radiation. Part of this energy is absorbed and then re-emitted as long-wave radiation (infrared or heat) in the atmosphere. In urban areas, however, the heat balance is more complex due to the presence of urban structures, with the exchange of heat with the surfaces of buildings and road and the heat of anthropogenic induction generated by the combustion of fossil fuels. Industrial clusters close to the city are sources of emissions and accumulation of heat, such as steel plants, which emit into the atmosphere a daily average four times greater than the energy of the incoming solar radiation. Even domestic heating in the winter and air conditioning in the summer introduce heat into the atmosphere. Moreover, a good part of the building materials has high thermal conductivity, for which thermal differentials between the exterior and the interior of the buildings create a heat flow that passes through the thickness of the walls from an another surface. Urban areas therefore get cool more slowly during the night compared to non-urban areas. Finally, internal combustion engines (vehicles, air-conditioning devices, industrial machines), that produce greenhouse gas emissions and then release them into the atmosphere, can alter the radiative thermal exchange with the earth's surface by changing the final heat balance. The growing demand for mobility entails an increase in emissions, especially in areas like the EU-15 with about 40 cars per 100 inhabitants.

There is a reasonable proportionality between increased emissions, urban sprawl and Gᴅᴘ per capita, whilst population growth does not show a clear direct relationship to increased emissions.

Urban areas have a three-dimensional conformation that reproduces a structure similar to natural canyons. This affects the absorption of solar radiation and thus the surface temperature, evaporation rates, heat retention/radiation and the direction and intensity of wind. Overall, the amount of solar radiation received by an urban canyon depends on the height of the buildings and the orientation of the road. The building materials have properties of thermal emission, reflection and solar radiation. Urban canyons, as the natural ones, may trigger the so-called phenomenon of 'trapping' solar energy for which, due to the repeated reflections from wall to wall of the canyon, the fraction of energy absorbed by surfaces increases. In general about 60% of the net radiation is released in the air in the form of sensible heat; 30% is stored in the surfaces of roads and buildings; 10% is used for the evaporation of green areas, water courses or wetlands. The Uʜɪ is more intense at night, inversely proportional to wind speed and cloud cover, and less evident in the summer. The temperature ranges are closely linked to the surface and the shape of the buildings, land cover, vegetation and the presence of man-made radiation source.

From comparative analysis of data collected in urban and rural sites, we can highlight further differences regarding the daily minimum and maximum temperatures behaviors. These patterns depend on different reasons: the minimum temperatures respond to thermal conditions expressed by the atmospheric layers close to the ground (or buildings surfaces), while the maximum temperatures, determined by convection heating and mixing of air masses at high altitude, are representative of tropospheric conditions and depend little on ground features. The differences between urban and rural areas are negligible during daylight hours, while are wider in the evening and night hours. Comparisons carried out world-wide demonstrate that the temperature of urban areas is higher about 1-2°C or more than the surrounding rural areas, and this feature is most evident especially at night and in the summer. These phenomena imply more incisive effects of climate change in urban areas with serious consequences for people. An example is the heat wave in the 2003; during summer 2003, Europe and other regions in the world were affected by unusually high and persistent temperatures. In Italy, there were several casualties, about 3,000 especially in urban contest, that were directly or indirectly ascribed to high temperatures. Compared with the natural or semi-natural environments, the greater heterogeneity and complexity of the urban structure, at the small scale, requires new and specific techniques of climate analysis. The scientific literature offers various approaches. For instance we can use a sub-classification of the city in homogeneous sectors well know as Local climatic zones (Lᴄᴢ), but it is important to consider also the building highness-wideness ratio (H/W), the sky-view factor (Sᴠꜰ), the 'roughness' morphology of the city (Zʜ), the heat flow of anthropogenic origin (Qꜰ), the warming radiant surface (µ), or the physiological temperature equivalent (Pᴇᴛ).

In addition to Uʜɪ, structure and geometry of the urban fabric, another factor of weather patterns in urban areas is the presence of aerosols in high concentrations, with tiny particles suspended in the atmosphere, arising mainly from industrial emissions and vehicles. Besides damaging human health, they have effects on the propagation and absorption of solar radiation, affecting both the 'transparency' of the air and the physical processes of condensation of atmospheric moisture, as potential condensation nuclei which would favor the formation of smog and mists.

New technologies are applied to the analysis of the effects of urban areas on the formation of clouds, precipitation and storms. Remote sensing, LIDAR and Doppler radar will help us to analyze in detail rainfall and their spatial variability. Results of specific analysis also confirm the urbanization effect on precipitation through the increase of hygroscopic nuclei of condensation of atmospheric moisture due to air turbulence and convection caused by the properties and different thermal states of the materials; convergence of winds on the urban area that can create 'rainy' clouds and, finally, contribution of anthropogenic water vapor.

The issue became more complicated by the new dynamics of urban expansion. In the last decades, cities have grown according to a different development model than in the past. Now, the expansion of the city is mostly done through a diffuse pattern in order to assure more free spaces among buildings and other infrastructures to mitigate the effects of the UHI. Unfortunately, such a development model is not yet the ultimate response because, far from effectively solving overheating, it brings high degrees of urban fragmentation (or dispersion) and consequent higher costs of inefficiency in terms of transportation, energy and water consumption, soil-sealing and pollution.

This implies that the effects of climate change can be both exacerbated and mitigated mainly along the urban-rural gradient. The urban climate, therefore, has particular features that justify a specific approach for both its analysis and for the adaptation strategies. In the former case, it is not possible to measure the climate variables according to the criteria recommended by the WMO and the classical patterns of weather and climate modeling, which are ill-adapted to fragmented urban areas. In the latter case, however, strategies are needed to adapt multi-scalar policy, impacting both regions and specific urban areas. In Europe, for example, several Member States have adopted national strategies for adaptation to climate change (as Italy in 2013), together with specific strategies at the urban and metropolitan scale providing specific measures to adapt urban form and structure to the risk of heat waves, monitoring and encouraging the use of warning systems, promoting the reduction of energy consumption and the thermal efficiency of public and private structures, restoring and enhancing green spaces and encouraging the re-naturalization of riparian areas and the proper management of urban waterways.

In conclusion, this paper has indirectly pointed out that the creation of urban microclimate is not simply due to bio-physical factors, but depends on the shape and spatial organization of cities. This, in turn, implies a vast expansion of urban policies and national economic choices apt to shape the region by increasing or decreasing, first, the vulnerability to climate change and, second, the influence in promoting the creation of the urban microclimate. The analysis of urban climate, therefore, cannot be reduced to schematic interpretations, but must instead be open to in-depth discussions on how daily urban life and weather conditions may affect the urban scale. The urban hell between the cities we wish and the 'real' ones, still contains many glimmers of hope about enhancing the quality of urban life: for example, bringing green areas in the city, seizing the opportunities of sustainable architecture, developing effective energy policies promoting public transport and sharing 'soft mobility' and, finally, identifying the most vulnerable populations to provide assistance and support in reducing risks.

Cities and urbanisation processes, between trends and models - *Extended abstract*

Francesca Governa

To point out some general trends of the urban features in different parts of the world, the reconstruction of the existing urban dynamics calls for a point of view embedded in the context of critical urban theory and a relational perspective to the study of the processes of urbanization on a global scale.

At the beginning of the Nineteenth century, only 2% of the world population used to live in cities; at the beginning of the Twentieth century, this share had risen to around 10% and, in 1950, to 30%, although only 1% lived in urban areas of over one million inhabitants. During the Twentieth century, the percentage of urban population has increased exponentially: in 2009, according to UN data, the urban population exceeded the amount of the population living in the countryside, 3.42 billion versus 3,21. The same source estimates that, in 2050, this share is going to be up to 75% of the world population, which in turn keeps growing, although not proportionally. The increase in urban population is particularly strong in Asia and Africa, continents that remain in 2010 less urbanized than others (40% in Asia, 42% Africa), but where urban population is estimated to become the majority respectively in 2023 and 2030, and to exceed the 64% and 60% in 2050. The growth is significant even in continents where urbanization is oldest, such as South America (84% of the urban population in 2010 and the share is expected to reach 91.6% in 2050) and North America (in 2010 83%, in 2050 90%). In Europe, about 80% of the population lives in cities: the continent is one of the most urbanized areas of the planet. However, in Europe the physical extension of urban areas does not show a corresponding increase in population and the future of European cities is a matter of great concern. According to Eea data, more than a quarter of the territories in the Eu is urbanized and the land consumption is expected to grow steadily, even where population pressure is negligible or non-existent. The spread of urban settlements goes with the demographic decrease of a large set of European cities: approximately 42% of all European cities with a population of more than 200,000 inhabitants are shrinkage cities, i.e. cities where population decrease is variously intertwined with economic decline, demographic changes (in particular, the aging of population), suburbanization and sprawl, administrative and/or political changes. Since the beginning of the Twentieth century urban growth has focused mainly in the so-called developed countries, due to the processes of industrialization and colonial expansion. Vice versa, the current urban growth mainly concerns the so-called developing countries. According to Un, by 2050 the world's urban population is expected to exceed 6 billion, an increase of 84% almost entirely due to the growth of less developed countries, where urban population should rise from the current 2.5 billion to 5.2 billion. The urban population of more developed regions is expected to increase to a lesser degree, rising from 900 million at present to 1,100 in 2050.

These processes give rise to a reconfiguration of urban centrality at the global level that significantly affects geopolitical scenarios and economic and cultural relations among States. The shifting of the axis of urbanization to the countries of the global South is also reinforced by the growing demographic size of cities. Indeed, current processes of urbanization are characterized by the so-called mega-cities, mainly located in Asia and Latin America.

The increase of urban population on a global scale tends to modify the consolidated balance relationship between cities and macro-regional areas: the current explosion of the urban phenomenon in the countries of the global South is confronted with the stability - if not decrease - of the demographical size of the northern cities. Main trends of global urbanization are marked by a shift from the oldest areas of urbanization (Europe and North America, in particular) to the regions of new development, on the one hand, and of utmost poverty, on the other hand. In India, China, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, the economic growth rates appear to support (and somehow 'accompany') urban growth. In sub-Saharan Africa, the increase in urban population is instead an indicator of a growing urbanization of poverty. It is not accompanied by the development of an urban economic base and leads to a further impoverishment of the agricultural economy, partly as a result of significant environmental degradation (such as the extended desertification and the multiplication of drought phenomena) or the continuous outbreak of conflicts and wars. Actual changes in urbanization processes open up the need to investigate the link between such general trends and the variety of social, economic, cultural, legal, geopolitical characters of the different places, giving rise to urbanization processes that mix and mingle global and local dynamics.

In the background

Urban space as a common good - *Extended abstract*[1]

Maria Rosaria Marella

In Italy, the recent discussion about commons has got a political nuance that is lacking elsewhere. Even in the poor legal literature devoted to the subject, the defence of commons from dispossession by public or private hands is always perceived as radically transformative of the current economic and political system.

The paper presents a few themes to address the issue of urban space in terms of common goods in order to highlight their legal significance, gathering around a concept perceived as militant in itself a series of apparently disparate problems, although all determined by system choices: the right to housing and the construction of shopping centres in metropolitan suburbs, 'gentrification' and the enclosure of portions of public space in gated communities, safety and control in the organisation of urban space.

To define urban space - but the same goes for any other ambit - as commons is not to advocate an intervention of public power apt to limit or conform urban property according to its social function, but to challenge the very legitimacy of any action, in the government or the use of territories, which subtract utility to communities in terms of health, freedom, sociability, dignity of life, happiness. And this can affect the use and destination the private owner chooses for his own good (i.e. the owner transforming a historic neighbourhood theatre into a betting room), but far more the public authority in planning and territorial government (the land use plan including new construction and further looting of public green areas instead of reusing brownfield). Since the way urban space is structured, through an interaction of public and private, determines the ways of life and social relations experienced in it. So there is nothing more common than the space in which our lives take shape.

Considering urban space as a common good from a legal perspective is a fascinating and, however, enormous task. It can not therefore be fully addressed in these pages, in which I will only focus on some issues in the way they appear to legal investigation. The common feature of the legal solutions presented is found in the promotion of an egalitarian city use evoked by the very notion of 'civic commons' or 'urban commons': its political significance as a meeting and conflict place among the various actors on the social scene is opposed to those redevelopments of urban areas which, relying on the rhetoric of community, create gentrification, gated communities and inequalities. The same logic of safety and dignity orient the management of the shopping centres or arcades and malls.

In the perspective of urban commons the mall is a modern form of enclosure for the way it is designed and built, the way it is managed, the effects it generates. In general terms, the mall actually realises a form of dispossession of 'civic commons' as places of free circulation, meeting, but also of possible dissent and disorder. From a place intended for mixed use - trade of course, but also leisure, entertainment, 'active life' according to Hannah Arendt - public space turns into a privatised space exclusively intended for consumption. Thereby giving the reality of the space dimension to the transformation of citizen into consumer which is the typical character of neoliberal democracies.

[1] Abstract written by Chiara Belingardi, translated from Italian by Angelo M. Cirasino.

The public/private mix such processes put in place operates at a level far deeper than a simple transfer of urban space from public to private. The managing philosophy of malls (and other privatised areas) in the name of safety and comfort is now an integral part of the management of public order, or the preservation of public decorum and tranquillity. As for the gated communities, assuming a point of view which is not internal to the community, but focused on the relationship between it and the urban space outside, the most relevant problem is represented by the dynamics of enclosure they activate and, similarly to the questions addressed by the courts with respect to malls and shopping centres, concerns the *jus excludendi alios* as a power exerted of the gated community members as individuals and as a group.

The creation of exclusive areas deepens class differences and social segregation even in a physical sense, resulting in a discriminatory and unequal distribution of urban space that is sometimes amplified by intertwining and overlapping phenomena of gentrification. The overall effect of subtraction of the urban space to the damage of whole social groups grows exponentially.

Possible answers arise from the awareness of dispossession and have necessarily a collective character, whether they are material resistance practices or more properly legal answers. For example, the option to force owners to respect contractual obligations of maintenance to protect the lodgers' right to housing results in a likely effective form of resistance against an incipient gentrification; that as long as the residents organise. Similarly, the claim for the legal value of the collective use of an urban area, against the arguments of those who - in order to start a process of gentrification - claims to legitimately exercise a right of ownership over it, becomes consistent only where there is a community organised for raising it. Thus, the claim for commons and for the common dimension of the right to housing necessarily requires a moment of collective organisation. Based on this assumption we can discuss if, in legal terms, it is more correct or strategically more appropriate to break the monopoly of the owner paradigm and give an independent legal consistency to use as a form of non-exclusive and intrinsically common ownership, or rather to force the same owner paradigm from inside and theorise the existence of a 'property interest' for the group or the community that uses and takes care of a certain good (or space), and relies on the opportunity to appropriate some of the utilities deriving from it, even without being the owner; a protected interest which requires an unbundled property right which can be broken down into utility and interests relative to different actors, and then apt to inhibit the same owner's authorisation to dispose of the good when this would threaten its very existence.

Those presented here are thus only some of the reasoning directions to start from in order to expand the legal reflection on urban space as a common good.

Struggles for land and the promise of the Community land trust - *Original English text*

Tom Angotti[1]

Introduction

Community organizers everywhere are hearing about an approach to housing that has been largely absent from public debates on housing policy - the community land trust (Clt). A Clt is a non-profit community-based organization that owns land; the title requires that the land be leased only for low-cost housing and that it remain affordable indefinitely. Thousands of households throughout the United States - there is no exact tally -- live in homes that are part of a Clt. Clts have been proposed as an instrument to protect neighborhoods facing gentrification and displacement and to empower communities that have historically lacked power. After the 2008 collapse of the housing bubble, the Clt was proposed as an antidote to widespread foreclosures, predatory lending, and the growing proportion of households paying more than 30% of their incomes for housing. Housing activists have proposed that vacant land and buildings be placed in land trusts instead of being put back in the speculative land market.

A community land trust is dedicated to the creation and preservation of low-income (or 'affordable') housing in perpetuity. The trust is the legal owner of land and leases it for exclusive use in accordance with the terms of the trust. The lessee is typically a non-profit housing corporation, closely related to the Clt, that rents to qualified tenants, or an individual owner whose ability to profit from equity gains is severely limited. The trust is usually run by a board dominated by housing advocates, community leaders and public officials - people who do not normally have a stake in housing as a commodity in the market (Davis, 2010).[2] In this essay I make three major points:

1. Clts are potentially an alternative to the displacement and inequalities of private housing and land markets. But land trusts in general have been used to protect elites and by themselves are not necessarily good or bad.
2. The Clt is only one among many tools for achieving the right to housing and the right to the city. Many more things are needed to keep land out of the market and make housing permanently affordable.
3. Clts in the United States emerge out of struggles against displacement and the peace and civil rights movements. Sustaining organic ties with these and other movements is necessary if they are to achieve their revolutionary and transformative potential.

1. Struggles for land

By essentially taking housing out of the private land market and increasing community control, Clts can help shelter communities from the global casino appropriately known as the Fire sector (Finance, insurance and real estate). Public housing

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[2] See: <http://www.cltnetwork.org>.

(state subsidized and managed housing) also removes housing from the private marketplace, although control is not vested in community-based organizations. Many other state-subsidized housing programs, including rent regulations, vouchers and mortgage subsidies, shape or restrict the market. If we look at these methods together, they add up to an approach that values land more for its social utility (use value) as opposed to its price on the market (exchange value). When land is used for housing under these regulated regimes, housing is treated more as a basic human right instead of a commodity to be exchanged on the marketplace.

The struggles around the world for a right to the city include local organizing that removes land from the private market, protects land that is already out of the market, and effectively reduces the influence of the market. One of the main points of this essay is that the CLT, by itself, will not accomplish any of the short-term objectives of community organizing - taking land out of the market - or the long-term objectives - the right to housing and the right to the city. CLTs are one among many tools that community organizers can use. Once a CLT is established, communities continue to face pre-existing and new contradictions. These include conflicts between the CLT and the state, with other community organizations, and conflicts within the CLT. Fundamental contradictions between the CLT and the capitalist marketplace in land and the labor market remain.

The CLT, however, can be an important building block in efforts to construct alternatives to capitalism from below, a concrete demonstration that, to use the term of the World Social Forum, "A Better World Is Possible", contrary to Margaret Thatcher's declaration that "There Is No Alternative". The CLT, like many other alternatives, has been emerging at the margins of global capitalism, in urban and rural peripheries where land's exchange value is relatively low. When land values increase, however, they can threaten the survival of the CLT - perhaps the single greatest contradiction faced by community organizing everywhere.

I will argue that the CLT can be an important tool for local organizing and that it must be seen as a solution, not the solution to housing and urban problems. The strategic goal for organizing must be much more ambitious than the CLT. The CLT is a new tactic in the organizer's toolkit but not a replacement for the toolkit. This is particularly important in the U.S. because the history of community organizing in this nation is marked by short-term thinking and a deeply-imbedded pragmatism, which emphasizes 'getting things done' through focused legal battles, building new organizations and non-profit corporations, pursuing foundation and government funding, and adopting the 'quick fix' and new technique of the day. As a result, organizers are often unable to deal with the inevitable contradictions within and among communities in ways that sustain longer-term objectives such as the right to housing. The issue of the CLT is particularly timely in the U.S. because it has begun to open up new insights in the discussion of the more important strategic organizing question: how can communities gain increasing control over land in order to prevent displacement, reduce inequalities and create more just communities? These are the key questions for community organizers and they lead us to find ways to democratically control land - or what I call community land, the strategic focus of progressive community organizing.

2. The CLT in the United States: radical roots, transformative politics

The community land trust in the U.S. emerged in the 1960s from entirely different roots than its elite forebears, its European counterparts or other exclusionary monopolies over land.

While many of the first CLTs started in small towns and rural areas, and some produced food on a small scale for local consumption, they mostly occurred on land where housing was the main use. For many, the express purpose of establishing a trust was to protect the land from being sold into the speculative market so they could be sheltered from displacement. For others, it was a product of utopian notions about community. Peace activist Bob Swann and civil rights activist Slater King, building on the experiences of several self-managed rural Black communities in the South, established New Communities, Inc. on 5,000 acres of land in Georgia. Crushing hardships for small-scale agriculture and opposition from white property owners forced them to sell after less than 20 years (DAVIS 2010). The early CLT pioneers had diverse ideological affinities: for example, the Gramdan Movement in India, formed around Ghandian notions of rural self-reliance; the Institute for Community Economics in Massachusetts, a radical think tank geared to local economies; and E.F. Schumacher, the guru of local thinking (SCHUMACHER 1973).

While early CLTs often improvised, as the number grew, they tended to develop the same basic features:

- title to the land is held by a single non-profit owner on behalf of (in trust for) a place-based community;
- the land is leased for the purpose of providing housing for people with limited incomes, or other specific purposes. This ground lease is often a 99-year renewable lease;
- the buildings on the land are owned by a separate entity, usually a non-profit housing development corporation or individual households;
- a key concept guiding the CLT is *stewardship* of the land in accordance with its trust doctrine;
- in the 1990s, CLTs began to take shape as an urban phenomenon and on a different scale. The main purpose became to provide low-cost housing as a means for stabilizing communities. The National Community Land Trust Network was incorporated in 2006.[3]

The most important development along this line was in Burlington, Vermont. CLT activists in Burlington developed a close relationship with the government of Burlington mayor Bernie Sanders, an avowed socialist (and now a U.S. Senator), who adopted the CLT as a preferred recipient of federal and local funding for low-income housing. This moved the CLT from a fringe idea in the counter-culture to an established instrument that had distinct advantages both for the residents of the housing and for government. Residents were the beneficiaries of government funding to improve their homes and government had an instrument to guarantee that its sizeable outlays would not be monetized and appropriated by private real estate investors. The Burlington Community Land Trust, started in 1984, merged in 2006 with the Lake Champlain Housing Development Corporation to form the Champlain Land Trust. Today the Champlain CLT owns the land under 1,500 apartment units and 500 owner-occupied housing units.[4]

In the early 1990s, the largest CLT in a major metropolis was established. The Cooper Square CLT owns the land under some 330 units of housing in the Lower East Side of Manhattan, where the average tenant makes around 40% of the area median income. Uniquely, the Cooper Square CLT is the result of a struggle against displacement that began in 1959 when the city announced an urban renewal plan that would have wiped out existing housing and built apartments for middle-income people.

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[3] See <http://www.cltnetwork.org>, last access January 14, 2014.

[4] See <http://champlainhousingtrust.org>, last access January 14, 2014.

Community organizers quickly figured out that over 90% of existing residents would not
be able to afford the new housing and they feared their multi-ethnic neighbourhood would become like the nearby Stuyvesant Town development, where a mostly Black population was displaced by a redevelopment project and replaced by mostly white tenants (after an initial struggle to defeat a racial covenant prohibiting Blacks). (Angotti 2006) The Cooper Square CLT seeks to guarantee that the housing units it leases to the non-profit Cooper Square Mutual Housing Association will never be sold into the private market. This is particularly pertinent since for the last four decades the City of New York has followed a neoliberal policy of recycling abandoned properties back into the private market. This assumes that public subsidies of distressed housing are successful if the housing returns to the "magical" private market. Since the massive abandonment of housing in parts of New York City during the 1970s, city housing policy established public-private partnerships in which public subsidies ended up enriching a few individuals and many housing developers. Many of the homes that were built or renovated with public funds were eventually resold for enormous profits in the private market, feeding gentrification and displacement. In addition, approximately one-fourth of all previously-protected middle-income housing (under the post-World War II Mitchell-Lama program), once protected from speculative resale, has now been privatized. Today, Cooper Square stands as a rare exception to neoliberal policy and, as its neighborhood continues to gentrify, it remains among the last bastions of affordable housing, which also includes public housing and a dwindling supply of Mitchell-Lama and other limited-equity cooperatives.[5]

This brings us to the two most powerful potential uses of the CLT model. First, a CLT can *deter displacement and eviction* due to gentrification and *assert community control* over land. The CLT can defy the dictum of most orthodox economists that gentrification is simply a natural consequence of a healthy land and housing market. Secondly, it is a means to *protect public investments* for low-cost housing and prevent their appropriation by private real estate. The billions of dollars in capital subsidies for housing in New York City should not have favoured those who need housing the least. By creating some private wealth for the few who happened to be the lucky recipients of public subsidies, government fuelled speculation in land. Today, even greater housing subsidies will be needed as government austerity measures continue to reduce the supply of public housing, rent subsidies and other forms of housing assistance.

The most important lesson we can learn from Cooper Square is that it was the end product of more than five decades of struggle by community organizers and residents. It did not start with a CLT. It started in 1959 when residents organized to stop the city's urban renewal proposal. It took them a decade to kill the project and advance their own proposal for low-income housing. Organizers fought for the right of tenants to stay in the buildings that were to have been condemned and demolished. Cooper Square got the city to provide funds to fix up and maintain the buildings. Without these capital improvements, the buildings would have been uninhabitable. The Cooper Square CLT was not started until the early 1990s, more as a mechanism to preserve the hard-won gains during decades of struggle than as a mechanism for housing development. The struggle to save the housing came first, the CLT came later, just in time to help Cooper Square survive the wave of aggressive gentrification that began in the 1990s.

[5] Another important urban CLT that emerged in the 1980s was the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) in Boston (www.dsni.org Accessed January 14, 2014.). The CLT protects land that was reclaimed through the use of the city's urban renewal powers. As the result of sustained community organizing, the urban renewal land was turned over to the CLT and DSNI built new affordable housing.

The most important lesson we can learn from Burlington and the Champlain CLT is the critical importance of financial support from the state. Burlington's pioneering CLT leaders won strong support from Mayor Bernie Sanders, who directed a significant portion of federal housing funds towards the maintenance and expansion of the CLT. As with Cooper Square, which received substantial capital funding from city government, the Burlington organizers understood the fundamental contradictions that arise once control over the land is secured: there is no way to provide decent housing for working people that have low incomes without subsidies. Middle and upper-income housing in the U.S. is heavily subsidized (more so than low-income housing), and low-income tenants, without subsidies of their own, simply do not have high enough wages to survive, particularly in cities where land values and rents are extremely high. Without surrendering their mistrust of government, organizers have made the necessary political comprises to preserve their gains, and these include establishing close ties with local governments.

3. The trust doctrine. Elite trusts and Community land trusts

Land trusts in the U.S. are not new or necessarily radical. They have been widely used to preserve open space, agricultural land, and the property of large institutions. Since the so-called Progressive era a century ago, many trusts were created by wealthy individuals and corporations and have served elite interests. The idea of placing land "in trust" to keep it out of the private market first came from the wealthiest elites, who had a keen appreciation for the power of monopoly control because they were the ones who most exercised and benefited from it. They would acquire vast stretches of North American land and prevent it from falling into the hands of small-scale speculators.

By placing land in trust, the trustee - whether an individual, family or corporation - retains the power to use the land under the terms set out in the trust. The trust normally sets out in explicit terms those uses that are permitted. Farmland trusts are used throughout the nation, a product of efforts to save farmland in urban peripheries from land speculation and suburban tract development.

4. Affordable housing in perpetuity?

Another question often raised is how permanent can affordability be with a CLT? The CLT is a non-profit organization just like thousands of other non-profits, but what makes them any less vulnerable to selling out and using narrow, localist and exclusionary actions? What if they decide to dissolve the trust or legally change the terms of the trust, since any trust can be modified or dissolved? What about corruption and mismanagement?

The answer is that the CLT model by itself guarantees nothing. Like every other legal device, it must function in a legal, political and economic system that is dedicated to the preservation of private property and monopoly capital. This is all the more reason why *community* is a central and defining feature of the community land trust. Broad community support and vigilance is the only guarantee that the trustees will not sell out.

The 'community' in community land trust is essential. This does not eliminate the contradictions inherent in every community - conflicts defined by race, class, gender, and other differences - and may even highlight them. While the local, place-based community is certainly the underpinning of the CLT, to be truly effective it must build a broader social consciousness and political awareness. For example,

Cooper Square has a long history as an ally of struggles for racial and economic justice in New York City and beyond. Its leaders have been vocal allies of campaigns against racial profiling, war spending, and cuts in social spending. This kind of solidarity is what makes the CLT different from the average private cooperative, homeowners association, or charitable non-profit. It begins to establish a solidarity within the community based on shared principles of social justice and not shared profits from land.

5. Back to the land

The community land trust can be a useful mechanism for securing and preserving truly affordable housing but in the long run the CLT will be vulnerable unless it is part of a broader strategy for *community land*. A rough definition of community land might be *land that is removed from the speculative real estate market, thereby enhancing social control over its use*. The earliest organized working class struggles were for liveable wages and an eight-hour work day; although victories at the work place indirectly helped improve living conditions they did not result in greater worker control over living conditions. It was not until the early twentieth century, however, that nascent urban movements arose from working class populations facing evictions and displacement - the first major struggles for community land. In the U.S., tenants organized rent strikes and mobilized for legal rights against evictions, most notably during the upsurge of workers' movements after World War I, and again through the Unemployed Councils during the Great Depression. (Lawson, 1986)

After the Second World War urban protest movements arose against the federal urban renewal program and were a key element in the civil rights movement and its challenge to segregation and discrimination. 1968 was a seminal year as struggles broke out across Europe and North America and, significantly, questions of displacement in the capitalist core nations were related to the rising tide of national liberation struggles around the world.

In a globalized capitalist world now following, with both dedication and fury, models of urban planning and development that originated in late 19th-century Europe and early 20th century North America, it has become axiomatic that community land and the commons are but relics of underdevelopment and should be banished. The leading institutions of global financial capital continue to promote as the solution to urban poverty the conversion of community land to private property by eliminating the myriad of land tenure options, establishing clear individual land titles, mortgage financing, insurance and an active real estate market. It is claimed that "normal" urban land markets will build wealth among residents, facilitate tax collection, attract capital for the improvement of infrastructure, and lift people out of poverty. (De Soto, 2003) In the U.S., the same formula has been for over six decades the centrepiece of national urban policy, promoting home ownership as the solution to housing problems, urban poverty and discrimination. (Bratt, Stone and Hartman, eds. 2006)

As Engels argued in his polemic against Proudhon (Engels, 1975), having title to the land, by itself, has no effect on the exploitation of labour; if housing were to be free, employers could easily reduce wages. The more low-cost housing, the less employers would have to pay to reproduce their workforce. Thus, the CLT and other measures that take land out of the private market cannot, by themselves, guarantee that capital will not compensate by reducing wages, including the social wage that comes in the form of public services. The CLT by itself does not prevent unemployment, discrimination, educational disadvantage, or improve the quality of life in a community. Taking land out of the private market will not necessarily improve anything. Only more powerful social movements can force more systemic, transformative, and revolutionary changes.

6. The struggles for land: local and global

The struggle for community land includes the direct occupation of land through squatting and homesteading. It includes the use of all the levers of local and national policy to reduce or eliminate the power of private landowners and thwart speculation and profit-making in urban land: zoning, tax policy, preservation laws, public acquisition for parks and public services, etc. Depending on the circumstances, these are all tactics that can shape and regulate the market and slow or stop gentrification and displacement. However, like CLTs, every one of these tools can be used to accomplish the very opposite result. The real estate market is quite adaptable and tolerant of significant public ownership and regulation as long as it leaves the private sector the space they need to hold on to the value of their investments and expand opportunities over time. Indeed, the entire public infrastructure of the cities with the hottest real estate markets (including streets, parks, and other public facilities) usually accounts for at least one-third of all land, and it will not be sacrificed by the real estate industry because these are also amenities necessary for investors to realize the future value of their holdings. The most powerful real estate interests are quite expert at monopolizing the use of zoning, tax laws and all of the other instruments that restrict the use of land, to both enhance their own property values and give them a competitive edge over small-scale speculators and a political edge over communities that dare to stand in their way.

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Captions

Fig. 1. July 24, 2013, members and staff of the Cooper square committee join hundreds of lodgers in a public demonstration at the New York City housing authority (Nycha). Source: <http://coopersquare.org>.

Fig. 2. "The Cooper Square Committee's mission is to work with area residents to contribute to the preservation and development of affordable, environmentally healthy housing and community/ cultural spaces so that the Cooper Square area remains racially, economically and culturally diverse" (<http://coopersquare.org>).

The historic city culture in Italy - *Extended abstract*[1]

In the background

Ilaria Agostini

The essay (digest of a lecture given by the author in Saint-Macaire as part of the 2013 European Heritage Days) outlines the evolutionary stages of the historic city culture in Italy, from its controversial birth in the immediate post-war period to the current decay. The first signs of an aware historic city culture appear during the debate on reconstruction, when a retrospective look aims at taking advantage of the need to restore the destroyed architectures to facilitate "the removal of discordant elements introduced in later times" (Della Rocca et Al. 1944-1945, 35): despite the richness of the debate, also supported by characters such as Muratori, Piccinato and Ridolfi, the emergency solution of "Reconstruction plans", widely recognised as a debacle of planning, will prevail, resuming the thread of fascist speculation fascist to just adapt it to the new spirit of national resurrection.

A sort of rational-hygienist paradigm then arises for the ancient city, essentially tending to 'mend' the urban fabric from what the fictitious modernism of the time considered just as filth: a case for all, the underground settlement of Matera becomes a "national disgrace" in 1952, when the law for the "Rehabilitation of the Sassi boroughs" sanctions the mass deportation of its inhabitants to promote the creation of new neighbourhoods and rural villages. Still in the same 50s, however, this paradigm clearly reverses: in response to the rampant building depravity and landscape havoc, the foundation in 1955 of ItaliaNostra opens in a new cultural season that sees, among its central characters, the journalist and archaeologist Antonio Cederna , whose definition of the patrimonial value of the historic city - found, rather than "in the 'major monuments", [...] in the organic articulation of roads, houses, squares, gardens [...] that, for each centre, represents [...] its necessary fabric, [...] its life 'environment'" (Cederna 2006, 6) - will set the precedent.

It will be the Charter of Gubbio (*Urbanistica* 1960, 66-67), in whose drafting the role of Giovanni Astengo is evident, to mark the limit beyond which even building professionals embrace the positions of protecting and restoring centres: its subscribers' commitment was "not to change the fabric of the historic centre to fit modern functions, but to change functions to trigger a more rational urban and housing development" (Cervellati, Miliari 1977, 45).

Among the instruments sprung from such new addresses stand out, in the 70s, the Bologna Plan, whose decision for the restoration of ancient blocks, where the old inhabitants continue to live in rent control, opposes a brilliant resistance to the classic speculative mechanism "degradation of the historic centre, removal of popular classes, creation of suburbs" (*ibid.*, 63); and the project "Fori" in Rome, which proposes to dismantle Via dei Fori Imperiali to restore the underlying archaeological tissue, to pedestrianize the whole area, to create a green thorn right in the city core and to partially rebuild the neighbourhoods destroyed in the 30s. The abandonment of the project, which took place in the 80s for occasional reasons, opens instead a downward spiral that will continue until today.

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[1] Abstract written by Angelo M. Cirasino.

It is just between the 80s and the 90s that the plan turns "from an instrument for the regulation of urban and territorial arrangements into a promoter for an economic development based on building" (Bonora 2009, 30): the reduction of state transfers to municipalities, the rearrangement of planning fees into cash for the ordinary municipal expenditure and the consequent building turnabout of local governments, with the simultaneous sale of public housing assets in the ancient city, tear severely the historic fabric when not destroy it. The ancient city, bloodless of people and activities, becomes a gold mine for the big finance: hotels, luxury trade, banks besiege the core of the city, while the popular historic boroughs are on track to a peripheralization *de facto* for lack of maintenance; as merely proposed in the 80s, Venice really starts turning into a sort of Disneyland-on-water, while in Florence renting out Ponte Vecchio, taken away from public use, is presented as ordinary administration.

That is the political and cultural context where the earthquakes in L'Aquila (2009) and Emilia (2012) come into play, both valuable opportunities to reinforce a model of reconstruction put under emergency and compulsory administration which overthrows local authorities, establishes the exemption of planning instruments as a canonical *modus operandi*, evacuates city centres militarising them as 'red zones' and, when not building (as in L'Aquila) 'new towns' belts without the slightest sense of urbanity, at least (as in Emilia) takes the protection of historic buildings away from planning entrusting their fate to alleged technicians.

A "critical rebirth" (Emiliani n.d., 10) of the historic city and its territory is now not only possible, but necessary in order to redefine and restore *civil* coexistence in general, since the ability to reproduce urban and territorial heritage is vital not only for a rebirth after disasters, but even for the constant, physiological readjustment of buildings and urban spaces, which ensures the continuity in time of the urban *facies* as the mnemonic scene of social life; it passes, however, through a general reconsideration of the urban action theme, including a recognition of the evolutionary principles that have governed the historic city formation, a detailed survey on urban and territorial heritage, the participation of citizens in its recovery, an urgent containment of new soil commitment, a revival of the widespread craftsmanship of urban skills in terms of new design.

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A project for Biella and its territories. Out of the relics of the Mono-bloc, a 'new secular monastery' - *Extended abstract*[1]

Cesare Piva

For tose looking again and again for the city feeling, from the elder retired to the young teacher, from the philosopher to the historian, from the agronomist to the farmer, *Il progetto locale* by Alberto Magnaghi contains theories and practices useful to work against the *mort de la ville*, pointing to nature and history as an omen of urban re-birth. Not new utopias but effective tools to rebuild our territorial assets - in particular: the conscious and strategic *demolition* of container buildings with no quality would return to the city public spaces for meeting and recreation; a *genuine care of urban gardens* would promote self-sustainability and physical and spiritual well-being; the *subtle redevelopment of the already existing*, partly founded on self-construction and dialogue between actors, on energy efficiency and savings, would increase new forms of association and social innovation; the *creation of agricultural parks*, beyond periurban areas, would redesign the connections between city and countryside. Such a detailed approach acted as the inspiring principle for an episode of our industry, the concourse project for the disused area of *Ospedale degli infermi* in Biella. The project touches the Italian 'wool town', in which de-industrialization generated rubble, commuting to the nearby metropolitan areas, escapes towards Near and Far East, new material and spiritual poverties; it covers an historical borderline area, yesterday between town and countryside, today among residential buildings and textile factories. To regenerate that part of the city we had to be brave and change entirely the local practices of growth and development: we then decided to demolish the hospital Mono-bloc, a big box which scarred, with a vertical and empty sign, a landscape made of horizontal bands and subtle balances between natural and anthropic elements; to re-design, around the remaining pavilions, voids and public spaces, allotments and gardens that define a 'new secular monastery'. In the counterpoint it initiates with the historical sanctuaries, the green areas and the profane and abandoned temples of the industrial archaeology, it may disclose a vision of the city able to recover the '*great beauty*' of the natural and historical landscape, and to give back to the residents a renewed sense of city, public space, connection and meeting by appealing to their solidarity and active participation in taking care of territorial heritage.

To rebuild this new idea of the city, the project therefore proposed to implement new synergies between public and private pointed at:

1. the demolition of part of the Mono-bloc and of all the other pavilions not protected by the law;
2. the creation and cultivation of vegetable gardens, orchards, parks, public spaces;
3. the restoration and the functional conversion of the remaining pavilions;
4. the strengthening of the links among the new 'secular monastery', the old town and the River and agricultural park of Cervo.

The demolitions will enhance urban landscape and represent a milestone in stopping soil consumption, whilst their costs will be repaid by the local reuse of waste materials.

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[1] Abstract written by Angelo M. Cirasino.

The void created will become a hinge between the old town and the surrounding countryside, letting a renewed way of living on the land emerge from the Mono-bloc rubble.

The partial cultivation of the surface released, transferred to the City Council and then conceded in leasing to a new association between agronomists and residents, will create a new local, self-sustainable production hub that will contribute to proximity between places of living and work, to an improved well-being and health of citizens, and will have an immediate impact, in terms of economy, employment and education.

The 19th century hospital and the 20th century pavilions will be functionally converted and redeveloped according to affordable and innovative, reliable and sustainable restoration practices. They will host social housing together with laboratories for initiatives pointed at integrating living and working, enhancing the compatibility with the gardens, tuning with the vocation of the area as a wool district, strengthening cultures and place awareness.

Finally, the regeneration of the area will depend on its reintegration into the continuum of the macro-region in landscape, economic and environmental-territorial terms. The goal is to provide a 'bastion' of space and sense for a city that points to self-sustainability, open to training and research, to social innovation, to its industrial vocation: a city that, with *logos* and imagination, must be *re-born* from its ashes.

Smart city and urban development: note for a critical agenda - *Extended abstract*

Alberto Vanolo

Cities are nowadays conventionally considered key sites for, at least, two reasons. On the one hand, in the current neoliberal scenario, cities are assumed as engines of development and spaces for the attraction of investments, tourists and other global flows. On the other hand, in the framework of a growing global urbanization, cities are considered strategic sites in order to contrast, and to adapt to, global change and other environmental problems.

The recent and popular discourse on smart cities may be located at the crossroad between these two different interpretations of the role of cities. To put it simply, smart city projects aim at promoting eco-friendly cities thanks to the implementation of ICTs and other technologies. The smart city concept is particularly popular in Europe because of its introduction in European calls for projects (for example in FP7), large amounts of funds thus being assigned to smart city projects all over EU. Similarly, also the Italian government introduced in 2013 specific calls for Italian smart cities.

It has to be emphasised that there is not an agreed definition of the smart city (Hollands 2008; Vanolo 2013). According to the literature (particularly Hollands 2008), the smart city is largely indebted to previous debates on *smart growth* (see Falconer Al Hindi, Till 2001) and on *intelligent cities* (see Komninos 2002). But looking at the evolution of the smart city discourse, it is easy to realize that the role of the academic literature has been marginal, and that large part of the discourse has been produced, since the 1990s, by multinational enterprises as Cisco, Siemens and IBM. More recently, a number of enterprises - for example Schneider Electric, Hitachi, Accenture, Toshiba, General Electric, Microsoft, Oracle, Capgemini and SAP - heavily promote (and try to sell) 'smart' technologies for cities.

The goal of transforming our cities in green, efficient and sustainable cities by implementing new technologies is probably universally shareable and desirable, i.e. a kind of post-political conventional wisdom (see Swyngedouw 2007; Vanolo 2013; Söderström et Al. forthcoming). Even the semantic construction of the 'smart city' buzzword implies a dichotomist distinction between 'intelligent' (smart) cities, i.e. those following the smart city mantra, and 'stupid' (non-smart) cities. It is possible, anyway, to detect a number of critical issues potentially connected to 'smart' urban development projects.

First, the smart city project is, in the eyes of private enterprises, a meaningful business occasion. All over Italy, we are assisting to the proliferation of public-private partnerships carrying the names of cities, as Fondazione Torino Smart City or Agenzia Smart Milano, formally pursuing the goal of improving cities. But private enterprises, by nature, pursue profits, and it is necessary to put rules and to monitor their activities. As emphasised by Graham and Marvin (2001), the provision of urban infrastructures by private companies may enhance urban divides, because of the tendency to promote well-endowed technological enclaves functionally separated from non-profitable spaces.

Secondly, the vision of the smart city fits with the aspirations of a certain section of the population, i.e. a well-educated middle class that is able to use new technologies. In the smart city there is apparently little space for people at the margins, and this is particularly evident in cities of the Global South, where there is the risk of increasing the distance between the smart city and the informal city. And who has the right to produce and legitimize urban visions? As stressed by Sennett (2012), are we sure that a smart city is largely desirable?

Third, the smart city implies an oversimplified and stereotyped vision of technologies, one that is quite close to that of old modernist ideologies. Basically, the smart city project nurtures the idea that technologies will allow us to solve our current problems without really changing our lifestyles (or, for example, without questioning capitalism and neoliberalism). In this vision, the complexity of our urban ecosystems may be reduced to a bunch of data that may be monitored and controlled. The urban question is not considered as a social and political question, but basically as a technical question that may be solved thanks to the technological solutions provided by private enterprises. Also, the smart city is assumed as a mobile, global 'social technology' that may be applied everywhere with minor adaptations. The heterogeneity of cities all over the world is barely considered, in favour of a single linear vision of the evolutionary path of cities. It is not a case that charts and benchmark analysis (measuring the degree of 'smartness' of cities) are spreading all over Europe (Vanolo 2013).

Finally, a number of other problems may be mentioned: who will monitor the behaviour of private enterprises in smart cities? How to choose the right technological solutions? How to guarantee privacy? How to start a public debate on smart cities, if many of the crucial decisions to be taken have a highly technological nature, and therefore seems to be entirely in the hands of a bunch of techno-geeks?

It may be argued that it is not a coincidence that the smart city discourse grew hand in hand with the rise of the global economic crisis started in 2008. As suggested by While et Al. (2010), the smart city is an example of eco-state restructuring (see also Raco, Flint 2012). The vast amount of capital required by smart city projects may apparently allow conjugating the quest for sustainability with economic growth. Also, in a time of severe cuts in city financial assets and in the provision of welfare services, the smart city project may be interpreted as an instrument allowing the co-opting of the private sector in the provision of services and, indirectly, in the support for local welfare. But this win-win strategy amplifies the role of private actors and private capital in the management and in the transformations of cities, with all the risks discussed previously. In this perspective, the smart city project may not fuel a radically new urban vision for the future, but rather it may reiterate the old logics at the basis of urban boosterism and of the entrepreneurial city.

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Shadowing and qualitative Gis: tools for urban narrations - *Full English version*[1]

Angela Alaimo, Marco Picone[2]

1. Urban representations

The city of today appears an evermore vague and indistinct object, and is hard to define univocally. This short article aims at describing, or maybe 'narrating' the city through two qualitative research techniques: shadowing and qualitative Gis. These may appear two very different topics: shadowing is a qualitative research method that implies following someone (Sclavi 2003, 53), with the goal of building reflexive and dialogic narration on the move (McDonald 2005; Czarniawska 2007); it belongs to those on-the-move ethnographic methods called "go-along" (DeLyser, Sui 2012, 297). A Gis, on the other hand, is by tradition located within the field of quantitative and technical analyses, and even the expression 'qualitative Gis' may appear an oxymoron.[3] By referring to qualitative Gis we mean the use of qualitative data (coming from mental maps)[4] within a Gis, as will be thoroughly discussed in section 4.

The goal of this paper is to show the *trait d'union* between the shadowing technique and qualitative Gis. We believe this lies in the ability to know, tell and 'act' the city through multiple and inclusive points of view, in order to empower new participatory planning tools (DeLyser, Sui 2014).

By discussing some examples taken from research experiences, we will evaluate the limits and possibilities of these techniques.[5] We want to show how practicing qualitative and participatory methods can generate plural representations, useful to act in different urban contexts.

The conceptual framework of this paper is located within the broad field of urban studies, but the techniques presented here also come from urban anthropology, organizational studies and geomatics. They are now common assets for the several disciplines dealing with territories, and have proved to be essential for building "biographies of places" (Magnaghi 2001).

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Although the paper should be considered a result of the common work and reflection of the authors, Angela Alaimo took primary responsibility for sections 2, 3 and 5, Marco Picone for sections 1 and 4.

[3] Some critical Gis scholars have defined participatory and qualitative Gis an "oxymoron" (Abbot et Al. 1998; Harvey et Al. 2005). See Cope, Elwood 2009.

[4] Mental maps would deserve a whole article by themselves. For reasons of space, we will just recall the works by Lynch 1960; Gould, White 2002; Coverley 2006.

[5] In this paper we are referring in particular to a field research experience in Palermo whose main topic was a new proposal of decentralization (Picone, Schilleci 2012), and another experience in Tunisia on the spatial transofrmations due to the coming of textile manufactories from Veneto (Alaimo 2010).

2. Passwords

Influenced by feminist epistemology and the 'cultural turn', contemporary methodologies have been increasingly focused on the importance of the researcher's subjectivity, his/her involvement in the study's environment and the growing need of active participation in urban contexts (Sclavi 2006; DeLyser, Sui 2014). Some scholars define this shift as a "participatory turn" (Kindon 2010). Considering human and idiosyncratic elements of knowledge (Cope 2010, 23), together with the nature of situated knowledge (Haraway 1988), this turn reveals the centrality of the researcher and the focus on the context of knowledge production. All these achievements contribute to the development of the so-called Qualitative Methods (Crang 2002; 2003; 2005; Bailey 2006; DeLyser et al. 2010; Sui, DeLyser 2012; DeLyser, Sui 2014).

This is particularly true for Urban Studies, where researchers deal with a complex and intricate spatialized system of human relationships, and where the situated, bordered and delimited nature of the context of action, which encloses the researcher, is the starting point to develop a critical and reflexive approach. Today the historical and controversial division between quantitative and qualitative methods seems to be over: there is a general claim for a mixed methodology, and for a hybrid and smoothly "case study oriented methodology" (Peck 2003, 730; Johnston 2009), which is able to offer new creative developments relying on the differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches themselves (Sui, DeLyser 2012). Nevertheless, at least two issues are still open and both linked to field-working: the first one deals with how to meet changing, contradictory and fluid human realities, characterized (as the urban ones are) by ceaselessly evolving binds and interconnections; the second deals with how to reproduce the multiplicity of voices collected on the field (experiences, personal remarks, group meetings, urban *flânerie*, shadowing, mental maps, etc.), in order to give room and legitimacy to all the concerned actors.

Two answers could be shadowing techniques and qualitative Gis applications. Let us see how.

3. Ethnography 'on the move': shadowing the urban

Among all the existing ways of approaching the field (neutral observation, participant observation, active participation, action-research), shadowing particularly endorses movement, since it traces some selected actors and follows them throughout their daily routine for a given span of time (within a range going from one day to several months).[6] This methodology needs time and listening skills; it allows the researcher to go through places and spaces of relationships, while taking the selected actor's narratives and thoughts as a guide and meeting other social actors.

It not easy to say who 'invented' shadowing, since it has appeared across different disciplines and research contexts (Gobo 2005), but its emergence underlines the general dissatisfactions towards the techniques used so far in ethnographic observation. Its applications to fieldwork have been heterogeneous, going from social exclusion (Capote 1975)

[6] It is not easy to retrace the origin of shadowing because different form of mobile observation, spread in distant disciplines, used 'following in movement' without using the specific term 'shadowing'; think, for instance, to Schein's (1999) "empathic walk". In Italian social sciences, shadowing was introduced by Marianella Sclavi (2003; 2005; 2006), who contributed to disseminating and practicing this technique in urban anthropology. For an in-depth analysis see Gobo 2005 and Czarniawska 2007.

to consumers' practices (Miller 1998), students' life (Sclavi 2005), family practices (Lareau 2003) and much more. So that some speak about different forms of ethnography on the move, exerted in diverse research contexts (DeLyser, Sui 2012).

We can consider shadowing as an evolution of participant observation, expressing new sensitivities that are often related on one side to the specific requirements of multi-located surveys (Marcus 1995; Delyser et al. 2010) and on the other to the need for more adequate ways of assessing the growing complexity of contemporary social practices, which are often misunderstood by traditional methods (Czarniawska 2007). If Malinowski's participant observation (Evans 1988; Corbetta 1999; Bailey 2006; Semi 2010) aimed at opposing the traditional 'observe and report' process, by promoting the idea that the researcher should become part of the observed system, shadowing tries to restore a symmetry, through a dialogue focusing on the necessity of "outsidedness" (Bachtin 1981).[7]

It is not a matter of establishing whether it is the internal point of view (the one of the social actor and of the autochthonous) or the external one (the researcher-observer's/stranger's one) that is the most worthy, but to highlight the dialogue between the two. The diversity of points of view allows catching different perspectives, whose gap permits new possibilities of knowledge. Hence, symmetry is re-established in the reciprocal respect of involved actors. Shadowing becomes then not only a technique, but a knowing attitude (Czarniawska 2007, 21).

In different fields of application, shadowing allows the exploration of the space in motion, by following 'special guides' observed within their main daily interactions. This advantage, which is a limitation at the same time, gives the opportunity to share a particular point of view, while observing from one's own perspective. Dialogue is extremely important: researchers do not pretend not to be there, but ask for explanations through questions which can make the 'shadowed' assume a reflective attitude towards their own habits, producing interesting analytical hints that make their self-representation part of the observation activity (Czarniawska 2007, 2). The repetition of these observations and the long time lapse spent together are a guarantee against possible misunderstandings. Moreover, to study urban contexts, this activity is often repeated by choosing different people belonging to comparable contexts (Sclavi 2005).

Talking on the move, following a person, gives the opportunity to activate non-verbal communication, analogical code and emotional language (Alaimo, Picone 2009, 75) while observing practices, relationships, power relationships and conversations while unfolding in space. Shadowing is an exciting activity for the flurry of feelings and achievements given all at once. During a shadowing experience, it is possible to collect a variety of information, such as written notes on dialogues and situations, to participate in formal and informal meetings, to interview persons met on the road, to collect different documents, to engage in informal conversations. This activity can also concern the personal life of people. For these reasons, researchers must be flexible, they need listening skills and an open-mind attitude in observation. During a shadowing survey the daily relationship creates a deep, closed and profound knowledge and gives the chance to observe the multiple human, social and territorial aspects of the investigated issue. At the same time, this proximity has to be watched over with reflexivity, in order to be aware about personal involvement and to avoid being overwhelmed by a wave of uncontrolled inputs (Alaimo 2012).

[7] This term is the translation of the Russian word "*vnenakodimost*", composed of "out" and the verb "stay", used by Bachtin to indicate the principle of externality or exotopy. "Staying outside" points out the importance to be in "another place" to understand, not by identification, but by recognition of differences and dialogue (Todorov, Bachtin 1990).

The choice of who should be shadowed depends on different rules related to the research objectives, but it has also a strong uncertain element, because not everybody accepts to be shadowed. In our experience, shadowing opportunities have often stemmed out from unexpected opportunities that we decided to seize upon once we felt the person was willing to interact. If a group of youth we approached in a neighborhood in Palermo easily accepted our shadowing proposal, as if it was a game, we found more difficulties in bolted research contexts, where information is accurately safeguarded. In such cases , shadowing can allow a strong and unexpected progress in the research process, as it happened in a fieldwork in Tunisia, when an entrepreneur, bored by the interviewing, stopped the conversation and asked the researcher to follow him, pretending to be his assistant. This was the beginning of one of the most productive shadowing activity we ever experienced, that allowed us to understand in a very short time (only three days) the structure of social and institutional networks intertwined in diverse productive and urban spaces; to observe the way in which the entrepreneur deals with other stakeholders in his context, to understand uneven power relationships, to feel discomfort in some situations, having to do with emotions that such swirling days produced. In other words, it has been possible to deepen different topics that had been kept out of the interview and the participant observation. The reason is that being together for a long time got the interviewed and the researcher much closer, even if they both had different positions, to which they finally returned once they ended the shadowing experience. This type of exploration was certainly hard, but it allowed us to reach out the unknown world of entrepreneurs, usually not open to investigation.

Obviously, the presence of the researcher introduces a foreign body in a common situation and the risk is to fudge the normal development of daily activities. But since it forsakes the paradoxical myth of an impossible neutrality, the researcher's presence can be used to stimulate reflections and produce new interpretations. Thus, as Czarniawska (2007) stated, the researcher's presence can only partially divert from normal daily activities, just like the sound recorder, which, after the first embarrassed moments, is easily forgotten.

Shadowing can be considered as a useful technique to collect urban tales on the move: the shadowed person can introduce stops in space as a form of punctuation on the research route, however the sharing of ideas, reflections and emotions produces a dialogic story that puts in deep contact the researcher and the shadowed person in the survey's context. The long time spent together forces both to move closer (physically, mentally, ironically, symbolically) creating extraordinary knowledge possibilities.

4. Conceiving a qualitative Gis

As we have stated at the beginning, it may sound strange to place shadowing, which is a mobile method (DeLyser, Sui 2014), side by side with Gis, and for a basic reason: Gis are generally linked to quantitative analyses, since they have been developed to highlight the presence or absence of distinctive spatial traits (presence of facilities, infrastructures, etc.), or to quantify the dimensions of spatial data (buildings, green spaces, etc.). As goes for all maps, being just their most recent and perfect manifestation (Harley 1990), a Gis follows the "cartographic logic" (Farinelli 1992; 2003) and seldom leaves space to the plurality of points of view; rather, it superimposes a single and clichéd thinking to reality.

Whatever is represented in a Gɪs (Lodovisi, Torresani 2005), as De Martonne said for traditional maps, must be real: if something is not present in a Gɪs, it is not present in reality. A Gɪs actually projects all data into an Euclidean, geometric *space*, which is ill suited to represent the qualitative aspects of *places* (narrations, life experiences, etc.).

Thus, Marianna Pavlovskaya's (2009) statement that every Gɪs is always qualitative might seem quite defiant. This argument would require a long explanation,[8] but in short a Gɪs can and must include qualitative data: ethnographic interviews, participant observations, planning for real (Sclavi 2002; Picone 2012), etc.. Moreover, a qualitative Gɪs must support qualitative analyses of data, i.e. hermeneutic models connected to the grounded theory (Elwood, Cope 2009, 2-4). This will help in founding a collective and inclusive construction of geographic knowledge.

The challenge linked to the creation of a qualitative Gɪs, therefore, leads us farther than the writing of some lines of code in software programming. It is not just about creating a toolkit that can take qualitative data into account and insert them into a Gɪs. On the contrary, we have to rebuild the scientific and cultural paradigm of digital cartography itself, by pursuing an integrated and mixed approach between quantitative and qualitative methods (Sui, DeLyser 2012, 115). This means creating a Gɪs that is able, in line with the criteria of qualitative methods, to generate plural representations of the same place. But how?

Amongst the several sources of qualitative data that can be used within a Gɪs we have chosen, as stated in the introduction, to use mental maps. These are inevitably the results of individual perceptions and cannot - nor should they - represent reality as it is. Rather, each mental map tells the tale of a different city, as seen through the lenses of his or her drawer. Can we insert mental maps into the rigid and quantitative structure of a Gɪs and connect these two apparently antithetic systems (the quantitative and the qualitative)?

In order to practically illustrate how mental maps, being qualitative data, can help modifying the Gɪs paradigm, we will now briefly discuss a recent research experience on the neighborhoods of Palermo (Picone, Schilleci 2012). Within the course of 5 years we have collected hundreds of citizen- sketched mental maps; these citizens were asked to represent their own neighborhood as they saw fit.

The next step, which was tricky but essential for our work, was to merge the various mental maps into a single, collective drawing full of the most recurrent traits according to the citizens (Giannola 2014). For instance, if most mental maps of a neighborhood would stretch the role of the central market square, we have tried to emphasize that role by enlarging the dimensions of the square, even in contrast with the scale ratio. If most citizens perceived the boundaries of a neighborhood in a similar way, our drawing would highlight these boundaries instead of the administrative limits, imposed by the Municipality. The output of this process were some maps that, although drawn by a pool of experts[9] who were perfectly aware of the scientific rules governing Gɪs, would radically differ from standard digital representations.

[8] The literature on qualitative GIS is abundant. For reasons of space, we cannot analyze all these works as they would deserve, but see at least Dennis 2006 (on the use of qualitative GIS with children); Ferretti 2007; Cope, Elwood 2009; Wilson 2009; Aitken, Kwan 2010 (bridging a gap with broader considerations on qualitative methods); Elwood et al. 2011. For a more thorough analysis of qualitative GIS, see Picone, Lo Piccolo forthcoming.

[9] Some geographers and urban planners have played a key role in this work: amongst them we would at least mention Bruno Buffa, Chiara Conte, Elena Giannola, Maria Luisa Giordano.

We have subsequently inserted our redrawn mental maps into the G*is* (*fig. 1*). Our aim was to push the boundaries of that traditional representation so that it was forced to comply with the points of view of the citizens. If, in the former case, the square had to be enlarged, our G*is* would have to warp the standard representation to include the new dimension of that element. We have tried several technical deformation tools (Ballas, Dorling 2011), and have finally chosen the *Cartogram* add-on for ArcG*is* (Gastner, Newman 2004; *fig. 2*). The final representation would differ from the original one, as we requested (*fig. 3*).

What is the use of a G*is* that is deformed according to the points of view of the citizens? According to our theoretic framework, they can cartographically represent the city from non-standard points of view. They can therefore spread a non-hegemonic vision of reality and multiply urban narrations, by enriching them with innovative visions. This aim, however, is not purely rhetorical. On the contrary, it implies that, by looking at deformed mental maps, G*is* experts and users (technicians and politicians first of all) may realize how important it is to adopt heterogeneous and multiple points of view. In other words, qualitative G*is* can represent a city that is very real, but does not exist in maps: they are part of the imaginary of citizens, and take life in social interactions. They help defining what a city is, in an epoch which seems to be abandoning the idea that only a single way of thinking may exist.

5. Conclusions

In this brief paper we aimed at revealing the joint potential of two different research tools that, when combined, offer a deep comprehension of urban transformations and of their plural narratives. These techniques are radical, since they involve all social actors in order to develop several dialogical practices of representation and to experience new forms of urban narratives. In this framework, each narrative has its own value, and becomes plural as soon as it encounters the other narrators. The mutual intersection between various listening phases and their continuous redesigning create the scores of a unique polyphony, which can lead to new creative forms of representation, just like in shadowing or in the mental maps of qualitative G*is*. These two forms of qualitative analysis, which are only apparently dissimilar, have actually a strong contact point: they encourage to conceive the city from a polyphonic and inclusive point of view.

Using these qualitative techniques is important not only in a conceptual and a theoretical way, but also for urban planning. For example, a planner who is designing a spatial transformation (in our case on a neighborhood) could take a great advantage from data collected in a qualitative G*is*, because this strong technical instrument would allow him/ her to mix the traditional representation with alternative views proposed by the inhabitants. Similarly, shadowing some important stakeholders could allow to know crossing and urban life practices from inside, highlighting a more complex perspective than the one provided by a static tool like interviewing. Moreover, shadowing offers new expressive opportunities that are also suitable for those inhabitants who are not at ease with verbal expression, but whose point of view is nevertheless indispensable.

To be understood, conceived and transformed, the city needs to develop creative experimentations, to foster new tools which can approach some sort of hybrid knowledge and overtake the hegemony of dominant and authoritarian representations that grant no space to dialogue and encounter. Even more radically, these kinds of experimentation are in search for a break to get out of unevenness, to make the research leave the "working on" and embrace a "working with" perspective (DeLyser, Sui 2014, 299).

This issue is crucial as it stands for a continuous mediation process which characterizes any scientific study dealing with territorial transformations, in line with what feminist theorists have been widely discussing (McDowell 1992; Katz 1994; Rose 1997; Valentine et Al. 2001) and whose fulfillment is committed to each researcher's choices. Actually, a critical approach to such choices deeply refers to the political nature of fieldwork and is worth being debated.

Much is still to be done, but even though the presented tools have got deficiencies, the challenge is to engage in new shared and open forms of plural representation, which make it possible to reconnect with places and with the people who inhabit, live in and transform them day by day through various expressive forms.

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Captions

Fig. 1. Comparison in ArcGIS 10.0 between a mental map of Arenella neighbourhood in Palermo (left) and an orthophoto of Palermo corresponding to the same area (right; source: Esri Map Service). Processing by Bruno Buffa, Chiara Conte and Elena Giannola.

Fig. 2. Superposition of mental map and orthophoto obtained by using the 'AutoAdjust' command. The orthophoto points used as anchor elements were previously moved to correspond to the related points represented on the mental map; then, through the 'Adjust' command, the two maps have been overlapped according to the corresponding points. Processing by Bruno Buffa, Chiara Conte and Elena Giannola.

Fig. 3. Comparison between the original orthophoto (left), in which the administrative boundary of the district is marked, and the deformed one (right). Processing by Bruno Buffa, Chiara Conte and Elena Giannola.

Urban spaces as common goods: the commonalities - *Full English version*[1]

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The contemporary urban condition is increasingly shaped by authoritarian and financial logics. Because of this, the inhabitants are loosing the possibility of manipulating the urban space, while public spaces' crisis is intensifying (Augè 1993; Desideri 1997; Lanzani 2011; Erbani 2013). However, if we look at the current diffusion of some practices, it is possible to affirm that somehow this condition may be fruitful for the creation of new spaces of self-organization, and for the restitution and creation of commons. Agostino Petrillo, in his contribute to the book *Oltre il pubblico e il privato* (Marella 2012), notes that, due to the combination of different functions within the space and time of everyday life (such leisure and work times and spaces), the boundaries between the public and private ambits acquire greater mobility, bringing to the expansion of the elements of privatization. From this ambiguous situation, where the inhabitants are divested of the free use and control over their everyday life environment, emerges, also in urban contexts, the more or less explicit demand for common goods (Petrillo 2012).

Few years before, Edoardo Salzano, in *La città bene comune* (Salzano 2009), affirmed that to confront the loss of decisional power of the citizens in rapport of their habitat and the supremacy of the real estate market economic interests in urban planning it is essential to re-establish the city's character of common good - a city capable of responding to the needs of all citizens, where collective services are adequate and equitably diffused on the whole urban space, a home is granted to everyone in rapport of their spending power, easy access to working places is secured and offering pleasant communal spaces. A city managed through shared and transparent policies, whose government has full control on land uses in order to exploit the increasing land values in favor of the collectivity.

On the same track, Maria Rosaria Marella in the already mentioned *Oltre il pubblico e il privato* insists on the definition of the city as a common good departing from the fact that it represents the shared setting of all the citizens' everyday life; as such, the way its spaces are used use can not be considered as irrelevant, even in the case of privately owned spaces. Since everyone shares the urban space as its life environment, then everyone should share the responsibility of its use. The city's public authorities should therefore give priority to the general wellness of the citizens, being aware of the consequences brought forward by the concession of licenses and permissions for private initiatives. The authoress identifies some urban devices opposed to the common-good-city: the 'mall', that, for the way it is designed, built and managed and for the effects it produces, represents a modern form of enclosure (*ivi*, 188); the 'gated communities', resulting from neighborhoods' privatization; the gentrification and the dismissal of the public built up heritage induced by speculative goals. From considerations emerges a picture where the same commons could be an alternative to the privatization and deprivations of the urban space.

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Talking about commons from a urban point of view means to point the attention on the physical composition of the city and on its significance as collective material and social construction. The quality of life of certain areas is, indeed, the product of the collective work of the inhabitants, interlinked to the social and cultural activities implemented in these spaces: commons that are constantly subject to the capitalistic appropriation through contemporary mechanisms of enclosure, such as real estate property speculation or other mechanisms of financial pressure on urban spaces (Harvey 2012).[3]

In the last years the issue of commons has regained a central position in the framework of the Italian political debate. Amongst the causes of this renovated centrality it is possible to identify the global economic and financial crisis that started in 2008, and the success obtained in the 2011 Referendum by the social movements engaged against the privatization of water and of other essential public services. These two factors brought forward a perception of the commons as something that is directly under citizens' control, to be subtracted to the markets' logic and therefore made inaccessible to privatization. Moreover, the notion of commons started to assume a strong social claim valence. It is anyway important to keep in mind that there is a certain level of confusion on the topic of commons (Donolo 2012; Rodotà 2012), also because of their heterogeneous and contextual nature, their definition varying depending on the perspectives and discourses.

Nevertheless, it appears constructive to explore the issue from a spatial and urban point of view, in order to acquire the tools and paradigms for recognizing these type of common spaces and deal with them appropriately.

Main aim of this the paper is to assert the existence and describe the characteristics of urban spaces that can be recognized as commons. These spaces could represent a way to restitute to the inhabitants the control on the environment of their everyday life, while giving the opportunity, in the management of urban spaces, to start up new forms of active cooperation between citizens and administrators, seeking for a balance between autonomy and responsibility.

1. Urban spaces as common goods

In this first paragraph we develop the topic of the existence and characteristics of spatial commons, which are here referred to as urban commonalities (an expression that, derived from the name given to the right of common in some Italian regions, is composed of the lexeme 'comun-' and the suffix 'anza', which pertains to the sphere of action, in this case the action of pooling something), firstly by identifying the consistency and functions of this spaces in the historic city, secondly by examining the existing literature about commons.

Since the majority of rights of common originated form the need of managing natural resources, usually commons are identified with rural areas and therefore associated to a subsistence farming economy.[4] Nonetheless, some rights of common existed also in the context of the medieval towns, where some spaces were let free for temporary public uses (named *braide* or *baracce* in northern Italy), such as the spaces surrounding the city walls, watersides and river-island,s etc. (Rao 2008).

[3] "The common is not, therefore, something that existed once upon a time that has since been lost, but something that is, like the urban commons, continuously being produced. The problem is that it is just continuously being enclosed and appropriated by capital in its commodified and monetized form, even as it is being continuously produced by collective labour" (Harvey 2012, 77).

[4] Regarding the institution and history of right of common see: Grossi 1977; Rao 2008; Conte 2012.

The presence of this kind of spaces endured for long time also after the Middle Ages: we find an example in the *Prati del Popolo di Roma*, present in many historical maps of the city, such as the Nolli Map made in 1748.5 The area of *Prati del Popolo di Roma*, that were located on the slopes of Testaccio hill, was used for popular activities such as fairs, celebrations, religious and secular rites, but also for grazing and gathering wild herbs. The are of *Prati* remained open to right of common until the implementation of the first city master plan, in 1873, that destined the area to industrial development (Insolera 1981).

The Napoleonic Code of 1804 introduced in Italy the institute of public property and entrusted the Nation State for the management of those goods which ownership was undefined, such as roads, watersides, the areas around the city walls, basically acquiring as State property anything that before was commons under the direct control of the inhabitants.

It was of this same period the affirmation of the supremacy of property over ownership: people's commons rights over resources were disavowed, their usufruct limited to the landowner; whereas the resources were not ascribable to a private owner, they became State property. These regulations produced the overturning of the social organization: while during the time of commons' creation and diffusion there was a coexistence of different types of rights over the same resource, in contemporary society there is the habit of thinking within the conceptual framework of freehold property (free of any bond), where the only manager and beneficiary of a good is (almost) exclusively its possessor, who has unconditional rights over it, even the right of destroying it.

The realization of the dichotomy between the public-private spheres set forth to the bureaucratization of the urban space, intended as a type of management implemented through formal procedures: the dwellers are not anymore co-responsible of the space around their home, a space now managed by the local Council and by other local governmental agencies. This fact triggered the progressive dissolution of the direct link between the inhabitants and their urban environment and of the sense of belonging that arouses from laboring a place. Nowadays this sense of belonging was recaptured and some places reappropriated through a set of practices of self management and care that will be discussed in the next paragraph.

The identification of commons depends on a variety of factors, which need to be considered simultaneously (multifactor analysis): i.e., a spring used by a village may be considered as such, but actually not all springs are subject to rights of common (even if they should); it seams therefore important to stress the fact that a definition of commons must bring together a subject (the community pooling the resource), an action (rules of usage, actions of care and sharing) and an asset (Cacciari 2010). Commons may be of different nature and the users must entertain with them a direct relation (Ricoveri 2005): it is thus possible to affirm that some of the components of the urban space represent an asset that can be shared and hence classified as commons. Other characteristics of the commons concern sharing and the maintenance of the good pooled (Ostrom 1990).

2. Commonalities in the urban fabric

By assuming that the definition of commons brings together an asset, the rules of its usage and a community, we acknowledge that is not possible to define commonalities only on the base of its object (a good, the space), without considering the managing community and the modes and norm of its usage.

5 An interactive reproduction of the map is available at: http://nolli.uoregon.edu/.

We already stressed the fact that the category is not biunique, since it is possible to list some typologies of spaces characterized by the presence of commonalities without assuming that all the spaces belonging to that category represent commonalities. It seams here useful to discuss a single paradigmatic example, then proceeding with presenting an inventory of other typologies. It is also necessary to stress the fact that this partial taxonomy is made up of open spaces, which are more accessible and easier to reuse.

Many commonalities belong to the category of communal vegetable gardens and open spaces, a practice of sharing that in the last years saw an increasing diffusion in Italy and in Europe. An interesting case in this sense is the one of the area named *Terreno* ('the plot') in the neighborhood of Casilina Vecchia – Mandrione street in Roma, managed by a local committee. The area is made up of a narrow road of about 4 kilometers, squeezed between the *Felice* aqueduct and the railway, having only four accesses along all its length. In front of the scarcity of resting and social places (the road is characterized by the absence of sidewalks, while the buildings siding it are fenced in a fashion that gives the impression of being in a long corridor), the local committee identified a field for setting up a community garden: the *Terreno*. The area was property of by the National Railways, that, after some vicissitudes, conceded it to the Municipality, that assigned it informally to the committee.

The local committee equipped the area with tables and chairs, games for children, a bench and a barbecue: these things were put there to favor meeting, being together, resting in a place. The field is grassy and the portion enclosed is used as vegetable garden. There are some fruit trees which fruits are ready to be picked and eaten on the place. Despite everybody is invited to respect the garden, people not always do so, and there were various episodes of carelessness and dissipation that involved the same users of the place. These circumstances led to the decision of closing the garden during the night (but during the last works implemented the fence was removed). The action of caring is realized daily by the labor the garden users, who constantly work at improving the place. In this case it is possible to recognize a collective ownership of the space, namely the fact that people perceive *il Terreno* as theirs, even if they don't have any legal entitlement and they manage it without any official permit. The place-sharing experience is not limited to the members of the local committee (which, anyway, represents an open group), but it is open to anyone willing to cooperate and enjoy the place, provided that they should not damage anything. It is in this element, as well as in the determination of 'regaining' it, by making it accessible, opening it and taking care of it, that are based conservation and maintenance.

The significant diffusion of communal vegetable gardens and open spaces do not correspond to a similar presence of communality in other urban spaces, such as roads and squares, where it is difficult to find zones of commonality due to the uncertain delimitation of spaces and to the traffic. An example in this sense is represented by the case of Teatro Valle street, where there is the most ancient theatre in Rome, which since 2011 is occupied and kept open for the inhabitants.[6] The activities there implemented sometimes overpass the threshold separating of the theatre from the city, and the people upholding the occupation have the habit of leaving few chairs and tables outside in the street, letting them available for the people passing by. Nevertheless this use, which is very narrow, is limited to the margins of the street which is very narrow and constantly crossed by cars and other private and public transports: the only real time for an authentic reappropriation of the street is the occasion of the Assumption day,

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[6] For a description of the Teatro Valle experience of occupation: <http://www.teatrovalleoccupato.it>.

when the city is empty and the few people left organize a dine to share together in the street. Because of this, the street may be defined as a potential commonality, meaning that, given the right conditions (in this case, the interdiction of car traffic), there it would be possible to realize an authentic commonality.

Other forms of commonality could be found the in spaces (green and not) surrounding a shared building: these are places of communication, of meeting and openness, realizing a significant unification of internal and external space. Other forms may be encountered in common spaces of self-built settlements, and in other self-managed communal residential places (e.g. co-housing), including spaces of sociality that are open to the outside.

Since commons depend on the access to use and have, even if this temporariness may be protracted for a long period a temporary character, it seams opportune to include in the inventory also the actions of short-term re-appropriation of a space, which pertain more to the field of the possibility and claim for different usages of the urban space, than to the sphere of the long term processes of pooling and building together (temporary commons). Amongst this experiences there are the ones of *Guerrilla Gardening* and *Slurp*[7,] as well as the places produced in the context of the political use of space realized through public horizontal meetings: to give an example, the squatting of the *Indignados* Spanish movement.

3. Characteristics of the commonalities

From a summary of what has been presented in two previous paragraphs emerges a list of characteristics that help in identifying the self-managed spaces which may be included in the category of commons. These characteristics are:

1. Self-determination, consisting of the fact that any decision about the management of commons is in charge of the community using it. In the case of the *Terreno* of Casilina Vecchia, it is the local committee which takes decisions about the place.

2. Multifactor approach, meaning that, in order to recognize commons, it is necessary to take into account more factors together: the existence of a space, self-managed by a community (a subject that takes shape in the action), according to specific caring, sharing, and maintenance rules. The coexistence of these three factors distinguishes actual commons from the potential ones, where one or more elements are missing: in the case of Teatro Valle street, what is missing is the self-management by the community, who, despite present, is not in the condition of using the space;

3. Care, intended as the daily action of cleaning and improving a place, the processes of knowledge and mutual adaptation, the practices of conservation and maintenance. This action leads to the appropriation of the place. In the case of *Terreno*, the action of care goes beyond the mere cleaning, being realized through the cultivation of plants, the maintenance and improvement of the equipment such as benches and tables, rehabilitation works, etc.;

4. Self-management, a form of management based on rules decided collectively and horizontally, continuously adapted to the changes in the context and in the needs of the community members. In the case of *Terreno,* the decision for the night closure was dictated by the need of preserving the space from being damaged. Later on, the space was reopened;

[7] The acronym stays for "*Spazi ludici urbani a responsabilità partecipata*" (Urban Playgrounds with Shared Responsibility). and identifies a group of association realizing actions of participated planning with children: what they do is a sort of playful *guerrilla*, realized by hiding in public spaces games and playful devices and provocations, with the goal of fighting the poorness and standardization of the playful dimension in the urban space.

5. Use, or the adapting of the space in rapport of the use made of it and of the needs that it expected to satisfy. In the case of *Terreno,* the intent was to create a place for gathering, that was lacking in the neighborhood; for this reason, the inhabitants have shaded it and equipped it with chairs and tables, making it pleasant for a rest;

6. Relatedness, or the fact that the action of pooling contributes to create and interlace relationships within the community members and with the space itself, that in this way acquires identity becoming a place (Decandia 2000). In the case of *Terreno,* some of the members of the local committee had previous relationships, while new relationships were developed with other people frequenting the place and taking care of it;

7. Inclusiveness, realized in the possibility of becoming part of the community with different roles and ways, as to adapt to the needs of each member. The inclusiveness should not be intended as boundless, since it must maintain a balance with the use of the good shared, as not to deplete it. In the case of the *Terreno,* the inclusiveness can be recognized also in the free access to the place.

These characteristics can be declined in different ways, depending on the case: since commons consist of practices of self-management, it is not possible to prescind from the social and geographical context in which they settle, with the result that an action that could be in a certain context counterproductive for the realization of a commonality, under other circumstances that same action may result necessary for preserving the commonality.

Given the increasing diffusion of practices of space self-management and care, and considered that public authorities need to appeal to the subsidiary participation of citizens and inhabitants in order to guarantee the management of some public spaces and services, it appears useful to have an interpretive tool able to recognize and strengthen commons: as already said, not every self-managed space is a commonality, even if potentially every experience of self-organization can produce commons; since the inhabitants are not always right (Cellamare 2012), having at hand a tool such as this inventory of characteristics could help also in orienting citizens that want to manage a place, guaranteeing its care and accessibility while producing a *commonality* in an urban space. This acknowledgement should be anyway reinforced by other actions of assistance and support: training, creation of exchange networks, supply of services and so on.

If, indeed, the financial crisis brought forward many problems also in terms of social justice and equity, on the other hand it has opened some opportunities for re-thinking social relationships, including the practices of horizontal self-organization. Commons seam actually to represent the right places for experimenting new cooperative relations and looking for the right answers to give to social demands. Also in respect of the management of urban spaces and services they offer a space for starting up initiatives of experimental cooperation between citizens and local governments.

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Captions

Fig. 1. The *Prati del popolo di Roma* in Nolli's map.
Fig. 2. The *Terreno* in via del Mandrione / via Casilina Vecchia.
Fig. 3. Via del Teatro Valle with table and chairs left by the occupants.

Copenhagen: an unusual case of 'Rebuilding the City' - *Full English version*[1]

Ilaria Beretta[2]

1. Introduction

This paper is a somewhat provocative response to the call for papers named "Restoring the City". In fact, it sets out to show how, in many ways, the urban development of the city of Copenhagen is firmly based on, and is a practical example of, the basic tenets of the school of thought known as Ecological Modernisation. As we know, this ideology first emerged in Germany in the 1980s and was subsequently structured, expanded and spread in the 1990s, mostly by the Dutch sociologists A. Mol and G. Spaargaren (cf., among others, Mol 1995; 2000; Spaargaren 1997; 2000). One of the basic concepts of Ecological Modernisation is that economic growth and protection of the environment can benefit each other, namely, that an increase in (national) income does not necessarily mean a corresponding rise in the consumption of resources and pollution levels. More specifically, right from the start, the adherents of Ecological Modernisation promoted the need to move beyond the division between 'ecology' and 'economy', involving the elimination of environmental diseconomies by including the costs and benefits of the environmental effects of industrial processes in market transactions and, on a more general scale, the economic system itself (Gambazza 2011). A bit provocatively, several scholars (Huber 1982; 1985; 1991; Spaargaren, Mol 1992; 1993; 2000; Hajer 1995) have remarked that Ecological Modernisation has meant that "ecology has lost its innocence" (Huber 1982, 13), as the process of incorporating the environmental interests by economic stakeholders implies a substantial re-formulation of the key concepts and tools used to analyse the environment.

There are several different currents of thought concerning Ecological Modernisation, though many forms of this theory believe that the current environmental crisis is not the result of excessive modernisation - as many once thought, and still do - but of insufficient modernisation. It is therefore necessary - and possible - to strive for a reform in the ecological sense of modern industrial democracies, with science and technology playing a central role when it comes to finding increasingly more efficient ways to use natural resources. According to Ecological Modernisation, therefore, environment-friendly development is entirely achievable if we can perfect technology and thereby minimise the undesirable aspects of economic growth. Here we should mention that this openly optimistic view of technology's role in environmental reform has been widely criticised, by neo-Marxist sociologists (Goldblatt 1996; O'Connor 1994; Schnaiberg 1980), de-industrialisation theorists (Achterhuis 1988; Barho 1978; Commoner 1971; Ullrich 1979) and members of other schools of thought alike. For example, Wehling (1992, 21) points out that "Huber's Schumpeterian model of technology-induced socio-environmental change is exposed to serious criticisms for its basically technocratic nature and its consequent technological optimism".

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In practice, however, we share in Hajer's view (1996; 2007) that there are at least two main variants in the theory of Ecological Modernisation: a technical/business and a reflective one. The first, as seen so far, treats the question of ecology as a mainly technical and administrative matter, where civil society and public education have a marginal role to play in the processes of environmental renewal. The other variant, the reflective one, introduces new political tools and new social contracts to the environmental debate, capable of making it easier to involve all the social actors, such as the State, the market and the individual citizens/consumers. This reflective variant of Ecological Modernisation counters the accusations of an implied technocracy by arguing that scientists and experts in the environmental debate are losing their authority in the matter, thanks to the growing involvement of members of society in political life. Others, such as Christoff (1996), make a distinction between a 'weak' theory, analysing society only by economy and technology based concepts and tools, and a 'strong' theory that "insists on the promotion of participative democracy [and] believes changes of a certain import in the institutional and economic structure of advanced societies are necessary" (Pellizzoni, Osti 2008, 108).

Another important aspect of Ecological Modernisation, common to virtually all the different perspectives, is the role played by the State (and, more generally, the public administrations): this continues to have an important and central function, but must also promote preventive, participative and decentralised approaches, allowing the various economic players scope for self-regulation and recognising the importance of the role played by entrepreneurs in particular. More specifically, the theory of Ecological Modernisation assumes that the process of constructing environmental reform implies a shift in the functions, tasks and responsibilities of the figures involved. In modern times, it is no longer the State alone that promotes protection of the environment: private figures, such as companies and consumers, are gaining in importance when it comes to the creation of environmental renewal. Unlike in the past, environmental reform does not depend solely on the authority and the power of public bodies, but is also achieved through involvement of all figures on the market and, therefore, via the mechanisms and laws of the market itself. Economic subjects, such as consumers, certification bodies, companies, etc., are now playing an increasingly important role in the construction of environmental reform and are gaining in significance compared to governmental bodies (Gambazza, 2011).

As mentioned above, and as we hope to show here, we believe that the development model adopted by the city of Copenhagen in recent years is a good example of Ecological Modernisation. In fact, the Danish capital city decided to face the challenges posed, especially, by the constant increase in the urban population by combining environmental protection with economic growth, reduced use of natural resources with economic efficiency. In other words, it has decided to use technology to safeguard the environment and not to destroy it.

Copenhagen is also a city that - as we shall see - makes public/private partnerships central to its system, where the State plays an important 'guiding' role, while leaving plenty of room for private initiatives and the citizens' own actions. The public administration is only too well aware that it will prove impossible to pursue its goals of sustainability without the active participation of the city's citizens; this means that the citizens are also exposed to a high impact strategy of communication.

All this is, we believe, a form of "restoration of the city", even if there are none of the schemes and organisational models that normally come to mind when one talks of the '*processes of re-appropriation of the city*'. Indeed, one thinks of the urban allotments,

ethical purchasing group networks and other analogous models of development that are closer - if we want to be extreme - to the idea of '*happy degrowth*' than that of '*ecological modernisation*'. In a certain sense, however, compared to such models of growth, which are often seen as the best way to combat urban degradation, Copenhagen offers us an unusual, innovative and thought-provoking experience and strategy. In practice, although there are some aspects that make this model of growth totally different, the Copenhagen system involves a strong relationship of coevolution between the urban settlements and the environment. Needless to say, there is a strong desire to protect the city from the increasingly catastrophic consequences of hydrogeological imbalances and climate change. Of course this involves experimenting with new models of sustainable growth, ones that include the participation of all in urban development, town planning and public policy making. And there is no doubt that interactive facilitating tools are being used as part of this process.

No doubt, in Copenhagen, city air makes you free.

The paragraphs that follow describe the more general aspects of the Danish city and the specific reasons why this city was recently awarded the title "European Green Capital". These include the importance that the city pays to green growth, its attention to environmental quality, the significance of air pollution and, especially, its potential effect on public health, climate change concerns, an evaluation of the 'positive externalities' arising from making green choices and the city's communication strategies. The final paragraph contains some reflections and conclusions.

2. Copenhagen "European Green Capital"

Copenhagen is the capital of Denmark and its most populous city, with 541,989 inhabitants (2011) and covering an area of 74.4 Km^2. It is separated from Malmö in Sweden by the Strait of Øresund. Copenhagen is home to Denmark's oldest and largest university, the University of Copenhagen.

Copenhagen is a centre of business and science not only on a national level, but also for the whole of Scandinavia and the Øresund region. In the early 2000s, the city enjoyed the highest GDP per capita and the highest economic growth of all Danish cities. Several pharmaceutical companies, such as Novo Nordisk, and international companies (e.g. Microsoft and Maersk) have their main offices in Copenhagen.

In 2012 Copenhagen has been awarded as "European Green Capital" .[3] The judging panel praised the city as a good model of urban planning and design. It was also felt to be a pioneer in the field of transport, aiming to become:

the world's most practicable city for cyclists. Its goal is to have 50% of people cycling to and from their place of work or education by 2015 (35% did so in 2010);

the first city in the world to be 'carbon neutral' by 2025.

Then again, Copenhagen has a clear objective: to prepare for a larger population in the near future (637,000 by 2025), which means meeting the anticipated demand for 45,000 new homes and 2.8 million square metres of new retail space, while still maintaining the quality of life that makes Copenhagen today the ideal city for residents and tourists alike. Copenhagen wants its new Municipal Plan (CITY OF COPENHAGEN 2011b) to drive economic growth in the region - the Øresund Region - and to create stable international contacts. As a result, it has built strong ties with Malmö, so that 'Copenhagen-Malmö' may become the main driver for growth within the region that includes the Danish capital and the largest metropolitan area in Scandinavia.

[3] See <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/europeangreencapital/index_en.htm> (last visit: July 2013).

However, this plan clearly states that this growth must be sustainable and so Copenhagen sees itself as a 'green growth metropolis' and, especially, as a 'green growth lab', attracting businesses from all around the world so that they may develop, experiment and show their latest technology and environmental solutions. In a perspective that is typical of Ecological Modernisation, where the active participation of different economic and social entities within the city is of the utmost importance, Copenhagen also puts public-private partnerships at the very centre of its approach to eco-innovation and 'sustainable employment'. Indeed, the public administration works closely with businesses, universities and other organisations, especially through forums dedicated to developing and implementing green growth. Overall, the City and the local energy Company have invested 185 million Euros to promote green growth.

In 2007, the Copenhagen City Council adopted the "Eco-metropolis - Our vision for Copenhagen 2015" document (CITY OF COPENHAGEN 2007). This encompasses the specific goals for that the City intends to meet:

- The World's Best City for Cycles
- A Green and Blue Capital City
- A Clean and Healthy Big City
- Climate Capital.

3. A Green and Blue Capital City

Within the municipal boundaries of Copenhagen, there are about 2,260 hectares of green areas with public access, of which 200 hectares are made up of lakes and aquatic areas. The city also has 92 Km of coastline and 14.7 Km of open watercourses. 96% of the population can reach at least one of these areas on foot in 15 minutes. According to a survey (CITY OF COPENHAGEN 2011a), in 2011, on average Copenhagen residents visited a recreational area three times a week for about 1 hour and 20 minutes each time, i.e., 4 hours a week per resident. However, despite these 'good' data, the 'A Green and Blue Capital City' theme sets 2 objectives for the future development of the city: a further reduction in the average distance from a green area and improvements in their accessibility for all the inhabitants of Copenhagen. This bears witness to the deep-felt desire to return to the balanced eco-systems typical of the past, when towns and cities still coexisted with their local environment and before this delicate balance was, as in the majority of cases, lost as the cities grew in size and importance.

4. A Clean and Healthy Big City

Copenhagen residents view air pollution as the main environmental problem requiring attention. Nitrogen dioxide concentrations are particularly critical, mainly due to traffic and, especially, diesel engines. Closely linked to air pollution is the critical traffic situation and, in particular, a constant increase in the number of cars on the road (+3% in the period 2001-2011), which is inevitably linked to the growth in the population (+8 %) and employment levels (+12%) over the same period. These figures are expected to continue to rise.

98% of the population in Copenhagen lives less than 350 metres from a public transport service. Public transport is used for approximately 33% of all daily commutes (in line with other major European cities). Copenhagen has set itself a goal of +2% in the number of public transport passengers by 2015 and +20% by 2023 compared to 2011 data, allocating a budget of almost 13.5 million Euros.

Proving how it is possible for technology, economic growth and protection of the environment to move in the same direction, it is worth noting how the Copenhagen public transport system is based on the Metro, suburban 'S-trains' and a high-frequency bus network. Another Metro city ring is under construction and is expected to open in 2018. The City is also investing in improvements in road transport, contributing to meeting the goal of CO_2-neutrality by 2025 (85% of all cars powered by electricity or hydrogen in 2015). It is encouraging the transition to green mobility by creating the necessary infrastructure, such as charging stations for electric vehicles. In addition to the 'physical' measures, the City is also working to bring about a change in the habits of the citizens through communication campaigns and information. Special attention is devoted to encouraging the people to cycle. This strategy includes the slogan "I Bike CPH", the distribution of bicycle lights and seat covers, etc. (cf. the KARMA initiative, below).

5. Climate Capital

Copenhagen has dedicated a lot of attention in recent years to the question of climate change. As a result CO_2 emissions trend has improved considerably in Copenhagen: indeed, the goals for reduction by 2015 had already been reached in 2011 (CO_2 emissions fell by 21% in the period 2005-2010).[4] This result is even more positive when one considers that there was an 8% increase in the population over the same period. It was made possible by using biomass instead of traditional coal to power the cogeneration system and by a marked increase in the production of wind energy. In order to achieve the goal of CO_2-neutrality by 2025, the City has decided to focus primarily on cutting energy consumption levels and replacing traditional sources of energy with renewable sources, thereby compensating for the emissions coming from transport (still the weak point in the general Copenhagen system).

In line with the main theories of Ecological Modernisation, the public administration believes that, by becoming the first 'carbon free' capital in the world, not only will the climate and the environment benefit, but there will also be noticeable improvements in the life of the inhabitants of Copenhagen as a whole. In fact, the Copenhagen Climate Plan (City of Copenhagen) states that this city is already recognised as one of the best cities to live in: it is safe, diverse and stimulating. The aim is that it continues to be so even in 2025, when the population is expected to rise by 100,000 (+20%). In order to provide an adequate response to such rapid growth, Copenhagen needs some major changes to its infrastructures and these represent an opportunity to become carbon neutral and implement green growth. In particular, the aim is to become an international centre for companies engaged in the field of clean technologies, a type of platform where they can display and launch their technological innovations. The aim is not to do this on a small scale, but involving the whole city in becoming a 'green lab'.

6. The socio-economic benefits of being a green city

Improvements in the quality of local environment leads to an improvement in local economy and, as a result, enhances the quality of life for a city's citizens: this logic chain is key to the development model adopted by the City of Copenhagen,

[4] This calculation also takes into account the emissions generated by the production of electricity used in the City.

a model where the citizen is both an active protagonist and a beneficiary. For instance, we find that the City of Copenhagen is aware that the image of a 'carbon neutral' Copenhagen will have positive repercussions on the local economy and market. The unavoidable and continual rises in prices due to conventional energy sources means that businesses see renewable energy sources as profitable investments for the future. Moreover, reductions in greenhouse effect gases will create positive effects for the local economy, as the new measures help improve the health and living standards of the local population, as well as having a positive impact on traffic congestion, noise levels and air pollution.

It is believed that the City's investments will drive and sustain more widespread and substantial action by the private sector, which will, in turn, have positive effects on employment levels.

In this respect, the Danish Environment Agency has estimated the impact of green investments on employment:

Table 1 - The effects of the Copenhagen Climate Plan on employment levels by 2025. Source: our adaptation of AE OG 3F: JF. 2005.

Green investment	Euro (million)	effect on employment (man years)
Municipal investment	360	3000
New build: Additional investments (private sector)	800	8000
Retrofitting: New investment in energy retrofitting	480	5000
Energy production	1.300 - 2.000	13.000 - 20.000
Total	2.940 - 3.640	29.000 - 36.000

7. The communication strategies adopted by Copenhagen[5]

The way in which the City of Copenhagen has oriented its communication strategies to focus on environmental matters is, we believe, highly indicative of its innovative approach, the aim being to instil and encourage a strong sense of 'belonging' in the inhabitants of this city. In fact, this approach has led to a series of different environment and sustainability communication strategies focusing on the importance of getting citizens involved and sharing good practice.

In its presentation as part of the '*European Green Capital*' process[6], Copenhagen stated that "sharing is a vital part of the journey to liveability; sharing is the communication platform for Copenhagen; sharing is exchanging ideas with the rest of the world". The City follows three key principles in its communication. Firstly, any communication must be engaging and evolving, as citizens want to participate and be part of the solution; the aim here is to gain understanding, new insights and pride, acknowledge diversity and educate the stakeholders. The second concerns a new approach called 'nudging', i.e. a gentle push in the right direction; this involves a wide range of different initiatives aimed at changing the physical and social environments in order to encourage specific forms of behaviour. Lastly, there is invention: getting attention by being visible, surprising and 'noisy'.

For example, the 'KARMA' initiative has been particularly successful in encouraging citizens to get on their bikes. The result has been that Copenhageners now feel part of the solution. The '*Karmarazzia*' in Copenhagen applies the Indian concept of 'karma' to commuters and citizens as they cycle around the city. Good actions are rewarded with a kind word of encouragement, chocolates and stickers. Done simply for fun, it brings a smile to everyone's lips and doubtlessly makes those involved feel good.

[5] Thanks to Dr. Matteo Viadana for this paragraph.

[6] See <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/europeangreencapital/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/PPT_green_cap_CPH.pptx> (last visit: July 2013).

8. Conclusions

As mentioned in the opening remarks, we believe that the Copenhagen development model is a good example of an innovative form of "restoring the city". It is innovative in that local government has chosen to guarantee protection of the environment not 'despite' economic and technological progress, but 'thanks' to this. In fact, in times such as these when traditional forms of growth and development in the industrialised world are being increasingly criticised and questioned, one cannot take it for granted that everyone accepts the idea that 'environment and growth' move in the same forwards direction. Rather, other theories are now gaining in popularity, especially those that foresee a return to simpler and more basic lifestyles.

Our intent in describing - albeit very briefly for questions of space - the main aspects of the Copenhagen model has been to show how technology need not be the 'enemy' of the environment as so many people currently believe: if well managed and directed, technology can actually become an outstandingly effective tool in safeguarding the environment. Inspired by some of the reasons why the Danish capital city has recently been awarded the title "European Green Capital", we have described the key aspects of its environmental and urban sustainability policy.

Firstly, we have stressed how Copenhagen sees itself as a green growth metropolis, with the emphasis on the fact that it wanted to respond to the recent rise in population by adopting a model of sustainable development. This has been a 'green' response not only to the demand for more housing and urban spaces, but also to the needs of commerce, industry and the related service industry. Hence the move to encourage eco-partnerships between the public and private sectors and the creation of entire districts - the green laboratory concept - for local and international business. Then we turned to the city's somewhat complex planning strategies set out in the "Eco-metropolis. Our vision for Copenhagen 2015" document and, especially, the goal of becoming a 'A Green and Blue Capital City'. This has meant ensuring that Copenhageners already enjoy outstanding standards of green and natural areas, while the aim is to improve access to the same in the coming years. Citizens have also be further engaged in looking after and caring for these areas: this form of governance has helped strengthen the sense of belonging among the population.

Significant efforts have also been made in dealing with the problem of climate change and air pollution, the latter being seen by Copenhageners as the city's most urgent environmental emergency. We have briefly described some of the many forms of action taken in the fields of energy and transport in particular, concerning both the infrastructure and communication strategies, reflecting the City's determination to become the world's first carbon free city, based on the conviction that on achieving this goal there will be benefits not only for the climate and the environment, but also for Copenhagen citizens as a whole. The penultimate paragraph contains some data proving the strong ties between socio-economic growth, technology and protection of the environment found in the Danish capital city, showing how these different forms of growth can all move in the same direction.

We hope this has been a valid contribution to today's lively and interesting debate concerning the best forms of urban environmental governance in order to meet the increasing needs and demands of modern societies. We have tried to show, through a simple practical example, how it is not always possible to define *a priori* the soundness of the development strategies to undertake, and how one should never take it for granted that they will follow the same path as in the past.

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Captions

Fig. 1. The city of Copenhagen. Source: City of Copenhagen 2011a.
Fig. 2. Public space in Copenhagen. Source: http://www.kk.dk.

Green hands for the city. Multifunctional urban agriculture scenarios in the Piana dei Colli of Palermo - *Full English version*[1]

Giulia Bonafede, Lorenzo Canale[2]

1. (Un)confined suburbs and multifunctional open spaces in urban area

The processes of metropolization have produced the growth of boundless suburbs, where some of the settlements seem to be more acutely de-contextualized with respect to the landscape system and affected by the 'confinement' resulting from the lack of services, of acceptable environmental conditions and of public spaces of democratic dialogue. In major Italian cities, since World War II the urban sprawl has wasted the soil of most of the municipal areas, especially where agriculture is in decline and the land protection is weakening, despite proportional demographic increases have not corresponded to this process (DE LUCIA 2013; ROSSI DORIA 2009). If at the regional scale or at the metropolitan level the determination of new 'green boundaries' for the city may hinder the sprawl of urbanization in rural areas (MAGNAGHI, FANFANI 2010), in an urban perspective it is necessary to consent to the infiltration of agriculture activities as 'green hands' that may interact with settlements (MAGNAGHI 2009). The project of open spaces, with specific regard to multifunctional agriculture, plays a relevant role in resisting to the metropolization processes, both at the regional and metropolitan levels both at the local one, while contributing to the planning of more habitable and vital territories (MAGNAGHI 2010; DONADIEU 2005; FLEURY 2005b). In periurban contexts of transition between rural and urban spaces, agricultural activities have been in the midst of a trans-disciplinary discussion triggered by the greater constraints determined on these practices by urban pressure, despite the multiple functions that they perform for the city and its liveability.

Similar considerations apply to the agricultural areas that are enclosed in the city, which, although being of lesser dimensions, are more exposed to the dynamics of urban land rent and real estate market development (COPPOLA 2012). From an urban perspective, also these open spaces, imbued with socially produced historical, cultural and environmental values, (FERRARESI, COVIELLO 2005), contribute to maintain territorial balances and to build the agro-urban landscape (DONADIEU 2013; MININNI 2013). As in periurban areas, the urban agriculture is essentially an activity of 'proximity' (FLEURY 2005a; MININNI 2005) not only in economic terms, due to the contiguity with the consumption market, but also in terms of new forms of sociality and of the new services provided to the inhabitants thank to the spatial adjacency with the residence, and finally in terms of affinity between the different institutional policies that concur to the territorial government.

The same periurban ambit, with its uncertain boundaries, should be reshaped from the city point of view, taking in consideration the ecologic connections (Schilleci 2008 and 2012) with the agricultural areas that have been trapped by urban expansion and which have to be recognized as a natural infrastructure of public interest (Donadieu 2013; Peraboni 2012).

Although urban agriculture represents historically a very widespread practice, not only in European cities but also in the American and Southernmost cities, because of its economic and social function in favour of the weaker strata of the population, especially in these times of crisis (Donadieu 2013; Lopez 2013; Coppola 2012), in Europe it is nonetheless still unrecognized by the Common Agricultural Policy (Cap).

Urban environments' agricultural practices are neither included in the Rural Development Programmes nor in assistance and aid programs, since they are considered of lesser economic relevance. In particular, in Palermo the agricultural areas enclosed in the urban fabric continue to be threatened by attractive real estate values, in spite of a general decline or stagnation of the city's demography. In this framework, the article explores the concept of multifunctional agriculture by applying it to a singular case study: a green belt with remaining agricultural connotations that, presently designed for a urban park, surrounds a well-known neighbourhood of public housing of Piana dei colli in Palermo. The case study on one side illustrates the characteristics of the area and the local dynamics that have eroded and continue to threaten the original borders of the Park, on the other it explores the possibility of building new scenarios for agricultural regeneration, as hint for a critic reflection on urban governance of multifunctional agro-urban spaces.

2. Multi-functionality in agricultural areas and urban perspective

Agricultural multi-functionality acquired growing relevance in European countries during the 90s of the previous century, when it became crucial to counter the crisis of agriculture, support farmers' incomes and protect the biodiversity of rural landscapes. In 1996 the Cork Declaration, noticing inconsistencies in the CAP and highlighting that public support to rural development is applicable if adjusted to an appropriate management of natural resources and to the conservation and maintenance of biodiversity of identities' landscapes, promoted a ten-points program aiming at hindering the rural exodus and supporting employment and equal opportunities. These goals can be achieved through rural policies firmly rooted in the territories and through an economic diversification of farms consenting to fully respond to the social demands for recreation, tourism and culture. With Agenda 2000, the multifunctional nature of rural environment is wholly recognized by the reform of the Cap, which aims to ensure sustainable, competitive and multifunctional agriculture (Henke, 2004). According to the Oecd Committee on Agriculture (1998), agriculture can be defined multifunctional when to the primary role of producing food and fibres it adds one or more of the following functions: landscape design; environmental and territorial protection; conservation of biodiversity; sustainable management of resources; support to the survival of rural areas; guaranty for food security.

In 1999 Fao, reconnecting to the concept of sustainable agriculture, notes that the agricultural foremost function of producing food is complemented by three sub-functions: environmental, social and economic (Velazquez 2004). The European Landscape Convention of 2000 states that degraded areas should be taken into consideration in both urban and rural environments, opening up new perspectives for urban outskirts.

Since the first decade of the new millennium the attention focuses more on periurban agricultural areas, where, in the opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee (Eesc 2004), multi-functionality (environmental, social and economic landscape) assumes crucial significance. In these periurban spaces, characterised by their ambiguous and undecided borders, which reflect the difficulties of defining the limits of contemporary metropolis, agricultural land is more fragile and often deteriorated because of the greater exposure to urban pressure phenomena. Urbanization, in fact, has a negative influence on the value of economic production, which itself is not sufficient to protect the agricultural areas from building expectation (Bonnefoy 2005; Fanfani 2006). On the other hand, the proximity to the city offers also some opportunities that may improve the income productivity of agriculture: the closeness to a consumption market that shows a growing sympathy for quality products and for food security, and the chance for farmers to introduce complementary activities (didactic, environmental education, ecological tourism) responding to the new demands of society (Eesc 2004). Therefore, for 'urban farmers' of periurban areas the experimenting of new additional activities represents, in rapport to the priority of food production, a strategic asset for resisting the devaluation of agricultural lands and, at the same time, benefiting from the proximity to the city. In any case, to ensure a dynamic and sustainable development of the periurban agriculture is required that public authorities, at the different levels of local government, recognise the urgency of a new 'alliance between city and countryside' (Eesc 2004; Magnaghi, Fanfani 2010).

This "unprecedented acknowledgment of agriculture as an integral part of urban nature" (Fleury 2005b, 23) requires the recognition of the farmer-entrepreneur as an agent of landscape production and a liable custodian of the territory. The protective restrictions established for parks and for other agricultural areas, in fact, are not sufficient to trigger virtuous processes without a governance model able to involve citizens, public authorities and farmers. The Eesc, in pointing out that agricultural parks may represent effective means for resisting urban expansion and for preventing agriculture from losing its character of productive activity, recommends the following actions: definition of a conservation and development plan; safeguarding of the stability of agricultural land (by reducing the urban pressure); adopting of integrated management strategies by the administrative authority. Similarly, the latter Charter on periurban agriculture (Cpa 2010) establishes agricultural productive capacity as a priority in rapport to the multifunctionality of agricultural farms, highlighting the opportunities opened by the proximity to an urban market increasingly oriented to the consumption of fresh products, to food self-sufficiency, to the reduction of the energy and environmental consumption resulting from the transport of agricultural products from distant places, and interested in being able of tracing food origins and producers.

Furthermore, periurban agriculture has the additional capacity of generating environmental services for the city, allowing the reuse of urban organic matter through the production of a quality compost, the treatment of urban wastewater, the recharge of aquifers, and the hydraulic regulation, reducing disaster risks. Moreover, the Charter also pinpoints the widespread demand for communal and familiar vegetable gardens and hobby orchards, which are considered suitable for urban areas, although the curative and recreational character of these types of agriculture, structured around domestic consumption, should not interfere with qualified agricultural activities, nor compromise the soil used for productive purposes. Specific guidelines must regulate these non-professional activities, which should be implemented under public control, by public authorities or non-profit organizations, on territories intended as systems (Cpa 2010).

From an urban perspective, this implies not only acknowledging the coexistence of communal vegetable gardens and familiar orchards with professional and productive agricultural activities, but also recognising that the agricultural areas enfolded within the urban fabric are common goods of public interest. They represent a natural infrastructural framework that should be managed by local administrative bodies through a single policy for both rural and urban spaces, articulated in the multiple scales of territorial government, but also through municipal urban planning tools, since it is at the municipal scale that decisions on the expansion or containment of the built up areas are negotiated and the stabilization of agricultural land value is decided (Donadieu 2013; Duvernoy et Al. 2005). It is at this local level, by virtue of the geographical and parcelling accuracy, that the boundaries of built up areas and of agricultural lands assume juridical value. In the *Piana dei Colli* context, the system of agricultural areas enclosed by the urban expansion represents an effective case study to explore these concepts, significantly depending on the apperception of the agricultural infrastructure as a common good.

3. The agricultural area in Piana dei Colli between recognition and non-recognition

In the framework of Palermo urban expansion, the agricultural area of *Piana dei Colli* is wedged between the dense city to the South and the urban sprawl to the North. The area consists of productive and leisure orchards, remains of historic villas, fragments of agricultural areas, historical and cultural assets, and presents also rich testimonies of ancient irrigation systems (*qanât* and *senie*). From a broader perspective, the area is situated in a central and strategic position (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2) for the possible ecological and cultural connections with the natural reserves of Capo Gallo and Monte Pellegrino-Favorita Park, with the western periurban agricultural areas and with the Gulfs of Mondello and Sferracavallo (Bonafede and Schilleci, 2009). Consequently, the planning restrictions (now expiring) implied by the destination of Piana dei Colli area for the establishment of an urban park, decided by the Master Plan of 2004, were aimed at protecting the surviving evidence of the historical and cultural value of the citrus cultivation in this portion of the Conca d'oro and its functions for the environmental balance. The park delimits a green belt, which surrounds the well-known ZEN district of public housing, at risk of social exclusion (presenting high rates of early school drop out, unemployment and low incomes) and affected by a severe deficit of services and infrastructures (Bonafede, Lo Piccolo 2007).

Despite being protected by other higher-level restrictions (based on geological, hydrogeological, landscape and archaeological criteria), in recent years the area of the Park has been subject to a set of speculative interests that managed to erode a considerable portion of it (Fig. 3). Private initiative plans or planning instruments based on public/private partnership (such as the Integrated Intervention Program and its current modification) have so far allowed for the construction of a shopping mall, of parking lots and of other infrastructures without resulting in the improvement of the poorest inhabitants' quality of life, while proposing further building interventions that transgress the original Master Plan. The current park area covers an area of approximately 216 hectares and represents about the 10% of the total area of the existing and foreseen urban parks of Palermo municipality. Due to the lack of a policy for expropriation, ascribable to the weak interest shown by the previous city administration for the provision of open spaces, the 91% of the land of Piana dei Colli Park is still privately owned,

divided between private owners (75%) and companies (16%), while the remainder (approximately the 9%) is publicly owned and is divided between the Regional Council (0.2%), the municipality (3.2%) and religious institutes (5.5%) (Castro, 2013). Large properties typically coincide with the location of historical villas and farms, while the rest of land is very fragmented, owned by several small owners (Fig. 4). On the other hand, the inaccessibility of rural funds is perceived by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood as a reason of caesura and isolation from the rest of the city (Bonafede, Schilleci 2009).

The open spaces of the Park, which covers a total area of 216 hectares, amount nowadays to about 128 hectares, excluding road infrastructures, buildings and even that part of the historic green areas that has been eroded by the shopping mall (Fig. 5). With regard to the type of open spaces, the historical green represents 79%, while the agricultural land is equal to 21%. However, considering the open space as a whole (the historical green areas plus the agricultural lands), citrus groves are the prevailing type of cultivation, with a 19% share, followed by the mixed cultivation of olive, citrus and medlar trees (14%), other fruit orchards (10%), vegetable gardens (6%) and olive groves (3%). In its entirety, the cultivated areas amount to the 53% of the total area, although a percentage of these (about 13%) are abandoned. The remaining 47% of the total area consists of: uncultivated land (33%); areas totally devoid of vegetation or designated for building (6%); areas occupied by riding stables (4%), by gardens of historic villas (2%), by floriculture farms (2%).

In rapport of the present scenario, we outline an indicative hypothesis for the regeneration of multifunctional agriculture, based on some assumptions: reconfirm protective planning restrictions, reject any proposition for further construction pressure, acknowledge this agricultural system as a common good that has a connective function in rapport of the metropolitan area and, finally, in accordance with the Green Regulation in Palermo (2008), promote active management by involving especially the inhabitants' community. The main idea is to put into play the public land capital owned by local authorities (that should be possibly augmented through new acquisitions) and provide for the establishment of a Managing Authority (a non-profit organization or a public body or a consortium of institutions) appointed for promoting agreements between farmers, land owners, residents, schools boards and the many associations existing locally.

Two possible scenarios were identified. The first, wider scenario includes the historical villas, already destined to cultural and tourist activities (meetings and entertainment) that should be enhanced, and identifies the land stretches that consent an ecological connection with the periurban agricultural areas and the surrounding environmental system. The other scenario extrapolates the southeast quadrant, at greater risk of construction aggression (Fig. 6), and develops a project of agricultural regeneration of public and private soil that, from a perspective inclusive of the weakest sectors of the population, combines the maintenance and recovering of the productive landscape environmental and cultural values with the social functions played by urban agriculture. Professional agriculture, handicraft processing of local agricultural products and trade of local products coexist with social service centres, didactic and biological agriculture, communal gardens and of multicultural interaction, hippotherapy and recreational leisure spaces. At the implementation level, the scenario refers to a set of financing measures that were established by previous financial programs finalised to support the recovering and maintenance of productive landscapes (and provocatively for the rural environment) and aiming at serving as an indicative model to emulate in the development of public and integrated policies (rural, urban, economic and social) that should focus on the small farmers and the associations that are interested in the 'labour intensive' development of the social agriculture of 'proximity'.

4. Governance and citizenship right of urban agriculture

Multifunctional agriculture appears essentially in two forms. The first one concerns the multiple functions that farming performs by creating common goods or, in economic terms, positive externalities. The second form implies the socio-economic diversification of farms that, besides land cultivation, respond to the social demand with complementary activities. The two forms may interact and feed each other, but just if the diversification of farms is related to the production of common goods. From the demand side, the value that communities attribute to the production of common goods stimulates the offer side in a 'virtuous circle' (Nazzaro 2008), but only whether the public policies favour such interactions. In periurban and interurban environments these characteristics appear particularly relevant, considering the nature of the proximity market. Although intrinsically ambiguous, since involving the simultaneous presence of domestic and professional basins of consumption and of production, it is precisely this aspect of the proximity market that encourages the flourishing of new creative scenarios (Fleury, 2005a) and that, in marginal urban areas, confers to urban agriculture a significant roles for social development. The *Barcelona declaration on urban agriculture* (Bdua 2013), which does not make any distinction between periurban and interurban areas and is based on the collection of experiences in European cities, highlighted the central role of these activities for social inclusion and for their capacity of creating jobs, improving the quality of life and enhancing the environmental performance of cities. The case study confirms that urban and periurban agricultural practices are however significantly affected by the real estate market development and by the land rental income. Despite recent appraisal analyses showed, in comparison to the central areas, a substantial reduction of real estate values (Agenzia delle entrate 2013), the residual open spaces in the Piana dei colli seam to still attract speculators, as attested by the detailed plans proposed on private initiatives for the construction of new buildings. On the other hand, the idea of an urban park with an exclusively recreational function has long been considered as obsolete, although in this case were the very quality of the productive landscape and the proximity to a public housing site that implicitly suggested to consider the multifunctional character of a public good that should be managed through innovative forms. So far, the municipal administration has not recognized the value of this natural infrastructure, rather promoting speculation and supporting economic interests that distort agricultural use value of the Commons. Despite essential, without a the protective restriction for the conservation for agricultural areas, as well as the adoption of innovative regional laws on soil consumption (such as the proposal for the Tuscany region), they are nonetheless insufficient without the cultural and political recognition, at local level, of the prominence of the value of agricultural use of land in rapport of the land exchange value for building purposes (Mininni 2013). On the other end, though, in the absence of public and integrated policies able to identify financial subsidies suitable for sustaining the agriculture of proximity, effective management is really problematic. Amongst the causes of the decline of the well-known agricultural park of Ciaculli, located in the periurban areas named Conca d'oro, there are the lack of adequate forms of financing (Cannarozzo 2009) and the absence of a Manager Authority. Concerning the city of Palermo, the initiatives aimed at the strategic development of periurban agricultural systems neglect the precious ecological connections with agricultural areas inside the town, since they are considered irrelevant. In this case, the Conca d'oro Civic Committee of Palermo, which in 2012 started public consultations in order to protect and promote periurban agriculture, valued as unimportant the agricultural areas within the city,

unlike what happened in Naples with the intensely cultivated Hill of San Martino, which, despite being immersed in the urban environment, was included in the Metropolitan Park. Neither the Palermo municipal Green Areas Regulation (2008) has produced significant beneficial effects for urban agriculture; the municipal administration has not established and promoted government agencies, nor proposed forms of integrated management, despite having the positive example of the experimentation of Espai Rural de Gallecs in Barcelona: a small agricultural Park inserted in a densely populated area, which is managed by an integrated Consortium made up of various departments of local authorities (Lopez 2013). Unlike other experiences, where common gardens, shared gardens and new relational spaces are often located in areas of public property (Cognetti et Al. 2012), coexisting with agricultural production mainly in the fringe parks (South Milan, Baix Llobregat in Barcelona, City-countryside Park in Bologna, etc.), in Piana dei colli most of the agricultural land remains privately owned, fragmented, degraded and threatened by building purposes. So far, neither the inhabitants, nor local associations, nor farmers have mobilized to resist with claim actions to the erosion of the protected agricultural space, despite the long history of struggles for water and for housing rights and the initiatives the self-construction of services that have interested the neighbourhood. In the gardens of the *Piana*, the informal practices of urban agriculture usually need to be adapted to the reduced dimensions of the open spaces, also due to the condition of illegality that characterises the majority of the inhabitants of the ZEN neighbourhood.

In this context, the proposed schematic scenarios represent inputs for encouraging a reflection about the governance of urban agricultural spaces, an issue that is not only a decisive priority for an urban model more liveable and vital, but also for the social and economic roles that urban agriculture may play in proximity of 'confined' settlements as possible integrated development strategy (Coppola 2012); a proximity that cannot ignore the necessity of developing interactions between institutions and inhabitants. Despite in this area of the city the inter-institutional participatory practices implemented in the past achieved discouraging results, due to the priority assigned to the creation of electoral consent and to the limited involvement of the inhabitants (Bonafede 2012; Bonafede, Lo Piccolo 2010), the creation of a real public space of democratic dialogue in the Piana dei colli still represents a precondition both to recognize the agricultural land of proximity as a common not negotiable with the expansion of the built up area, both to promote and support actions of endogenous development.

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Captions

Fig. 1. The system of public green in Palermo.
Fig. 2. Environmental connections in Piana dei colli an Conca d'oro.
The Park of the Piana dei colli: Fig. 3. The system of constraints; Fig. 4. The system of property; Fig. 5. The land use.
Fig. 6. The scenario for the southeast quadrant of the Park.

Rebuilding the city beginning with vegetable gardens: the Pontecagnano case study - *Full English version*[1]

Monica Caggiano[2]

Science in action

1. Introduction: the case study framework

In Italy, as in the rest of Europe, urban vegetable gardens have been an integral part of the urban architecture since the Middle Ages. Since the first half of the 19th Century, their development dynamics run in parallel with the industrialization processes and consequently to the expansion of cities.

The new citizens/workers of rural origins 'naturally' used for cultivation the lands saved from urbanization, not only to strengthen the emotional and cultural bond with their origins, but also to face a condition of precarious economic situations and social marginalization. The modern urban vegetable gardens emerged as 'gardens for the poor' (as it is possible to deduce from the names of the English *migrant gardens* and the French *jardins ouvriers*).

In between of the two wars, vegetable gardens became a space for the implementation of the fascist rhetoric of autarchy, while during the world conflict war vegetable gardens proliferated in towns, where every free spot of land was cultivated. During the postwar period, along with the economic boom, vegetable gardening in cities gradually lost its importance and became an element of landscape and social degradation, emblem of poverty and of socio-cultural resistance to the modernization processes. From the 1980s' urban agriculture began to flourish again. The interest of some institutions and the need of controlling illegal practices informed some normative attempts at municipal level: the first Italian regulation for municipal vegetable gardens was adopted in 1980 in the city of Modena.

In the last years, the demand for land to cultivate in the city has literally exploded, involving all age and social groups. In 2011, one on out of four Italians cultivated a vegetable garden (Ipr marketing 2013). At the same time, the different forms of farming expanded their boundaries, evolving from the classic garden on the balcony to rooftop, vertical, mobile and recyclable vegetable gardens, to name just a few types. This recent demand for urban agriculture responds to a wide range of increasingly complex needs, which, depending on the context, express different political, environmental, economic, social and educational instances.

Recently, beside privately owned plots, communal vegetable gardens started to become more and more popular, assuming the value of "a collective action of appropriation of the urban public space for the implementation of environmental, economic and social innovative practices".[3] Two well-known examples in this sense are represented by *The community gardens* of New York (Pasquali 2008) and the *Jardins Partages* of Paris (Caggiano 2012).

Thus, from being an emblem of social backwardness, urban agriculture became a means for political struggle, such as in the case of the worldwide movement *Guerrilla Gardening,*

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[3] Zappata romana, <http://www.zappataromana.net/> (last access: November 2013).

that claims for a greater availability of green spaces and for the improvement of environmental policies by deploying 'green attacks', consisting of demonstrative actions of unauthorized gardening flowerbeds in urban vacant and/or degraded areas.[4]

From *the gardens of poor,* thus, there was a move forward to the concept of *agricivism:* agricultural activities used to improve the civic life and the environmental and landscape quality of cities (Ingersoll 2004).

Moreover, urban agriculture became a key element in the recent discussion about urban-rural integration. In front of the increasingly pervasive and diverse dynamics of rural areas urbanization and of urban spaces ruralization, in fact, the classic dichotomy rural vs. urban loosed most of its pertinence.

Due to the scarce capacity of traditional concepts of describing and *rediscovering the sense of place* (Pascale 2009), researchers started searching for new symbolic and operational categories that could consent an organic territorial management, not conflictual nor functional. (Bauer, Roux 1976; Donadieu, Fleury 2003; Oecd 2013).

In this vibrant international and national arena, the project of Pontecagnano urban vegetable gardens represents, for its relatively long history, a precursory case of good practice, even more significant in the context of its location, southern Italy, where the experiences in this sense are still scarce. Moreover, the project represents an unique experience for the very original strategy adopted for the integration of the archaeological heritage with the other local territorial assets.

This article presents the results of an empirical research that integrated participant observation methods with individual and collective interviews administered to the main actors involved.

2. History and objectives and of the project

Pontecagnano Faiano, a town of about 25,000 inhabitants near Salerno (Southern Italy), lately has registered a rapid growth of its population and an evident phenomenon of urban sprawl alimented by the strong demand for residential and commercial buildings. The urban area of Pontecagnano develops along a main roadway, the SS 18, and expands up to the eastern borders of Salerno industrial suburbs, so that it is considered as the natural continuum of this city. As it is often the case in similar circumstances, "without realizing it, the city disappeared" overwhelmed by the urban sprawl (Ingersoll 2004). This "diffused city", without shape and boundaries is perceived as a gateway that connects Salerno and Battipaglia. Here, the progressive loss of the rural landscape goes hand in hand with the *loss of local identity: "In this context, urban gardens are a real revolution for Pontecagnano. They represent the conquest of living and socializing spaces"* (Interview, film Director of the documentary on the Eco-archaeological Park).

The communal gardens were initiated in 2001 by a local group of *Legambiente* (the most widespread environmental Italian NGO) within the Archaeological Park of Pontecagnano, which covers a surface of 22 hectares and contains the remains
of the most important Etruscan settlement of southern Italy and of the later Roman town of Picentia, founded in 268 BC.

Despite is high and undisputed historic and environmental value, for a long time the park remained in a state of abandon and decay because of the lack of financial and human resources and to the scarce visibility of the site, which caused difficulties in guaranteeing its maintenance and accessibility.

[4] See <http://www.guerrillagardening.org/> (last access: November 2013).

In 1999 the local group of *Legambiente* signed a memorandum of understanding with the local archaeological heritage authority, getting in charge for the management of 6 hectares of the park, starting up its re-qualification as eco-archaeological park. The archaeological heritage was integrated in a public green area, partly destined to recreational uses, partly to the realization of urban vegetable gardens. The green areas were organized in order to favor adults and children socialization, being equipped with children playgrounds made out of recycled plastic and wood, a wood oven an open air library.

To valorize the site's the educational potential, a Center for environmental education (CEA) was created as an integral component of the INFEA network promoted by the Ministry of environment. With CEA periodically organizing events and guided visits, and *Legambiente* implementing many other initiatives, the park became a stage for public events, both convivial (festival, performances, book presentations), both formative and educational.

But at the very heart of the eco-archaeological Park there are the urban vegetable gardens:

> The gardens are our main attraction, our point of strength and of departure of various initiatives. The vegetable gardens represent the hope and the evidence that there are a set of hidden resources that can be used, they are a proof of the fact that also in an urban context in possible to establish a sustainable lifestyle" (From an interview to the president of *Legambiente Campania*).

Vegetable gardens consent the project to coagulate the stable attention of a diverse and numerous group of people that attends the park everyday, taking care of it:

> Thanks to the vegetable gardens it was possible to promote the Park, to make it accessible and to ensure its maintenance, rising citizens' awareness of this area and keeping it open. Initially, when we started, it has been difficult to find people who wanted to take care of the gardens. Nobody applied to the public tender for the assignation of the first ten plots. We went from door to door looking for people, pleasing them and trying to convince them. Now, instead, we have a long waiting list and we can not comply with the requests" (From an interview to a member of the *Legambiente Occhiverdi* association).

In the opinion of the association's members, the project developed with minimal public support, considered anyway insufficient (and not only in financial terms). This corresponds just partly to the truth. In 2001, during the start-up phase, for example, the vegetable gardens were established thanks to an initial *funding of* of 10 millions of the old Italian Liras (about 5000 euros), decided by the Council commissionership, that was used to rehabilitate old wells and to fence the first 10 lots. Later, in 2003, the Province allocated a further funding of about 15.000 euros, used to realize other 24 allotments.

Nevertheless, the ordinary administration of the Park is almost entirely self-funded, the costs are covered by modest donations of *Legambiente* and by occasional sponsorships linked to specific projects.

The perception of the lack of public support is mainly due to the absence of an adequate and stable sustaining action, as well as to the lack of an explicit political legitimacy. These facts triggered the search for autonomous solutions and the creation of a fertile ground for the experimentation of new practices of communal management, not public nor private, characterized by the added value of voluntary work.

Anyway, a stronger public support would be more than desirable, first of all in order to confront practical issues, amongst which two of the most critical aspects of the vegetable gardens management: the scarcity of water resources and the incessant vandalistic robberies. Despite the consistent demand and the availability of land, water scarcity impedes to increase the number of cultivated plots. Moreover, the precarious security conditions contribute to inflate the project costs.

The public authorities' acknowledgement and commitment for the valorization of this initiative represent indispensable factors for transforming the project into an authentic tool for urban planning and for further activating its environmental, social and economic resources.

3. The vegetable gardens of the eco-archaeological park

The vegetable gardens include a system articulated in different plots, which management was initially assigned exclusively to elders. Later on, there was a greater differentiation: several actors found in the vegetable gardens a fertile ground to develop specific projects. Lately, we assist to an inclusive process, expressed both by the decisions of giving access to all age gropus, both by the choice of opening up the borders of the vegetable gardens by removing fences in the new allotments. At present, the gardens include:

- 54 individual plots, each of 100 m², assigned to pensioners aged above 55 years;
- A big plot of 1000m² (locally known as *Ortone*), which until 2012 was entrusted to an association providing supplies for local ethic purchasing groups, to be later on divided in 20 open parcels of 50 m² each). The new parcels, separated only by water canals, are free of access for all the population;
- A plot of about 50 m² assigned Department of mental health of the local health services for the realization of am horticulture therapeutic program with people affected by psychic diseases;
- A parcel destined to pedagogic vegetable gardens for children, managed by schools;
- A plot assigned to the ACLI (Italian Christian Workers Association);
- A plot managed AMaReC (Associazione malati reumatici Campania), an association for the assistance of rheumatic patients;
- A plot of 250 m² hosting *The garden of the 5 senses*, managed by the Center for Environmental Education.

The beneficial returns of vegetable gardens are numerous and complex, with positive effects both for farmers, individually and as a group, and for the entire local community.

The advantages regarding exclusively farmers (private goods resulting from collective action) may represent directly economic benefits, connected to the opportunity of consuming high quality food products and to the possibility of expanding the borders of private homes thanks to the availability of a vegetable garden., this project also resulted in a broad range of positive economic, physical, social and psychological well-being outcomes for the gardeners (private goods resulting from collective action).

The practice of horticulture can also produce psychic and physic beneficial effects, as highlighted in many studies (Pretty et Al. 2004; Mind 2007), enabling to control the level of stress and of improving the general wellbeing. Moreover,

the experience of Pontecagnano gives the opportunity to many people affected by psychic and/or physic disadvantages of practicing specific activities of therapeutic horticulture inserted in specific rehabilitative programs.

The vegetable gardens generate also a set of positive effects can be classified under the label of *club goods* (goods enjoyable by all the farmers), amongst which: the development of knowledge and capacities in the agricultural, environmental, organizational and communicational fields, the improvement of social life, the growth of social capital and of the sense of belonging to a community (symbolic public goods) and, finally, the enhancement of civic sense and of empowerment.

The majority of vegetable gardens farmers did not have any previous experience in gardening. The assignment of a plot to cultivate activated path of acquisition of agricultural knowledge and capacities, matured through specifically educational moments and through the practice on the field and the exchange of information amongst the farmers group. The opportunity of reconnecting with the natural cycles, of rediscovering biological time, of reflecting about food habits contributed also to debunk the 'ecological illiteracy' typical of urban environments.

The frequentation of the vegetable gardens and the participation to the associative activities imply a set of relational and organizational learning processes linked to being together, to the sharing of common spaces, to the same management of the collective action. Vegetable gardens are means for learning also about the pleasure of sharing, about gratuity and giving.

Farmers, despite coming form different existential, social and cultural backgrounds, share the passion for their vegetable garden, which become a catalysis of relations and a space for encounter and exchange able to break through social barriers, integrating also the elders and other social categories at risk of social marginalization.

The vegetable gardens define a physical and symbolic space of belonging, where the sharing of a given territory, of collective projects and of a communal memory become structuring factors of the collective identity. An identity that, along the years, reinforced also thanks to the many external legitimating actions (visits, twinning initiatives, prices awarded etc.) and to the consistent media exposure.

Furthermore, the vegetable gardens of Pontecagnano produce a set of *pure public goods*, amongst which the development of landscape quality, the limitation of soil consumption, the requalification and management of a decaying public space, the safeguard of biodiversity, the reduction of pollution and the enhancement of urban microclimate.

The farming of vegetable gardens also consented to recuperate local typical products at risk of extinction, reviving them in the transmission to the new generations, integral part of the so called *social ecological memory for ecosystem management* (Barthel et Al. 2010).

The success of the collective action is secured by an effective system of rules, defined form within with simple roles, completed by a self-monitoring/monitoring system and by the eventuality of sanctioning. These rules progressively became a heritage shared by the all community, as in the case of organic cultivation. Rules and sanctions, though, would not be effective without a parallel intense effort of animation deployed by *Legambiente*, that through a constant activity of information and intermediation tries to integrate in the collective project the diverse expectation of its actors, reinforcing the involvement and the participation to a shared program. The association detains also a strategic role in rapport of the creation of support and/or exchange networks.

According to vegetable gardens' assignees, the association has also an important role in regulating collective life and conflicts and in intermediating the constant tension between the free expression of individual farmers and the existence of a shared project, as well as the tension generated by the closure implied by the individual assignation of plots (an element that may tend to the privatization of public space) and the opening of the vegetable gardens as a place of socialization belonging to the community,

4. Developing good collective practices for local territorial development

Pontecagnano experience constitutes a valid example of a context where the characteristics of the territorial system combine with individual interests, creating favorable conditions for collective action. This fact can be considered as a typical case of *regulatory spillage,* a phenomenon characterized by a serious discrepancy between the current regulations and their application that provokes a decline of the services and of the goods quality, leading all the actors involved to organize and develop collective strategies of managements (Foster 2011).

In a complex territorial system that integrates natural, social and cultural resources like the one of Pontecagnano, collective action prevented the so called *tragedy of the commons,* by rescuing a public place from decay and returning it to the local community.

The vegetable gardens, integrating the city with elements of the rural landscape, play an aesthetic function that inevitably includes ethical, productive, social and cultural functions. In opposition to functionalist urbanism, which prospects a zoning of the urban space in areas devoted to a same specific function (work space, recreational space, socializing space, resting space etc.), urban vegetable gardens assert a multifunctional conception of space (Donadieu 1998) that traces upon the typical multifunctional nature of agriculture.

Considered from a broader perspective, the eco-archaeological park represents an authentic local development project (Hirschman 1958). The process developed, in fact, contributed to *mobilize, arouse and deploy hidden resource and capacities previously dispersed or underexploited,* promoting collective wellbeing, here intended in a territorialist perspective, namely as something nurtured and nurturing a deep *awareness of place* (Magnaghi 2010).

Albeit to varying degrees depending on the actors, the vegetable gardens started a process that produced a redistribution, individual and collective, of the decisional power and a re-appropriation of the spatial-territorial dimension, whereas in the urban sprawl phenomena the actors involved often perceive their living space as extraneous and/or binding, far beyond their possibilities of direct control.

In the case of Pontecagnano, the sharing of experiences, knowledge, memories and imaginaries triggered the activation of new narratives of the place, facilitating the starting up of relational dynamics of transformation. Farmers became the leading actors of a process of material and symbolic *territorial co-production*, where the territory represents "not a mere geographic area, a purely material entity. It is not a thing, but a set of relations" (Dematteis 1985).

The transition from an open air waste dump to an area used for urban horticulture determined a decisive change in the physiognomy of the archaeological park, defining a rural-urban landscape where the degrading interactions characterizing the previous relation man-environment were converted into caring relations.

The farmers, thus, become the active agents generating new value for urban land- Science in action
scape, modeling it in a way that consented to transform its character of non-place,
typical of urban outskirts (Augé 2008), into a multidimensional physic and social space
disclosing to people multiple choices about possible practices and relations oriented
at the reconstruction of communitarian elements articulated in open, relational and
cooperative systems (Magnaghi 2007).

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Captions

Fig. 1. Detail of the Park information board illustrating the project area.
Fig. 2. A cross-section of the gardens in the eco-archaeological Park.

The architectural and urban process as a laboratory of cooperative sustainability. Constantine case study (Algeria) - *Full English version*

Claudia Cancellotti, Antonio Fede[1]

1. New urban development in Algeria. Some historical and socio-anthropologic considerations

The contemporary new urban development of Algeria is dominated by the globalising pattern of the modern rationalist metropolis as emerged and affirmed in western countries during the XX century, and particularly after second world war. Born out of the socio-economic framework of the newly industrialised western nation-states and developed in rapport with their historical parabola, the rationalist urban model can actually be interpreted as the expression of a specific project of institutional reorganisation of the urban and social space, pointing to discipline it and control it in rapport to the new order defined by the industrial capitalistic system. Control over the articulation of social space and of its means of material and symbolic production constitutes indeed a powerful mean of domination and subjugation, thoroughly exploited by capitalistic and imperialistic powers all over the world (Foucault 1975; 2001).

In its many historical declinations and typological variations, the modernist and rationalist urban model is shaped by a strictly economic and functionalistic logic that gives priority to the implementation of big networks of infrastructures and services while neglecting to consider the specificities of places and the socio-anthropologic implications of urban coexistence. Urban spaces, though, are not reducible to their tangible and functional components, since they constitute primarily socially constructed spaces dense of cultural and symbolic meanings, not only reflecting but actively re-producing a shared lived space. Their sustainability, therefore, to a great extent is determined by their capacity of integration with the local socio-anthropological context and system.

Despite strictly linked to the dynamics of neo-liberal globalisation, the contemporary new-urbanisation phenomena of Algeria represents a long-period process, triggered and alimented by the policies imposed by French colonial powers during their occupation (1830-1962), which caused a drastic rupture in the local landscape trim, characterised by high regional diversity (Troin 2006). During the colonial time, the rationalist paradigm of new urban development was in fact widely and forcibly exported in the colonies, often obliterating their history and urban tradition and repressing their spontaneous dynamics of territorial and urban transformation. Behind the thin veil of a rhetoric discourse presenting western modern cities as repositories and vehicles of civilisation and progress, the urbanisation of the colonies enacted an imperialistic project of control and exploitation that deeply modified the urban habitats and the whole territorial system of the occupied countries.

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In the specific case of Algeria, the history of colonial urbanisation consisted primarily of an ongoing process of dispossession and deracination of the rural communities, representing the high majority of the population, to compulsorily relocate them in new expressly built urban agglomerations, often situated in the outskirts or peripheries of the existing towns. Under the pressure of the new urbanised ghetto-condition, turned away from self-sufficiency and deprived of those everyday practices and habits embedding the deep layers of the collective and individual symbolic order, the dispossessed rural immigrants' communities found themselves powerless in front of a fragmented and conflicting social space (Bourdieau 1977; Bourdieau, Sayad 1964). The traditional spatial organisation, in fact, based on the organic interrelation of urban and rural centres, did not represent a mere economic or cultural choice in response to material conditions, but an essential device for the organisation of the social reality and of the same self.

With the end of the colonial era, the rationalist model of urban development became the paradigmatic standard for most of the new government of liberated Algeria, that looked at modern urbanisation and industrialisation not only as powerful engines of socio-economic development, but also as means of symbolic redemption from the powerful colonial stereotype depicting the occupied as inferior and culturally backward. In post-colonial independent Algeria, from the late 1960s the new urbanisation phenomena had indeed an extraordinary expansion and acceleration in response to an increasingly high rate of demographic growth and in line with the significant effort of the Algerian government – directly influenced by powerful international agencies such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank - for the industrialisation of the country as main strategy of economic development. New peripheral neighbourhoods were created in the outskirts of the main urban and industrial poles by local and international public and private investors. The fast development of new urban areas and population caused the progressive erosion of the traditional integration between the urban centres and their periphery, producing a discriminating hierarchy of separated and segregated social spaces (Mutin 1984; Rahmani 1982).

From the late 1960s the proliferation of spontaneous irregular peripheral urban settlements, such as the shantytowns and *bidonvilles* that appeared in the outskirts of Algerian main urban poles already in the 1930s, reached an extraordinary expansion, in response to the increasing poverty of rural population and to the inadequacy of the government policies in front of the rising social demand for urban housing. The uncontrolled urban growth aggravated the already severe territorial unbalance and socio-economic disparities inherited by the colonial domination. Since the last decade of the XX century, in line with the general socio-economic transformation of the Algerian society, the new practices of irregular spontaneous urbanisation acquired a much greater degree of complexity, often generating new sprawl patterns entrenching a variety of residential strategies expression of different actors, moved by distinct objectives and interests. The irregular urban expansions of Constantine consist both of slums - agglomerations of self-constructed houses, often built of local traditional or recycled materials – both of single housing units realised with regular building materials and procedures.

After some unsuccessful authoritarian attempts of repressing the expansion of this sort of "urbanism of poverty" by emitting specific regulations and by applying in some cases the so-called "bulldozer policy" (violent acts such as demolitions and forced relocation), the Algerian government reached a position of tacit tolerance. In the social definition of space, in fact, there is always a margin of negotiation amongst the actors involved, even in presence of acute disparities in the power relations engaged (Signoles 1999).

In this phenomenon of artificial urban development resides the dilemma of a society that struggles to recompose an original urban and architectural identity in the context of fast urban expansion and of an increasing enormous demand for urban housing. Ministry sources report that nowadays in Algeria informal residences amount to more than 550.000 units, each occupied from 6 to 7 inhabitants. These data reveal that more than one tenth of the Algerian population, composed in total by 33.000.000 inhabitants, lives in a precarious habitats.

The prevalent position assumed by the Algerian government in respect of abusive and irregular urban expansion is oriented toward their elimination, without any attempt of valorisation of the social dynamics that could help transforming these settlements, which reflect the spontaneous initiative and capacity of marginal social groups excluded by the official housing market. Congruently with this view, the Algerian government decided to launch a housing development plan forecasting the construction of 2.000.000 housing units before the end of 2014, of which 700.000 in rural areas. This ponderous initiative of public construction is not sustained by an analogous effort of critical reflection about the impact on the territory and on the population produced by the artificial realisation of new urban habitats, inspired by extra-local models and ways of life.

2. Constantine's new urban habitats

The city of Constantine, administrative centre of the homonymous district, is located in the eastern regions of Algeria, in the *Hauts Plateaux* area. Due to the constant migration of people from rural marginal area to urban poles, the 60% of Constantine District's population is concentrated in the city of Constantine. The significant growth of urban population generated a high pressure on the urban habitats, causing the degradation of the city and the appearance of at least 75 informal slums agglomerations around it. These settlements, composed by about 11.860 units expanding from the city centre to the margin of the Rhummel river, host a population of 81.500 people, divided in different sites. To counter this phenomenon, since the end of the 1970s the national and local authorities launched massive initiatives of public architecture that determined the transfer of big part of the informal settlements' population into 70 new urban poles, expressly created on the base of prearranged planning typologies (such as *Villes nouvelles*, *Grand Ensembles* and *Zones of New Urban Habitats* - ZHUN), inspired by rationalist architectural and urban paradigms (Boussouf 2002). Public constructions reached to date a total of 90.000 residential units - of which 47.000 realised in five years only, between 2005 and 2010 – for about 500.000 of the 976.000 inhabitants of the district. Public intervention can be therefore considered as prevalent on the private one, and could have an important role for the definition of new modes of urban development and construction in respect of the ones modelled on the prevailing rationalist western type.

Constantine is to date the only Algerian district having already two existing *Villes nouvelles*, Ali Mendjeli and Massinissa, with exclusively residential functions and an atypical development, not being included in the SNAT (*Schéma National d'Aménagement du Territoire*), the central government program that foresees in the district the construction, for 2015, of other 5 *Villes nouvelles* that should become poles of urban excellence. Ali Mendjeli is located at 15 km circa south of the centre of Constantine, in the territory of Ain Smara council. Its realisation had a very long gestation,

since the intervention had been approved with the Inter-ministerial agreement n. 16 of the 28/01/1988 and confirmed by Constantine Council and URBACO (*Centre d'etude & de realisation en urbanisme de Constantine*) with an executive decree of the 25/02/1998, despite works started six years before. According to URBACO, manager of the planning and construction, the master plan of Ali Mendjeli foresees the building of more 69.279 units for a population of around 365.000. At the end of 2010, with the project at the 30,5% of its implementation, the inhabitant were more than 68.000. The architectural typologies consented by the master plan, perfectly conform to the European residential architecture, are in line of 5/6 levels and towers of 13/14 levels, the vertical development supported and justified by the government as a strategy for the reduction of soil dissipation. The other existing *Ville nouvelle*, Massinissa, resulted by the concentration in the adjacent council of El Khroub of 10.000 housing units, organised in *Grand Ensembles* and ZHUN, which host presently around 50.000 inhabitants.

The urban landscapes produced by these public interventions are characterised by the monotony of the globalised peripheries of all the world, aggravated by the very fast nature of the building processes that did not consent to take care of the quality of the construction nor of the socio-spatial organisation of the new urban habitats, of which the *Villes nouvelles* should define the structuring framework within a regional system. For the creation of these settlements, as for the new planned, the District Popular Assembly (APW) involved extra-local actors, not acknowledging nor valorising the role of local authorities and stakeholders in matters of public construction, despite their essential function in guaranteeing the socio-economic link with the territory and the inhabitants, helping to identify locations and typology of soils while encouraging the direct involvement of the civil society organisation expression of the local community. In this situation of reduced access to urban life and of transformation of the familiar residential space into a stocking site, the inhabitants tend to lose the sense of their social and familiar dimension. Forced into residential patterns that are completely extraneous to the popular and traditional forms of coexistence and interaction, they can't interfere with the top-down policies of public powers that are creating an extraneous urban habitat, where many social regulative dynamics are excluded and devalued (Sidi 1995; Zeioua 2011).

The case of Constantine can be therefore seen as a context where the institutional processes of new urbanisation failed to meet the local socio-spatial material and symbolic needs, producing not only severe environmental and socio-economic distortions, but also a drastic loss in the shared social meaning of places, transformed into alienating spaces, imposed by a different social and spatial order. Marginalised and discriminated by a process of eradication and symbolic dispossession, many of the new urban communities of Constantine's experience an acute sense of material and symbolic detachment from the inhabited space that results in a careless and sometimes destructive attitude toward the living habitat.

If the functionalist peripheries produce often anomy and denial, the voids in the prescriptive texture of the urban space seem to encourage the insurgence of new forms of spontaneous urbanisation, emerging in response to the inability of public and institutional powers of producing socially meaningful places. In opposition to the marginal space of the new regular modernist suburbs, in spontaneous agglomerations the everyday practice of a shared space consented - even in the materially miserable context of slums created under the pressure of hunger and experienced in the displaced condition of migration - the reconstruction of social networks of solidarity and affiliation and the re-emergence of that latent and diffused cultural knowledge necessary for transforming an anonymous space into a familiar and social place.

These socially vital residential practices embed new forms of subaltern knowledge that are the product of the historical accumulation of the collective and individual experiences of new-urbanisation generated during the colonial and post-colonial time. The primal structuring force of inhabiting resists, in fact, the most brutal repressions and contestations and, even in extreme conditions, makes it possible to articulate new processes of social re-signification of the space. (La Cecla 2006).

Although expression of social dynamism, these spontaneous practices of irregular urbanisation are nonetheless strictly connected to that same global system that, imposing the western rational urban model, produces the spatial de-signification of the traditional socio-spatial order. Intrinsically ambiguous, these insurgent practices are the expression of acute social tensions and represent a fragmented reality, often driven by specific conflicting interests and therefore unable of structuring into an organic "social action" (Cellamare 2008). The assignment of a context-sensitive urban planning approach, then, is not the one of literally translating all or some of the spontaneous projects of place-ness by implementing them into an executive plan, but consists rather of their acknowledgment and of the encouraging of their collective negotiation, to understand and reinterpret them in terms of potential engines for the negotiated and concerted production of new local forms of urban territoriality and sustainability (Signoles 1999).

3. Toward the definition of a new strategic scenario for the sustainable planning of new urban habitats in the city of Constantine

The new urban development of Constantine - articulated in informal settlements and planned public and private regular development - presents many problematic issues, emerging, in the case of planned interventions, in response to the alienating pressure of the imposed rationalist western typologies of urban development, while in the case of spontaneous agglomerations deriving from the inadequacy of basic services and infrastructures. Moreover, the new urban spaces suffer of their peripheral and detached location in rapport of the city, condition that, aggravated by the insufficient development of public transports' sector, results in the unequal accessibility to infrastructures and services. The spatial marginalization of the new urban areas produces the socio-economic ghettoization of the population and encourage the radicalising of social conflicts (Nait Amar 2013; Hafiane 1989; Pagand 1988).

This situation calls urban and architectural planners and local decision makers to consider the social responsibility implied in their professional practices and the impact that each implemented project has on the local inhabitants and on the territory as a whole, making therefore necessary a serious commitment toward the development of an innovative methodology of architectural and urban analysis and planning, context-sensitive and based on the interdisciplinary analysis of the local environment and on its participated reinterpretation at the light of local social and spatial practices (Carmen 1996).

Despite practically oriented toward rationalist and functionalist urban development, the Algerian regulation for public building actually shows some interesting cues that could be posed at the base of a new approach to urban development, more focused on local needs and contextual sustainability. One of the principles stated attains, indeed, to the need of considering two sets of criteria when planning a new housing unit, one referred to its functionality, the other one to its capacity of realising the material and symbolic needs of the inhabitants.

Aiming at valorising and implementing this principle, the methodology proposed here, based on the field research undertook in Constantine's urban and suburban spaces, departs from an analytical framework characterised by two complementary trends: on one side, the expansion of its tools and perspectives, which should embrace a number of different disciplines, combining technical criteria with sociologic and anthropologic approaches and methods; on the other side, the refinement of its capacity of focusing on multiple scales – from the macro level of regional planning to the micro level of the housing unit – through the lens of the everyday practices of inhabiting a place. This type of analysis should be able of offering a solid base for the improvement of the general sustainability of the urban plan, while preparing the ground to the real participation of the present and future inhabitants in the process of shaping their living space. The analytical process should not be limited to the preliminary phases of the planning, but should actually be carried out throughout the all project implementation, consenting a constant monitoring of its qualitative aspects and of the level of satisfaction of the stakeholders.

In entering the planning phase, the first step would be re-centring the decisional process on the local level, with the establishment of local development agencies (LDA) having the main role of mediating between the extra-local and the local level, as well as between the institutional and the grassroots one. The LDA should therefore represent the first referring entity for the present and future inhabitants of new urban spaces, in charge for giving and receiving information and negotiating between multiple actors and diverging interests. Each LDA would responsible for the participated definition of a strategic Local Development Plan (LDP), to be elaborated on the base of the preliminary interdisciplinary analysis' results. The LDPs should however represent flexible frameworks, constantly open to adaptation in rapport of the inputs and needs emerging from the context during the project implementation.

In terms of actual planning, the project of each LDP should depart from the scale of the neighbourhood, intended as a space of proximity that should be organised in a hierarchy of domestic, inter-domestic and public spaces presenting a spatial density consenting both the actual establishment of new current relations amongst people living in proximity, both the respect of specific cultural inclinations, such as the importance given to visual privacy in the Islamic tradition. Moreover, each neighbourhood unit should integrate in its pattern all the historic elements of Islamic villages and cities (such as the Mosque in its central position, and the *Suq*, the city market, as a fundamental space of exchange and socialisation).

At the micro-scale of the housing unit, the planners should refer primarily to the traditional typologies of Algerian vernacular architecture (such as the *Was ed'Dar*, a multi-family court-house typical of Constantine region's urban tradition, or the *Taddart*, a single-family home diffused especially in the M'zab valley, but widespread all over Algeria), which are shaped by the structuring social force of parental and inter-parental ties, often characterised by ample and complex constellations and differentiated on the base of the cultural, religious and ethnic belonging.

If the projects for the realisation of new neighbourhoods should be inspired to the macro and micro historic urban patterns in their regional declination, the planning of the housing unit should imply also the direct participation of the future inhabitants in the definition of their domestic habitat. The involvement of the inhabitants, mediated and technically supported by the LDA, could consist either in the re-adaptation of existing residential unit, or in the planning and building *ex-novo* of their home.

In both cases, the inhabitants could actively participate not only to the definition of the architectural plan of their house, but to the very building process, with potential economic advantage for the cost of purchase/rent of the house. The direct involvement of the citizens in the definition of their habitat can contribute not only to the respect of the cultural diversity of each familiar unit and to the expansion of the socio-economic accessibility to a fair urban residence, but also to the development of a collective sense of responsibility and affection toward the space of everyday life, therefore supporting the long term sustainability of urban management plans with the growth of social capital.

The methodology described above, based on the valorisation of local and subjective perspectives and knowledge, could be applied both for the planning and construction of completely new urban poles, both for the rehabilitation and adaptation of the existing regular informal urban habitats.

The integration of informal, irregular habitats in the flexible framework of specific LDAs, developed with the participation of the dwellers, could produce a double benefit: on one side, it could help controlling the urban sprawl and the sanitary and infrastructural standards of the settlements without adopting repressive measures that would increase the already acute social conflict; on the other, it could reinforce the social capital already existing in these socio-spatial contexts by encouraging the production and reproduction of best practices of urban management and coexistence.

By listening to the multiple voices and discourses flowing in the spaces of social interaction and by acknowledging and valorising the local historic and cultural identity, the approach shortly summarised above aims at being a concrete alternative to the current institutional policies and strategies prevailing in Constantine area's urban and suburban planning and management. These strategies, in fact, being extra-locally defined and indifferent to the territorial context, widely revealed their chronic incapacity of adequately respond to the specificity of the local, increasing demand for a sustainable urban habitat.

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Captions

Fig. 1. Urban sprawl and informal settlements in Algeria (photo-collage of pictures from the web).
Fig. 2. The *Ville nouvelle* of Ali Mendjeli.
Fig. 3. The court of a house in the Medina of Constantine.
Fig. 4. *Taddart* house in the *M'zab*.

Elective proximities. Self-rediscovery of the urban character - *Full English version*[1]

Serena Conti[2]

The city is generally associated with an evocative image of social integration, cultural change and emotional involvement, and thus regarded as the place *par excellence* for the hybridisation of different instances and cultural identities, and for the consequent learning process.

Even if this ideal feature of the city is well established and lasts unchanged over time, we do know how diverse are the forms in which it has revealed along its history. Many, for example, highlighted the crucial passage between the mainly public character of the ancient city and the fundamentally individualistic spirit of the modern one, when the end of the classical world determined a separation between city and politics (URBINATI 2012). Or, as in a more recent but nonetheless well told story, the transition to the mass production that radically disfigured the organisation of the city and its relations, later subverted again in the second half of the twentieth century by the decline of the Fordist model, from whose aftermath we are probably still suffering today.

Every change in the structure of social and economic organisation carried with it new urban forms, and was accompanied by the rise of new prevalent issues and the subsequent debate about the reorganisation possibilities (SECCHI 2013).

Today, at the millennium turn, urban life points out a new change, to which we are still not able to answer lucidly. The concept of city as an entity capable of setting relations that are linear and hierarchical (between city centre and suburbs, city and countryside, …) seems no longer valid in order to describe the apparently incoherent urbanisation of these days; nor can we be helped by the term metropolis that, even if it going beyond the dichotomy city/elsewhere, still implies a hierarchical order in its relations that the new urban forms do not reflect any longer, at least not with the same clarity (BALDUCCI 2012).

Countless definitions have been coined to describe this new phase, each of them generally referring by contrast to the overcoming of a known concept (the city, the metropolis, the urban, …), but still not (yet) including a positive sense with regard to its novelty.

In the early 1990s Françoise Choay (1992) already talked about "post-urban horizon"; in more recent years the characters of "post-metropolis" (SOJA 2000) and "post-metropolitan territories" (BALDUCCI 2012) have been explored, up until the declaration of "death (or end) of the cities" (CHOAY 2008; BENEVOLO 2011). The very impossibility of simple and concise descriptions marks the uncertainty of this moment of transition, when the use of metaphors helps to decipher something that is not yet possible to fully grasp (SECCHI 2013).

Focusing on the emerging urban practices, this paper hypothesizes that beyond that 'end' already lay the signs of a comeback to the city, coming through a rediscovery of the value of proximity in an 'utilitarian' sense.

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1. The city 'after the city'

The city of the 'after', identified by the definitions above, apparently keeps almost nothing of its original spirit; it is an "infinite city" (Bonomi, Abruzzese 2004), whose starting point is an extension which is exponential and homologating, in which, above all, that very sense of citizens' role - implied in the continuous mutual redefinition of places and people that the very idea of city promises - allegedly dissolves.

Even if every urban story has its own peculiarity, among the images drawn by this limitless urbanisation we can identify prevailing tendencies. In the United States, "going beyond the city" takes mainly the form of a progressive desertion of the downtowns in favour of households scattered over increasingly extended areas, in search of life conditions that are appeasing and exclusive; in Europe this consists in a differentiated process of people redistribution that goes from the widespread city of the big industrial districts, to the city-regions surrounding the main capital cities, to their combination resulting in wide territories urbanised without intermission; in the emerging and developing countries this seems to derive from a constant process of impoverishment and desertion of the countryside (Balducci, Fedeli 2007).

Among the images described by these simplifications, the last one appears the most remote, relegated within the boundaries of territories with an urban history often without deep roots; nevertheless, the dynamics of the countries with a more recent urban history are the most likely to offer a privileged view to observe some of the relevant aspects of the contemporary urban forms, of which they are a specific variation. In these countries the frantic acceleration of the process has left patently uncovered the contradiction, that somewhere else has been hidden by the superimposition with a physical and narrative texture, historically dense with meaning. In the second half of the 1960s Ryszard Kapuściński (2012) described Africa as a mainly rural territory, with small cities, mostly dedicated to the operation of the colonial and post-colonial system, and with a scarce and occasional relation (when not clearly conflictual) with the prevalent way of life of the rest of the people.[3]

Today it is no longer so: most of the African cities appear to us as a big stain of developed territory that is multiplying before one's very eyes.[4]

What on the other hand seems unchanged are the polarisations and the distance already implicit in the bureaucratic genesis which Kapuściński describes. The African capital cities (even if this generic definition turns out to be superficial and poor at describing the complexity and the differences that can be met in an entire continent) often look like theatrical stages, more or less extended, that reproduce the image of an organisation to which they do belong not fully, and most of the time in a fake way. Behind this 'façade city' there is an enormous rear, teeming with people, for whose daily life that stage is little more than a scenic background. Apparently in that life there is no room for the idea of urban environment as the materialisation of the human inclination to satisfy the needs of a fulfilling social life.

[3] I refer specifically to the condition of the African city because I can integrate the reported information with direct observations, inferred by my dwelling for some months in the Central African Republic. In this context, however, the conditions of this example could hold also for other territories that have experienced a recent and fast development.

[4] The 2014 report on the state of the African city by the UN agency UN-Habitat indicates an urbanisation level of 40% in 2010, with a forecast of 50% for 2035 and 58% for 2050 (UN-Habitat 2014).

Apart from the evident gravity of the issues (social, environmental, economic, …) posed by fast-growing cities like the African ones, their example is useful in order to better highlight one of the main problems shown by the modern urban systems, i.e. the relationship between growth (intended in a dimensional and quantitative sense, but also as the increased ability to move and communicate) and the possibility of higher equality and better democracy.

Even for the cities belonging to areas of stronger and older development, the power of the urban model took over its concrete manifestation, obscuring the necessity of a strict correspondence with the needs of inhabitants. The result of this carelessness is a double loss of identity: on one side, disorientation and extraneousness of people; on the other, the loss of the very sense of urbanity, the dramatic end implicit in the negative part of the definitions of the 'after'. Thus, what practically speaking is an unparalleled growth, from other points of view looks paradoxically like an implosion, the self-withdrawal of a system that has overcome its limits.

2. The city on the back

A common reaction to the break of the self-reference of the urban form is the escape - either physical or metaphorical - towards conditions that are clearer and more readable, a good example of which is, at least partially, the same homologating dispersion that was mentioned previously.

In this withdrawal from the city (from its spaces, but even more from what its idea represents) certainly can be found a form of surrender, the one that, to the commitment to a construction of public life varied and diverse based on a ground that is becoming more and more unreliable, prefers an appeasing refuge in the direction of an intimate and better known condition, less exposed to those unexpected variations that the contact with the difference (of places, people, conditions…) inevitably brings with itself.

However, this dedication to the private aspect however is not only, as it may look, a resigned act of abandonment. The other side of the coin shows the presence of a research full of 'positive' meanings, that reveal it as a more authentic and more honest way to relate to the facts of the world, as well as a democratisation perspective, in which everyone virtually has the same possibility of success, in a world somehow more objective and then more measurable (Hirschman 2003, 162-165). In this sense, against the troubles of de-politicization and individualism, so well described in many portraits of the contemporary city (it will be sufficient to quote as example one of the many works of Bauman, e.g. 2005), stand many planning forms of alternative communities, even distant one from the other, that rely on the daily life expressed as direct contact, proximity and sharing, physical and moral, as the only authentic organisational horizon.

In the western cities this ambiguous return to a smaller and narrower world leads to different practical outcomes.

In some cases it corresponds to a proper migration, towards an extra-urban condition (the small town, or the countryside),[5] in others towards a 'different' urban condition,

[5] The escape towards the countryside and the extra-urban is quite a phenomenon, not only related to the search for cheaper housing, but as a proper life choice. According to a recent report by Coldiretti (<http://www.coldiretti.it/News/Pagine/475----4-Luglio-2013.aspx>, last visited: July 2013), 38% of people under 40 would rather open an agritourism than have a steady job in a bank or in a multinational company.

in which for several reasons one deems possible a social life (and in many cases we could say a community life) that is more aligned to the needs of the social group which one feels to belong to.[6] In other cases the migration is just metaphoric - but not less radical - towards a familiar environment obtained from the composition of private spaces, that could be far from one another (home, office, holiday place) and trace the boundaries of one's relations (FARERI 2007).

In this sense, the dichotomy that in the so-called developing countries opposes the 'golden' exiles of the privileged few to the immense *banlieues* of the many has not a very different meaning. Both these options are expression of a way of living that is entirely oriented towards an 'inside', away from the public front.

Those cities on the back, for the most part unknown and hardly visible, are also our own cities, in which we can find the same ambivalences.

On one hand, as said before, they are the shelter from the onerous duties of public life. And in this secluded and protected dimension even those proactive contents named before, relative to the elaboration of different ways to live together, point to community models that already contain the seed of their own failure. Apart from the perfectly legitimate individual preferences, the hidden face of a community enclosed within fixed borders reveals contradictorily its dangerous elitist opposite. The promise of direct relations, free from any mediation, does not take into account the very structure of the social interaction, that is fundamentally based upon mediation (of language, gestures, known information …, see GOFFMAN 1998). But above all this delimited and supportive community have no room for differences; its horizon is one of immutability, that ideally consider the open conflict as the only alternative to the unquestioning adherence and to the identification of individuals with the whole group. What prevails in such community is the same defensive aspect well expressed in the renouncement of the escape from the urban environment, which because of the potential suffering coming from the confrontation with the unknown leads to take refuge in a self-imposed, accomplished and reassuring image of oneself (SENNETT 1999).

On the other hand, though, the back is also the place in which scraps can become new building material, it is the place where life can express itself more easily, because its hidden position makes it possible to avoid the rules that are regulating the public front (LYNCH 1992); in the back there is a more direct link between space and its use, and it is for this reason that here a project potential can be expressed more easily than in other places, free from the boundaries of the official form, and can really bring forth new organisational forms. It is in this elaboration space that the escape from urbanity, from that mass of differences in continuous expansion, paradoxically in the end coincides with its rediscovery; and the signs of this return are already present in many new ways of living the city itself.

3. A proximity 'found again'

Among the practices developed in the interstices of a city which appears less and less friendly, the many forms of cooperation flourished in the most recent years, in Italy as in other countries, look particularly interesting as potential indirect strategies for the investment on urban life.

[6] Let us take for example the big success that Barcelona has having from the early 1990s as the destination of a young, creative middle class; or the affirmation of Berlin as the city of 'underground' and, in more recent years, as a people-friendly destination (above all for young families aware of ecological and social themes).

They are initiatives with different focuses, linked by their attitude to view collaboration mainly as a practical thing, not related to moral aspects (Sennett 2012), as an answer to concrete needs, produced, in absence of great resources, with what is available. Among these different situations we can mention above all cohabitation, from the more structured experiences to the more informal ones as house sharing in co-partnership or alternation. *Co-housing* for example, that envisages the sharing of some spaces and services, and often also the co-design of buildings, for a community of owners generally gathered around the specific interest in the same co-habitation project, in recent years is becoming an established practice also in Italy.[7] In the meantime several association projects are founded on the very experiment of co-residence; each one of them highlights from time to time different aspects of the matter: intergenerational cooperation, facilitation for some specific groups of people, reuse of disused spaces, match between supply and demand.[8] Moreover, increasingly widespread are those initiatives that propose house exchange (upon payment or in *au pair* exchange regime) even for long periods of time.[9]

Another sector in which cooperation is gaining a foothold is the work environment. In *co-working* projects sharing services and spaces for work reasons becomes the occasion for experimenting, often in an informal way, occasions of exchange and collaboration among very different professions, that sometimes go out of the work sphere. Some experiences address a specific sector,[10] others are open to any kind of professionals,[11] and some are dedicated to workers with specific needs.[12]

The hints of a rediscovery of urban quality are also to be found in the activity of various thematic associations. During the last years for example, European cities (and not only they) have been the scene of a renewed interest for agriculture and urban cultivation in general (Cognetti, Conti 2012). Neighbourhood vegetable gardens, educational gardens, therapeutic gardens, flowerbeds and abandoned spaces transformed in flower and vegetable gardens, small kitchen gardens, but also garden areas integrated in several urban parks: a flourishing of initiatives that is largely due to spontaneous efforts of people, but also to the support of different institutional initiatives with different ranges.[13]

[7] For a small review of the current projects in Milan area see:<http://www.cohousing.it> (last visited: July 2013).

[8] We can take as examples the Turin projects "Stessopiano" (<http://stessopiano.it>), focused on facilitating the access to shared housing for young people through the mediation between supply and demand, or the ones of the "Coabitare" association (<http://www.coabitare.org>), that promotes different projects of residential reuse (last visit for both sites: July 2013).

[9] For example, the well-known website <https://it.airbnb.com> (last visited: July 2013).

[10] For example the Tuscan project "Multiverso" (<http://www.multiverso.biz>), for marketing and communication professionals, or the network "The Hub" (<http://www.the-hub.net>), dedicated to the field of social innovation (last visit for these sites: July 2013).

[11] Like the projects "Cowo360" (<http://www.coworkingroma.com>) in Rome or "Toolbox" in Turin (<http://www.toolboxoffice.it>; last visit for these sites: July 2013).

[12] Important in this sense is the Milan project "Piano C" (<http://www.pianoc.it>, last visited: July 2013) that places shared workspaces side by side with the organisation of services for working parents, like the so-called "co-baby", a micro nursery school so that *co-worker* parents could take their kids at work with them.

[13] Take as example the French initiative of *jardins partagés*, through which municipal administrations support the realisation of shared gardens in abandoned areas managed by groups of citizens but also, in more recent times and with more modest ambitions, the "Giardini condivisi" project of the municipality of Milan.

Lastly, we could also insert in this brief overview some 'neighbourhood' experiences in which spatial context is not necessarily the starting and ending point of the initiative, but in a certain sense becomes the 'excuse' and the instrument used to follow specific ways of living.[14]

These collective organisations use an elective preference mechanism; they are 'thematic' groups, that gather similar people around particular interests, expressing similar inclinations and ways of life. It is primarily in this sense that these initiatives resort to the urban character (even those which appear to openly deny it, as the cultivation experiences): the multiplicity and the unexpected variety granted by the city are their foundations, as a fundamental instrument is the ability of the city to realise and sustain network connections. Without the possibility to 'go fishing' in the big tank full of needs and occasions that the city entails, these transversal configurations would not have a way nor a reason to exist. In this sense it can be said that they very well express an inexhaustible 'will of city' according to which, notwithstanding functional justifications,

> even in the moments when the real city seems disappearing, the idea of city as a proper abode for a life perceived as worthy of man never dies out […], enlivening an iron will to build the city as a collective product, doomed to be always inadequate in relation to its mental model, but always perfectible with the united effort of its inhabitants (Ferraro 1990, 128).

In these 'elective communities' the territorial base looks as it is totally forgotten. After the events that subverted the Paris *banlieues* in 2005, Paolo Fareri (2005) noted the practical inconsistency of the concept of district, that we are still accustomed to consider as an inevitable territorial base of our relations in a city; what instead characterises the contemporary life seems to be a sort of multi-belonging, linked to one's own activities and elective movements (Crosta 2007a).

Yet, taking a close look to these associations, we can discover a sort of 'return proximity', a return to the places (also to their spatial quality) brought about essentially by pragmatic aspects. Even if maintaining a manifold behaviour and being focused elsewhere, many collective projects end up re-evaluating territorial proximity, often intermittently, as an environment in which, banally, it is simpler to operate.

In this way a new hybrid form of proximity takes shape, not entirely territorial, nor solely elective, where these aspects are mutually integrating: the rediscovery of the 'surroundings' is conditioned by the presence of a wide and diverse reference base, which in turn is made sustainable through a correspondence of it readily available in the immediate vicinity. Thus multi-belonging is followed by multi-scalarity, in which the city can be read not as a place, but as a prominent node of a multidimensional system whose foundation can be located elsewhere, whether ideally or materially (in country life for example, or in search for a more gratifying social life, etc.; see Amin, Thrift 2000).

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[14] Among the places I personally know I can mention the well-known case of the Isola district in Milan, in which the substitution of the original artisan background and then the activation in relation to an impressive project of urban renovation became the occasion for the multiplication of a series of localised initiatives that answer mainly to precise preferences of life; the Saint Gilles district in Brussels, in which the selective aggregation is the result of the overlapping of some factors: a location next to the urban centre, the presence of a large immigrant population that has contributed in keeping low house prices, and at the same time a charming and high quality building texture; or in Madrid some initiatives related to specific mobilisations (in other circumstances, for example, I dealt with the events happened to the Seco social centre, in the Las Californias district), that revealed themselves as occasions to give shape to the collective identity of their promoters.

In this multidimensional setting a new way to interpret a community appears, in which the bonds of reassuring identification - that still are paramount to participate in the community life - are valid provided that they can be discussed, changed or overlapped (Conti 2010, 56). Then there is no longer a community founded on the unique and exhaustive identification of the individual with the whole, but instead a "community of practices" (Wenger 2006) 'evolved', glued together by the voluntary (and thus contingent and mutable, strictly dependent from choice factors) adherence to an essential mutual debt (Esposito 1998), that if not honoured makes it impossible to determine either ourselves or the other people. A community that is not a solid body of values to embrace, but a void to fill with daily commitment.

Fuelled by the above mentioned 'will of city', it is this kind of commitment that paves the way for a comeback to the urban. The thriving of collaboration experiences we talked about above tells us of a mainly 'utilitarian' proximity, in which the effort for a common purpose is sustainable as long as is an effort *per se*, an answer to concrete needs or, in general, as an occasion to offer to ourselves a chance to participate in building the world. The starting point of that being together is no longer (or better, originally no longer) a common space, but rather the acting itself, that binds together and mutually qualifies places and populations (Tarrius 1995; Crosta 2007b).

It is this poietic reciprocity that determines a comeback to the places and broadly speaking to the city again, because taking care of it is taking care of oneself.

Significantly the experiences we talked about signal the trajectories of a new urban question; in different ways they deal pragmatically with some of the most evident contemporary problems: ecological issues, housing issues, difficulties in the job environment, …; but above all, at the same time, they indicate that their treatment cannot happen 'outside' the city, but has to take place together with it, with the same care used, indeed, for a part of ourselves (Kohr 1992).

4. 'Urban mannerism' (and its limits)

In this perspective even the small actions gain a fundamental value.[15] On the online ecological magazine *Grist*, journalist Susie Cagle (2013) says she is aware that her daily micro-actions (like using bike or buying local products) will not save the world, but nonetheless she is convinced of the fundamental role played by this behaviour in conveying a message starting from which the change could snowball.

In the same way these initiatives, that have got a tangible value for the people who perform them, singularly taken do not weigh much in an urban perspective. Their relevance for a city can emerge only if they are considered together, not simply as a sum of actions, but as punctual expressions of a practice increasingly recognised and diffused. The key point of this transition is the establishing of a new narration about costs and benefits of specific behaviours (Balducci 2012). As an example, not long ago it looked perfectly acceptable, after all, to deal with domestic garbage indistinctly; from then on, a series of initiatives (not only institutional) were able to build an effective narration about the costs of those practices and the benefits linked to their change, so that nowadays most of people reckon as 'unnatural' not to differentiate garbage when it is produced.

[15] The question has been considered looking at the smaller initiatives, that are the ones I am most familiar with for many reasons, but the same could probably be said for a totally different scale, like it was done, in fact, by Amin and Thrift (2000) for example.

It is because of this kind of narratives that some way of behaving are repeated 'automatically', in a process that we could define as 'urban mannerism', that reproduces 'virtuous' behaviour, but without wondering every time what its meaning is.

The term mannerism enjoys a negative publicity. In its most spread meaning is used with a negative connotation, defining an attitude of pretence and blind repetition, that distorts and takes away authenticity. But if we look at its origin in history as a moment of transition, in mid sixteenth century, from the search for an harmonious order proper of the Renaissance to the allegoric and redundant torment of the Baroque, we can get from it a sense way more complex and productive, that identifies it as a fundamental moment of call into question, of tension between rule and liberty (between the claim of finite order of the Renaissance and the Baroque symbolism).

Plainly speaking, the initiatives of collaboration and exchange considered here look meaningful as long as their 'mannerist' multiplication (even when it risks to be over-refined, as it happens for example for some forms of co-housing or urban cultivation) indicates a moment of passage, that strains institutionalised urban behaviours and new organisational possibilities. In other words the growth of the 'sharing economy' or more generally, of all those survival strategies based upon self-interested cooperation developed on the back of the city of 'after', signal the rise of a new narrative about the city that can be read on multiple layers: superficially as a debate about a different use of the available resources, in this case time and space, but also - as this paper tried to show - as a strategy to redefine the value of urban proximity and, consequently, as a clear sign of an implicit desire to revive the city.

The trigger for this change process has, as always, an hybrid origin, due to the concurrence of different ideas (activation of society, institutional experiments, cultural movements, …). After that beginning, one of the responsibilities for the policies could be to supply the political and technical intelligence needed to capitalise on the momentum of an emerging phenomenon, putting forward visions that are evocative and exciting, promoting innovative projects and maybe also trying to take charge of the ambiguities implied in a dissemination process as the one just described.

This story of virtuous and mannerist multiplication that I tried to outline, in fact, is told from the point of view of a person who has the instruments, mainly cultural and relational, but also material, to write it. What in the eyes of who is involved could take the form of little mass phenomena (co-housing, co-working, urban agriculture, …), in reality include that pretty small number of people that are able to represent and communicate their choices, thus deciding the prevalent direction (or maybe only the most evident?) of the course followed by the city.

I think the decisive step towards a newly found urban form is conditioned by the possibility to complete in a transversal sense that return course towards the places I tried to describe, overcoming the limitations of the elective factor (but not denying it), beyond the risk of the most common phenomena of *gentrification*, whether material (as 'social specialisation' of the places) or metaphoric (as the concentration of action and debate power in and about the city).

Perhaps a valid strategy could envision a further return to the places, no longer as a prerequisite for living in common, but as a purpose in itself, promoting projects that, being inspired by the actual initiatives and considering the pressing issues of today's life, favour a transversal proximity.

After all, the great power of the city is just its being cross-cutting, its political character.

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Captions

Fig. 1. An aerial image of Bangui, capital city of the Central African Republic, based on "Google Maps™".

Fig. 2. Working time at "Plan C", co-working in Milan, and a promotional image of the Turin project "Stessopiano". Sources: respectively <http://wow-webmagazine.com> and <http://www.stessopiano.it> (last visits: July 2013).

Ecological functions in the city's green infrastructure: Vitoria-Gasteiz - *Original English text*[1]

Rafael Córdoba Hernández, Victoria Fernández Áñez, Francesca Lotta[2]

1. Green Infrastructure. The Vitoria-Gasteiz study case

In recent years the planning discipline has begun to introduce measures to reverse the urbanizing trend of the last 50 years. This change has been developed through a gradual integration between land use planning and ecology, and redefining the operation of the urban environment from the perspective of the natural system. This paradigm shift, although limited to specific cases and in the absence of a clear statutory obligation, has become a field of experimentation on a local scale. Despite the limitations, few examples have become important references and have established new multidisciplinary collaborations while broadening the scope of the planning tool. In this way, green infrastructure has played an important role in the redefinition of the urban growth of cities.

The concept of green infrastructure at local level can be defined as a 'green corridor' of high environmental quality (Bennett 1991; Forman 1995; Jongman, Pungetti 2004; Bennett, Mulongoy 2006), while at a urban level it is conceptualized as a strategically established network comprising the widest range of green spaces and other environmental features (Li 2009). While the ecological corridor was exclusively for the purpose of environmental conservation, green infrastructure is characterized by its multi-functionality. This adds a broader vision that involves the redefinition of anthropogenic systems and their relationship with the territory to environmental function (Davies et Al. 2006; Peraboni 2010). Thus, green infrastructure is defined as the element that allows the development of the ecological relationships of the city with its environment while it allows meeting social needs and welfare, basic to achieve high quality in the city.

Vitoria-Gasteiz (Basque Country, Spain), with its long history in the search for a balanced relationship between the city and the natural environment, is an important example of implementation of green infrastructure in complex urban systems. This process has been recognized with its award as European Green Capital 2012.

It is a medium-sized city of just under 250,000 inhabitants located in the north of Spain, and administrative capital of the Basque Country. The environmental characteristics of the area have favored its development from the perspective of sustainability. The city is bounded to the north by Zadorra River, which offers clear environmental benefits, and to the south by the Montes de Vitoria, an ecologically important region at the territorial level.

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In this favorable context, Vitoria-Gasteiz has been able to revolutionize the way planning done, pursuing the goal of urban development that would improve the quality of life of its citizens while respecting its environmental context. Thus, its urban planning took into consideration the creation of green infrastructure to include ecological functions in the city. The analysis of this case study illustrates some of the strategies used in the city of Vitoria-Gasteiz for the inclusion of ecological functions in the city allowing connection with their environment, ecological connectivity across the city and climate change mitigation and adaptation using planning as a tool for this.

2. Local planning as a tool for the implementation of green infrastructure

The implementation of green infrastructure in Vitoria-Gasteiz has been linked and dependent on the urban planning of the city. Local planning has become, by a long and gradual process, an instrument of inclusion of ecological functions in the city. As part of this local planning, green infrastructure potentially addresses a number of issues. These include the development and implementation of a network of environmentally important areas that redefine the relationship between urban and rural areas by addressing issues such as sprawl or territorial fragmentation. Another major area affected more generally is the topic of sustainable development of settlements (Davies et Al. 2006; Mell 2009; Peraboni 2010). At the local scale, green infrastructure thus becomes a candidate for connecting the planning discipline with issues related to the conservation and improvement of the environment, recognized as the common good of the entire "territory" (Magnaghi, Marson 2005). This territory, understood as physical, social and cultural heritage through green infrastructure, would be "subject to planning" and become the "main subject" of sustainable development, understanding its functioning as a model for the city. Thus, green infrastructure locally becomes a medium that can allow interaction with urban standards of environmental and social objectives, integrating qualitative and quantitative approaches with the ultimate goal of achieving the ecological functioning of the ecosystem of the whole territory.

For the development of these features, Vitoria's local planning resources have integrated its natural environment and urban fabric, incorporating elements that bring to the city the functionality of natural systems. These strategies begin with the enhancement and safeguarding of the system of green spaces in the town. Ever since the '60s, with the General urban development plan (Pgou) 1963, Vitoria management decided to invest in urban green spaces, reserving 25% of new areas for public space. From that time, the increase in the total surface of urban parks can be quantified as passing from 30 to 130 Ha, doubling to 11.5 m²/inhab. the minimum ratio of green areas established by the planning regulations (Marañón 2001).

With the next Pgou, in 1986, the administration relieved the critical condition of Vitoria periphery through ecological and environmental recovery of abandoned and degraded neighboring areas. The outskirts of Vitoria, still precarious and insecure, were seeking to be designed as public spaces. This space has remained a potential connector between urban and rural areas (*ibidem*). This became a starting point for creating a new category of park, the suburban park, within urban planning, recovering nearly 300 ha of non-buildable land in the rural territory, while developing citizen participation was through the Local Agenda 21.

Thus, the importance of urban green space network and the relationship between rural and urban has been present as a major component of the local planning in the outskirts of Vitoria-Gasteiz over the last 50 years. The conservation and the good management/maintenance of urban and periurban green spaces are two main lines of action that are the basis for inclusion of green infrastructure in the city and for the development of ecological functions in that system of green spaces. This has important consequences for the welfare and quality of life in the city of Vitoria-Gasteiz.

3. The relationship of the city with its natural environment: the Green belt

The management of periurban open spaces, from Pgou 1986, became the main strategy of the city of Vitoria-Gasteiz in connecting the urban and natural environment. The approach to the inclusion of ecological functions in the city begins by planning, by creating the Green belt in 1993, later included in the review of Pgou 1986 conducted in 1998. This fix includes the term "Green belt" for the first time in Vitoria's town planning. This starts an innovative planning of the green belt, including multidisciplinary issues in its design: Green infrastructure.

Planning has classified all areas related to the configuration of the Green Belt as undevelopable areas. This decision facilitated, in the eighties, the expropriation at relatively low prices of these lands (Aguado et Al. 2013), and has helped to promote the vegetal densification of the belt as the urban growth boundary. With this idea a number of green spaces with different features were planned and carried out to reach the current 645 verdant hectares.

Today, the Green belt of Vitoria-Gasteiz is a set of suburban parks of high ecological value strategically linked by eco-recreational corridors (Ayuntamiento de Vitoria-Gasteiz 2011). It consists in 5 parks: Armentia, Olarizu, Salburua, Zadorra and Zabalgana, although the future inclusion of the new Errekaleor and Berrosteguieta parks is expected to increase the surface area of the belt to 960 ha.

The inclusion of ecological functions in the city means establishing a different relationship with its natural environment. The permeability between the natural environment and the city is the key to this. The Green belt as a transitional element, in addition to serving as urban growth boundary, is key to this through a multifunctional approach. The configuration of the Green belt as a circular ring evenly distributes the major parks in the city perimeter, allowing, in combination with the system of internal green space to the city, virtually all residential population to live less than 300 meters from open public areas and green spaces (Cea 2012). This is considered to be the optimal distance to ensure accessibility (Fariña 1998). The use of the spaces of the Green Belt as a leisure and recreational resource also allows the inhabitants of Vitoria to reach the environment increasing their awareness and allowing the development of environmental education activities. To all this we must add the 79 Km of walkways and cycle-paths, the old railway and livestock pathways -such as Estíbaliz greenway or Peña Betoño livestock path - that allow citizens to penetrate rural areas directly from city. These dramatically improve connections between the city and its immediate surroundings. Finally, and as discussed below, the design and configuration of the Green Belt has served for the inclusion of adaptation strategies and mitigation of climate change.

The ecological potential of the Green Belt of Vitoria-Gasteiz transcends local influence, developing various ecological functions at a territorial and transnational scale.

In addition to connecting urban spaces the belt stands with great importance in the ecological fabric of the surrounding area and connects the system of public natural areas of the municipality with a larger system. This includes the province and extends into Navarre territory through the Urbasa and Andia mountain chains. At a transnational level, Salburua Park was declared a Wetland of International Importance under the Ramsar Convention in 2002. Moreover, in 2004 Salburua wetland and Zadorra river were declared and Sci and were also included in the Natura 2000 network.

Vitoria´s Green Belt is an infrastructure that does not have to be characterized by its continuity (PERABONI 2010), but that it should enable inclusion and functional integration of an urban space that wants to dialogue and be in balance with its rural environment.

4. Urban Connectivity: the urban green network

The Pgou 2003 is now in the process of review. In recent years, the situation of the city has changed greatly and there have also been a number of smaller projects that can be added to the future plan. That is the case the Green Belt, created in 1993 and later included in the Pgou 1998. From the perspective of acknowledging ecological functions, one of the noteworthy contributions is the proposal for the creation of a green inner ring to the city of Vitoria.

Although the Green Belt became only recently a main objective of planning in Vitoria-Gasteiz, the system of public spaces, not only inside but also in the suburban environment, has always played a key role. However, urban green network may be key to the inclusion of ecological functions in the city for its potential to leverage existing structures and bring the case to the people, involving them.

Thus, the city of Vitoria-Gasteiz does not just want to maintain a large amount of quality public space. In fact public spaces have a special impact on social cohesion and reconnection of people with the environment, public health and welfare (MELL 2009) In regards to the amount, Vitoria-Gasteiz has 15% of its area devoted to open space (AYUNTAMIENTO DE VITORIA-GASTEIZ 2011). The greenery area has reached 1190.81 ha, 664.85 of which are within the city (CHAPA PRADO 2009). From these we can distinguish among urban parks, with 167.8 ha, public green areas, with 270.4 ha, and open spaces for public use, reaching 224.7 ha (*ibidem*). In addition to the design of green space system as a whole and to the importance given to the green belt, in recent years planning looks to go into the city and its urban green network has grown to more than 400 ha of green spaces in the city center, thus achieving a density of 14m^2/inhabitant, one of the highest in Spain. Besides this the city has pursued a balanced distribution of urban green spaces allowing total accessibility, as stated. Possibilities to include nature in the city, either through city parks, neighborhood parks, gardens, small garden squares, tree-lined streets or avenues have been maximized.

Improvement of the density and balance of urban green plot is the first step towards the inclusion of ecological functions in the city. But equally important is the approach that has been given to the management of the sites, maintaining and increasing biodiversity in the city. On the one hand, there is the variety of species found within the city. The interior of Vitoria-Gasteiz has about 50,000 plants composed of 381 species of trees and shrubs, including tree-lined streets and avenues discussed below. It also has 12,160 shrub masses, indispensable for connection of biodiversity in the city (Ayuntamiento de Vitoria Gasteiz 2011). Moreover, the space management has focused on saving resources while the reproduction of natural mechanisms maintains biodiversity.

The measures include irrigation management, reducing it by use of native species; management of pruning and cleaning, because in some areas are mowed lawns only occasionally or not clean undergrowth allowing the existence of decaying plant residues; and a commitment in reducing night lighting. Information panels have been installed with this information that allow the population of Vitoria-Gasteiz to engage in and understand the improvements made. Manuel Castells (1996) clearly sees in environmental issues and the social forces that these issues give life to, major drivers of the transformation of contemporary society.

Another important aspect of this effort has been the inclusion of different kinds of green spaces that have increased variety and functions of these spaces. A good example is the restoration of Zadorra river basin as a multifunctional public space that allows the development of outdoor activities and also represents a flood control plain that decreases the negative effects of flooding. Another important example is the creation of spaces for urban farming and orchards like Olárizu and Urarte.

For example, at the neighborhood level, co-op urban gardens or community gardens, are alternatives that combine the naturalization of these spaces with the social use, help to create community capital, bringing together people of different religion and sex (Hancock 2001) and in some cases reducing criminal activity (Kuo, Sullivan 2001). Urban green spaces, improved in quality and quantity, as well as environmental management and biodiversity criteria, must be connected to form a network capable of meeting urban ecological functions (Lyle 1985; Forman, Godron 1986). It is at this point that the network of streets, avenues and wooded garden walks performs its function. Vitoria-Gasteiz has a network of urban trails and forest walks of 238.57 kilometers, and 24.95% of the area of public space is pedestrian. There are more than 130,000 trees lining streets, paths and walks of the city belonging to 150 different species. These paths and walks are the basis for the connection between greenery ensuring the effectiveness of the Vitoria-Gasteiz urban green network to perform ecological functions. To be truly effective it will be necessary to ensure continuity and enhance its functionality. To this end, the City has developed a "Plan for improving biocapacity, biodiversity and the urban landscape", of which the most important project is the creation of an internal green belt in the city that constitutes a true green infrastructure activating the potential of urban green spaces for the development of ecological functions.

5. The fight against climate change and green infrastructure in Vitoria-Gasteiz

Another contribution made in recent years and likely to be included in the future planning of the city is recognizing the importance of the effects of climate change and its relation to the management of the urban environment, reflected in the "Plan to combat climate change in Vitoria" (2010-2020).

Climate change is a clear consequence of these facts. Through the addition of natural elements in the urban structure Vitoria-Gasteiz has managed to mitigate some of the consequences in the city. In addition to Green belt, they have incorporated various mitigation and adaptation policies that make this city a required case study in this field.

In this respect the Green belt works to reduce greenhouse gases in its role as the urban growth boundary, as well as its importance for conservation and maintenance of natural areas and forested areas that act as carbon sinks. This vegetal element is a whole network of gardens, boulevards, tree-lined avenues and parks.

Accompanying this design, an agricultural belt surrounds the municipality, favoring the preservation and conservation of agriculture avoiding land use change, another major cause of climate change (Ayuntamiento de Vitoria-Gasteiz 2006).

Another important feature is the climate tempering produced by woodland, green facades and bioclimatic building as part of the project that has significantly reduced emissions by reducing municipal energy consumption.

The network of green lanes and foot and cycle paths aims, in addition to leisure and contact with nature, the reduction of motorized transport, given its length in and out of the city. The rider mobility has driven the creation of bike lanes not only in the periphery but also in the city center. It thus forms a functional network of 148 Km of cycle paths, structured in a core network of 87 Km, for cyclist traffic in the city. There is also a secondary network, 61 Km, to give access to neighborhoods. In addition, a bicycle rental system, which initially promoted cycling mobility, although currently suspended is still installed. The Vitoria website also has a software tool for the calculation of cycle paths which reports the amount of CO_2 that has been allowed to issue while riding for the route, nearing the user to the ecological impact and climate change with their own actions.

The Green Belt not only plays the palliative role, also has a direct impact on what could be effects of climate change. So thanks to its spatial configuration, it prevents flooding by regulating runoff and regulates river swellings, it recharges aquifers and provides thermal regulation also reducing the urban heat island. All this without forgetting the important work of improving the ecological permeability and favoring the movement and retreat of different species in the ecological network.

In this sense significant action has been developed with the aim of preventing flooding, improving the quality and quantity of water resources and associated ecosystems. These include, without doubt, the recovery and environmental restoration of Salburua wetlands and Zadorra River forming the northern boundary of the city.

6. Conclusions

The measures adopted in Vitoria-Gasteiz are a consequence of a synergy resulting from the application of different political wills and urban managing tools developed with a long-term focus. Meanwhile the introduction of green infrastructure not only uncovers the ecological potential of green spaces but also their ability to improve citizen welfare. Planning, and the Action Plans that have supported and modified it over time, have resulted in the inclusion of key ecological functions in the city of Vitoria-Gasteiz. In this sense, it has been possible to establish synergies and complete proposals developed by various municipal and external entities. This happened with the creation of the Green belt, which was created in 1993 and not only picked up by the planning but become one of the main points of articulation of the Pgou in 1998.

Thus, for the inclusion of ecological functions in the city through the concept of green infrastructure will be necessary on one hand to keep the strategies used so far and on the other, to include the ideas contained in the documents produced in recent years. The relationship between the city and its natural environment, through increased permeability and the functions performed by the Green Belt, should be maintained and further promoted. Furthermore, commissioning ecological value and improving connectivity between green areas and public spaces inside the city, is a key strategy to ensure the ecological functionality of the city. Finally, strategies for adaptation and mitigation of climate change include new features that relate nature and the city limiting the destructive effects of humans on the environment.

The extension of the basic concept of ecological infrastructure, such as biodiversity protection and enhancement, to urban public areas and a city's way of living is, therefore, a factor that influences the planning, focusing it to achieve sustainable human habitat. Only by changing the focus of citizens in their relationship with nature compared to the past 50 years, the crisis facing our environment be reversed. Vitoria shows that this change is possible, and if it must happen, it will happen in a moment of crisis.

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Captions

Fig. 1. Location of Vitoria-Gasteiz in the European context. Source: Ayuntamiento de Vitoria-Gasteiz.
Fig. 2. Digital terrain model of the municipality of Vitoria-Gasteiz. Source: Cea 2009, 30.
Fig. 3. Vitoria-Gasteiz's Green Belt. Source: Cea 2012, 25.
Fig. 4. Current status and proposed section of Zadorra river.

Neither urban nor rural: spatial organization and patterns of socialization in the rural towns of the city of Foggia - *Full English version*[1]

Fiammetta Fanizza[2]

1. The foundation of rural towns in Foggia and the principles of Agrarian urbanism

According to the most recent theories of Agrarian urbanism, it seems sufficiently evident that nowadays architects and urban planners are reflecting on the need to propose a different model of urban development. As well as for the suggestions of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City (1972), this search increasingly concerns the value of urban models, frequently proposing examples focused on small autonomous communities, placed out of the city centre and marked with an effective balance among residence, agriculture and craftsmanship.

Above all, when talking about Agrarian Urbanism, the American gurus of new urbanism go - more or less knowingly (Duany 2011; Krueger, Gibbs 2007) - back to a concept developed in Italy during the fascist decades which, even if supported by a general anti-urban and anti modern enthusiasm, led anyway to reconsider the relationship with the countryside, seen no longer as a realm of semi-slavery but as an opportunity for a regenerating comeback to the land.[3] A movement of anthropization of the rural territories that fostered the creation, in whole Italy, of numerous villages, and that in Puglia focused its efforts and attention on the province of Foggia, and particularly on the urban belts around Foggia and Manfredonia (D'Antone 1990).

As for the city of Foggia the dictatorship imagined it as the centre of a network system organized around a concentric rings circulation, pointed at integrating the rural area with the city (Corvaglia, Scionti 1985). To achieve this goal, they appointed Concezio Petrucci, one of the greatest designers of the time, returning from the success of Aprilia and Pomezia, who, on behalf of the technical office of the Tavoliere, compiled a Development plan. That plan provided for the construction, around the city of Foggia, of "six agglomerations of population", divided into the three municipal centre (Mariani 1976):

- Daunilia, northward;
- Incoronata, southeast;
- Segezia, southwest

and the three rural villages:

- Arpi, in district of Daunilia;
- Masseria Nuova, in the district of Incoronata;
- Cervaro station and Troia station, in the district of Segezia.

While the small villages had to supply elementary services, the rural cities had to supply top-rank ones. Based on their location, - with the aim of making them landmarks for future land division projects - the new municipal centre were given an importance:

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[3] See <http://www.luceraweb.eu/giornale.asp?id=23268>.

- administrative (Segezia);
- religious (Incoronata);
- social (Daunilia).

They were built, between 1939 and 1942, essentially to consent both the urbanization of the rural area with the development of agricultural activity, and the de-ruralization of Foggia, which needed to obtain a bourgeois look, which is to say an appearance no longer so closely related to peasant tradition.

The wish accompanying the birth of such small villages is then tied to the creation of new forms of community able to facilitate interaction among agriculture, its potential agri-food chain and the growing urban society with its new born middle class. In this view, each small village had to show the essential features of urban life, namely, in each small village should be located:

- the City council building;
- the church [Fig. 1];
- the *Casa del Fascio* ("Fascist house") [Fig 2 and 3];
- the barracks of *Carabinieri* (police);
- the schools;
- the post office;
- the residence and the warehouse of the public farm *Opera nazionale combattenti* ("National association of soldiers");
- the recreational club;
- the cinema;
- the inns and few workshop.

Moreover, the nucleus of the small village had to be around the square, on which the few multi-storey houses for merchants and artisans had to be located.

Both the schema of settlement and the geometry layout of each small village, highlight the intention to develop a sort of scientific organization of territories, according to which to a certain number of farms must correspond a particular rural village, and to a certain number of rural villages a city. A "new order", then, pointing to alienate peasants from the city in order to structure a new model of agricultural economy (Fanizza 2012, 43ff.).

These few elements are enough to focus some similarities with the eco-villages designed according to the principles of Agrarian urbanism: places where the contemporary planning culture tries to experiment new design tools and to achieve new goals in order to improve quality of life. Goals that, assuming the ecological paradigm as essential and founding of a new urban condition, imagine planning processes capable of introducing new lifestyles and, most of all, new production models. For these reason, almost recalling, more or less consciously, the objectives and purposes of the fascist project of urbanization of countryside, it's just the countryside, or its changes and its renewal, what defines the new urban question; better to say, through the discovery of "new landscapes" and a "sustainable living" (Solà-Morales 2002) the rural dimension is reputed able to propose processes of economic, production and social regeneration.

However, there is a substantial difference between the rural villages founded by the fascist regime and the eco-villages designed according to the principles of Agrarian urbanism. This difference lies mainly in the fact that, being the rural villages imagined to realize the project of urbanization of countryside, they did not provide for mandatory self catering housing. in mimicking urban regulations and features, not necessarily contemplated self-production and self-consumption, principles, however,

so specific of the Agrarian Urbanism to represent real strengths. Furthermore, according to the intentions of the Fascist regime, self-production and self-consumption, as typical elements of rural tradition, had to remain typical of the many farms / manor farms established by the *Opera nazionale combattenti* in the province of Foggia exclusively in order to work the land and raise cattle. As for the foundation of the rural villages, the intention was to repopulate countryside, setting at the same time a different relationship between the city and the rural area: a relationship of exchange and mutual service that would allow to carry out the plan of urbanization and land division permitting to organize the development of the immense production capacity of the territory ("the granary of Italy").

2. The strengths of Agrarian urbanism

In sharp contrast with the invasive way in which, since '60s/'70s, the sprawl proceeded to the urbanization of rural areas (INGERSOLL 2004), Agrarian urbanism, beyond representing a reply to the disintegration of the so-called 'widespread' city, emerges as a planning methodology apt to contain the tendency to turn all the rural land into building areas. In short, in addition to restoring the relationship with countryside through a recover of cultural roots, Agrarian urbanism can become a tool to cope with the excessive leadership of economic operators, responsible for the commodification of places and landscapes, as well as of the urban civilization itself, get off, in many cases, in the name of an empty modernism, lacking the necessary roots and cultural traits. In this context, Agrarian urbanism seems to offer a way to produce the space that becomes production of the space culture (LEFEBVRE 1974), of patterns of spatial organization that take into account the use individuals make of it, then defined *use-centered* by literature (GANS 2002).

The strength of Agrarian urbanism lies in the fact that the buildings as well as the general conditions of the habitat are determined by the action of individuals and by the social forms that they decide to take. In particular, the aim of an epistemological recover of the relationship between city and countryside, Agrarian urbanism envisions a system of self-sustaining communities, where small businesses (mainly households) self-organize and undertake production, processing, distribution and sale of products grown through the use of proper methods of sustainable agriculture and reducing in a remarkable way the use of polluting energy (DUANY 2011, 47).

In general, the villages designed according to the criteria of Agrarian urbanism are urban aggregates of very low land and territorial density. In general, the ordering element of the urban fabric must correspond to an *insula* consisting of no more than 6/8 lots, where the built does not exceed 30% of the land surface. The houses, preferably single-family, better if two-storey, with the main front located close to the road, must have a farmland on the back, although it is strongly encouraged the use of any available area for farming (roof and balcony gardens).

Thanks to the presence of a central farmers' market square, the urban nucleus and the central areas represent the heart of the community, the place where buildings concentrate for the performance of activities and services in the public interest and usefulness as (DUANY 2011, 56ff.) a small post office, a grocery store, a kindergarten and a sub-section of the primary school, a small playground, an area for sports and recreational activities.

This "minimum provision of services" enables residents to meet their basic needs without having to travel daily to the city.

Finally, strongly discouraged the use of the cars, these settlements rely on the continuous implementation of public transportation system and on sustainable mobility (bicycles and walking paths).

In principle, if well designed, the creation of a settlement of this kind has the following advantages for the community:

1. supply of organic food, as well as availability of fruits and vegetables fresh and of excellent quality;
2. marketing, promotion and use of local food;
3. drop of polluting emissions, resulting in an ecological improvement of the local agro-food system;
4. reuse of municipal organic waste as compost, resulting in a reduced use of landfills;
5. reuse of wastewater for cultivation;
6. cultivation with traditional and organic systems;
7. creation of regular weekly 'farmers' market' serving the whole city.

A fundamental importance, also, is given the concept of well-being as, since there are places of residence and work together, because of typological and, so to speak, morphological features it is possible to realize a full reconciliation between life times in the family and at work. Well-being is therefore the result of an absence of stress: an absence due to material life condition as well as to the real opportunity to plan daily activities according to the needs of each household (think for example of the problems of *double presence* for working mothers, Lombard 2005).

3. Agrarian urbanism and a new language for the rural Mediterranean architecture

Beyond enhancing a different model of urban place, the rural villages imagined by Agrarian urbanism try to bring forth a new concept of urban condition through a new view of the city (Secchi 2009). This view requires a new model for the organization of the city which, contrasting sprawl, adopts the concept of space in a broader sense, including in it themes like identity, socialization and civic engagement. A space, then, with a strong social value, which is essential to characterize the community.

It is indeed a model for the organization of the city that makes explicit reference to the category of landscape to define space, both from the environmental and the cultural point of view (Koolhaas 1995). In particular, the merit of the proposal consists precisely in the opportunity to recover and at the same time enhance an idea of designing places as an opportunity to respect the landscape, beyond any form of rhetoric. Which is to say places intended to establish, or better rethink, the dialectic between man and nature. To this end, they point to a design capable of opposing the effects of an urban planning far too attentive to profit and to the speculative weight of actions.

Just the combination of space and landscape gives these eco-villages an ethical and aesthetic value, helping to re-establish the practice of representation of collective interests (Fanizza 2008). Indeed, starting from the examination of the ways in which, in the recent years, we have continued to regard the city only as a physical space rather than a landscape, a reflection around the characters that define the specific cultural identity of the inhabitants of a place is essential to define memberships and, most of all, can foster planning and design actions suitable to re-construct a unified and shared vision of *civitas*, that is able to assign roles and perform significant functions for those who live there.

In a nutshell, Agrarian urbanism marks the passage from the system according to which planning and organizing urban space essentially means 'measuring', to one in which before 'measuring' it is necessary to know and assess the socio-cultural and symbolic characters of space. It is just on the basis of this approach that issues like sustainability, sensitivity to landscape and, in general, ecology find their foundation and, above all, a chance to be put into practice and to change behaviours and habits. In then, then, in these eco-villages forms of being urban community are rethought through practices which, questioning the very concept of widespread city, draw attention to the idea of space, both as a chance for development and progress, and as an opportunity to trigger processes of identity recognition and new social practices. A development and a progress, therefore, closely related to a greater involvement and a greater civic responsibility that, as for the province of Foggia, takes a remarkable connotation and weight since it is expressed in the context of a cultural heritage that must still try to recover the relationship between the process of urbanization/industrialization never actually achieved, and a course of de-ruralization that has depleted the whole territory in both identity and socio-economic terms.

At Foggia, indeed, the beginning of World War II and the troubles produced by the lasting conflict, while decreeing the decay of the fascist ambition to give land to the peasants, mark the end of the idea of rural life as an alternative to the urban one. An end which assigns a 'borderline' destiny to the rural villages and generates their marginalization. In fact, the post-war years are marked by an overall climate of uncertainty, amplified by the objective impossibility of state to provide the necessary financial support to cope with the disastrous economic situation in southern Italy. In particular, the severe and widespread unemployment in agriculture and, above all, the turmoil in the countryside (1947) are the basis for a new agricultural policy that, in fact, results in a land reform that, since the early '50s, chops large estates into small lots, insufficient to ensure livelihood to farmers' families in the countryside. Accordingly, the province of Foggia registers high rates of emigration towards Germany, Australia, United States and Canada. Therefore, since the fields are abandoned and return to extensive cultivation, the condition of rural life returns to mean poverty and social exclusion, as well as isolation from the processes of development and emancipation deriving from the new and promising industrialization programs (for example, Enichem in Manfredonia or Fiat-Iveco in Foggia).

In view of such historical process, the hasty transition from a model of predominantly agricultural economy to an industrial model obliterates rural culture and its traditions, or rather tries to abolish them in the name of a progress and a development that, in a short time, will reflect the lack of the necessary business culture coupled with the lack of adequate facilities and services (Basile, Cecchi 2001).

In this view, I think that the present condition of the inhabitants of the villages of Foggia is emblematic of a condition in which the removal of historical memory has condemned places to a marginalization intertwined with an urban planning that has, in fact, alienated any sense of community through a general fading of public space, or through the loss of all the tools apt to preserve and/or consolidate memberships and identity ties between the city of Foggia and its suburbs.

The most significant datum resulting from an ethnographic study by the author (Fanizza 2012, 111ff.) is the consideration that the inhabitants of rural villages have of themselves. In particular, over the years, especially taking into account that in Foggia the removal process of rural tradition started in the years of economic 'boom' has turned into the tendency to associate the term 'rural' to the image of a backward and little civilized society,

no wonder that in the villages a sense of revenge against the urban condition altogether has been developing. This sense of revenge is expressed mainly in the refusal of the city as a desirable place to live. Precisely because of this - that, in its complexity, assumes sometimes almost anthropological value - the arduous coexistence between city and suburbs has found a paradoxical solution in the distance - physical and metaphorical - that the inhabitants of the villages have decided to interpose between them and those who live in the urban centre of Foggia.

A distance that could be defined as 'necessary', as it allows the villages to build up an identity specific of their own. This identity, devoid of ideal-typical features, is largely reflected in the use and management of land ownership, transformed into an enclosed space within which the rules and codes of conduct are established on the basis of feelings of growing individualism. Identity by contrast, then, that to some extent tries to react and to undermine the attitudes and ways of behaving undertaken by the city community, which, especially through political action of its ruling class, still today practice marginalization, segregation and isolation. Presumably, it is just the exclusion from active participation in political life to transform the space into a defensive tool and to give these communities the character of *original communities*. In any case, distance is the element which serves as a social glue for the villages residents, mainly because it becomes the parameter measuring the interval between spaces of identity, which is to say the means to rethink and redesign the spaces of sharing and the forms of meeting and socialization.

However, the spaces of identity developing within the small villages are used almost exclusively 'in private', in the sense that in the villages there is no concept of the plurality of public space (ARENDT 2004) or of a public space rooted in physicality of places: a space that, even when allowing the construction of active citizenship practices, produces no sociological tension as each collective activity is limited to obtaining an individual benefit and, therefore, remains limited and episodic. In the words of James Coleman (1990), since the inhabitants of the small villages do not raise the issue of conferring democratic inclusiveness to space, they do not develop any form of social capital. Just the way they conceive the city of Foggia as a functional space, and almost a commodity or a 'product' to use only if and when needed, the inhabitants of the villages practice forms of collective action only in order to resolve emergencies. It is only in these circumstances that they experience the effects of socialization: a socialization that takes shape through the triggering of generalized attitudes of trust and through the learning of civic values and competences (PUTNAM 1993).

However, although participation in the community life is not characterized by cohesive guidelines or targets, it is possible to apply to the context of the rural villages of Foggia the concept of "lifestyle politics" (GIDDENS 1991) because, when collective decisions activate even elementary forms of involvement, such decisions become "civic skills", or take on a 'political' meaning as a result of the relationship among people.

It is just the presence of these civic skills that suggests to look at Agrarian urbanism to open a discussion about the importance of the relationship between the organization of urban space and better living conditions. If indeed individualism is - and not just in the case of the rural villages around Foggia, nowadays - the condition in which the citizen performs his own personal search for identity, the sociological reflection, in intertwining the topic of community organization with that of the distribution of social power, must begin to consider the space as a *medium*, or as an information tool for the construction of a communicative relationship that transforms the vision of an unhappy and dissatisfied society by return meaning and symbolic value to urbanism.

On the basis of these considerations, it is possible that Agrarian urbanism, also because of the obvious similarities, may contribute to the identification of a kind of rural Mediterranean architecture. Of course this must be done not through a short-sighted work of recopying, but through new design tools that, almost as if we were to make a sort of refurbishment of urban and rural, behave in a way apt to repair the breaches of identity and the historical repressions perpetrated. In this sense, the main suggestion that Agrarian urbanism may deliver is just to begin to apply to urban planning the same criteria that used in the restoration of monuments, thus looking not only at the single building but at the entire urban and territorial complex like a work of art to be preserved using building types and architectural codes able to establish concordances between environment, landscape and society.

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Captions

Fig. 1. The bell tower and facade of the Church in Segezia.
Fig. 2. The *Casa del Fascio* (Fascist house) in Incoronata.
Fig. 3. *Casa del Fascio* in Segezia.

Public goods and common goods in the real estate sales of public buildings. The case of the Psychiatric Hospital of Genoa Quarto - *Full English version*[1]

Giampiero Lombardini[2]

Science in action

1. Public goods and common goods

In the technical and scientific debate around the concept of the commons, it is necessary to distinguish first what is definable as commons, what are the types of public goods that exist and are granted and what differentiates them from common goods.

The discussion is usually organized according to two basic categories of interpretation: one economic and the second concerning the case of law. The two interpretations are obviously related, but this distinction seems useful to provide some 'ontological' definition of such assets. According to an economic perspective (whether in classical economics or economics of law)[3] a first fundamental distinction concerns the difference between public good and common good.

'Public good' defines a set of goods that are neither excludable nor rival in consumption, its access being assured for all, but whose usability for an individual is independent from that of others. A common good, instead, is the good that is rival in consumption but not excludable; and secondly, the advantage that each one draws from its use cannot be separated from the others.

From the point of view of economic theory (RICOVERI 2010) this distinction leads us to consider that for private goods there should be no particular problem, since the question concerns exchanges among peer (in this case the problem is how to intervene with some adjustment in case of market failure).

For public goods, the problem concern when and how apply the principle of redistribution. For the common good, as well known in the economic literature from the pioneering essay by Hardin (1968) to the recent reflections by Ostrom (2006), the problem is neither about regulation, nor price, nor distribution: it is rather to prevent the degenerative processes that descend from the disloyal behavior of free riders, which while not participating responsibly in the reproduction of these goods by paying the related costs, nevertheless make use of them, using their intrinsic characteristic of non-excludability.

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[3] The economic analysis of law is based on the common economic assumption that individuals are rational maximizers, and studies the role of law as a means to vary the relative prices related to alternative behaviors of the right holder. From these assumptions arose the genre of "laws and economics", namely the attempt to apply the theories of micro-economics (neoclassical) to the field of law. The assimilation of the concept of utility maximization (before private, later also public) through the classical theories of well-being (from Pareto) and arriving at the discussion around the question of whether or not to consider efficiency as a maximum expression of fairness, have led to a distortion in reading social processes. And this is particularly true for public economy, where the ethical aspects of the protection of collective good are central and therefore eminently arise as matter of justice, even more than of efficient resources allocation, as already perceived by Rawls (1971) and later systematized by Sen (2010).

In order to avoid such tendencies (named 'tragedy of the commons'), economic theory seems to stop to make place for other considerations on the importance of reciprocity (Bruni 2006) and accountability.[4] This establishes a precedence on values on prices. However, according to some authors, this kind of distinction between these three categories of economic goods does not account properly for specific categories of public goods which, although not considered "common" in a strict sense, seem considerably similar to them. In this perspective a jurisprudential dimension comes into play rather than economic conceptualization. As has been pointed out (Settis 2012), if even in Roman law the threefold division of goods was clearly present,[5] it was also clear that, as for the requirement of tradability, not only it excluded what we today would call common goods (*res communes omnium*), but also a significant portion of public goods: namely those in *usu populi* (i.e.: roads, ports, theaters), distinguished from those in *pecunia populi*, which instead were tradable.

Inalienability not only concern common goods, but also, in addition, all those public goods that are considered essential to civil life (in order to pursue the common good, in this sense understood as a value). Following the foundation of Roman law, our current legal framework still divides public goods into state property, which is the set of assets belonging to the state-community and are therefore inalienable, and heritage, consisting of those goods belonging to the state understood as a state-person. These are in turn divided into unavailable (i.e.: inalienable as the destination in their activities is aimed to achieve the purposes of the various institutional bodies of the state) and available (therefore subject to the rules of private law). The goods belonging to the state available heritage are alienable, which is to say tradable, and this feature makes them very similar to private goods (the only distinction residing, at that point, in the legal constitution of the owner).

2. The tragedy of the commons and the one of public goods

It should first be noted, if one want to open an overview of the processes of considerable disposal of *res publica* in Italy, what role is reserved in our system to the so-called public goods. As mentioned, although resulting from the tripartite division of goods made in Roman law (Cassano 2004), over time they were increasingly assimilated to public goods. Their management, as well as their property, is in fact guaranteed by the state. They are increasingly subject to both the mechanisms of failure of the commons (for over-exploitation) and, on the other hand, of state failure (for ineffective regulation).[6] The aspect that has characterized the management, the use and, ultimately, the nature of public goods, and in particular of physical public inalienable goods, was their gradual expulsion from the sphere of non-tradability. It's obvious that if the contribution of the feature of inalienability of an asset is tied to its institutional public function (Amatucci 2008),

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[4] In some studies in economics, the problem of commons is addressed through the game theory (the prisoner's dilemma) to prove that a solution can only consist in processes of self-regulation, which play a central role in the concepts of responsibility and confidence.

[5] The first category was that of *res communes omnium* belonging to mankind, such as air, water, beaches, etc., the second that of *res publicae* that could belong to the Roman people or to a single community (*municipium*), and finally there were the *res privatae*, usually tradable (see Settis 2012, 75-76).

[6] In any case, much of the current economic theory assumes that a management of public property is not possible in accordance neither to the principles of empowerment and self-organization, nor to principles of regulatory efficiency: the only viable alternative is to privatize, because only in privatization lay opportunities for an efficient regulation.

when the field of the state commitment in the provision of services to the community is strongly limited, many goods that were once considered state property of the community, inevitably become real estate. If we add that it is now emerging - and become dominant in public discussion - the need to consolidate the current financial difficulties of states through the sale of public assets, it is just obvious that the concept of exploitation, even more than alienation, has been produced and disseminated at all levels. Now, if for some categories of public goods already inalienable, switching to a balance sheet status has been in some way physiological,[7] in many cases the sale of public assets represent an actual impoverishment of the community, both in the short term, but mainly in the medium and long term, as it determines a tangible reduction of the opportunities that only the ancient *res publica* could guarantee.

3. The alienation of public goods through the 'exploitation process'

The evolution of the regulatory framework for the disposal of public real estate is essentially characterized by the gradual shift from the concept of alienation to that of exploitation. At first, alienation is understood as an opportunity to make available, in a market, public goods unused or underused. But soon from this initial idea, that somehow represents an attempt to make efficient use of public resources, we pass to the hypothesis of using market leverage to increase revenues for state and local governments. The revenues generated from the sales transactions soon became a vital chapter in the financial statements of local governments (forced, on the other side, by the cash needs arising from ever smaller money transfers from central state). The public space inevitably narrows with the increasing size of these operations (which become financial planning operations), coming to threaten the quantity and quality of public services, both in material-spatial and functional terms (Bianchetti 2008). The Italian act 35/1992 was inaugurated the cycle we are still in. The first results were not satisfactory (when viewed from the point of view of what is actually sold) and, through a series of progressive adjustments aimed at making more efficient the process of alienation (including the act no. 410/2001, which established the "Unitary plans for exploitation" at the regional and local level) we are come to the act no. 133/2008. Among the many innovations introduced by this measure, we must emphasize, in particular, the article 58 which provides that "each institution, to proceed with the re-organization, management and development of real estate, must prepare in advance a plan for real estate alienation and exploitation". The resolution of the city council to approve the 'plan' is a variant of the general (local) planning instrument and the inclusion of the properties within the plan of transfers determines their use destination (De Medici 2010). The link between alienation and exploitation seems immediately clear (Mazzi 2013): it passes through the provision of 'special administrative powers' to disposal in urban development, which is the ability to change the future and/or existing use, clearly in the direction of selecting functions of more valuable for the real estate market.

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[7] It may be the case of military property (barracks, polygons, arsenals, etc.): in the view of the radical pacifist, in fact, these goods would not have even been created, but for him and for those who think differently, remains the important questions: is it right to discard and give in to a private (who today, moreover, is more often a holding rather than a private investor) what has been created with the support of the entire community? How to assess whether this choice of disposal is most economically advantageous in view of any formulation of common interest? Who and through which kind of decision-making processes shall bear the cost of excluding all the alternatives providing for public use?

Not only then public assets are sold by transferring them to private, but this is encouraged through the creation of value determined by the change of use to the benefit of the private himself, and usually to the detriment of public functions, as these are characterized by lower real estate values.

4. The case of the Psychiatric Hospital of Genoa Quarto

An emblematic case of the attempt to apply the logic of disposal for exploitation and of resistance by the local community is represented by the experience occurred in recent years regarding the disposal of the Psychiatric Hospital of Quarto, a district of Municipality of Genoa. The hospital complex, located in the east of Genoa, was built between 1892 and 1894 in its oldest part and saw a significant expansion in the period 1930-33. Throughout this period and until the World War II, the PH had operated according to the established healthcare models in the field of psychiatric illness, establishing itself as a place of social segregation (Capurro 2013). The same spatial location (relatively far from the city center) and the urban structure of the building compendium (surrounded by a forest) determine the social segregation of the guests (and even of the personnel). In 1978 A. Slavich, a pupil and collaborator of F. Basaglia, arrived in Genoa and the beginning of his activity coincided with the deconstruction of the psychiatric structure, as conceived in nineteenth-century, obtained putting immediately in practice some of the operating principles of the Italian act no. 180/1978, that intended to open the spaces for mental therapy to society. New hospital and non-hospital services were created, according to this line of action, and including the museum of the unaware forms; by using the same structures it was created the Cultural center of the east urban district and into the buildings was also temporarily hosted a Laboratory of architecture. The hospital came to accommodate progressively less guests. The Slavich team began to consider various hypotheses of conversion, beginning with the creation of a sort of student campus, but the lack of agreement among local governments obliterated the proposal, turning to the idea of hosting inside the structure the newborn Italian institute of technologies. Both of these assumptions waned, since different localizations were chosen for these functions. This led to 2008 when, on the basis of the mentioned act no. 133, considering that the structure had been largely emptied of its original functions (even though it was still frequented by eighty long-term patients, concentrated in the historical pavilions and who had lived there for decades) the owner (Asl, local health agency) decided to proceed to the securitization in favor of Fintecna (a public real estate corporation). In 2010 the historical pavilions were sold, in this case to Regional agency for building (Arte, already Iacp). The economic return is entirely virtual and allows Asl to budget a sum of money never actually collected and Arte not to affect its own budget. In the meantime, however, there is the problem of exploitation, since Arte 'must make cash', giving on private market what it has just acquired by Asl. The Regional financial law 2012 (37/2011) introduces simplified planning procedures for the change of land-use of the assets of its property disposed of, so that Region attributes to itself direct rights of urban initiative thus bypassing a prerogative always assigned to municipalities. The process of disposal and exploitation, then, seems to move towards a conclusion, through privatization procedures that have proved successful in many other cases, when the auction set to 'distribute' the eighty patients still present through a tender raises the general indignation. It is established and consolidated the "Coordination x Quarto",

a committee that brings together various organizations and individuals active in the site. The activity (not just protest, but also artistic and cultural animation) forces the new City council to play an active role with respect to the other institutions (Region in the first place) for a drastic review of the real estate operation. Through the instrument of the Program agreement, with an adjoining urban variant, the master plan is redrawn at the end of this new path and the entire profile of the transaction is redefined. The planned commercial and residential functions are reduced, while public functions are put at the center of the redevelopment project. Over 14,000 square meters are now made available at this purpose, creating room for the new health platform and the new Civic and cultural center for the east city. A portion of about 9,000 square meters (over 4,000 square meters of new 'compensatory' buildings), on the other hand, receives a residential and urban connection destination. In a planning view the solution appears to be more coherent (beyond the considerations on the disposal process), as the good urban location, together with the proximity to the hospital center of San Martino, allows to hypothesize more appropriate uses for the area. The new solution also allows to start a dialogue with the owners of the more recent part of property (Fintecna) to arrange more integrated uses. The conversion project has now entered its implementation phase and the local governments involved, along with the local committees and self-organized associations, start drafting the master plan of the area. In terms of implement, the most important issue that seems to emerge in the early stages of this new route concerns the financing of public equipment, which should take place at least in part through further disposals of more peripheral property. The project, in its new configuration, allows the creation of an urban center of public service in a multi-functional platform, which is currently lacking in the entire urban area of the east of Genoa. The connection with some major road infrastructure and the proximity of one of the subway stations belonging to the urban rail system, and then the high level of accessibility especially in relation to public transport, should, in perspective, make this place a pole of attraction able to trigger significant urban regeneration processes.

5. Considerations about the case study

The overall process, which had as its final act the mentioned Program agreement, is significant in relation to the logic of disposal for exploitation, which ignores the 'values' of a place and of the people living in it. Placing on the real estate market public properties is always problematic, but it is even more so when it is addressed through the logic of maximum financial exploitation. Playing on the future land-use in order to increase the economic value of areas may appear a good strategy in the short term, but inevitably collides with the complexity of urban transformation dynamics, which require an integrated and organic view of the city that cannot focus only on the individual transaction: and this is true not only for public, but also for private operators. In the present case, some contingent factors have certainly helped redirecting the disposal process, first of all the real estate crisis that, at some point, brought down the demand for certain functions (mainly residential). The final project is the result of a compromise between public needs, now more concretely safeguarded and indeed enhanced, and private perspectives, related to real estate interests. The two perspectives are not to be considered necessarily inconsistent: on the contrary, civil service and private property can enhance each other, replicating a mechanism historically typical of our city that only the economistic horizon currently prevailing has obscured.

As for the pervasive phenomena of metropolization focused on the privatization of space and the financialization of economic processes (with obvious repercussions on the social construction of the city, from which citizens are increasingly excluded), this represents a case in which citizens and 'users' regained physical and especially decision-making spaces, with regard to choices concerning the evolution of the forms of their living environment. This process has led to a 'strong' change in land use decisions by a public decision-maker, significantly changing the priority framework. Compared to the general process of divestment of public goods, the experience of Quarto indicates how urgent it would be a radical rethinking of policies for the management of public assets, which are often very precious reserves of services for the community. As for the commons, they are related to the ability to access rights that should be considered universal (MATTEI 2011). If health is a right, and if living in a place where it is possible to build a meaning of life is equally a right, when because of any disadvantage there is no alternative, the range of common goods gets broader, as well as the field of protection. In this case, the common good represented by the care and the options available in terms of socialization was placed in a particular physical place with an exact connotation: thus the common good permeated the public good and represented its essence; therefore safeguarding the public good represented in the case of the Quarto the opportunity to defend and expand quite tangible rights pertaining to the sphere of common good.

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Captions

Fig. 1. Territorial framework and location of the intervention.

Fig. 2. The historical process of formation and transformation of the hospital complex.

Fig. 3. The building complex of the PH and the actions of securitization.

Fig. 4. The urban structure of the area defined by the Program agreement in 2013: top, summary of the new intended uses; bottom, left the plan variant, right the policy areas.

Forms of periurban agriculture in northern Italian 'continuous city'. The case of the Airone park in Bedizzole (Brescia) - *Full English version*[1]

Giovanni Lonati, Roberto Saleri[2]

1. Periurban territories and neoliberal restructuring

The world has never been as urbanized as today; the majority of the world population resides in urban areas and is concentrated in large urban agglomerations and megacities. 'City' has become an inappropriate definition for contemporary urban conformations (Friedmann 2002), which is proved by the creation of new terms, such as urban sprawl, urban fringe, infinite city, urban region (etc.) in an attempt to define the "living territory" (Magnaghi 1990) of people.

The process of urbanization of countryside, which started with the birth of modern cities, has been intensifying, especially since the 70s, as production systems were being reorganized and neo-liberal policies were spreading. The model of the Fordist city, conceived during the industrial revolution and based on the large factory, today is obsolete, for the city 'explodes' into the surrounding territories, by redistributing its functions and structures on the 'extra-urban' space. The boundaries between 'town' and 'countryside' become less clearly identifiable (Antrop 2004), undermining the foundation on which the 'classical' distinction between urban and rural was grounded (Cervellati 2000). In other words, urban sprawl is not so much the 'linear' expansion of 'towns', but the urbanization of 'the remaining territories'. This leads to the development of various processes of "periurbanisation" (Dematteis 2003), i.e. the dispersion of metropolitan structures in remote and rural areas, which become 'hinges' between the various "crucial points" of an increasingly "widespread" urban fabric (Indovina et Al. 2005). This creates widespread and intertwined situations of "territorial precariousness" (Benni et Al. 2008) as in such periurban contexts the overlapping of residential areas and industrial or commercial infrastructures to the rural-agrarian landscape creates a heterogeneous and fragmented conurbation.

However, starting from the neo-liberal restructuring of the economy of the 70s and the 80s, periurban areas have gradually acquired a central role in the endless capitalist struggle to find new forms of economic growth and wealth accumulation, in which "the case for the limits to growth is reverted into a case for the growth of limits" (Pellizzoni 2011, 796). Indeed the "neoliberalization" processes, which have affected over the past decades "every part of the world" (Birch, Mykhnenko 2010), find in the materiality of territories (with their environmental assets and services) an essential, although temporary, landing place in their continuous global wandering (Pellizzoni 2013; Castree 2008). The local-territorial dimension is therefore a fundamental resource in the current competition between local contexts in order to attract capital flows, an "inter-urban competition for investment capital [that] transformed government into urban governance through public-private partnerships" (Harvey 2005, 47).

In the European context the "world urbanization" is structured as a "metropolization" (Camagni 1999) of regional systems, a process in which local specificities of contexts, landscapes, settlement patterns and life-practices are removed and/or altered. The process of modern urbanization implies a "urbanization of nature" (Swyngedouw, Kaika 2000) in which specific local uses of environmental resources (firstly local agricultural practices) are simplified in order to comply with the dominant paradigms of capitalist economy. The latter, in its current neo-liberal version, is based on infinite growth-oriented models, according to which

> the territory becomes soil, an inanimate support to human activities; the space becomes Euclidean and geometric; the environment is seen as a limit that industrial manufacturing technologies, artificial climates, canalization of rivers should overcome. Socio-cultural local identities are treated as pre-modern resistance to uniformity processes imposed by economic globalization. (Magnaghi 2001, 8).

The 'territory', therefore, is not considered as "a highly complex living system" (Magnaghi 1990), i.e. as the historical product of coevolutionary processes between environment and practices of human settlement. On the contrary it is conceived as a resource for processes of accumulation, a resource whose limits should be expanded through manipulative human ability (Pellizzoni 2011).

The application of new neoliberal models in territorial management has gradually shown its negative consequences in terms of pollution, land consumption, hydrogeological instability, loss of biodiversity, disappearance of traditional agricultural knowledge etc.. The socio-environmental consequences of such processes are distributed unevenly, since specific socio-environmental conditions "are not independent from social, political and economic processes and from cultural constructions of what constitutes the 'urban' or the 'natural'" (Swyngedouw, Heynen 2003). Many current instances of mobilization and local environmental conflicts (in form of active resistance, in Foucault's sense) arise because of the unintended consequences of these unequal socio-environmental conditions. This happens in local contexts where such conflicts are carried out by heavily affected populations (Martinez Alier 2008).

2. Practices of periurban 'agricultural resistance': the case of Bedizzole

In the Italian context, processes of 'metropolization' in regional systems are particularly evident in the Po Valley, where the percentage of soil consumption in municipalities "is more than twice the national average" (Mipaaf 2012). This area of the country is today a transregional "megalopolis" (Turri 2000), a 'continuous city' which stretches from Piemonte to Veneto, where in recent years countless cases of local environmental conflict have been recorded. In these processes of local resistance various practices of monitoring, protection and alternative (sustainable) use of territories are enhanced; among these, processes of rediscovery, enhancement and revision of traditional farming practices have an important role, for they are part of a co-evolutionary heritage of customs and knowledge, that human communities have developed through interaction with their own living environment.

These practices try (more or less explicitly) to re-examine the use of local environmental goods and resources which, in the processes of urbanization, become simply soil to consume, resources to be optimized putting them at work, environmental goods to be exploited through their transformation into commodities. On the contrary,

with these new practices, such as the 'comeback to the land' and 'aware re-peasantization', alternative models of relationship with territories are expressed, hardly compatible with those of the capitalist (neoliberal) production systems. Such alternative models are often focused on the defense-rediscovery-revision of traditional agricultural practices, in which the overcoming of the metropolitan model is interpreted through practices of social re-appropriation of nature (Leff 2009) and experimenting forms of alternative networks and economies based on proximity, but also through new models of socio-communitarian relationship with the relevant living territory.

The case of Bedizzole that is being presented perfectly fits these premises; this town is situated in the Garda morainic amphitheatre (15 kilometers from Brescia) and represents a paradigmatic example of the conurbation process which has involved large areas of the Po Valley. This area, until the 50s, was characterized by forms of mixed farming, typical of the foothill and hill areas of Lombardy (Bevilacqua 1989); however, during the decades of the so-called 'Italian economic miracle' a process of deep transformation of the Bedizzole agricultural space began. In few years this context had become a peculiar mix between the territories that D'Attorre and De Bernardi (1994, LI) define as "suburban areas [...] where agriculture still resists with less force, and it is reduced to a complementary and part-time activity" and a "fourth countryside [...] dominated by urban service activities, such as holidays, and the resulting economic processes, first of all the speculative real estate investment".

In fact Bedizzole is located between the urban growth of Brescia and the exponential growth of buildings that involved Garda Lake after the explosion of mass tourism; the population doubles (going from 6279 inhabitants to 12085) and the urbanized area percentage starts increasing at a constant rate, until it reaches the current 18% of municipal surface (these data are coherent with the abnormal growth of buildings which involved all the Garda Riviera). This process actually transforms a town with a deep and rooted agricultural tradition into a tourist-residential area, and its territories undergo radical transformations. Among them, one of the most significant concerns the Chiese River[3] which flows through Bedizzole. The use and the management of its water has always been one of the most important sources of wealth and prosperity for the Bedizzole community. As early as the 12th century, several factories operated along the river in order to exploit its hydro-power. In the modern era, with the industrialization process, the use of the Chiese waters has deeply changed, due to the increasing demand of water resources for new factories and mechanized agriculture. Starting from the 20s, with the epochal transformations of production, the river has been affected by several projects of hydroelectric exploitation and by the construction of several upstream dams. Since the second post-war period, the new agricultural model, based on corn monoculture, has required a more intensive use of Chiese water, with the consequent construction of numerous canals. The 1964 is a fundamental year for the scope of this study. The flow rise of the Roggia Lonata causes a major dry in the Chiese, around 20 kilometers (from Bedizzole to the town of Montichiari). In that year, without the energy supplied by water, the factories close their centenary activities and the buildings are abandoned to degradation.

The consequences of these events have stimulated a major local mobilization, whose analysis is precisely the purpose of this paper. The activities carried out by the association "Vita fiume Chiese" and by the "Cooperativa farine tipiche del lago di Garda" are particularly interesting, for they involve the territorial enhancement and the conservation of agricultural, cultural and natural biodiversity of territories.

[3] Approximately 160 km long, the Chiese river is the eighteenth longest among Italian rivers, and it's the highest subtributary of the Po; it's also an essential resource for the agriculture of the eastern part of Brescia.

In fact, since 1992, when this part of the river was already compromised, the association has begun his struggle to obtain the Chiese minimum vital down-flow. After a long and articulated mobilization, the committee achieves an important goal: the intervention of a government commissioner who is supposed to examine the issue. After 15 years, the regional administration of Lombardy establishes a minimum vital down-flow for the Chiese river and fixes it at 3.5 cubic meters per second. Below this share it is forbidden to draw water from the river. Since the first years of mobilization, the committee starts a patient and difficult requalification[4] of the section that flows through the Bedizzole municipal area. A bicycle path of 2,5 kilometers is created near the river from Bettoletto to Cantrina (two small communities in Bedizzole). The path is called Heron park, due to the presence of a remarkable flora and fauna including several bird species.

In the context of the different and problematic activities, aimed at the recovery of the park, the municipality of Bedizzole (also thanks to the pressure of the association) has financed the renovation of one of the old factories that was abandoned in the 60s. During 2009, in this building, the cooperative "Typical flour of Garda lake" started its activities. The cooperative consists of ten partners, including some agri-tourisms and farms, several agronomists and a drug rehabilitation centre.

Today the mill is registered at the Italian historical mills association since it contains a millstone that dates back to the 19th century. The revival of stone grinding represents the highest achievement of the cooperative, whose effort started in 1996 and was carried out by its president S.A.. This specific grinding technique allows the production of high quality flour from ancient Italian 'vitreous' corn varieties.

In particular, the cooperative has been able to save from extinction three ancient corn varieties which had been cultivated for centuries in the Garda territory. The recovery was possible with the help of some agronomists from the Province of Brescia and E.B., an old local miller from a family of milling descent. These corn varieties are the Spinone (Rostrato Rosso), the more common Quarantino (Subalpine maize) and the *Sciapilù* (Red Eight-rowed). A strict disciplinary code of production attests the high quality of this flour, thanks also to ten years of *in situ* experimentation and evolution of seeds. Since 2013, the product has been certified and licensed with a De.Co. (municipal designation).[5] Moreover, a constant collaboration with some agronomists allows a continuous experimentation of new agricultural techniques, in order to develop a more sustainable corn cultivation (by lowering seeding density, by quitting plowing, etc.). Among these techniques, the prohibition of fields irrigation, to better preserve the sensory properties of corn, has lead to revaluing otherwise marginal lands. The mill is particularly frequented by school-children because of the didactic activities that are held inside. Moreover, every month, a farmers' market gathers agricultural producers from various areas of the province.

Today the Heron park and the restored mill are two of the most social areas of Bedizzole, especially during summer and spring, which is proved by the opening, in the last years, of a small kiosk and a restaurant that serves traditional local cuisine.

[4] The redevelopment is focused on the repopulation of this section of river. These activities are severely damaged in February 2005 by the "the most serious accident ever happened on a river in Brescia". Unidentified individuals pour a large amount of cyanide into the river, killing most of the fish fauna up to its confluence with the river Oglio in Mantua province. Only in recent years the situation has been slowly improving, with pollution levels decreasing to acceptable limits, although a ban from consuming fish caught in this portion of the river remains.

[5] De.Co. is an official certification, established by the Law no. 142 of 1990 which allows municipalities to regulate local food production with a strong cultural value.

3. Conclusions

The case here examined clearly shows how the current massive urbanization, with all that implies (exploitation, marginalization and socio-environmental decline) is anything but an inescapable destiny. In fact even in an area such as Po Valley (and Brescia in particular) where processes of metropolization seem unstoppable, it is possible to find traces of rural resistance and alternative territorial practices that suggest a 'turning point' in land use. The actions put into practice by the actors described are not, therefore, a purely conservative, nostalgic, repetition of past practices. Rather, when interpreted in their complementarity, these practices entail the "construction of new forms of community" (Martinez Alier 2009, 180) that are able to "regain, for the transformation project, that environmental knowledge rules which had created the type and 'personality' of the place in earlier times" (Magnaghi 2001, 14). Thanks to the recovery of that part of the river, the conditions for an alternative use of the land have been created; this, first of all, has ensured environmental health, which is essential for high-quality agriculture. Therefore, it seems quite obvious to find these farmers involved in local environmental mobilizations against the construction of some landfills, the opening of a chicken manure gasifier, and in opposing land consumption.

Moreover, the revision of agricultural knowledge carried out by the cooperative for the production of flour and maize is particularly interesting. This way, modern agronomic science can interact with "indigenous knowledge", thus showing the way toward a "new modernity" (Martinez Alier 2009, 217), different from the agro-industrial models of the "Green revolution". For its part, the Fiume Chiese association, after winning its battle to ensure the minimum vital flow of the river, was able to transform itself and today protects and monitors an area now recognized as of public-common interest.

In conclusion, as soon as the impact of a certain management of territories and their resources, the promises of prosperity and wealth of the neoliberal project collapse. 'The city air', in fact, 'does not make people free' any longer. On the contrary, the new urbanized world is filled with immense suburbs, in which new forms of socio-environmental exploitation, impoverishment and exclusion are evident. However, the case of Bedizzole shows how the unsustainable use of natural resources, connected to the metabolism of urban areas, is not an inescapable destiny if we are able to identify alternative and viable ways to use environmental resources; ways that are based precisely on this new dialogue between scientific rationality and local ("indigenous") knowledge. The practices we have tried to analyze in this study belong to this type of alternative. In fact, in their complementarity, they are part of the "social and innovative energies" which can represent those "potential resources [necessary] to produce [new] sustainable and self-reproducing settlement environments" (Magnaghi 2001, 24). Social energies capable, on the one hand, of carrying out forms of resistance to the effects of socio-environmental practices that neoliberal urbanization of nature produce - in this case overbuilding and aggressive exploitation of environmental resources (rivers, fields, nature and landscape valuable areas etc.); on the other, of suggesting alternative and sustainable use of territories, aimed at recovering the "place consciousness" (ibid.) of those local contexts that form today's "periurban agri-eco-fabric" (Socco et Al. 2005). This is done also through practices, such as those we have described, that lead to a sort of rediscovery of territories (from its peculiar characteristics to the damage suffered), of their history (the revival of ancient techniques of cultivation and milling) and of their care (the effort to recover the river ecosystem); which is to say, briefly, practice able to suggest - and *realize* - a socio-political redefinition of the "living territory" for this community.

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Captions

Fig. 1. Exterior of the renovated mill (source: www.farinedelgarda.org).

Fig. 2. The grindstone, late 19th century.

Sustainable development as a challenge for cities in the 21st century: lessons learned from the city of Freiburg im Breisgau - *Original English text*[1]

Antonietta Mazzette, Sara Spanu[2]

Science in action

1. Introduction

According to recent studies, by 2050, 70% of the world population will live in urban areas, whereas 80% of the European Union's population is already urbanized. Debates on urban issues highlight the necessity to carefully reflect on the levels of sustainability cities must shortly achieve, in order to guarantee a good quality of life for their inhabitants in terms of material and cultural prosperity, and social cohesion. Good examples in this direction are the urban policies which are based on the indicators used by the European commission in determining the ranking of the Green cities: eco-friendly mobility, increase of green areas, reduction of land consumption, and the involvement of citizens in the urban policy making processes. In order to achieve the goals intrinsic to such indicators, an applied technical, political and administrative knowledge is required, but this would be unsatisfactory if not accompanied by social processes where participation is consciously oriented at the definition of a different development model.

In this regard, the German city of Freiburg im Breisgau represents one of the most well-known and frequently mentioned cases of sustainable city. 30 years after its embracement of sustainable policies, the case of Freiburg can help to highlight the strengths and weaknesses of a green city, that is, the achievements in relation to the environmental policies adopted and the problematic aspects related to the citizens' involvement and, more generally, to the pursuit of sustainability also in social terms (Spanu 2013).

2. Why support Green cities?

We may consider three main reasons to support Green cities and which should lead us to promote sustainable urban policies:
1. territorial reasons;
2. social reasons;
3. political reasons.

2.1

As for the territorial reasons, the persistent urbanization of territories is producing a gradual increase in land consumption, exponentially risen in the last decades assuming the pathological aspect of urban sprawl. These processes go hand in hand with the sharp reduction of agricultural land where, up to a few decades ago,

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the related social (community) systems were prevailing. European union repeatedly drew attention to the problem of the loss of land as an emergency, because the space consumed per person in European cities has more than doubled in the last 50 years; moreover, the extension of the built environment in many countries of western and eastern Europe has increased by 20% in the last 20 years, while the population grew by only 6% (Eea 2006). One aspect which is little noticed concerns the atomization of social experiences, deriving from the dispersion of urban functions and activities, on the one hand, and from the processes of population displacement from compact and central urban areas, on the other. This is due to structural changes of the city from a place of material production (for most manufacturing) to a centre of immaterial production, entertainment and leisure. The increase of activities in the field of hotel reception, consumption and leisure, boosted an increased remoteness of the primary functions, such as housing, and therefore the expulsion of dwellers, beginning with from the most socially vulnerable ones.

2.2

As for the social reasons, the process of urban sprawl is completely disconnected from quantitative social needs, as there is no increase in population, whereas it is "rooted in the desire to realise new lifestyles in suburban environments, outside the inner city" (*ibidem*, 6). The displacement of population from the so-called compact city to the metropolitan area reflects a symptom of unease about conditions and dysfunctions of urban life, being the expression of an expulsion process that primarily affects the most vulnerable populations, i.e. young people, women and foreigners. Additionally, the urban sprawl, and sometimes the creation of new settlements, does not automatically lead to a redistribution of urban qualities on the metropolitan area. Indeed, these new settlements are very seldom provided with the most basic urban facilities, such as schools, offices, public spaces, green areas and so on (Woodcraft et Al. 2011).

It should be emphasized that urban sprawl plays an important role in determining social practices that are far from the idea of meeting and social mix. That's because the shape of spaces has an impact on individual and group habits, which are highly mobile without stable social ties and with a strong intimate dimension. Habits that do not even express a demand for public space and, despite the deep changes and the conceptual difficulties, still represents a central place for meeting and social mix (Mazzette 2013). Habits that, from an individual perspective, triggered forms of irresponsibility and indifference - elsewhere defined as solipsistic behaviours (Mazzette 2009, 203-240) - about what is happening to other people and to the surrounding social world; and that, from the point of view of the group, do not allow to create an everyday life in which the community can recognise itself, thus representing, according to Sennett (1976, 338), "the defeat that intimate contact deals to sociability".

2.3

As for the political reasons, in this context so full of territorial and social contradictions, what kind of policies are needed in order to govern the cities of the 21st century to compete at more advanced levels in terms of innovation, creativity, social cohesion, and sustainable economy? We know that sustainability issues are set to grow, and it is no coincidence that the European commission established a list of indicators, aiming at guiding the different urban actors towards the adoption of consistent policies. Green cities fall within this framework, because they are characterized by eco-friendly mobility and green areas, have reduced (or are planning to reduce) land and water consumption,

practice household waste recycle, use predominantly clean energy, and involve the population in the dissemination of good practices. In specific terms, the fact that new buildings only respond to specific housing demands means, first of all, that a sustainable regeneration of existing buildings is overriding; secondly, new developments must comply with the principles set forth by European commission in terms of low-energy or passive houses. Moreover, not consuming agricultural land and reusing the already compromised is the priority for cities such as Victoria-Gasteiz, Stockholm, Hamburg, Nantes, Copenhagen, Oslo and Freiburg. That is, cities that have fulfilled the indicators defined by the European commission for Green cities and have adopted long term sustainable policies. In this regard, it is perhaps worth noting the 'Memorandum of the European green capital', signed in 2006: Stockholm was the first Green capital in 2010, whereas Bristol has been awarded as Green capital for 2015. Among the cities that have competed, countries of northern Europe prevail, followed by French and Spanish cities (such as Nantes, Barcelona and Vitoria-Gasteiz); by contrast, Italian cities are missing, even though we now see tentative signs of interest: Reggio Emilia has been candidate for 2016, even if it did not qualify as one of the four finalists for the final selection.

3. The Case of Freiburg

The city of Freiburg is an interesting nationwide and worldwide good example to look at in terms of urban sustainable policies adopted more than two decades ago. When talking about urban sustainability, we must have in mind an idea of cities as

> centres of social life, carriers of our economies, and guardians of culture, heritage and tradition that understand that our present urban lifestyle, in particular our patterns of division of labour and functions, land-use, transport, industrial production, agriculture, consumption, and leisure activities, and hence our standard of living, make us essentially responsible for many problems humankind is environmentally facing (Esctc1994).

This approach highlights the existence of a connection between the urban environment as an artificial system, on one hand, and the natural environment *per se*, on the other. This connection produces effects in terms of mutual adaptation between the two systems, in the sense that the evolution of one influences the evolution of the other, and vice versa (Norgaard 1984). The point is that these adaptations may be more or less favourable to human life (Davico et Al. 2009). In this respect, just think of the so-called 'natural disasters' which are nothing, but "the final outcome of a set of different causes, many of which of social origin" (Mela 1998, 22) and consequently of the adverse effects for both the natural and the social environment. For these reasons it is necessary to 'reverse course' and promote an alternative approach to the subject of growth, that take for granted the fact that "a stage has been reached when, through the rapid acceleration of science and technology, man has acquired the power to transform his environment in countless ways and on an unprecedented scale" (Un 1972).

In Germany, the debate on sustainable development opened up in the early 70's with the adoption of the *Environmental program* in 1971, which set ambitious long term goals for environmental policies (Bundesregierung 1972). However, the initial enthusiasm suffered a progressive weakening in the late 70's, when the focus on environmental issues was reduced to the adoption of medium-term strategies for the control of emissions, groundwater protection and management of waste, to be completely abandoned in 1982 by the Christian-liberal government (Jänicke, Weidner 1997).

At that time, Germany was preparing to launch a massive nuclear expansion project, linked to the need to meet growing energy demand, through an increase in nuclear power plants: one of these would have been built in Wyhl, a village in the vicinity of Freiburg. Citizens soon manifested their opposition, alarmed by the studies on the harmful effects on the environment arising from the presence of a nuclear reactor, and that quickly involved the whole area with debates and reflections on possible alternatives to nuclear power for energy production.

The involvement of Freiburg in the policy debates and the success of the antinuclear protests were a major input for the city's 'green turn'. In later years the increasing awareness around the environmental issue turned into adhering to a model of urban government inspired to urban sustainability, which we are going to account in relation to

1. urban mobility;
2. containment of urban sprawl;
3. involvement of citizens.

3.1 Urban Mobility

The contemporary city shows a *hypertrophy* of mobility, that caused a major reorganization of the urban space in order to provide multi-storey car parks, bus lanes, underground subways, highways, urban integrated transport systems so to meet the needs of residents, city-user, tourists, businessmen, etc. (Sgroi 2007, 61-62). The Aalborg charter, in particular, shows how the commitment to improving accessibility, social welfare and urban lifestyle can be achieved through a reduction of 'enforced mobility' and of unjustified and unnecessary use of motorised vehicles.

Freiburg started responding to the needs of daily mobility of the population in the late '60s through the implementation of an integrated transport system in harmony with the shape of the city. Thus, the will to gradually reduce the impact of vehicular traffic led to the introduction and enhancement of pedestrian areas, cycle paths and public transport. Since 1970, the total length of bicycle lanes and roads with reduced speed limits (30 km/h) has grown from 30 km to 420 km. In general, between 1982 and 1999 there was an increase of 13% of the total cycle traffic with respect to total urban traffic, whilw public transport has increased by 7% and the forecast for 2020 see an increase respectively of 1% and 2%. The current extension of the maximum speed of 30 km/h in all urban streets, with the exception of major arteries, has helped to make city traffic safer (Stadt Freiburg 2010).

It must also be said that reducing the load of traffic on the city would not have been possible had the rail system not been quick and easily accessible, so as to facilitate the movement of people and be accessible from anywhere in the city. Careful planning of the tramway network has made possible for 80% of the inhabitants of Freiburg to have access to a bus or tram within 500 meters.

3.2 Containment of urban sprawl

Counteracting the progressive reduction of soil for agriculture, the increasing soil sealing with the consequent landslide risks and, finally, the dispersion of the population on an increasingly wide area, is possible only via careful planning and application of rules for land use.

In 2006 the Administration of Freiburg adopted the *Flächennutzungsplan* 2020 (Fnp 2020), the local planning instrument which indicates the government strategy and dictates the rules for the urban and suburban areas. The Fnp 2020 provides that urban development should not coincide with a territorial expansion of the city beyond the current boundaries.

The tendency is to protect and improve existing open spaces, but also to continue with the enhancement of existing assets, as done in the '90s with the creation of the eco-friendly districts of Vauban and Rieselfeld.

This approach to the territorial government is important also in relation to the role played by the citizens. The decision not to build beyond the current borders was, in fact, agreed by a large number of citizens involved in a three-step public participation process (Grüger et Al. 2006).

3.3 Involvement of citizens[3]

Besides the forms of citizen involvement towards the definition of the Fnp, the presence of *Bürgervereine* in Freiburg helps to enrich the participatory urban scene, recalling other forms of 'bottom-up' participation around the main themes of the city, but in particular those concerning neighbourhood. According to the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, "environmental issues are best handled with the participation of all concerned citizens", which highlights the need for all citizens to have access to the information needed to fully participate in decision-making processes. This aspect is central to the pursuit of a

> development (and/or growth) that is compatible with harmonious evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conductive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration, with improvements in the quality of life for all segments of the population (Polese, Stren 2000, 15-16).

The pursuit of social sustainability cannot be separated from social interactions. In this sense the question of population density in urban areas has become increasingly important. In fact, the compact communities and neighbourhoods are interesting scenarios, since the high density of population is able to facilitate face-to-face interactions (Talen 1999), thus stimulating the production of social capital understood as "social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity" (Putnam 2000, 21). These factors, together with "pride/sense of place and community stability", are significant in supporting local communities and neighbourhoods more likely to pursue successful policy of social sustainability (Bramley et Al. 2006), but also in fostering a sense of responsibility among citizens.

The *Bürgervereine* (BV) are groups of citizens, who are active within the different districts of Freiburg: there are 18 BV and each one consists on an average of about 300 members. Most of them are local residents believing that living the neighbourhood every day can give a direct knowledge of the dynamics occurring within it, and to use it to solve specific issues related to where they live.

Interest and sense of responsibility for what happens in the neighbourhood represent the main motivation for the commitment of all members. A commitment expressed through promotional activities in the district, mainly cultural events such as literary readings, festivals, theatre events, neighbourhood parties, with the aim of promoting local vibrancy, creating opportunities for aggregation and exchange among the dwellers, by working, in this way, to strengthen social cohesion within the district. They also act as spokespersons by bringing to the attention of the local government any issue the neighbourhood may have (local traffic, urban renovation, etc.).

[3] This part reports on the findings arose from semi-structured interviews realized from April to July 2010 with members of the *Bürgervereine* (see below), experts in participatory processes, architects and planner of the City Hall of Freiburg (Spanu 2013).

The spread and entrenchment of citizens' association in the neighbourhoods of Freiburg can be interpreted as a signal of the trust placed in them by a large proportion of the population. Moreover, it also indicates the presence of a widespread sense of civic duty to be understood as a "resource that provides motivation towards 'virtuous' behaviour even in the presence of 'unconveniences' for individuals" (Sau 2004, 118). However, these practices now seem to be undergoing a 'fatigue' caused mainly by the lack of contribution from the younger generation (young people and adults under 50) due to a widespread disinterest toward what happens outside of one's 'niche'. The deep changes that have affected urban environments in recent decades have produced significant effects on people. The increasing integration of the world has, in fact, contributed to the release of social relations from their local contexts of interaction, following a process of *stretching* (Giddens 1994), a weakening of community ties and the emergence of a subjective condition of strangeness in our society. The emergence of a growing 'personality' (Sennett 2006) has led to increase the vulnerability of the person, the feeling of distrust towards the opportunity to have an "influence on the present" (Bauman 2002). As a result, this led to some form of disregard towards what happens around. Within a fragmented and uncertain context individuals are brought to erect boundaries between self and environment and to carve out niches to feel safer. These spaces are always provisional and changeable, as well as the interactions individuals have nowadays with the city. The reasons for the lack of interest towards BV in Freiburg need to be investigated in future research. However, the crisis that currently involves such experiences of activism seems to reflect, ultimately, forms of withdrawal into the private sphere that for Sennett (2012), in relation to the *capability approach* by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum, should be interpreted as a consequence of the failure of contemporary societies to nourish people's personal skills and ability to cooperate. As it might be guessed, this can lead in the long run to a progressive weakening of the involvement propensity of citizens in Freiburg, linked to the non-participatory takeover of 'new generations', and, consequently, to an inevitable decline of the role played by the *Bürgervereine*.

4. Conclusion

In the coming decades, the growth of urban population is set to increase, which requires serious reflections on the levels of sustainability that cities must achieve.
Green cities represent good examples of cities committed in pursuit of European objectives for urban sustainability. Freiburg is a best practice in relation to the environmental sustainability policies adopted regarding the improvement of urban mobility and the reduction of land consumption. Similarly, Freiburg shows interesting aspects to consider regarding forms of citizen participation, both as 'top-down' involvement on general urban issues, and 'bottom-up' activation on small-scale (neighbourhood). This approach showed a series of critical points, due to the social phenomena taking place in urban settings, making it more difficult to pursuit a sustainable development also in social terms. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the social dimension of sustainability should be given less importance than the economic and environmental ones. On the contrary, further reflections on the concept of sustainable development must be promoted, taking into account the existent dynamics in contemporary societies. Not doing this, will condemn sustainability to a state of 'crippled' development.

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Captions

Fig. 1. Public mobility in the main street of Freiburg, Kaiser Joseph-Strasse (photo by Sara Spanu).
Fig. 2. The Vauban district (photo by Sara Spanu).

Back to the neighborhood. Co-housing and new urban conviviality - *Full English version*[1]

Monica Musolino[2]

Over the last few decades, globalizing urban dynamics (from urban sprawl to the affirmation of city models that cover increasingly vast surface areas, the growing urbanization of some of the countries that are now main players in the world economy, such as China and India, to the impoverishment of agricultural aesthetics and economy, for example) have contributed to the creation of cities that are frequently serial, standardized spaces, divided into enclaves of varying socioeconomic character, and producing, more especially in the western world, a more pronounced spatial segregation, which can be linked to a growing social polarization. On the contrary, there are living styles and choices that are in direct contrast to the dominant models, which developed in a more concentrated, and perhaps elitist way at first, but which have now become more visible and widespread, as well as culturally and socially accessible. These are often still experimental in nature, but are the expression of a dissatisfaction with late capitalistic society, based on the cult of growth and consumerism (ILLICH 2013; LATOUCHE 2008, 2009; LAVILLE 1998; PERNA 1998), and also opposed to the exploitation of the territory (MAGNAGHI 2010) as well as to its loss of identity and de-territorialization (BONESIO 2007). These types of resilience and creativity can take different forms, such as co-housing, eco-villages and eco-districts, just to mention a few. Here, in particular, I would like to develop some considerations concerning Italian co-housing practices and experiences, as this is a particularly interesting form of community living, albeit still at an experimental and developmental stage in some cities. This article concentrates mainly on the relationship between co-housers and their urban context, in other words their surroundings, in order to consider the idea that such forms of community living can significantly transform the urban and social structure of the neighborhood they are placed in. The transformation is made more complete thanks to the introduction of new neighborhood practices, or mutual relationships of proximity, in a sort of fusion between private/community space and public space (RUIU 2013), which means that these experiences do not follow normal market rules nor do they need the usual supply of services. Even though it forms part of wider research being carried out into 'bottom up' forms of co-housing in urban environments in Italy, this article considers a specific co-housing project, the "numerozero" project in Turin, mainly because it is already underway and is located in an area of great interest to the city, and because the transformations that have taken place over the last ten years in this particular neighborhood, Porta Palazzo, are of considerable importance as regards the potential impact of the phenomenon of co-housing.

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1. Cohabitation, self-building and participation practices

1.1. Co-housing: a short history and outline of the general features

Co-housing originated in northern Europe (Denmark, Lietaert 2007) about thirty years ago, and subsequently spread to other non-European countries such as Canada and the United States (McCamant, Durrett 1994), Japan and New Zealand (Meltzer 2005). Perhaps the most important reason for the development and diffusion of this type of housing is that in contemporary society our living arrangements and the practicalities of our everyday lives can be very complex, especially in urban and metropolitan environments, and there is a growing need for a renewed community experience. Even though it can take many different forms, basically co-housing aims to reconcile the autonomy of individual space, represented by the single dwelling, with the sharing of common spaces and activities. Often the process begins with the participation of all the co-housers in planning and designing the building, whether it be a new build or a simple renovation, so that right from the planning stage, the main features and rules concerning the co-housing group are based on decision-making processes founded on mediation and 'consensus'. One of the main ways in which the group can be formed is the so-called 'self-elective group', in which the co-housers put themselves forward to take part in the project on the basis of their motivations and their ability to participate in group dynamics, etc.. When we talk about participation as a way of planning and regulating life and shared spaces within a co-housing project, it is important to underline that there are two fundamental models of co-housing, that differ in the amount of participation operating at each stage of planning and of collective life: the bottom-up model, where the amount of participation is maximum at each stage of the project, from the initial concept, to the planning of spaces, to choices regarding the community's way of life; and the top-down model, where the planning and internal regulations are defined by an architect/designer, who usually belongs to an estate agency or building company, who are less invested in the concept, or not really interested at all.

One interesting point, and often the subject of debate about this type of housing, is the relationship between the co-housers and their environment. How is it possible for them to develop a relationship with the neighborhood, and what are the effects of this? Is it possible to say that the experience of co-housing is very similar to that of other enclaves who base their choices on self-selection and separation, if not actually on a form of self-defense from the rest of the territory (Chiodelli 2010)? On the contrary, which existing practices might lead us to believe that there is potential for greater social cohesion in matters concerning everyday life (Stewart 2002; Ruiu 2013, 116)?

1.2. The Turin case: the Porta Palazzo neighborhood and the co-housing project "numerozero"

As previously mentioned, our case is the co-housing project "numerozero", which is located in a house on the corner of piazza Don Albera, in the Porta Palazzo neighborhood in Turin. The group of co-housers consists of eight family units, of varying age groups: young adult couples, with or without children, single women of different ages, some of them with adolescent and adult children.

The first step of the research - of which this article is the result - was carried out during a period of residence in the house, at a time when most of the co-housers had already moved in and others were still completing the move into their new home. During this period a field analysis was carried out by means of situated observation, with the aim of gaining an understanding into the daily interaction mechanisms and roles within the group,

through participation in the everyday life within the house, and also of verifying the relationship with the external context, albeit unconsolidated as yet. A series of semi-structured interviews was also conducted, using the life story approach (BERTAUX 1999; BICHI 2010), firstly with the co-housers, in order to gain a more in-depth idea into the reasons and conditions behind their choice of neighborhood and their decision to co-house, but also with other subjects who, either by their association activities or by their work in the area, were able to give a more specific insight into the transformative processes taking place in the environment.

The fact that the co-housing project is located in the Porta Palazzo neighborhood presents some interesting elements due to its socioeconomic character, its demography and its location. First of all, Europe's largest open-air daily market is based here in piazza Don Albera: as some of the co-housers that were interviewed suggested, the size of the market, together with the daily hustle and bustle of large numbers of customers, make this quite a distinct part of the neighborhood, at least for part of the day, as it assumes a completely different atmosphere once the market has been disassembled, leaving a huge, empty, open space. In addition, on Saturdays, this particular use of public space is further highlighted by the presence of the *balôn*, a market selling a variety of products, which is situated behind piazza Don Albera. This form of social interaction, so markedly characterized by market and consumer practices, strongly and clearly defines the boundaries, the sense (SIMMEL 1998, 529-531) and practices of this neighborhood: if, at other times of day or at different times of the week, the neighborhood is filled with buyers and sellers, for the rest of the time it remains a huge empty space.

From a socio-demographic point of view, this neighborhood is characterized by the presence of a predominantly working-class population, mostly long-established Italian immigrants from the South, and new non-Italian immigrants (the immigrants living in Porta Palazzo make up about 35% of the resident population).

As for this general outline of the environmental context, it is also interesting to highlight the socio-economic and cultural features of the co-housers, in their roles as urban social actors. They are, in fact, social actors with a professional background (it is important to note the presence of engineers, architects, teachers, professional educators), which sets them apart from the cultural context in which they have chosen to live. This obviously has a correspondence in terms of economic capital, although the situation varies among the co-housers and also depends on their age, but on average it is higher than the rest of the surrounding population. The cultural-economic situation, then, has a significant effect on their ethical, political and social motivations, which I will discuss in more detail further on. In terms of its ecomorphology and landscape appearance, the neighborhood is still characterized by elements of urban decay: for example, around the co-housing itself there are a number of large buildings in a state of neglect, where no real maintenance or renovation work has been carried out, although over the last fifteen years - as will be seen later - there have been plans to reclaim the buildings in this area and create greater awareness of the need to protect them.

It is also useful to highlight the fact that Porta Palazzo is still the object of social stigmatization by the citizens of Turin, who see it as a dangerous neighborhood, inhabited by marginal subjects with links to social deviance and crime. Undoubtedly, the fact that a building that was abandoned for several decades has now been renovated according to eco-sustainable and aesthetic criteria, has brought about a reappraisal of the area, also because of the visibility and scope of the project. As a whole, then,

the co-housing project "numerozero" is a potentially innovative social actor in this context, mainly where it manages to create a network of attention and action within the territory, thus making it a possible agent for urban and social change in the neighborhood.

Over the last few years, as well as the more global dynamics just mentioned, there have been some increasingly evident and important transformations in the area, insofar as housing and living styles are concerned: on the one hand, there has been a process of urban redevelopment and 'empowerment' in many of the buildings, as one of the leaders of the Gate[3] project, which triggered it, has stated; while on the other hand, groups of residents from a higher-income bracket and with greater social and cultural capital have been established, and are now applying new neighborhood practices that are substantially different both compared to the usual market dynamics, that are so widespread in the neighborhood, and also compared to the individual service providers and associations (even those with more social roles) that are also numerous in the area. In particular, the two different experiences referred to here, which were formed at almost the same time, are a neighbors' association for social and cultural promotion, "Fuori di Palazzo", founded in 2010 in an apartment block situated in a renovated icehouse, and the co-housing project "numerozero", also founded by an association, "CoAbitare", which subsequently became a cooperative. These two different examples, that are already part of the local fabric, introduce new everyday living practices and create different relationships within the neighborhood that are also of a voluntary nature, and are different from those promoted by the third sector and alternative to the usual Market dynamics, being quite far from the idea of exchange value and pointed at restoring the intrinsic value of relationships based on proximity and neighborhood life, which, in the pre-industrial era, Lefebvre described as the main purpose of the city: to be a "work of art" rather than a "product" or "commodity" (LEFEBVRE 1970).

As far as involving the neighborhood in the building and renovation phases of the co-housing, perhaps the widest participation dynamics (which is to say not exclusive to the group of co-housers) were noticeable not during the building phase itself, which was already quite complex for the co-housers in terms of their internal participation dynamics, but rather from the moment they moved into the house and began their everyday lives, so that started forming a relationship with the neighborhood, also through the promotion of wider ranging activities taking place in the "numerozero" house. Their relationship with the surrounding territory, which has been described by some of the interviewees as spontaneous and contingent, has insured that the co-housers were not perceived as being alien to the community, as a closed enclave, but that they were seen from a more dynamic, open and confidential point of view, often with some curiosity (i.e. over their intention to create a garden just inside the entrance gate instead of a parking space) or a real admiration for the hard work carried out on the renovation. From what has already been described, it is possible to identify attitudes of open and continuous interaction between the co-housers and their neighbors, which create the opportunity for convivial relationships and processes of social creativity, such that the wider community of the neighborhood residents can not only benefit of them, but also become their co-protagonists.

[3] The project *The Gate - living not leaving* was set up in 1996 as an Urban Pilot Project aimed at the urban requalification of the Porta Palazzo neighborhood and financed by the E.U. Since 2002 the Turin Municipality has been promoting its transformation into an Agency for Local Development.

2. Co-housing: between conviviality and the production of diffuse social capital.

More specifically, we might say that the co-housing experience analyzed here is an expression of what Ivan Illich considered logic and practice of conviviality, when he wrote that it was

> the opposite of industrial productivity. Each one of us is defined in the re-lationship with others and through the basic structure of the tools he uses. [...] The switch from productivity to conviviality is the switch from the it-eration of lack to the spontaneity of gift. The industrial intercourse is reflex action, stereotyped response of an individual to the demands made upon them by others, who he will never know, and by a man-made environment, which he will never understand; the convivial intercourse, every time new, is the work of persons participating in the creation of social life. To switch from productivity to conviviality means replacing a technical with an ethical value, a materialized value with a realized one. Conviviality is individual free-dom realized in the production intercourse within a society endowed with effective tools (Illich 2013, 28-29).

A strong convivial character - I would say lifestyle - was already apparent during the process of establishment, formation and implementation of the group of co-workers and of their project. The whole process actually took about four years, which gave the group time to consolidate their motivations and relationships and at the same time placed them in an almost daily relationship with the other inhabitants in the area: during the building phase, the renovation of the apartment interiors, and during the move into the renovated premises, as described in the paragraph above.

In a socio-spatial context such as Porta Palazzo, the group of co-housers become generators and bearers of diffuse social capital (Bourdieu 1980; Putnam 1993; Coleman 1990; Mutti 1998 and 2003; Piselli 1999). If, as some experiences have shown, also in Italy (Martinelli 2006, 88-89; Bramanti 2009) co-housing is a place in which some of the more socially or psycho-physically vulnerable members of society can be welcomed, thus fostering innovative forms of social rehabilitation, it is the intro-duction of neighborly practices that sets in motion the re-appropriation of public spaces, and also modifies the concept and image of the private space, the house. And in this case, it is precisely the opening up of the common house[4] to the neigh-borhood that makes this place a hybrid between public and private space, setting in motion practices of reciprocity that are mediated neither by the state nor the market. From its inception, the group of co-housers involved in the "numerozero" renovation project had clear ideas about the plans for the use of their common spaces, positioning them on the ground floor and allocating them to specific func-tions, for example fitness activities, or possibly a future play area, while remaining open to other suggestions from the rest of the community for shared activities. Of the many proposals, perhaps one of the most interesting is the creation of a bread oven, not only for the co-housers, but also bearing in mind the wider relationship with the neighborhood, in an attempt to bring back a tradition almost disappeared,

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[4] The term *common house* refers to a separate building within the co-housing or a part of the building which is destined for communal activities, such as collective meals, children's play activities and cultural activities that are open to all residents as well as non-residents, where condominium meetings for exter-nal groups can be held, and so on.

but likely to encourage forms of mutual support and reciprocity, albeit on a small scale at the beginning, and to create greater social cohesion within a territory as diverse and problematic as the one considered here.

Alongside its own activities, the group also maintains contact with other social commitment associations active in the area, helping to create a dynamic network of interconnections with these. As far as their own characteristics are concerned, they maintain a privileged collaborative relationship with the neighborhood association "Fuori di Palazzo", which has resulted in the creation of a Time bank. They also collaborate with an immigrant association to help organize after-school activities, and have contributed to the success of a 'neighborhood day', an event promoted in many areas of the city of Turin to encourage social unity, and where neighbors can socialize, but that up to a few years ago was not very successful in the Porta Palazzo area.

The co-housing project can therefore be seen as a subject that is bearer and generator of social capital, since it is made up of elements that also help to connect different identities and the most diverse social networks (political parties, social and housing associations, Epgs or Ethical purchasing groups or Gas, as they are known in Italy), elements that make it possible for this group to carry out important transformations within the neighborhood (Barbieri 2005, 376-377), although this needs more constant verification and over a longer period of time. We can therefore say that it is through the everyday micro-relationships between the individual co-housers and the group (through their spokesperson), that the "numerozero" co-housing project is able to create greater social unity within their living environment. On the other hand, in light of the results obtained from the observations and interviews carried out in the field, we can observe that it is the group of co-housers who produce diffuse social capital, through their re-appropriation of public space and their new forms of neighborhood living, maintaining an ethical-economic approach that is akin to the conviviality mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph.

What emerges from this initial phase of the co-housing project in Porta Palazzo, also according to the people who participate and enrich the life in this neighborhood, is that this sort of experience can be considered a new way of living that is based on Illich's idea of conviviality: co-housing projects could well be a step in the right direction towards regenerating community life in cities, especially if they are linked to other territorial actors as an integral part of regeneration policies for neighborhoods, to promote social unity in those parts of the city that are at risk from socio-urban segmentation and marginalization, in a perspective that is potentially very far from gentrification. On the other hand, but this will be the object of future research still to be completed, co-housing could also be a positive alternative to a way of life that focuses on a rigidly individual use of the house, or on the hard experience of coexisting in an apartment building, where conflict risks becoming even more challenging due to the increasing numbers of foreign residents, whose presence creates problems of incompatibility with the other tenants (Messina 2008). Perhaps this alternative to a more individualistic vision of the home as a place of refuge might lead local administrations to reflect on viable political strategies, and to take into account some of the positive outcomes of co-housing policies that can be vehicles for social innovation and that have already been successful in other countries (Bouchard 2005; 2006; 2011; Bouchard, Hudon 2005; Bouchard et Al. 2010).

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Captions

Fig. 1. The co-housing "numerozero" Porta Palazzo (Turin), particular. This and the following photos are by Matteo Nobili.
Fig. 2. The co-housing "numerozero" in Porta Palazzo (Turin), general view.
Fig. 3. The co-housing building as it appeared before the renovation.
Fig. 4. The co-housing building after the renovation.
Fig. 5. A moment of self-construction.
Fig. 6. The celebration for the opening of the co-housing "numerozero", Turin, 2013.

In-between density and diffusion: Athens, urban development and society, in the shadow of crisis - *Full English version*[1]

Luca Salvati[2]

1. Introduction

If the contrast between large cities in the Mediterranean such as, for example, Barcelona and Cairo, involves, according to Kayser (1996), two extremes in the representation of typical Mediterranean village, Athens could embody an 'average' image, tracing the role of geographic interpretation of mediator between the reality of the north and south of *mare nostrum*. Although located in a peripheral position with respect to the debate on the socio-economic transition of European cities, urban growth in Athens was considered a special case for the turbulent character shown, with no significant pause, since the twenties of the last century (Phelps et Al. 2006). The context in which the agglomeration of Athens developed is, in fact, the result of a stratification of direct causes and underlying factors (Couch et Al. 2007), where a crucial role is played by demographic processes (immigration from '*Asia minor*' before and after the rural exodus and, more recently, the flows of immigrants from abroad), changes in the dominant economic structure (abandonment of agricultural areas, industrialization and outsourcing) and the peculiarities of political issues at the national scale (state centralism, lack of autonomy of local authorities, weak planning practices). The representation and the outcomes - in morphological and functional terms - of the complex Athenian development may be thus regarded as a Mediterranean stereotype (Leontidou 1990).

For these reasons, it is difficult to label the current period of growth, made more complicated by the crisis, the effects of which accompanied, for more than five years, the life of the city and its inhabitants. The interest of this work is to identify keys to unifying interpretations of the processes of expansion that involved the Greek capital as an example - not singular and evocative - of Mediterranean urban development (Leontidou 1996). The conclusions arising from this narrative intend to reconnect local and regional dynamics, multidisciplinary experiences and interpretations centered on a discussion on the future of Athens, and more generally of the great Mediterranean cities, suspended between development and crisis, between anxiety for tomorrow and relentless pursuit of the past.

2. In-between compactness and dispersion: an original model of growth

The Athenian development can be represented by consecutive cycles of concentration and diffusion, in which different social actors have helped to produce a typical settlement pattern (Burgel 1975). The interaction between different social classes led to the crystallization of a dense fabric consisting of a microcosm of settlements morphologically cohesive but functionally independent (Maloutas 2007).

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The evolution of the city depended on the maintenance of a dynamic equilibrium in the interests expressed by the various segments of the population: the working classes, fewer workers in industry and more tertiary and temporary workers, the bourgeoisie, in search of a new identity, and the affluent class with its relationship - in some ways unique - with the city (Arapoglou, Sayas 2009). The need to claim a recognition through the creation of collective landmarks, but also the need to defend their prerogatives (safety, wellness, space, technology, access to infrastructure) in a dual and backward city, went through all social classes contributing to the slow transformation of urban form (Petsimeris 2008).

The evolution of settlements highlights two distinct stages in the development of post-war Athens; the first, identified in the period between 1950 and 1980, represented the high-density growth, in common with other agglomerations of Mediterranean Europe; the second, subsequent to 1980, was characterized by an expansion mode based on demographic de-concentration and periurbanization of productive activities, combined with a shift from manufacturing to services. These changes have had an impact on urban form, stimulating the growth of fringe areas rather than a low density spread at long distances from the center (Salvati 2010). Although the major fracture with the past is represented by the attenuation of the density gradient that has characterized Attica until the seventies, this process has not generated, except in limited areas, contexts dominated by low-density settlements. In these areas, in fact, a slow process of densification was observed, driven by residual spontaneity (who often acted on low-quality soils compared to planned settlements) legalized in the years before the Olympics. The contiguity of settlements has produced a fabric that does not seem similar to the morphological features of sprawl (see, for example, Dal Pozzolo 2002; Gibelli, Salzano 2006; Kresl 2007), but rather to a phenomenon of slow devolution of the original hyper-compact form, which invests portions of territory without a focus along preferential development axes.

3. Economic transformations, demographic growth and social change

From the functional point of view, the transition from a city based on the dipole Athens/Piraeus to an essentially tri-centric city (Athens / Piraeus / Northern districts along the new 'Attica road') did not significantly alter the location pattern of industrial activities and tertiary sector. The process of relocation, partly planned, has been observed since the early 1970s but have had a limited impact on the re-distribution of productive activities (Beriatos, Gospodini 2004). The progressive displacement of industry, especially heavy manufacturing, from the center of Athens partly coincided with the weakening of industrial policies in favor of the capital city (Kourliouros 1997). The industry migration to the periurban area has invested two plains, Thriasio and Messoghia, adjacent to the metropolitan area, and had resulted in settlements just as compact and interconnected with the urban fabric, both along the road Athens-Thessalonica and near the new international airport in Spata. These settlements, adjacent to residential neighborhoods and commercial districts, have also revived a mixture of land uses which fits into the pattern of spatial *mixité* already observed in the past by Leontidou (1990).

The transition of the economic structure towards advanced service sectors has led to a partial redistribution of urban functions (Delladetsima 2006). The relative stability of the port and commercial functions in the Piraeus area is matched by a continuation of the administrative functions in the municipality of Athens,

with a gradual drift towards financial intermediation and business services. Despite the restoration of urban functions, the center has, however , retained its economic role in the metropolitan area (Gospodini 2009).

The most important change, however, was the gradual reorganization of the northern districts (Maroussi, Kifissia, Chalandri), invested by the infrastructural development for the Olympics, which have experienced a transition to a new centrality, related to the modern road axis of the Attica road and the railway network. The headquarters of many domestic and foreign companies have colonized this area and the same new buildings represented, with their modernistic forms and technology, the evolution of the area towards advanced services (Gospodini 2006). The complete saturation of urban voids by numerous shopping centers located along the main axis of flow have definitely changed the cityscape of these areas (Figure 1), in which only ten years before they cultivated vineyards and the olive trees, as mentioned by Henry Miller in *The colossus of Maroussi* (Miller 1976).

The speed with which this new 'Central Business District' was created as functionally specialized with respect to the center of Athens, without the 'weight' of public administration and oriented towards telecommunications and high-tech services (Gargiulo Morelli, Salvati 2010), evokes a new city within the city, in an evolutionary process only partially induced by the investments for the Olympics. This process seems to maintain, however, important links with the characteristics and evolution of the settlement , starting with the *mixité* of functions evoked by Leontidou (1990). The formation of this new urban district has also influenced the dynamics of settlement diffusion in the surrounding areas, which more than others have seen an increase in property values as a result of the Olympics.

Along the Attica way, new settlements have been added to the areas of the new planned development that have joined the existing ones; areas originally intended for non-urban uses, which have supported an alternative development, creating a 'fabric split', a city hinged on the few roads and still growing, between a shed and a house, *to the almost complete saturation of the free space*. A dispersion which evolves into *quasi*-compactness, in partial disagreement with regional planning, oriented towards the simple preservation of agriculture and forestry use (Chorianopoulos et Al. 2010) which appears compromised in some areas, in other still potentially viable. Alternating phases of dispersion and concentration, extensification and intensification, expansion and self-containment, the city lead, although more slowly than in the past, to a consolidation of the levels of density on values no longer typical of hyper-compact cities, but not so moderate to evoke processes of sprawl, according to a model that is not exclusive of Athens (Busquets 2006) and that, if properly planned, could help mitigate the problem of land consumption (Gargiulo Morelli, Salvati 2010).

Compared to the settlement dynamics, socio-spatial restructuring of the city is more evident in mitigating the classic east-west gradient, at the time highlighted by Burgel (1975), and with the formation of a more fragmented pattern in which micro-gradients and 'islands' tend to create enclaves of wealth and poverty (Maloutas 2007) in a fabric which is homogeneous only in part: the legacy of a past in which the informal growth of suburbs had created a social structure dominated by the proletarian class and, subsequently, by the petty bourgeoisie (Vaiou 1997). Even in a context of increased fragmentation of the landscape, the 'actors' of the sprawl (proletariat, bourgeoisie, wealthy classes) appear the same as thirty years ago (Leontidou 1990), in a social geography that tends to reproduce sections of segregation and fragmentation.

4. The urban consolidation as a legacy of dispersion

In the face of a metropolitan area that does not show signs of substantial devolution, except in limited areas of the city, we saw how the outcome of the economic and social processes has consolidated cohesive urban and suburban communities, which tend towards the processes of densification and (re)polarization. This is not, of course, denying the particular impact that urban sprawl has had on the fringe; it would seem, however, that this process can relate - much longer in the future - to a model reproducing the features of polarization, contiguity, homogeneity observed on a regional scale. In other words, the sprawl observed by Couch *et Al.* (2007) seems to be a temporary phase of a broader phenomenon of development, still supported by a growing population, which could lead to a more 'mature' settlement. Such a phenomenon is evident in the flat periurban areas: the development of Corinth and Thessalonica highways has sanctioned their transition from rural to periurban areas, characterized by an almost continuous relation with the consolidated fabric.

What role will then play attractors such as the International airport, located in the center of the new Messoghia, and the port of Rafina, apt to challenge even the Piraeus primacy? The impression is that these areas represent a kind of laboratory for the development where it is possible to deal with the mechanisms of formation of satellite cities, attempting to reproduce, although in ways not entirely planned, an autonomous way to development .

In some way, rather than referring to the Athenian sprawl as a metaphor, a steady conceptual referent, we could evoke, reading Minca (2004), the narrative of horizon, to witness an evolution that has not yet reached a stage of maturity and continuously moves its limits, no longer coinciding with the boundaries of the metropolitan area, and that continues to promote non-linear transformations (Coccossis et Al. 2005). Moreover , the very urban form of Athens has undergone transformation since the early twentieth century, when it showed a ragged and fragmented drawing, with a low density suburban expansion driven by the bourgeoisie (Benevolo 1990). This form, which was consolidated by the creation of so-called garden cities in the postwar period (Psichikò, Philothei, Papagos, Kifissià) was bunched by denser settlements due to the informal processes of colonization of urban voids, driven by both spontaneity and urban planning derogation (Economou 1997). In this sense, the garden cities and the 'judiciously compact' neighborhoods (Gargiulo Morelli, Salvati 2010) have represented models of urban sustainability in the general context of low public participation (Figure 2).

We cannot exclude that the mono-centric city is turning into a 'moderately polycentric' territory, at least from the point of view of settlement; a territory into which, however, still count the major centers (Piraeus, Athens) and where other nodes of development creates further polarization, in a pattern that, even in the rhetoric of the (missed) policy choices, reduces only moderately the gradient between center and periphery, but that - if properly planned - could have interesting results in the containment of land consumption. This is due to the maintenance of a strong contiguity in the urban fabric, as well as the (quite unintentional) conservation of the natural heritage of marginal areas, hills and mountains, caused by lack of entrepreneurship and political inertia that crystallize, in those areas, a landscape without infrastructure (Giannakourou 2005).

If we want to imagine future, possible diffusion processes at low density, it is therefore appropriate to refer to regions progressively further away from Athens. Particular emphasis could be addressed, in this sense, to rural areas on the border with the province of Thebes, south of mainland Attica bordering the Messoghia,

the west coast between Corinth and the plain of Megara. In these areas, made more accessible by the new road infrastructure, we can expect diffusion phenomena, driven by both the market for second homes, and the expulsion of secondary functions from the neighboring satellite towns of Messoghia and Thriasio. In this context, planning could contribute to sprawl by identifying such areas as tourist sites, accompanied by an infusion of land for low-density residential purposes. But these areas are still small in extension and economically marginal. However, the core processes of demographic, social and productive issues remains incardined in the Attica plain (Chorianopoulos et Al. 2010). It thus confirms the hypothesis that Athens' metropolitan area is still consolidating its settlement according to a model focused on the influence of representative centers (Athens and Piraeus plus the northern suburbs with the center represented by the Attica road), showing a continuity with the past growth models but also with the development trajectories of other Mediterranean cities (Dura Guimera 2003).

5. Epilogue

The urban transition addressed in this study gives an account of the stratification of 'different' development paths with competitive phases of polarization/depolarization that affect different areas of Athens in a complex interaction of causes and effects (Dematteis 1998), but with a substantial homogeneity with the symptom of an 'additive' growing in which geographical distance continues to show its importance. The development of two centralities (Athens and Piraeus) in the nineteenth century, the rapid growth of a compact texture without an integrated planning in the early decades of the twentieth century, a strong urban bias straddling the World War II, a mild depolarization of the industrial area and the historic city, are steps in a process that starts from the metropolitan region and leads to the same spatial scale, without the 'jump' observed in the classical processes of sprawl (Indovina 2009). All this underlines the need for a constant reference to the past to interpret the present and assume some scenario for the future, deregulated and unpredictable contexts, which are socially complex and economically informal (Cassano 1996).

How the Olympics have affected the latter stages of urban development is an issue still under discussion. Such an event has certainly been an economic driver able to (re)bring the city into the limelight. However, despite the effort of decentralization, the Olympics have remained primarily an 'Athenian' event, as demonstrated by the concentration of events in the urban core (Beriatos, Gospodini 2004) In addition, despite the unity of purpose that characterized the Greek society and politics in the years before the Olympics, that time has represented only a relatively efficient interval compared to a non-sustainable and not so much participatory territorial government (Delladetsima 2008).

The message that post-Olympics Athens offers tells, at the same time, about a strong architectural renewal and co-existence of peculiar characters, result of a building development relatively chaotic. Urban regeneration and coexistence of old styles (Gospodini 2009), convergence towards Europe and the Balkan magnetism, infrastructure commitment and urban transgression are the hallmarks - highly dualistic - of the new region (Zagorianakos 2004). If , on the one hand, it is rather clear the unscrupulous use - for commercial purposes - of the territories annexed to the city in the most remote suburbs (Delladetsima 2006), the regeneration of the waterfront along the southern coast - even if it not reaching the outcomes observed in Barcelona (Gospodini 2001) - represents an attempt to re-compose the urban tissue (Gospodini 2006).

A new awareness is arising in considering the 'stress' of the Olympics as a starting point in a process of relocation fueled by post-modern trends in the economy and society (Beriatos, Gospodini 2004).

What role will the suburban nodes play in a possible polycentric network? The answer can be sought even in the development of past and present, an expression of the fundamental characteristics of a society and an economy in transition (Lynch 2006). Big challenges await the planning of the new Attica at the turn of the next decade, far away from the infrastructural and rhetorically modernist 'legacy' of the Olympics: mitigating, i.e., the impact of spatial segregation and consolidating the redevelopment of the old town, returning to that 'popular' city which is always the most colorful and effective representation of the Mediterranean city (Leontidou 1990). Moreover, rethink the role of urban centers and reorganizing them, if possible, by promoting the use of voids, already compromised by the 'free' expansion (Chorianopoulos et Al. 2010).

More generally, it is necessary to rethink a new role, in socio-environmental rather than production terms, for the entire metropolitan area, managing infrastructure as a tool for sustainable development, assuming the protection of green areas and the redevelopment of the housing stock as priorities in the political agenda and, above all, reconsidering the role of the urban region in a wider process of polycentric development at the national level, rebuilding relations with the neighboring coastal areas still threatened by the environmental degradation due to the anthropogenic load of the summer. On these growth paths, twisted and with uncertain outcome, the future of Athens articulates, understood also as a paradigm for the development of other Mediterranean cities laying today in the same impasse between ineffective planning and spontaneity that, even though in less aggressive forms than in the past, still works as a non-plan (Martinotti 1999).

The answer to this impasse depends on how the city will be able to express Mediterranean settlement patterns independent of the 'northern' referents (see e.g. Amin, Thrift 2005; Hall, Pain 2006; Longhi, Musolesi 2007), able to refer to the fabrics intrinsic to the current urban landscape, in particular the compactness recurring, in the European policies, as a contrast to fragmentation, deconstruction, degradation of the suburban (AA.VV. 1995). The ability to read the compactness as a distinctive trait of the Mediterranean region, full of novelty and not of backwardness, represents a key point for this development strategy (Bruegmann 2005).

It is Attica then, and not just Athens' urban area, what will dictate the rules for a complex Mediterranean region. Despite the ongoing changes, the rules of this transition are *still* to be found in past urban growth. The 'resistance' to settlement patterns coming from the so-called most developed cities (see e.g. Sassen 2001; Scott 2011; Secchi 2005) should be read carefully with respect to a territorially cohesive and environmentally sustainable future development. Density and contiguity are *still* the main features of models such as Athens', perpetually suspended between an often cumbersome past and a future so close that it seems never to come.

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Captions

Fig. 1. The low-density urban sprawl in the east suburban area of Athens: a chaotic form of settlement lacking the compactness typical of the spontaneous urban area (right, a zenithal view of the area).

Fig. 2. Medium density residential neighborhoods shatter the compactness of the settlement layout and represent, also in socio-spatial terms, islands with respect to the demo-economic homogeneity prevalent in the urban area (right, a zenithal view of the area).

Towards the 'rurban' scenario: plural forms of planning in Europe for a new alliance between city and countryside - *Full English version*[1]

Science in action

Ignazio Vinci[2]

1. Introduction

Classical economics has conceived the relation between city and countryside basically in dualistic terms. As argued by Basile and Cecchi (2001), it generally tends to make coincident the productive activities with the social and territorial contexts in which they are carried out: with the terms 'agriculture' and 'countryside', therefore, classical economics indicates equally the activity of agricultural production and the place where it is performed, the network of social relation and the economic system upon which it is based. Similarly, the expressions 'industry' and 'city' identify "the activity of industrial production, but also the physical space in which it is performed and the social relations that characterise it" (Basile, Cecchi 2001, 53).[3] The economic model is conceived as an opposition of interests expressed by specific social classes: industry flatten out on the advantages of the capitalists concentrated in the urban areas, agriculture as the expression of the interests of landowners scattered in the countryside. As a consequence, the opposition between these two dominant social classes is automatically reflected in terms of conflict between urban condition and rural condition. The antagonistic character of this dualistic process is particularly present in the thought of Ricardo and Marx. The latter, with considerations later set out also by Gramsci, recognised in the abandonment of countryside and in the growing transfer of labour force towards urban areas not only an economic unbalance resulting from the excess of industrial production but also the starting point of a condition of political subordination of the rural dimension with respect to the urban dimension of development.

This process, which is both economic and spatial and whose effects on the urban condition have been also described in the works of Lefebvre (1973) and Castells (1974), has a turning point with the crisis of the 'fordist' pattern of production and the emergence, through various stages of development, of post-industrial development models (Amin 1994). The decline of the fordist 'factory town' opens to a process of broader deconstruction of the relation between territories and productive activities which will involve, with different trajectories, also the countryside and the rural dimension as a whole. The rising of industrial modes of production also in the agricultural sector, together with the changes in the lifestyles and consumption stimulated by the paradigm of sustainability, provides also structural changes in the economy and the social organisation of rural areas (Charrier 1991; Ilbery 1998). From the eighties onward, the rural space begins to be perceived not only as a subaltern place, a simple source of a mass production called to meet the demand for cities' food consumption, but also as a source of more sophisticated products (such as quality food, culture,

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alternative forms of hospitality and leisure) which increase the value of agricultural productions and the sources of income for rural communities. it is a process of hybridisation between urban and rural development models which, in the West, takes places with different trajectories as a consequence of some structural and cultural factors (land ownership, the degree of industrialisation of the productive processes, the social structure of the rural communities), but which, in the last two decades, undergoes a great acceleration all over the western countries.

Europe is a privileged observatory to critically explore this process of hybridisation for at least two reasons. On the one hand, for the richness of spatial, economic and social morphologies provided by the processes of industrial restructuring in urban areas and the reorganisation of settlement and production in the rural areas.[4] On the other, for the particular role played by the European culture in shaping the paradigm of sustainability by using the tangible and intangible resources laying in its rural dimension.

2. The European urban areas as a laboratory of innovation

Also in Europe, however, the dualism between urban and rural areas can be interpreted as the enduring effect of the failure of regional policies in perceiving the two dimensions of territorial development as part of the same question. While in several European countries the experiences made since the eighties in the field of urban regeneration and in the revival of rural territories (e.g., respectively, in the UK and in France) can be considered a precise turning point in the innovation of territorial policy, for decades the intersection of the two policy dimensions has been prevented by the persistence of limited views and localised approaches (Davoudi, Stead 2002). The regional policy carried out by the European community, for example, sharply reflects this complex transition, since the implementation of the Common agricultural policy and also place-based initiatives like Leader have been conceived and implemented based on a quite rigid territorial zoning.

It is only by the end of the nineties that this trend partly reverses, so that the issue of a more effective interaction between urban and rural areas receives a broader attention by observers and policy makers in Europe. Again, the Eu policies represent an interesting point of view since they allow both to explore the different territorial morphologies involved in the phenomenon and to notice the emergence of common grounds among very different national traditions towards regional policy.

A first significant achievement in this direction may be considered the final report of the Study programme on European spatial planning (Spesp: Nordregio 2000), the research programme promoted by the European commission in support of the implementation of the European spatial development perspective (Esdp) adopted in 1999. In this document, in fact, one of the four chapters is dedicated to the "Urban-Rural Partnership", a set of findings and suggestions for policies whose aim is to enrich the debate on polycentric development launched by the Esdp. The most remarkable contribution offered by this document is probably the attempt to provide a more complex and structured interpretation of the city-countryside interplay,

[4] In Italy, where the prevalence of small and medium enterprises and the geographical spread of industry have played a key role in the post-fordist transition, the phenomenon of deconstruction and reconstruction of rural economy is also associated with complex reconfigurations at the space level (Boscacci, Camagni 1994; Clementi et al. 1996; Guidicini 1998): phenomena like the 'urbanized countryside' highlighted by Becattini (2001), joints and overlaps between networks of medium-sized cities and scattered rural systems (Magnaghi, Fanfani 2010), disjointed and scarcely organised phenomena of metropolisation with respect to large estates resistant to change (Lanzani 2003) express various morphologies of a 'rurbanity' which is typical of large portions of the country.

identifying several intermediate settings at the intersection between the 'urban' and the 'rural' as a typical feature of territorial phenomena in Europe and as potential experimental field for regional cohesion policies, still too oriented by the classificatory needs of structural funds.

As a result, in the following years the urban-rural interaction catalyses a growing attention at the European level, becoming the focus of a number of joint research activities, planning experiments and exchange of good practices supported by the Eu. For example, the Espon programme - which represents one of the main tool for the implementation of Esdp - targets on the urban-rural interaction one of the ten thematic projects carried out in its first phase of activity: the project "Urban-Rural relations in Europe" (Espon 2005). This initiative has resulted in a first systematic (spatial and statistical) analysis of the European territory at regional and sub-regional levels, returning some common trends but also the diversity of the forms in which the urban-rural relations take place in the different local contexts. Starting from these findings, the final report of the project has provided a series of policy recommendations with the aim of encouraging a more effective inclusion in territorial policies of the urban, environmental, economic and social consequences produced by the 'rurbanisation' processes.

Probably for the irreducible diversity with which 'rurbanisation' is described by these early studies at the European scale, a comparative perspective and an attention towards cooperation will mark a large number of community projects in the second half of the decade. The urban-rural interaction becomes a field of observation and planning experiments both in the Sixth and Seventh framework programmes for research (see the projects *Plurel*, *Faan*, *Purefood*, *Foodlinks*), as well as in the framework of Eu initiatives Interreg III (see the projects *Saul*, *Farland*, *Hinterland*) and Interreg IV (see the projects *Peri-Urban Parks*, *Surf*, *Value*, *Making Places Profitable*, *Urban Habitats*, *Solabio*, *Rururbal*).

Table 1. The main issues and interpretations of the urban-rural relation practiced in the analysed European projects.

	Peri-urban	Hinterland Region	Landscape Land-use	Biodiversity	Agriculture Economy	Agriculture Food
FP6						
Plurel	■		■			
FP7						
Faan						
Purefood					■	■
Foodlinks					■	■
					■	■
Interreg III						
Saul	■		■	■		
Farland		■	■			
Hinterland		■	■			
Interreg IV						
Peri-Urban Parks	■		■	■		
Surf	■		■			
Value		■	■	■		
Making Places Profitable		■	■			
Urban Habitats	■		■	■		
Solabio				■	■	
Rururbal		■			■	■
Bips	■		■	■		
Euroscapes	■		■	■		

Among these initiatives, one of the most recent and important recognitions is represented by a preparatory action entitled "Rurban. Partnership for sustainable urban-rural development" (Firbuasd 2012), which provides an interesting overview on good practices and projects related to a number of issues (governance, mobility, environment, economic innovation) considered relevant for the relation city-countryside and the regional policies which will address it.

The areas of experimentation, the recurring themes and approaches practiced within this variety of cooperation experiences allow us to raise some early critical considerations. The first regards the significant gap between the northern countries of Europe and the southern and Mediterranean Europe in the attention paid to urban-rural relationships. It is sharply evident, despite the spreading of metropolisation processes in the whole continent, that in northern Europe there is a cognitive and institutional progress in the interpretation of urban-rural phenomena, as well as the attempt to frame the (often informal) practices of urban-rural partnership within more structured strategic scenarios of territorial development.

The second consideration has a territorial nature and refers to the primacy of the 'periurban' dimension as the privileged context of a large part of the projects put under observation. While it is reasonable to consider such contexts as spaces where conflicts and opportunities concerning the city-countryside relationships emerge more sharply, on the other hand it must be also recognised that they represent just one of the territorial morphologies in which such relationships may be analysed and explored. An answer to such evidence is that a considerable number of experiments have been inspired by a planning-environmental vision of the matter, a perspective that assumes the preservation of periurban landscapes and urban agriculture as the prevailing objective of the projects. As shown in the table above, so far only a limited number of initiatives have dealt with other more complex issues, such as the support to local production systems, the regulation of supply chains or the relationship between of technological innovation and environmental sustainability.

3. Four dimensions of 'rurbanity' as an horizon for their integration in the planning practices

Looking at the most recurring themes and approaches practiced in the projects cited above, we could argue that the potential of the urban-rural interaction is not yet fully explored by the planning experiments made in the last decades. The same Espon project (Espon 2005) has warned among its premises on how different connotations urban-rural relations can take if explored from a 'structural' point of view, in relation to the demographic and urbanisation dynamics, or from a 'functional' one, which means considering the reorganisation of productive processes or the emergence of new forms of land use as expression of a change in the social behaviours. Nadin and Stead (2000), by observing such processes of reorganisation in the West of England, have suggested the presence of at least eight vectors of exchange of tangible and intangible resources between the urban and the rural dimensions (see Fig. 3).

That issue, in other words, appears as the expression of that 'gray zone' appeared in the development models of western countries under the pressure of the post-industrial transition and the productive diversification that have taken place both in the urban and the rural economies. From a social point of view, these processes are in turn influenced by the emergence of cultural and technological innovations,

which have stimulated alternative uses of space and different modes of enhancement for local resources. As a consequence, while it is commonly perceived that the traditional relations between city and countryside are progressively replaced by growing bidirectional flows of people, capital, technology and information, the implications for regional development and the role of planning policies still appear largely unexplored. If we focus our attention on the future perspectives of sustainable local development policy, without loosing sight on the reality of an urban-rural interaction characterised by complex exchanges of goods and values, we need to recognise that planning should operate in the integration of four main dimensions with very different roots in the territorialist culture.

• The first dimension, more largely exlored in practice, is linked to a landscape approach that emphasizes the environmental issues of urban-rural relations, while leaving their social implications in the background. It is an influential approach to the question that is rooted in an intellectual tradition that could be traced back to Ebenezer Howard and his *Garden city* (Parsons, Schuyler 2002). In the second half of the last century, under the influence of the progresses in landscape ecology, that field is enriched by the emergence of new environmental approaches to urban design - see, among others, the intellectual pathway from McHarg (1969) to Steiner (2000) - which conceptualises the relation between cities and their environment mainly in terms of (reconstruction of) ecological connections. This perspective, initially animated by the contact between landscape design and the rising discipline of ecology, has been over time enriched by different sensibilities that look at the 'periurban' as a privileged space for rethinking the relationship between city and countryside. The result is a variety of approaches linked to different cultural roots and with an interest towards diverse territorial morphologies - from urban fringe (Gallent et al. 2006) to "urban countryside" (Donadieu 1996; Mininni 2013), from the "third landscape" generated by abandoned spaces at the margins of contemporary cities (Clément 2005) to different practices of "self-sustainable local projects" (Magnaghi 2000) - which share the perception of the contact areas between city and countryside as privileged spaces for a territorial project expressing a new landscape ecology.

• A second relevant dimension, for many reasons interconnected to the previous, conceives the urban-rural dialectic as a process of re-elaboration of cultural meanings and social functions. This process is linked to the emergence of a "new-ruralism" (Merlo 2006), which is expression of the metropolitan intellectual classes and represents one of the typical trends in the post-modern western societies. This "new-ruralism" is mainly expressed in two forms: on the one hand, in perceiving the countryside as a valid residential alternative to living in the city or, more softly, in a systematic frequentation of the rural environment for leisure; on the other - with greater implications for our perspective - in the attempt to bring back the countryside (or fragments of a lost rurality) within the city through a variety of project interpretations. In the last two decades, an increasing number of western cities have been the scene of original planning experiments - from the American community gardens to the English city farms, from the French *jardins familiaux* to the Italian *orti urbani* - whose significance lies not merely in the preservation of the environment but also in the strengthening of social relations and sense of community (Mougeot 2005). What is relevant in all these experiences of urban agriculture is also the symbolic and educational messages that they try to drive, as the promotion of an alternative culture in contrast to the individualistic and ecologically unsustainable image of modern urban civilisation.

• A third dimension, usually far from a regional and territorialist perspective, relates to the economic functions of the 'rural', in terms of all those marked-led activities which regulate and can promote or hinder a different interaction between city and countryside. As often with respect to market processes, the different rationalities here expressed are hard to integrate in a consistent public policy. The market of agricultural products, in fact, is regulated by a tangle of rules - some provided by public regulators (see, for example, the Eu Common agricultural policy), others imposed by dominant private actors - which are able to place high barriers to the regeneration of local markets. The 'local food' policy, for example, is still strongly limited in its diffusion by a series of protection rules that prevent the rise of alternative supply chains between the urban markets and the surrounding rural territories. Nevertheless, as argued by Van Leeuwen (2010), the future economy of rural areas can only be based on a different relation with urban areas, which represents the natural destination for agricultural products, mainly those with higher added value. Along this direction, there is a growing number of local projects and business initiatives, in Europe and Italy particularly, that are trying to achieve a difficult mediation among market logics, fair economy and sustainable development. These are initiatives with different nature and social relevance - from urban markets linked to short supply chains to typical food stores (of which Eataly represents a mainstream model not only in Italy, see Sebastian, Montagnini 2012) - but always trying to experiment a more territorialised conception of food market.

• A fourth and last interpretation, still at the margins of territorial planning debate and practices, looks at the relations city-countryside(agriculture) from the energy perspective. Since the end of the nineties, through diverse disciplinary contributions, there has been a growing emphasis towards a new 'urban metabolism' (see, in this regard, the interesting literature review made in Rapoport 2011) as a paradigm to balance and make more sustainable the energy consumptions of cities. New philosophies of recycle (among many others McDonough, Braungart 2002), together with the advancements in the industrial research on biomass (Klass 1998), are sustaining the rise of a "third industrial revolution" based on a different use of natural capital in cities' functioning and development (Hunters Lovins et al. 1999; Rifkin 2011). The most promising developments for the reshaping of urban-rural relations in this field appears those deriving from the spreading of systems drawing energy from biomass, whose applications (for example green fuels for transport) are able to combine power efficiency with less impact on the biosphere. Many observers agree that if there will be a full exploitation of the huge biomass potential in the by-products of local agriculture (with the creation of sustainable agro-energy districts), instead of basing green energy production on the creation of massive *ad hoc* farming settlements, this perspective could lead to a complete reshaping of urban-rural relationships.

4. Space for synergies and for planning experiments: conclusive remarks

The four 'experimental areas' for planning explained above, within which different processes of innovation are taking place, identify a broader 'space for integration' that implies a series of challenges for future local development policies.
A first challenge for the territorialist culture, in relation to the structural and functional variables that can hinder an holistic vision of urban-rural relationships, is cognitive.

It mainly concerns the contribution that is reasonable to expect from territorial sciences towards new geographical and relational interpretations, as a consequence of a 'space of rurbanity' which is rapidly changing under the pressure of urban sprawl, new social behaviours and alternative dynamics in the market. Such dense and manifold interpretations of the urban-rural relationships, where settlement processes are intertwined with flows of tangible and intangible assets triggering enhancement processes not always consistent with them, appear as an unavoidable condition in order to define a new dimension of regional space and, with it, a new framework for effective sustainable policies in environmental, social and economic terms. what matters is not, clearly, to define new forms of territorial zoning to replace the old who have shown their infertility, but instead to describe the complexity of phenomena that escape the comprehension of social actors and decision-makers and, for this reason, cannot represent the cognitive base for more creative visions apt to integrate heterogeneous policies and projects.

A second challenge involves more directly the wealth of knowledge and techniques accumulated by the urban planning and design disciplines. While the emphasis placed on the periurban dimension that characterises the most of the ongoing experiences appears limitative, as well as the role given to landscape as a key to obtain a full comprehension of processes that largely transcend a physical or perceptive dimension, it must be recognised that is at the urban (and metropolitan) scale that an alternative scenario for urban-rural partnership must be firstly encouraged. In fact, it is within the cities that the cultural meanings and innovation processes supporting the reshaping of urban-rural relationships are essentially produced, as well as is mostly in the urban areas that the educational policies can better support the transition towards a new sustainable development paradigm. The redevelopment of urban and periurban spaces bearing a crucial symbolic value, the allocation of functions able to give the regional and micro-regional dimension a new meaning, are then the real test benches for the new 'rurban' scenario.

The pursuit of such a complex and multidimensional scenario implies an additional challenge for territorial planning sciences in western world, that is related to their ambition in shaping new economic and social balances through the transformation of space. It is a task apparently conflicting with the growing fragmentation characterising the contemporary societies, of which 'rurbanisation' processes are certainly an expression, but still necessary as long as we keep considering space as a be privileged projection of change in social behaviour. A more ambitious policy for sustainable development, particularly, cannot abandon this role for planning, but at least at two conditions. On the one side, it is important for it to maintain its function as a connector of a diversified spatial knowledge, which means helping local projects to take advantage of a more creative integration of different disciplines. On the other, planning initiatives should regain the ability to communicate, disseminating new knowledge at the confluence of established disciplines (or beyond them), in order to transmit to the institutional system the innovation drivers coming from the new social ecologies.

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Captions

Fig. 1. The 'Urban-rural typologies' identified in the project 'Urban-rural relations in Europe' (elaboration on source Espon 2005).

Fig. 2. Locations of the cooperation projects focusing on the urban-rural relations in Europe.

Fig. 3. People and goods flows between the urban and rural dimensions (source: Nadin, Stead 2000).

Reutilizing Italy - *Full English version*[1]

Alberto Ziparo[2]

Science in action

Introduction

Not only do many town planners, but also many experts in various disciplines, concern to the events of the national territorial heritage,[3] for some time now, assert that the first, most urgent, great work to accomplish is securing the national territory. Threatened more and more seriously, besides by the climatic crisis, by the abnormal overabundance made of that material which was supposed to be one of the modern progress icons: concrete. And furthermore, that a main horizon for the *Bel paese's* recovery (not only an economic but also a social and civil recovery) lies in the ability to enjoy, protect and enhance the enormous historical - cultural, artistic, architectural, archaeological and landscape - national heritage, which we Italians have the 'luck' to own for the best part around the world, and which we always prove not to deserve. Although Italy was the first country in the world in posing landscape and cultural heritages among the "Fundamental principles" of the Constitution (SETTIS 2010).

In fact, the country's enormous artistic, historical, cultural, scenic national values are continually hurt, abandoned, drowned by a 'sea of concrete': buildings, houses - large and small, in cities or scattered -, industrial and commercial facilities, equipment and technological systems, infrastructure and incomplete works, artifacts often unused, because excessive in relation to the social demand, and made in disregard of the site's environmental features. In place of the fertile and pleasant landscaped regional contexts described by the Grand Tour travelers, marked by the structural features of the eco-landscape context, dominated by the skyline of Alpine and Apennine peaks and the broad and fertile agro-rural spots, with the 'special' environments formed by the relations of such an armor with the different characteristics assumed by the Mediterranean in the various connotations of the national coast, today we find a cluttered environment, dominated and degraded by a sort of 'sprawltown'; that oppresses and disfigures almost the entire territory of the former *Bel paese*, a huge urbanized heritage that claims to be recovered, reused, re-territorialized.

1. The Italian sprawltown

The figures put forward by the impressive urbanization have transformed the environmental frameworks emerging in the setting of the national territory.

The agro-industrial *Padania* - grown in the post-war period under the motto 'for every steeple a smokestack' - has become a megalopolis (TURRI 2004) going from Turin to Venice, between the "Po and State road 21" (BOTTINI 2006).

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[3] Salvatore Settis, Piero Bevilacqua, Luciano Gallino, Alberto Asor Rosa - to name but a few.

In the Northeast, the Nᴇᴄ model studied by Giorgio Fuà (1983) imploded in the enormous "Veneto city",[4] built - according to Francesco Indovina - on "three evasions": a social one, for the exploitation of workforce, at first indigenous and immigrant now; a fiscal one, for the huge direct and indirect tax evasion; an environmental one, for the continuous avoidance and distortion of the both urban and landscape rules (Iɴᴅᴏᴠɪɴᴀ 2005; on this, also Mᴀʀsᴏɴ 2001).

From "Chioggia to Bari" lays the big linear city of the Adriatic coast, where the "double comb" settlement from upstream to downstream, and then from the coast inside, "gave rise to an abnormal settlement, a large urbanized belt from east to west and continuous and extended toward the south". On the other hand, "along the via Emilia a new Far West was born", a mega conurbation much heavier and impactful than the one prefigured by Francesco Guccini forty years ago (Cᴀᴠᴀʟᴄᴏʟɪ 2006). Even the '*Toscana Felix*' is marked from major cities: 'the Tyrrhenian town', from Grosseto to Massa; the city on the Arno; the large urban area of Florence, which occupied the whole plain of Prato and Pistoia. Rome has devoured its original "countryside", then spreading in most of the flat surrounding region (Bᴇʀᴅɪɴɪ 2006). Instead of Campania (*in nomen rem*)[5] and its cultures - in which Chateaubriand and De Brosses found traces of the best Mediterranean and continental agro-rural practices, from Andalusia to Paris, from Vallonia to Attica - is today a single havoc of concrete, waste and degradation, in environmental and social terms: "Gomorrah" in fact (Aɢᴏsᴛɪɴɪ 2009). In Apulia an important agricultural and rural landscape still exists, but it has to struggle against the pervasiveness of the settlements (Mɪɴɪɴɴɪ 2011), hoping of... a good planning policy. In Calabria, "tumbled always hanging" on the Mediterranean, in the expression of Giustino Fortunato, the landscape shows us a land settlement unbalanced and polarized; now beyond "bone and flesh" (Rᴏssɪ Dᴏʀɪᴀ 1982): between the 'grease' of both coastal and plain cities far bigger of their economic base, and an inner eco-landscape rich but very fragile due to abandon (Sᴄᴀɢʟɪᴏɴᴇ 2006). In Sicily the magnificence of landscapes and historical and cultural sites alternate with horrid and illegal widespread cities, even at close range, as shown by the illegal settlement in the Temples valley or the slopes of Etna and in different parts of the coast. Sardinia had maintained its eco-landscaping structure and - with the administration Soru - had gone up to declare that "the landscape profile also defines the contours of the forthcoming sustainable development". Later the 'new' right side governance - fortunately lapsed today - was attempting to normalize the island to the rest of the country (Sᴏᴛɢɪᴀ 2010).

2. Reutilizing Italy: research and disciplinary reflection

With the national Research "Reutilizing Italy" - conducted in conjunction with a score of university research groups - the Scientific committee of Wᴡғ decided to explore the "sea of concrete that now pervades the *Bel paese*", to facilitate the processes of block further land consumption, to explore the potential of recovery and reuse of the architectural and urban heritage, great as well as rarely used, and to interpret and start what promises to be a real restoration of both the ecological contexts and the landscapes identified over the territories.

[4] Which is already there, no need to build new ones as proposed by <http://www.venetocity.it>.

[5] The Italian word for 'countryside' is 'campagna' [*editor's note*].

About 600 areas were investigated, each one corresponding to a "territorial situation" (also identified as representative of broader spatial categories) in all Italian regions, distinguishing them for typological and morphological characters and functional contextualization; so as to foresee for each of them not only a recovery project (also important by itself), but the constitution of "strong elements" for structuring processes aimed at blocking both soil consumption and de-territorialization in the susceptible areas.

The typological categories identified count abandoned historical-cultural sites, although sometimes already protected by law, archaeological sites and architecture of prestige, infrastructure left undone or never completed, military fortifications, disused industrial areas, macrostructures completely built and never used or unmanageable, open urban spaces to be redesigned, vast portions of empty or underutilized residential structures.

The urban and regional settings in the various regions involved are manifold: from whole sections within the historical consolidated city to the missing of recent 'new centralities' that were to mark the former suburbs, to the urbanized countryside to be redeveloped, to many coastal or hilly areas with high susceptibility of landscape, where bring back ecological sense and reallocate capital by stopping overbuilding with new strategies of environmental restoration; also useful for the reuse of abandoned production areas.

In interpreting the various situations of deterioration of the assets and proposing strategies for reuse, the reflection crosses many very current issues in urban policy and research. Among these we include the characters of "sprawltown" (INGERSOLL 2004), the characteristics of the degraded landscape, the obliteration of cultural heritage, the break of the apparatus of ecological systems; moreover, the end or failure of models, once considered convincing, first for the development and then for the recovery of territories, such as the policy of the industrial growth centers, the tendency to a strong territorial armor of contexts - often in the form of heavy infrastructure -, the persistent orientation - subject to the subsequent, recent inactions - to processes of growth and urban sprawl increasingly critical. The research also points out that "the attempts of recovery and rehabilitation are certainly not recent", but date from at least a quarter-century. In fact, besides to investigate the actions, several authors revisit the approaches, the ways to interpret the problems, of which the strategies are the result. "Reutilizing Italy" is thus placed next to certain more 'structured' research programs, designed to practice the different levels of knowledge and action,[6] which together, although with different emphases and also sometimes with diverging practices and tools, mark the context of the current self-sustainable or territorialist side of territorial disciplines.

Below we will survey some passages in which the research meets and interacts with certain disciplinary issues of great importance and relevance; and argue how the research report highlights the mentioned limitations. Proposing instead - with no *a priori* intention - the potential of new actions, if marked by tools and elements coming from the quoted approach.

3. The built heritage's wasting

The areas investigated by the research were selected also identifying sites emerging and relevant for much larger environments, in order to consider the size and, thus, the vastness and complexity of the implications of the built heritage.

[6] As the same "territorialist project" (POLI 2011).

In the research report (WWF 2013), Adriano Paolella emphasizes the difficulties of public policies, and focuses on the need for communities' participation in promoting the reuse scenarios.[7] This brings up a complex issue related to the texture and the 'liquefaction' of local actors and requires a contextualization of the proposals to assume the social conditions of each different context.

Andrea Filpa, Stefano Lenzi and Giovanni La Magna link the social fragmentation with the various causes of the built and urban heritage's abandonment, resulting in "built voids" that exacerbate the amount of unused volumes already inflated by growth of 'new'; pointing out that,

> in Italy, the abandonment is not the result of accidental and episodic situations but the output of processes which are genetically very different, but have as a common consequence the proliferation of situations of urban decay and the simultaneous - and so far unstoppable as well as irreversible - consumption of new land at the expense of agriculture and nature.[8]

4. Reducing land consumption: rules and strategies

Bernardino Romano, even with Elena De Santis and Francesco Zullo, referring to the land consumption data mentioned at the beginning, presents a perspective related to the potentiality of "land budget" with respect to the recovery of degraded land and, in the case, of brownfield. The control, through such practices, requires a precise "verification of the urbanized quotas in the different phases".[9]

The new Tuscan Urban planning act[10] and the subsequent Landscape territorial plan of Tuscany seem to go in a similar direction. However the essential revival, even if updated and revised with respect to the 'new' problems (with significant reductions in the urbanized areas, thus still transformable), of the management difference between structural and strategic areas (even though now partly renamed), already present in the previous legislation and regulation of the same Region, is likely to bring back up issues that emerged in the recent past. More convincing seems to link the possibility of new urbanization and buildings to the calculation of settlements capacity, with the clear declaration that new commitments of areas and volumes can be granted only for functions not activated with the reuse of existing structures (concept rather implicit in the Tuscan standard, and sharper in other recent urban acts, e.g. in Calabria).

[7] "Given the size and spread of the problem, it seems difficult to imagine that public action has the economic means to support the investment required. [...] We need to start a big cultural, economic, social and environmental project that may not be delegated to technicians and administrators, but could find in the inhabitants one of the vectors of implementing a common sense of a quality sought after and valued by the majority of communities" (PAOLELLA 2013).

[8] "Abandonment" in fact "concerns [...] all the different parts of the city and the region. Abandoned buildings in urban central and prestigious areas have been reported, [...] as well as historical-architectural artifacts placed in open areas with acknowledged landscape quality, office buildings in attractive locations, infrastructure abandoned before being completed or that, once completed, have never been used" (FILPA ET AL. 2013).

[9] Its limitation passes in fact through "a control of consumption not in absolute terms, but on the basis of a budget, by equalizing mechanisms of maintenance and exchange of credits, incentives, taxation and penalties, all within a framework control managed by the soils register [...] understood as a transparent interface of information/participation between governments and citizens" (ROMANO, DE SANTIS, ZULLO 2013).

[10] See the paper by Federica Toni in this issue [*editor's note*].

In this sense it should be noted, however, in addition to some addresses present in the recent bill for the conservation of agricultural and rural land (Ispra 2014), the *caveat* of the urban lawyer Stefano Ficorilli (Wwf 2013): the phenomenon exacerbated by the dramatic and recent trends of soil consumption have substantially reduced or nullified the effectiveness of the instruments of control and management developed by the discipline in the period just before, that had derived from the illusionary dominance of the neoliberal concerted governance (e.g. equalization, building credits). We must instead look more, in addition to the project contents, even to regulatory requirements related to the structural and landscaping dimension of the territorial plan.

5. Environmental restoration and ecological networks

The perspective of 'Ecological networks' offers a reading of the de-territorialization and the loss of environmental and cultural quality, and provides interpretative keys about the 'ecosystems fractures' that characterized the national hyper-urbanization process (loss of ecological quality: biodiversity, resilience, continuity and integrity of habitats). The concept of ecological network - as revised within the strategic, predictive, regulative and representation models developed by the territorialist planners along the recent experiences of landscape planning, even by overtaking the formulation proposed by landscape architecture, albeit with a strong ecological footprint (see Malcevschi 2010) - can become the core of more general 'environmental matrices', that take into better account the impairments already existing in rural areas, once half-natural, and include in the concept - as proposed for example by the Sardinian territorial school - even cultural values and quality of settlement (Serreli 2004). This may be a crucial content of plans and projects for the recovery and reuse of territories. The recognition of the environmental, eco-landscaping matrix and its proposition as a structuring function can then upgrade the planning policies, both in the ordinary management and in dealing with emerging specific issues.[11]

That is what is recently being done in view of a more innovative planning, especially within landscape's projects. For example, in Apulia, with the recently approved landscape plan, playing on the triad reuse / re-territorializing / environmental restoration through a highly targeted use of regulation, with a somehow 'strategic' function of the same representational apparatus: scenarios, vast area projects, territorial figures. Almost the same has been done in Sicily, at different levels of landscape planning with their local scenarios of implementation. Similar approaches, after all, had been also applied on the plans of Sardinia and Calabria, later blocked by the advent of right wing Councils.

The new values related to 'revisions' of Ecological networks and their semantic extension to the new 'environmental matrices' allow to highlight more clearly the limits of the recovery policies already under way since some years, with projects that, in some cases, have constituted targets for specific and enlarged reflection and discussion. In reflecting on the recovery programs of brownfield Michele Talia focuses on the need to highlight the relationships between micro and macro planning, or between the site and local context. However, this is the attempt of the entire research report, that moves from the investigation into specific areas to assess the recovery potential even in a larger sense (Talia, Filpa 2009).

[11] For example, the above mentioned macro-phenomena of abandonment of industrial, commercial, infrastructure, as well as housing settlements.

Talia points out that the quality and quantity recorded for the land consumption and the related degradation and de-territorialization are such as to require the "recovery of increasingly larger territories". The assumption at this scale of "extended" environmental matrices "forces" us to historicize the story of the settlement growth and the continued fracturing of ecological networks, landscape devices and environmental structures characterizing the spatial story of our country. In this sense, many of the essays contained in the report refer to the evolution of the national landscape as described by Piero Bevilacqua and, more recently, by scholars such as Ilaria Agostini[12] or Francesco Vallerani. The approach is useful for future planning policies, which - as planners and experts of the Research group agree - can not be left only to the often evanescent institutional actions: they must be pressed, badgered, in some case up to the replacement, by the residents, organized in 'Territorial laboratories'; often born, even recently, around the permanent structures that have gone through the social and environmental metamorphosis and disasters that marked the places and contexts involved.

6. The effectiveness of regeneration programs in terms of eco-territorial sustainability

The greater weight of the eco-landscape variables permits Cristina Treu (2013) to read, through "a new vision" of cities and territories, the programs - even recent - of urban regeneration in Milan as "apparently effective", but in reality too "spoiled" by the demands of urban marketing and by opportunism (e.g. trade instead of industry), which explains the frequent "ecological carelessness" of those projects that end up compromising the entire "performance logic".

The acknowledgement of the need to recover territories extended through "extended environmental matrices" refers to the problem of "development model" that Imma Apreda, Alessandro Dal Piaz and Daniela Mello underline for major projects of re-use of Naples's east and west industrial areas, perhaps lacking also logical continuity in the face to the enormous problems of the historic and consolidated city.[13]

Moreover, the reference to a "new ghost development model", shaped by deep cultural and environmental connotations, is what Guido Montanari finds needed for the recovery of the industrial areas in Turin. Sometimes - in the absence of a reference scenario - even the use of best practices to optimize environmental recovery criteria is not enough to reduce the heavy problematic nature of industrial areas' conversion. As we are reminded by the great tensions in the case of Ilva in Taranto or the experience of Marghera, described by Enrico Fontanari and Maria Rosa Vittadini (2013). As for the deceased (like almost all such facilities in the Italian South) 'growth center' of Saline Ioniche in Calabria, the reuse works as part of a scenario of eco-landscape enhancement, already started with the new ecological agriculture set forth by producers-inhabitants and with the growth linked to the rehabilitation of the area and of the abandoned villages.

[12] Ilaria Agostini (2009) has dramatically highlighted the eco-landscape differences between the Italy described by the Grand tour's authors and the current one.

[13] "The difficulties of bringing back, into a large planning strategy for the city and the metropolitan area of Naples, the set of opportunities related to numerous and extensive brownfield sites" mainly depend on "the inability to timely and concretely manage the relationship among changes in the economic-productive framework, urban regeneration and environmental sustainability and, in that context, the conflict between collective expectations and private interests" (Apreda et al. 2013).

Special forms of reuse are those related to the theme of "urban recycling", also addressed by academic research programs of national interest, with according with Vincenzo Gioffré

> is seen as an innovative design device for its inherent creative force, able to establish effective as well as unpredictable relationships between architecture, community, environment, productive world, landscape, [...] to repair the contemporary city into its weak or compromised parts without giving up the figurative force traditionally central within the landscape project, to consider the issues of environment and ecology (no longer negligible) and translate them into new languages" (Gioffrè 2013).

The concept of "recycling" is therefore characterized by the reuse bound to "light, highly contingent and contextualized" actions on the structures (often little more than simple maintenance), but that re-formulate the intended use - at least temporarily, and according the criteria laid down by the "new life cycle" of the concerned buildings or concerned contexts. Sometimes it is even temporary reuse "waiting for larger renovation projects"; sometimes the re-interpretations of intended use, however careful to maintain the morpho-typological features of the artifacts as in the restoration of Le Murate complex in Florence described by Marchetta and Geti (2013). There is a constant, recurring in different case studies investigated by the research, which marks a convergence of this process with the features of the 'self-sustainable' or 'territorialist' disciplinary side: it concerns the substantial inability, shown by the policies and strategies investigated for the different types of recovery, reuse or even "regeneration", to provide their effective outcome when they do not assume trends and above all intentions present in the relevant contexts. That is, if they do not interpret actions, tensions or even conflicts emerging in the relevant social fabric in terms of planning practices.

7. The necessary inhabitants' action: Territorial laboratories

The new horizons of urban sustainability seem dictated by the "8 R" (recovering, re-conceptualizing, restructuring, redistributing, re-localizing, reducing, reusing, recycling) stated by Serge Latouche (2008). The research can thus provide useful insights on the state of the art and emerging trends in this perspective. As long as we take into account what stated by Carolina Pacchi and Chiara Pirovano (2013) in the final section, when they talk about participation and the "Territorial laboratories" as indispensable tools for initiating such practices.

Inhabitants and defenders of territories are the main actors of these processes and establish themselves as a primary political subjectivity, necessary for their success and management (Paba 2003; Paba, Perrone 2004; Magnaghi 2010). The institutional governance usually appears to be too little careful, or out of date, and in any case weak on these issues and also in the management of policies and programs targeted to them (Treu 2013; Dente 2011). Although they may appear challenging, in the age of "liquefaction" of socio-political apparatus (Bauman 2007) and of distortion of decision-making systems compressed between budget constraints and speculative financial interests often unrelated to the territories concerned (Gallino 2013; Bevilacqua 2011), the construction processes of "bottom-bottom" instances strongly characterized by the presence of the inhabitants involved, such as territorial laboratories for the recovery of the areas and contexts concerned (Pieroni, Ziparo 2007) are envisaged as fundamental and unavoidable in order to propose significant actions: this opens interesting issues for the future steps of the research, that have to be projected on the disciplinary reflection.

Therefore, a research sprung from the need for 'practical answers to straightforward questions', which involve especially the most pragmatic levels of knowledge and action, contributes at the end to support the need for a 'paradigm shift' in territorial sciences and strategies, which means innovation in approaches and contents, new languages by different actors. While it confirms the substantial inability of the present institutional frameworks to manage the problems encountered; and, more, it provides further explanation about the ineffectiveness of many analysis and policies already proposed.

It is interesting to note, even on this 'substantive' issue, the convergence of the research that this paper aims to interpret, with the broader trend pointing at an eco-sustainable refurbishment of territories. Even in this case the correlation, far from being dictated by epistemological similarities, is the result of a very pragmatic search for consistency in the reuse strategies, that the members of the working group consider clearly 'not viable' in the lack of essential actions from the bottom.

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Captions

Fig. 1. Aggregated data on the assets surveyed; left: type of the reported areas; right: type of the proposed redevelopment.

Fig. 2. The furnace Penna in Scicli (Sicily), with its cathedral aisles, represents one of the most iconic cases of divestment reported in the survey. The photo, appearing on the cover of the report, is courtesy of Goofy Palazzolo, www.lealidiermes.net.

Natural localization and the *re*-placement of value - *Original English text*[1]

Robert L. Thayer, Jr.[2]

Introduction. Three conditions

Perhaps the most vital yet largely unrecognized philosophical question facing the world today is: what should be *global*, and what should be *local*? Globalization is utterly ubiquitous and all-powerful to the lives of most of the worlds' citizens; it has received the lion's share of attention. Yet a relatively few academics, planners, and futurists concern themselves with what *ought to be local*. It is the question of *locality*, and all that it means, that deserves more study. Over the past two decades I have concerned myself with two possible arguments for localization.

The first argument is that the world may be examined with respect to its *bioregions*, or self-similar[3] 'life-places', each of which is ecologically and culturally unique. Each bioregion offers its own distinct way of sustaining life, both human and non-human. An approach to managing resources reflecting the potentials and limitations of the natural region is a way to ensure that such regions remain sustainable and resilient in the future. We may call this condition 'natural localization' (THAYER 2003).

The second argument is that the physical world will become more *local* whether we want it to or not. The entropic constraints on moving physical resources, goods and people around the globe will cause a reduction in the length and frequency of shipping and travel as the fossil fuel we have come to depend on grows more scarce and expensive. Furthermore, fossil fuels have seriously impacted the global climate, with resultant and potentially catastrophic effects on the environment. When entropy forces the inevitable decline in fossil fuel use (whether voluntarily or involuntarily), the world will, for the first time in human history, seem 'larger', less accessible, and more local. Let us call this future condition 'entropic localization' (THAYER 2008).

Yet the constraints of physics deal much less severely with *information transmission,* and the rapid diffusion of electronic communication hardware and software results in a continued acceleration of personal and institutional communication. Globalization of *information* appears to be inevitable and, thus far, apparently unstoppable. Recent expert analysis indicates that information technology is destroying the middle class and concentrating wealth in the hands of the global few. Ownership is money, which is electronic information, which is easily transmittable and accumulates to those in charge of information networks associated with international industries. Let us call this condition 'informational globalization' (LANIER 2013).

These three conditions affecting localization are summarized in Table 1.

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[2] Fellow of ASLA (*American society of landscape architects*) and CELA (*Council of educators in landscape architecture*), Emeritus professor of Landscape Architecture, Department of Human ecology, University of California, Davis.

[3] In mathematics, an object is said self-similar when it is more or less exactly similar to one of its parts. Such feature - typical of fractal objects and well exemplified by Koch's curve (see <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/65/Kochsim.gif>) or by the *romanesco* broccoli coils - refers to the intrinsic cross-scale dimension of the concept of bioregion [*editor's note*].

Natural localization	Entropic localization	Informational globalization
• Ecological regions are identifiable • Historic/cultural regionalismo frlows from the bioregion • Susteinable resource managing is besat done locally • Natural regions are more resilient than nations or the globe • Individuals and society identify with places	• Fossil fuel era is ending • Carbon emissions must be controlled • End of fossil fuel will constrain movement of physical goods and people • Entropy will limit the scale of the physical environment • Return to renewables will reverse "dislocation of value by fossil fuels	• Information is information, not matter or energy • Information is less subject to entropic constraints than material things • Information networks accelerate value dislocation and feed globalism • Information not only dislocates, but dematerializes value • Information networks concentrate wealth and destroy the middle class

1. Caveats

Before proceeding further, let me establish some caveats: first, humans have *always* traded with one another and traveled great distances, and always will. However, the frequency, speed, quantity, and total distance traveled in shipping and transportation will be reduced dramatically when the inevitable transition *back* to renewable transportation energy takes place. In short, 'physical necessities' will come from closer, rather than from more remote locations.

Second, information *does* require expenditures of energy, *is* subject to entropy, and does result in certain *physical degradation* (think of the planned obsolescence of computers and the piles of discarded, out-of-date cell phones occurring all over the world). However, the acceleration in the *amount and speed of information transmitted* (as per Moore's Law) shows few signs of abating. The effects of this continued supersaturation of electronic information, like that which has occurred in sectors like banking and global finance, will pull societies in an opposite (i.e., global) direction to that of reduced shipping and transportation of goods and people.

Third, although there has been a recent upswing in the fossil fuel output from the United States due to *fracking* (deep underground fracturing of geological formations to extract oil and gas), this is only a temporary surge in what must inevitably be a declining global supply of fossil fuels. (Note: *fracking* can be likened to a bicycle racer taking amphetamines toward the end of a race to allow him to exhaust what little energy he has left much more quickly).

Fourth, and finally, *bioregions* (or natural life-places) are not crisply bounded geographic territories, like sovereign states. Instead, they are 'fuzzy sets' of geographic space - loosely defined territories of transition between certain unique abiotic, biotic, and cultural conditions. Bioregions are defined not only by geology, geography, climate, ocean currents, elevation, floristic and faunal colonization etc., but also by the long history of human intervention and adaptation by local cultures on the land's surface. They are also constructed in part by the hopes, dreams, and especially, the imaginations of those people who live there.

In spite of these caveats, a trend toward natural localization has emerged to affect our globalized, information-dominated world such that a sustainable and resilient future might be possible, one bioregion or territory at a time.

Table 1. Conditions now influencing bioregional or 'territorialist' theory..

2. Bioregions Exist

My work for the past twenty years has focused on articulating the concept of *bioregions*. I will repeat below a section of my 2003 book, *LifePlace: Bioregional Thought and Practice:*

> A bioregion is literally and etymologically a 'life-place' - a unique region definable by natural (rather than political) boundaries with a geographic, climatic, hydrological, and ecological character capable of supporting unique human and nonhuman living communities. Bioregions can be variously defined by the geography of watersheds, similar plant and animal ecosystems, and related, identifiable landforms (e.g., particular mountain ranges, prairies, or coastal zones) and by the unique human cultures that grow from natural limits and potentials of the region. Most importantly, the bioregion is emerging as the most logical locus and scale for a sustainable, regenerative community to take root and to take place. In reaction to a globally shallow, consumer-driven, technologically saturated world where humans are alienated from nature and offered simulations of it instead, a bioregion offers an appropriate venue for the natural predisposition toward graceful human life on earth. The bioregional or 'life-place' concept suggests the efflorescence and emplacement of biophilia, our innate affection for the totality of life in all its forms. Although by no means a unified philosophy, theory, or method, the bioregional approach suggests a means of living by deep understanding of, respect for, and, ultimately, care of a naturally bounded region or territory. (Thayer 2003, 3-4)

I emphasize that this definition is somewhat North American-centric. It is perhaps easier to identify North American bioregions than those in Europe, where thousands of years of advanced civilizations have altered landscapes more visibly and substantively than those in the United States. However, that does not mean that Europe (or any other territory on earth, for that matter) does not consist of self-similar life-places or bioregions with identifiable natural ecological characteristics or potentials.

The bioregion, in this interpretation, is an undeniably valid and useful geographic concept and offers various localized cultures a means to evaluate the sustainability and resiliency of their impacts and demands on the land (Bailey 1996; Bailey, Ropes 2002). The procedure I followed in examining my own bioregion (which is the same procedure I have recommended to others for the past several decades) is a 'stair-step' approach, which can best be summarized by the Figure 1.

Fundamental to any life-place or bioregion is its position on the earth surface and its geomorphology: the 'bones' of the bioregion are its geology, landforms, climate, soils, latitude, position with respect to ocean currents and its resultant weather patterns. This, in turn, determines its original and potential natural vegetation, fauna, and ecosystems. Early civilizations exploited these ecosystems to 'make a living', most often doing so by renewable resource utilization and early trade networks powered by renewable energy or carbohydrate metabolism of the traders themselves. Modern civilizations can rediscover this 'natural potential', exploiting various renewable strategies to steer their cultures to more sustainable levels. Local economic strategies, planning frameworks, individual and social action plans, and celebrations can be adopted to meet these goals. The process works for both individuals wishing to examine their own life places, or governments, private, or non-profit groups guiding development and conservation of whole bioregions.

3. Value

At the base of this philosophical and practical approach is the notion of *value*. Value, as we understand the term, obviously starts with economic and financial vitality. Without a viable economy, local regions cannot exist. However, *value* must also include critical non-measurable, non-marketable entities, such as sense of community, shared social goals, positive outlook on life, security, and both individual and ecological health. It must also include *hope* for the future, and that hope must be grounded in a sense of perseverance, perpetuity, and permanence.

All forms of value (both quantitative and qualitative) have been severely disrupted by the globalizing economy. While fossil fuels and 'free' trade have allowed value to be geographically 'displaced', as the necessities of life are now often supplied from far corners of the globe, information networks and the wealth concentration resulting from them have 'de-materialized' value, as immense profits are earned by non-tangible 'goods', while middle-class jobs erode and the sense of place and community is destroyed in the process.

In supply chains around the globe, information has ascended to the top of the hierarchy of economic *value*. More and more *value* is being generated by changes in *information content* and less in changes in physical characteristics of tangible things. Here is a glaring example: the U.S. banks, having created suspect forms of intangible value, crashed, taking the global economy down as well; these same banks were subsequently bailed out by the U.S. government. Later, the city of Detroit, Michigan, the physical home of the U.S. automobile industry, declared bankruptcy. However, as of this writing, here is no sign of a U.S. government bailout. Also, the U.S. real estate market, decimated by the global economic downturn, has also seen little help from the United States government in terms of helping individual homeowners whose houses are now worth less than their outstanding mortgages. Observers can only conclude that the priority to bail out banks with their 'de-materialized', intangible 'value' instead of homeowners with real houses or cities manufacturing real automobiles indicates some new economic world order.

In short, while fossil fuels displace value beyond the horizon of distance, information de-materializes value beyond the limits of our perception and comprehension. Much of the impetus of localization theory and practice is simply aimed at re-*placing* the values destroyed by fossil fuels and, more recently, information networks. Let us take up the issue of physical matter first, then discuss information.

4. Fossil fuel, entropy, and dis-placement of value

All though humans and their goods have always moved across great distances, early trade and migration were powered by renewable energy: walking, horses, animal-drawn wagons, sailing ships, etc. Steam power (first from wood, then from coal) accelerated the quantities and distances of people and goods moved. Oil followed, and the rest is well-known history.

I would argue, however, that the critical difference between primitive trade and transportation and that now provided primarily by fossil fuel is the glaring result that many regions of the globe now consume more resources than they could possibly produce within their natural boundaries and resource limitations. Canadian planners William Rees and Mathis Wackernagel have created a heuristic device called the 'ecological footprint',

that calculates the land-equivalent areas needed per capita for sustainable production of life needs, such as water, energy, food, building materials, or carbon sequestration. For comparison, they also calculate for any particular land area a 'biocapacity' factor, which measures the amount of hectares of land a region, state, or nation possesses to sustainably provide for the needs of residents. Information on these values for most nations on earth is now available on: www.footprintnetwork.org.

The ratio of ecological footprint to biocapacity can be considered a measure of the geographic displacement of value. Consider the ecological footprint and biocapacity values for three different countries. The population of the United States, for example, has an ecological footprint of 7.0 hectares per person, while having a biocapacity of only 4.2 hectares per person. Italy's population requires 4.1 hectares of ecological footprint per person, while the country contains only 1.3 acres of biocapacity per person. Therefore, both the United States and Italy are 'importing' biocapacity from other parts of the world. In contrast, Canada's population creates an ecological footprint demand for only 5.2 hectares per person, while the country itself can provide 15.1 hectares per person in terms of biocapacity. Canada is one of those developed countries that actually 'exports' biocapacity to other places and nations in the globe.[4] This value 'displacement' is typical of a world driven for the past century by fossil fuels. Ironically, economists and proponents of international 'free' trade discount the expenditures to ship physical goods and transport people, assuming that there is, and will always be, unlimited energy to do so. Entropy, peak oil, and global climate change, however, argue against this.

In her new book, *The Bioregional Economy: Land, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness*, Molly Scott Cato underscores the role of entropy in the future by arguing for a 'well-being to energy ratio' as a means of defining bioregional value (Cato 2013). I could not agree more. Fundamental to her book is the presumption of a de-carbonized future as a matter not *if*, but *when* and *how*. In other writings, I, too, have argued that the relative energy intensities of various shipping and transportation modes suggest evolutionary changes that will relocalize the scale and grain of the developed landscape where distances traveled by people and physical necessities will be reduced (Thayer 2008).

5. Information, not matter or energy

Information systems, it seems, piggybacks on fossil fuel to further dislocate values formerly associated with physical places. Norbert Wiener, coiner of the term 'cybernetics' and a pioneer in the field of computer theory, recognized the uniqueness of information systems in 1948, when he wrote a powerful statement I have found to be essential in much of my own research: "Information is information, not matter or energy. No materialism that does not admit this can survive at the present day." (Wiener 1948, 132).

Although Wiener published this statement in 1948, it applies perfectly to today's world. The ubiquitous power of information networks and their impact on the global economy is echoed in the subject of a new book by Jaron Lanier, entitled *Who Owns the Future?*. Lanier himself is a towering figure in computer science, having coined the term 'virtual reality', and is considered a fundamental information network theorist.

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[4] See <http://www.footprintnetwork.org/en/index.php/GFN/page/footprint_for_nations/>

In his book, Lanier points out that "money is simply another information system", one that becomes easily skewed upward in the reward pyramid, unconstrained whatsoever by geography. 'Siren servers', as he calls hyper-robust information networks like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Google, Amazon, etc., have already taken over the music, publishing, and banking industries, threaten to gobble up the merchandizing industry, and are poised to control health care and many other industries as well. In terms of ownership, Lanier says "Moral hazard has never met a more efficient amplifier than a digital network." By this he means that the combination of information networks and global capitalism wreaks havoc upon local economies (and, I would add, upon ecosystems) and merely skews profits upwards in the pyramid of information network control (LANIER 2013, 54). Consider social media like Facebook and YouTube. These networks take a bit of value from a broad spectrum of public volunteers, without compensating any of them, and send that 'value' upwards, ultimately to be monetized and to pay the owners and manipulators of the uppermost strata of these networks. The value is thus wrung out of the middle classes and sent farther up the global income ladder, where it accumulates in the top 'siren servers' Lanier describes.

6. Network societies and resistance Identities

Berkeley sociologist and planner Manuel Castells anticipated the impact of such information networks in his earlier books, *The Rise of the Network Society (*CASTELLS, 1996) and *The Power of Identity* (CASTELLS, 1997). In essence, he argues that 'resistance identities' were the only hope of mitigating the momentum of the steamroller of information networks and their effects on society. I have previously paraphrased Castell's analysis as follows:

> In his sequential books *The Network Society* and *The Power of Identity*, sociologist Manuel Castells diagnoses the phenomenon of technologically enabled cultural globalism. As Castells observes, in an emerging global network society characterized by virtual reality, rapid information, blurred social spaces, dissolution of the idea of time, accumulation of wealth by the few, and social arrhythmia in the familiar cycles of human life, power is being reorganized from the 'space of places' to the 'space of flows'. But he also notes the emergence of many powerful communal resistance identities, each rallying around a particular value, such as religion, state, region, neighborhood, tribe, family, sexual orientation, or environment. These resistance identities do not fit logically together, nor do they act in consort; in fact, many are totally unrelated to one another or even diametrically opposed. Resistance identities are, however, all communal: they define exclusive communities of resistance to the perception or action of external oppression from the dominant social structure - a process that Castells describes as the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded (THAYER 2003, 62).

Resistance identities sometimes have succeeded (the gay/lesbian movement, for example) and sometimes struggled (American Indian sovereignty, etc.). Castell's concept of "[…] the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded […]" describes some of the less successful resistance identities (Native Americans, religious fundamentalists, etc.). Our bioregional/territorialist movement is most certainly a resistance identity as Castells defines it. It's potential for success depends on how effectively it can help provide social identity to its participants in spite of the momentum of the globalized network/consumer economy. It is also crucial to remember that most successful social movements are *not* created in the academy, but emerge from the general society.

We academics are good at commenting on and articulating theory for such move-
ments, but the success of a bioregional economy, or 'territorialist' alternative to global
network-driven capitalism, depends on the social identity local people find when
resisting the dominant paradigm.

For this reason, I place a great deal of value on extramural non-profit, non-govern-
mental organizations that arise to support bioregional goals. Even the earliest bio-
regional theorists in the United States recognized that bioregionalism was merely
a "name for something that is already going on" (Plant, 1990). The academy's role,
therefore, cannot be thought to be creating bioregional change directly; only to help
non-academics to bring about that change.

In my book, *LifePlace,* I reported that few individuals overtly identify themselves with
the global economy. Castells himself stated that "there is no such thing as a citizen of
the world", implying that social identity for an individual was far more likely to reside
in resistance to globalism than in globalism itself. This potential for change is more
potent than we might think. For many of us, globalism is something 'being done to
us whether we want it or not'. True, we fall in line by buying iPhones and becoming
addicted to social media, but this may be more to avoid the loneliness that the global
economy itself has helped to create (e.g., the global economy alienates us, then pro-
vides us gimmicks to assuage that alienation).

7. A Future Resistance Identity

I have often thought that the time will soon come when a resistance identity will
form among a significant proportion of modern humans that depends on three pil-
lars: a return to a sense of *time*, a sense of *place,* and a sense of face-to-face *experience*
that is *not mediated by technology.* The bioregion could possibly provide that frame-
work, where human interaction is in real space, real time, real human voice, and real
facial expression. It is happening with food; it can happen with much of the rest of
our existence.

For the immediate time being, however, the world is dominated by the constant
expansion of information networks. We may not be able to stop this evolution, but
it is becoming clearer that physical and cultural localization efforts are a necessary
buffering agent to the rising tide of information networks. It may very well turn out
that the two trends balance each other out, with localization becoming the anchor
against the winds of change, or the rudder steering the ship of human evolution,
while information remains the sail.

In the past dozen years or so, much of the recent localist activity and theoretical focus
on bioregionalism can be explained as a logical reaction to the failures of globalized
economies; the inadequacies of consolidated currencies (e.g., the European Union);
the inability of governments to curtail GHG emissions; the growing realization that
the 'carbon war' has essentially been lost; and the worldwide dissolution of the mid-
dle class at the hands of globalizing information technology. The failures of global-
ism are glaring; the 'local' has emerged to offer an alternative structure for positive
change. Ironically, 'local' efforts are emerging all over the globe. In the last decade I
have personally encountered serious scholarship or action aimed at local solutions
from Canada, United Kingdom, Austria, New Zealand, Australia, Iran and India. Focus
on the 'local', it seems, has 'gone global', and the future now depends on finding a
sustainable balance between localizing and globalizing influences.

It remains to be seen whether such a growing interest in local/regional/ecological territories is merely a nostalgic reaction to the ubiquity of the information network-driven global economy, or a viable alternative to it. Obviously, I believe the latter. However, there is no denying the potential of bioregions as a 'new' geography for organizing human life on earth. Attention to the local as a revolutionary organizing framework may allow us a means for the *re-placement* of value.

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Captions

Table 1. Conditions now influencing bioregional or 'territorialist' theory.
Fig. 1. A stair-step approach to bioregional theory and practice.