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Competitiveness and urban policies

Albino Caporale

That an Italian urban policy has never existed (or rather, a development policy for the Italian cities), seems to have been a consensus position among scholars and policy makers. However, a growing concern for the territorial dimension of policies has opened in the last 10 years a widening breach in industrial and development policies.

This paradox may find an explanation in the essays that follow from a study entitled *Economic and urban competitiveness policies in the future community planning of Objective 2 Regions*. It was commissioned by the Contact Group made up by Ministers and Regions at the Department for Development and Cohesion Policies of the Ministry of Economy and Finance, and was coordinated by the Region of Tuscany and the Public Investment Evaluation Unit (UVAL). Concluded in the first half of 2006, it was carried out by the Istituto ricerche interventi sociali of Prato, under the direction of Marco Cremaschi from the University Roma Tre. In these essays, the model of urban policies considered is different from the urban rehabilitation or the 'Pic Urban' experiences, especially in the Italian version. Effectively, this latter has represented a significant model of integrated actions, but it operated in the wake of similar tools of intervention, and in any case remained restricted to just a few cases. Moreover, the layout of Urban was very precise, directed at specific and delimited 'target urban areas', and furthermore with an intensity of aid (measurable in Euros of investment per inhabitant involved) that could not be

repeated on a systematic scale.

In Italy, however, there were other examples of policies involving urban and metropolitan areas: the city axis of the Objective 1 areas in the 2000-06 period; the urban ITP (Integrated Territorial Projects); the recent experimentation of the Strategic Plans; as well as, and this is one of the most original and relevant aspects of the research, the structural funds programmes in the Objective 2 areas. It is not a fact to be overlooked that the resources for intervention in the cities in all the Single Programming Documents accounted for over 50% of the financial planning.

Despite the fact that many interventions within the cities were carried out through these programmes, it could be objected that the sum of the initiatives does not represent a unified policy (and here appraisals such as those laid out in the pages that follow dealing with four regions of the Centre-North prove useful). The same objection could also be valid for Urban, as for other programmes. However, it is important to emphasise that cities feature a major concentration of resources, projects and interventions; consequently, the urban dimension of development policies should be made more systematic on this basis, given the numerous examples and the accumulation of investments in quantitative terms.

It is, nevertheless, necessary to reflect seriously on the impact of an integrated vision of such initiatives. In this case too, the research points up the aspects which have had success and the deficiencies of the combinations of initiatives in the cities and in the regions examined, from which we can draw useful lessons for the policies to come.

In short, this study

addresses the problems of integration between urban policies and innovation, modestly attempting to provide an answer. As always, the best indications are to be found not so much in ideological passwords, but in reflections that go beyond the everyday rhetoric, tackle the problem starting from a basis of critical knowledge, and define shared strategies.

Towards a metropolitan agenda within future development programming

Fabrizio Barca,
Marco Magrassi

Over the last fifteen years, several indicators have highlighted a further strengthening of the metropolitan-wide dimension of demographic, social and economic phenomena in Italian urban areas. While population continues to fall in cities located at the core of the metropolitan system, neighboring municipalities and the outer belts consistently gain new residents. The same systems, however, show an opposite dynamic in relation to their economic base, as core cities are experiencing an striking increase in business activity and employment levels. For example, in the 1991-2001 period, the city of Rome lost over 6% of its population although employment increased by almost 15%. This dynamic also characterizes medium-size cities, such as Verona that gained 13.5% in employees while losing 1% of its residents. Recent research also shows that the contribution of metropolitan systems to the national economy is substantial and constantly growing in the crucial sectors of innovative, clean and high value-added industries (such as training and research, publishing and culture, high-tech production, financial services). Although these industries increasingly concentrate in core-city areas, their employees often live in first, and second, belt municipalities. The consolidation of these dynamics should induce clear and timely changes in public policies, such as: adjustments to a range of mobility and transport systems; social and business services;

environmental protection; and, more in general, in the production and location of collective goods and services that require a metropolitan vision, strategy and institutions, which are currently still lacking. The need for a metro agenda is hardly a novelty in the Italian planning debate. In the late 1970s, a group of high-profile scholars and policy-makers launched the so-called *Progetto '80* that, among other analysis, articulated early insights on 30 metropolitan systems. This ambitious (though mostly top-down) planning initiative did not translate into concrete investment programs and gradually vanished. It was not until the early 1990s, before a metropolitan agenda reemerged. The second wave of reforms came from new legislation that formally recognized 14 metropolitan cities:

- in 1990, National Law n° 142 defined as "metropolitan areas" the core cities of Turin, Milan, Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Bari and Naples, later joined by Trieste, Cagliari, Catania, Messina and Palermo. The law, however, did not clarify which other municipalities would constitute the agglomeration;
- in 2001, Constitutional Law n° 3 attributed constitutional relevance to "metropolitan cities" providing them with the same potential status and entitlements of regional and local governments (e.g. on taxation, property rights, intergovernmental transfers, etc.).

Despite this substantial legislative backing, however, the public authorities with the formal mandate to implement the law (municipal and regional governments) have so far been unable or unwilling to establish metropolitan institutions, to adopt metrowide planning, and, in

half of the 14 cities areas, even to define which municipalities around the core city would conform the metro area. Why these national legislator's intents did not turn into decentralized political action? The answer lays in a combination of different factors. First, due to central government's delay in approving more detailed implementation guidelines, the legal framework is still incomplete. Regulatory uncertainty on key procedures hampers cooperation, nourishes institutional stalemate and, in some instances, creates open conflict: smaller municipalities in the urban belt fear dominance from the core city; regional governments are alarmed by the potential political weight of future metropolitan institutions; and, lastly, some provincial governments harbor ambitions of 'conquering' from core-city administrations the leadership of the metropolitan authority. In the face of this government-failure, an organized coalition of civic interests to proactively support the agenda has failed to emerge and to help breaking the *impasse*. Other obstacles came from demographic patterns tracing continuous growth in outer-belt municipalities and the consequent weakening of the urban form, which further complicated decision-making over the geographical (and therefore, administrative) definition of metropolitan boundaries. Also, those borders established 10-15 years ago for some of the metro areas were overcome by functional, social, and economic change, and no longer respond to planning needs. Finally, no clearcut criteria can be devised to define the metropolitan area, as different cities have different needs in metropolitan policy, ranging

from the broad mandate and functions required to properly manage large agglomerations such as Naples or Milan, to the more limited needs of smaller conurbations (e.g. Trento or Messina) that simply aim at building more effective intermunicipal coordination. In the last decade, regional development funding from the EU and central government has often played an important, at times decisive, role in leveraging institutional reform and territorial innovation (e.g. improving environmental standards or water management systems). We argue that, confronted with the metropolitan challenge, development policy for the 2007-13 programming period can be explicitly aimed at breaking institutional deadlock and in supporting the metropolitan agenda. In this respect, the first signals are encouraging: while 2000-06 programming only targeted core cities, several Regional Strategic Documents for the upcoming investment period (among which the large regions of Piedmont, Veneto, Tuscany, and Campania) identify metropolitan cities or polycentric urban agglomeration as a policy priority. In early 2006, the national programming document for 2007-13 (the National Strategic Reference Framework: NSRF) established a national priority for *Competitiveness and attractiveness of the cities and the urban systems* that identified metropolitan areas as the main unit for urban development programs financed with EU and national grants within regional policies. Building consensus over this explicit metropolitan option was not easy as several administrations (particularly, smaller regions of wealthier Central-Northern Italy) opposed the

concept during the cooperative planning process, which generated the NSRF. The arguments that ultimately made this important result possible were constructed around a simple idea: if given the appropriate policy tools, metropolitan cities can set more innovative and ambitious goals, and leverage higher returns on development investment. Based on this consideration, the NSRF establishes that, in designing their investment plans, regional governments should provide metropolitan cities with adequate financial resources, high flexibility in multiannual investment programming, and strong design and implementation autonomy. In turn, the NSRF underscores that metropolitan cities will have to create effective intermunicipal partnerships for program management, ensure substantial municipal matching funds, leverage private sector involvement and cofinancing, and guarantee high valueadded investments to boost the performance of main cities in extraregional and international markets, positively impacting the country's competitive position.

While this strategic shift is relevant, because it provides with a real window of opportunity for policy innovation, it is still unclear whether institutions will exploit this chance to produce the concrete results in terms of more effective development planning. Only pragmatic and farsighted political determination can respond positively to this challenge through operational and financial decisions. While national government has already done its part, this opportunity is now in the hands of regional governments, that are fully responsible for the definition of multibillion development programs for the 2007-13 period.

Urban policy in Italy: not so absent, after all

Marco Cremaschi, Nataša Avlijaš

Talking urban policy in Europe, a first warning should regard the link between city and development, along with the discourse which has evolved around the theory of urban competitiveness. This condition is crucial, but not easy to bring about. Changes that involve the cities, especially in the South, take place within an 'urban hierarchy' which in Europe has remained stable since the eighteenth century, with very few exceptions. Instead, the basic idea behind the policies is that the cities promote an accelerated and sudden development, of the kind that occurred in Los Angeles at the beginning of the twentieth century, when it became the capital of world cinema, or in the Silicon Valley around the end of the same century, when the computer industry gave rise to the new, mind-blowing technological agglomeration of the area. The hope is that the technological production chain (cinema, computer, automation, etc.) will couple with the agglomerative factors of the city (abundance of personnel, concentration of graduates, incentives for innovation, etc.) and beget benefits for the entire surrounding region. It's a daring bet; there have been extraordinary payoffs, but they have been rare. The competitiveness aspect is fundamental for the cities, but has different meanings: on the one hand the cities are properly in competition in attracting foreign investments, which are rare and difficult to capture; on the other hand they have to offer conditions of efficiency to businesses so that they can be competitive. Welladministered cities

produce more 'intelligent' territories in relation to the challenge of globalisation. In this respect, competition, cohesion and sustainability are less at odds with one another than they might appear. Scientific literature on this matter encompasses a vast and consolidated debate. From the 1970s on the cities of North America and Europe have gone through crises and transformations. The enormous loss of jobs in traditionally industrial cities led to a desperate search for recipes for economic development. From the very start, the question of what exactly makes a city, or a territorial area, competitive appears very cloudy. The definitions derive from an extensive and well known literature, based on four theoretical cornerstones (Porter and Krugman, Storper and Kresl). What we are interested in here is to provide a frame of the possible approaches, albeit schematic, and the Italian urban and regional policies within such a scheme. Consequently, figure on p. 14 illustrates four approaches (key characteristics and potential economic models) to territorial competitiveness. The horizontal axis shows the actions that promote competitiveness respectively in terms of expanded efficiency of the territorial system, or quality of life on the left, and of efficiency in the business environment, that is the comparative advantage of the enterprises, on the right. The vertical axis shows a knowledge based economy (attracting leading businesses) on one side; and a diversified and 'tertiary based' economy, developing from the *status quo*, on the other edge. There are some important issues when economic theories are applied to urban and territorial policies. Assuming that the territories do compete with each other,

the competition takes place in a different way from that of the companies. Individual factors (connectivity, capacity, quality of life, innovation) seem to matter differently in the theoretical approaches. Things change again when the scale considered goes from between national to regional, or even urban, because the mix of factors and the governance change as well. Instead, in political rhetoric there is an almost universal tendency to claim that there is no contradiction between competitiveness and cohesion, governance and sustainability. The result, within the academic sphere and in political discourses, is a sort of optimistic, yet somewhat upsetting, 'New conventional wisdom' (Gordon, Buck 2004), that easily conciliates discordant objectives. All this said, stating that urban policies are often "highly differentiated" (Ciciotti 1993) is not an irrelevant observation: on closer inspection, it means heterogeneous (and relatively predictable) on the one hand, and markedly context dependent on the other. Instead, the European Commission appears to be convinced that certain politically crucial outcomes (growth, innovation and consensus) are specific to urban environments, and that urban initiatives can exert appreciable multiplying effects (albeit in the long term). This opinion is apparently shared by certain member states (Odpm 2004; the "poles of competence" in Germany, the creation of "poles of territorial competitiveness" by DATAR, partially taken up by our own MIITT: 2005). From these references, and in particular from the work of the British government, we can identify five objectives' families or 'structural' actions, plus one rather particular final one.

These are less general and more hybrid objectives than those defined by the theories on competitiveness, and are instead closer to practice. The first family of objectives concerns actions that bring advantages to the system efficiency, focusing mainly on connectivity (infrastructures and tangible and intangible networks). Almost all the regions undertake such actions, with the intermodal and transnational activity being more relevant in Liguria and in the Adriatic regions (where the ports part of the cities). The diffusion of ICT and networks should sustain connectivity. So should the creation of city networks and other informal networks, while effectively the connection with markets and city networks is pursued through Fairs and territorial marketing rather than stable systems of relations. As regards the second family of actions, the key to innovation lies in the *human capital*, and more specifically in a *skilled workforce*, and to a certain degree in the ability to interlink the demand and supply of skills, that is the knowledge transfer between universities, research, enterprises and institutions. At the moment, however, what prevails is training directed at the enterprises. Only in a few cases university centres present within the territory are supported, in an attempt to integrate these into the productive fabric. In the case of Sardinia, significant attention is focused on the training of human resources within local government and institutions, especially in the health sector. The third family concerns *innovation*, which is stimulated, both in the institutions and in the enterprises, principally through incentives for the purchase of new equipment or the application of new technologies, followed by

actions for the spread of IT. Proper innovation (new products, new technologies) is in certain cases stimulated through the direct funding of studies and research, and more often by attempting to stimulate the knowledge transfer between the universities (research centres) and the entrepreneurial fabric. The fourth element of this list, the *quality of life*, emerges from the combination of factors related to environment, culture and housing. The southern regions have concentrated significant resources on the urban environment and on social policies, while in Objective 2 (partly because of restrictions on boundary definition) actions on the environment prevail. Finally, the last and most elusive element is the *strategic capacity* to mobilise and implement longterm development strategies, frequently pursued in a fairly unsystematic manner. Effectively, there are very few investments for permanent structures on the territory in comparison to the temporary actions, for example for the duration of the tenders for access to funding, while structural transformations and competitiveness demand time. The analysis of the theoretical literature on the one hand and the initiatives and policies on the other hand have affinities but no distinct correspondences. Certain options are more frequent in the policies, and others only vaguely translated into measures. The analysis of the regional programming documents confirms this layout. In this analysis we felt it was appropriate to distinguish more clearly the role of the infrastructures, which are preponderant in more than one case. Almost all the documents take up the Community directives, sometimes

changing the investment amount percentages. The programming documents of the southern regions had a greater thematic scope, extended to the Centre-North in the 2000-2006 programming. The promotion of enterprises and development (integrated in the urban policies) is present throughout the South and the islands. The actions of urban regeneration reflect both the local requirements and the presence and interaction with other initiatives (Urban and funding linked to major events). The spatial target, that is the limitation of the actions to specific portions of the urban territory, is in some cases imposed by the programmes themselves, and in others reflects regional policy choices. The territorialisation of the urban initiatives is weak in half of the regional documents. The investigation of the four regions (Piedmont, Veneto, Tuscany and Lazio) has further amplified the impression of a local framework of the urban cities which is at once complex and fragmented. In these four cases the urban models, composition and performance are not comparable, making a shared orientation framework fairly unlikely; even within the regions, the distinctive features of its urban network are not fully considered (in this regard, the recognition of Rome as capital that emerges on the part of Lazio is an exception). Some sort of urban focus still emerges, effectively even more than what regulations or policy guidelines suggested, yet more often than not lacking a clear strategic framework. Again, it is not pure coincidence that these very regions are experimenting metropolitan master plans, with no particular connection to the SDP (to give just one example: the master plan of Turin only

partially exploits the suburban policies, one of the most fertile intersections of Community programmes with local initiatives). Over the last decade Italy has experienced the proliferation of numerous initiatives focused on the city and territory (the subject of a growing body of literature: see Properzi 2006). A certain urban dimension in development policies is present in Italy, albeit in an implicit manner and frequently entrusted to local initiatives. Cities already appear to be doing without national and regional policies; but it is by no means to their absolute benefit, or to that of the regions or the State. Isolated development policies (at times even innovative) risk being occasional or redundant. Suffice it to say that Rome and Milan compete on airports, trade fairs and Olympics. This phenomenon regards capitals and the major cities, which also have the capacity to finance their investments. They sometimes even influence their Region, and are gaining statutes of increasing independence. Other cities and municipalities, non necessarily of modest status but with fewer resources, are less affected. On the other hand, there are no particularly strong precedents of innovative urban programmes within regional or national programming. The Urban initiatives were successful, until they were transformed from ambitious social programmes into more traditional projects for urban regeneration. The principle of territorialisation of the ITP (Integrated Territorial Projects) or ILDP (Integrated Local Development Projects) was innovative, but it did not specifically concern the cities, and even then the programmes did not

necessarily have a distinctive and innovative character. These programmes mobilised significant resources, both public and private, with clearly visible effects upon the territory. In comparison to the last decade, not only do we have to admit that there has been an urban policy, but above all that certain concomitant elements have changed. The various programmes can be traced to three different families. The first, more oriented towards housing and construction, albeit revised by the integrated approach, reveals a limited specific characterisation, except for the instrumental ends of regeneration, and a limited social orientation. The second favours the district and integrated area actions, combining variously the Community and other inspirations, with a fair capacity for learning. The third, with a clearly stated territorial background albeit of diverse origins and clearly more problematical (ITP and IDLP, implementation methods for the Community Support Framework 2000-06 and the National Operational Plan 2000-06, urban Framework Programme Agreements), reveals vaster ambitions and an orientation towards capacity building and social inclusion. A different approach, along with a more complete and complex strategic vision of the cities, emerges when observing the actions proposed at urban scale within complex programmes, and comparing them with the competitiveness factors. Looking back to figure on p. 14, four different development scenarios can fit into the theoretical and action framework defined. The main scenario, glorified by the rhetoric of the urban renaissance, is at the lower left corner. The policies of urban redevelopment, with the visible consequences in

terms of gentrification, are almost universal. Basically, the core of urban initiatives meets the arch that represents policies in real estate development. Nevertheless, some differentiation is peeking through. The initiatives that diverge from the above are not rare, especially in *tertiary diversification* (the promotion of new peripheral centralities). If accompanied by an increase in the efficiency of the entrepreneurial system, this entails a scenario with few changes in the urban fabric that may still attract investments.

In another direction, the combination of actions on the urban fabric and on the new economies leads more easily to a *festivalisation* of the cities, understood as sites for the 'consumption' of culture, knowledge exchange and major events. The last of the scenarios, linked to the perspective of *knowledge cities*, fosters a vision of technological development and advanced economies. These initiatives are still rare, especially if we move from words to action. But they are increasing in number and we can expect a significant growth in this sector.

In conclusion, we can say that the debate on competitiveness is very fertile, but tends to overrate theoretical aspects (for example the centrality of the site or the enterprise, or the tertiarisation in relation to the transition to a knowledge economy). In theory, given the institutional differences, the cities sustain the real estate market and the improvement of the physical context, while the regional and super-regional policies provide incentives to enterprise and target knowledge.

Instead, possibly not surprisingly, the policies implemented by the regions and cities are much more mixed than we would normally expect. The range

is much wider, and some of the large cities are more active in enterprise and innovation policies than the small regions, and viceversa. Cities and regions' commitments cover multiple arenas, partly because of the legacy of the past, in the South; and partly for matters of consensus. There is no a single pure policy model; we rather ascertain various significant recurrences, summarised by the coloured area in the graph.

In the end, policies for urban regeneration, technological development or 'festivalisation' (the new economy of the city of tourism and cultural innovation) are not alternative to each other. Rather, they generate one another. In such a setup, promoting a policy scenario means reconstructing the evolution from one approach to another.

Cities, districts and regional innovation systems: the intersection between innovation policies and territorial policies

Marco Bellandi, Annalisa Caloffi

We shall begin with a European perspective, and more specifically from the strategic objective, formulated at the European Council of Lisbon in 2000, to promote the passage towards knowledge-based societies and economies. Difficulties along this path have raised the necessity for a deeper reflection on the multidimensional quality of innovation, and the need to adopt a systemic and procedural approach. Furthermore, part of the related literature indicates that innovation involves the relations between research, development, adoption of innovation and the economic, social and political environment (Rosenberg 1976; Freeman 1995). The focus shifts to processes that take place in conditions of uncertainty, with complex feedback, even between the phases of the innovation, especially when the environment of such processes is represented in terms of research, production or territorial systems. Consistent sets of agents and relations frequently have specific territorial characteristics, either existing or to be encouraged. This can be interpreted in at least two ways, which here and below we shall take as representative of a broad spectrum of interpretative and regulatory positions. The first is related to the vision of the competitiveness proper to the 'organisation/enterprise' (O/E) approach (for Italy, the reference is to the Ancona school according to which innovation develops within and between enterprises which

incorporate adequate organisational and entrepreneurial characteristics. Since a large number of the enterprises (especially in Italy) are small local enterprises, the innovation also depends on the capacity of a territory to generate or attract factor O/E, even if then the use of the factor is a matter which remains internal to the enterprise or eventually to the exchanges between enterprises and between them and actors operating in the sphere of research. The second way of interpreting the innovative process in a procedural perspective hinges on the 'local forces' of development, which in Italy for example have led to the consolidation of the industrial districts (Brusco 1994, Becattini 2000). According to this approach, processes for mobilising and reproducing entrepreneurial energies, attitudes of trust, cognitive bases for productive and innovative work and collaboration are not confined within the boundaries of enterprises, industries and markets. They evolve within the living contexts of the populations of which the manufacturers are part. The division of labour, interconnected by such links with the life of the local society, draws from this both reasons for development and a specific stability within the change. If the territory is not a neutral support but a *milieu* with specific and differentiated characters interfering with innovative processes, the innovation policies have to be implemented in appropriate territorial units. These are represented not only by the industrial districts, but by a wider variety of types of urban and regional system. There are three types of units of investigation and policy suitable for illustrating the link between territory and innovation. In the first

place, in the industrial district the presence of linked specialisations between independent manufacturers, of accumulation of technical training and knowhow, of relations of exchange facilitated by closeness and shared bases of trust and cognition are the conditions for a widespread innovative capacity. This capacity, not centralised in the R and D laboratories of large-scale enterprises or of public research bodies, melds with projects for products featuring a high intensity of variation and customisation (Belliandi 2003). On the other hand, the concentration within delimited fields of production and business may also facilitate negative lock-in phenomena. In the second place, the larger urban centres can be *dynamic cities* when they are places favourable to exchange between different cultures and 'communities', the interaction of which can generate mobility and new ideas. They thus become centres of rare technical and scientific skills and competencies, nodes of the major infrastructures for training, research, finance and logistics, which ensure strong connections with the outside of the system, and privileged sites for cluster activities of high knowledge intensity (high tech, cultural assets, innovative services) (Crevoisier, Camagni, 2001; Simmie 2001). However, where not regulated, the interaction and the mobility lead to contradictions, clashes and social and environmental upheavals which block the innovation or reduce it to ghetto-type living and working spheres for a small elite (*the best and the brightest*), divided from the mass of the operators and the excluded. In the third place, a regional *milieu* (Cooke, Morgan 1998, p. 64) can be home to a *regional innovation system* (RIS) made up of a set of innovative

organisations operating within various dynamic localities of the *milieu*, interacting also thanks to regional structures of research, policy and public administration. The triple helix of the innovative process (enterprises, research, State: Etzkowitz 1994) is necessarily included, but here it receives an appropriate institutional qualification. Moreover, it is not sufficient to have a collection of innovative actors and dynamic localities within a region to produce a RIS: the interactions may be fragmentary and inconclusive if the cohesion within the regional *milieu* does not also feature a shared vision of development. In such case, there may be a regional space of innovation, but not a regional innovation system. These three units are the passive object of policies within the traditional linear vision (they are basically administrative fields of policy implementation). They become evolving units of governance processes within the procedural vision of innovation. Let us now move on to innovation in territorial policies. Its importance is linked to the growth of competitiveness between territories and production systems and the increasingly intensive challenge coming from new industries on the global scene. The latter include, for example, those that have powerful territorial bases in certain regions of China, and avail themselves of information technologies and logistic solutions applied to the management of productive and commercial processes on an international scale. The different visions of the role of the territory in the innovation processes also have repercussions on the policies aimed to boost local competitiveness (and welfare) through the support

for innovation. Let us see how, reconsidering the approaches mapped out in section 2.

In the linear vision of innovation, the incentives to innovation are aimed directly at the enterprises and at the improvement of the working of the innovation 'markets', and can only indirectly facilitate the development of the territories.

In the O/E declination of the procedural vision of innovation, the main objective is to stimulate the accumulation in the territory of active and high level managerial and entrepreneurial competencies (policy implications connected with school and university training will not be dwelt on here). The main interventions are those aimed at facilitating the local investments of the enterprises with greater O/E potential: this is a focused form of *territorial marketing*. Added to this is the constitution, within a regional *milieu* which comprises enterprises with high O/E intensity, of research centres and virtual networks of innovators aimed at specific technological and market fields.

The picture is more complex within the local forces declination. Here the response to the global challenges lies in an increase of the local capacities to generate quality and innovation in industrial and commercial products and processes, as well as in the capacity to combine the local capacities with strategies of internationalisation that are consistent with the basic characteristics of the systems of production themselves (Bellandi, Biggeri 2005). In short, it is a question of elaborating initiatives that can stimulate innovation-generating relations between the various actors (Russo 2000; Lane 2002). These should

entail the direct participation of the local agents in the design of the initiatives, as well as the balancing of local governance and regional coordination. The promotion of innovation thus moves within a perspective of bringing together local and global (support for certification, international patenting, creation of telecom infrastructures, international master degrees, etc.).

At EU level, among the operations consistent with the inclusion of a process-type approach to innovation into territorial policy (which is also undoubtedly still influenced by the experience and success of the Italian districts in the 70s), four types of action may be mentioned, in chronological order: the 4 Urban Pilot Projects (UPP) within the framework of the ERDF (Milan, Turin, Naples, Brindisi), onto which the Community initiative Urban (I and II) was then grafted; with URBAN (II), alongside urban policies, the municipalities also elaborated actions aimed at supporting and modernising business infrastructures; the cities of Milan and Rome, as well as certain Regions, took part in the RITTS (Regional Innovation and Technology Transfer Strategies and Infrastructure) with their own strategic plans; the Metropolis network offered policy makers the opportunity to explore together common themes, as well as the Innopolitan network for 2001-03.

The sphere of initiatives of national scope is clearly reduced by the action of the EU and by the decentralising of competencies at regional level. In Italy, old initiatives designed at national level are still being used for support to innovation, destined substantially at incentives for the R and D activities of the individual enterprises. However, starting from the 1980s,

territorial policies began to incorporate, directly, the concept of production system and of industrial district, within the definition of frameworks of action which can accommodate support for innovative processes rooted at local level. We would mention in particular, in chronological order: the emergence of the Service Centres and the promotion of the formation of consortiums between enterprises (Brusco 1994; Bianchi 1985; Ceris 1997); the legislative recognition of the industrial district and the related policies for the districts emanated at national level and by the individual Regions (Balestri 2002; IPI 2002); the central support for actions of local development (e.g. territorial pacts: MEF 2003); support for the 'technological districts' (Unioncamere 2006).

It is relevant to highlight here the presence of the fourth and most recent class of actions, which also find confirmation (albeit of different quality and scope) within the industrial innovation and territorial policies of other European countries. The underlying theory suggests the concentration of public and private resources in sectoral and territorial contexts, featuring major development potential, dynamic areas that can act as a significant driving force for the regions and countries in which they are rooted. Although the emergence of the individual 'technological districts' frequently takes its cue from initiatives at local and regional level, in many cases there exists a sort of formal acknowledgement at the level of central government, via protocols of understanding between the Ministry for the University and Research and the Region, which identify action priorities and funds for their implementation. Connected with such action there are no 'official'

parameters or quantitative thresholds to be complied with, as instead was the case of the industrial districts. In the majority of cases, such initiatives are still in the launching phase, and hence the picture proves to be necessarily partial.

Further, we wish to address the intersection of territorial and innovation policies, as emerging from the observation of the actions implemented in the Italian Regions within EU Objective 2 subsequently classified in terms of specific objectives (of the individual actions), tools, structures and subjects. The formulation of the objectives underlying the activities, often programmed in the period 2000-06, in support of innovation frequently reveals marked contradictions, or overlaps, of ideas derived from theoretical approaches which may be discordant with each other.

We now propose an evaluation of the convergence of territorial and innovation policies in regional programming, classifying the actions designed to support innovation in line with two axes:

- the agents that are the direct recipients of the actions, divided into: enterprises ('individuals'); *networks* of varied composition but generally with a local base ('networks'); local or *regional agencies*, private, public or mixed, which, for example, supply services to the enterprises or create shared infrastructures ('agencies').
- the targets of the actions, divided into: *actions without specific target* ('no target'); *specific sectors or technological fields* ('sectors and/or technologies'); *local production systems, production chains and/or industrial districts* ('local production systems/chains/districts').

Table on p. 24 shows the

combination of the two axes. The various Regions have been classified in the boxes on the basis of the type of agents and targets of the *prevalently* implemented actions. In the case in which the majority of the actions observed do not have an exclusive but solely preferential target, the Region has been classified in both the boxes 'without target' and 'with target'. If we consider the regulations laid down for the industrial districts (albeit implemented only to a limited extent) we can see that there is a flourishing group of regions in which there is a marked connection between the two types of policy under consideration. More specifically:

- the boxes of the first column belong to the sphere of the linear approaches to innovation, even though they can be formally inserted within district spheres of action. Incentive actions directed at the individual enterprises survive. The enterprises are provided with incentives to liaise with Universities and technological centres, both through funding aimed at the performance of R and D activities, and through 'technology vouchers' (to be spent at a list of accredited centres: for instance, in Lombardy);
- the boxes of the third column, and also those of the second column with the first and second line, can be more or less directly linked to systemic approaches to innovation declined on the O/E keynote. These are frequently actions (centres for research and technology transfer; regional telecommunications networks, etc.) characterised by reference to the 'three pilaster' or *triple helix* of innovation, and to the strengthening the RIS;
- the intersection of the second column and the third line can be linked to systemic approaches

declined on the keynote of local forces. These are actions aimed at the creation of specific infrastructures, in the first place for the industrial districts (telecommunications networks, information desks, industrial areas), at the promotion of the products of the district on the international markets, and at the reorganisation of the activities of the enterprises through support for internationalisation. These actions intersect with the presence and operation of the service centres and consortiums within district-type systems of production, and with a flourishing series of other actions more or less directly linked to the support for small enterprise: theme actions on innovation and internationalisation; territorial priorities within actions aimed at the entire regional production system; fund reserves or access priorities for projects submitted by districts or local production systems characterised by particular specialisations; and finally, the technological districts. Within this picture of collective learning, the actions approach and intersect with initiatives for stimulating and driving the creation of innovator networks, also adopted by certain regions. Despite being on the increase, this third mode is still not very widespread. What do not emerge as units explicitly connected with innovation policies in the recent programming of the Italian Regions are the 'cities', that is the larger urban centres (possibly metropolitan). The cities, especially the more dynamic, are favoured centres of high tech systems and high culture. And that is not all. Consider in Italy the presence of cities in the regions of greatest district intensity, such as Milan, Bologna, Florence, and also Vicenza, Verona, Ancona. Here we

can observe particular and variable combinations of highly valued urban functions, nuclei of local factors similar to those of the district, points of accumulation of the historic-cultural heritage and the traditions of artistic craftsmanship, tourist functions. These are the favourite resorts of: international buyers, many major fashion events, the most important of the *made in Italy* trade fairs, fashion multinationals, leading design centres, and major universities. Along with other cities, these act as catalysts in fixing, in the global collective imagination, the elements of taste, creativity and good living that are associated with *made in Italy*. Functions that are fundamental for the Italian districts and district-like localities. But, without the flourishing of the industrial districts, which is not merely a spin-off effect of the economy of those cities, they would never have developed such potential. We consider that, within the framework of the challenges outlined above, the conscious promotion of positive interrelations between these two territorial components of marked urban, industrial and innovation content, is absolutely crucial.

The concentration of high-level jobs in the cities

Marco Cremaschi, Anna Paola Di Risio

For urban high-level jobs we mean those positions characterised by elevated qualification, and decisional power in sectors with a high technological, research or rare services content. Such activities are prevalently located in urban ambits for obvious reasons of rarity and rank, and to a certain extent they can be considered as qualifying the very role of the city.

The indicator sums up jobs in metropolitan areas in the following sub-sectors:

- experimental R and D in the sphere of natural sciences and engineering; experimental R and D in the sphere of social sciences and humanities;
- manufacture of office machinery, processing and computer systems; aircraft and spacecraft construction; manufacture of pharmaceutical, chemical and botanical products for medicinal use; publishing, press and reproduction of recorded media; information technology and related activities;
- other professional and entrepre-neurial activities; monetary and financial brokering; cinema and video production and distribution; radio and television activities; university and education; other entertainment activities; library, archives and museum activities and other cultural activities; press agency activities.

The principal results of the analysis are the following:

- in 2001, 75% of the employees in the aforementioned sectors were located within the 72 urban LLS (Local Labour Systems), and more specifically in the principal municipalities located in the centre of the agglomerations;
- this group of functions,

which can rightfully be defined as urban, has increased by 48% compared to 1991, homogenously across geographical divisions, and with a trend close to the national average;

- in main urban areas, especially those in the North, the share of high-level functions is larger: in the local system of Milan, for instance, the it is about 30%; in the large metropolitan areas and in the North, it is higher than average;

- negative exceptions to this are Bergamo, a solidly industrial city with little propensity to research and study, and, on the other hand, Bari, where such activities are however on the increase;

- in Pisa and Trieste, cities with important universities and research centres, the share of urban high-level jobs is significantly higher than the average (25.1 and 23.9 respectively);

- different trends can instead be observed in some cases: an outstanding recovery occurred in Verona and Brescia, for example, due to a previous manufacturing specialisation;

- among high level urban jobs, 'technological' production generally features a drop in employees (approximately 10% less than 1991), while those linked to services and research are on the increase. This latter figure remains the most problematic, but should probably be compared to negative trends in the corresponding sectors at national level, due to a greater international competition;

- in general, the level of concentration appears lower than that of other European countries.

Piedmont

*Francesco Gastaldi,
Giulietta Fassino*

For many years Piedmont has been interpreted as a monocentric region, at least as long as the image of Turin as a one-company town held strong. From the end of the seventies, the economic and demographic transformations of this area began to have a profound influence on those of the territory on a vaster scale. The regional urban framework now appears decidedly restructured; roles and functions have been redistributed and the relations between the urban centres have changed. Especially in the southern part of the region, a progressive strengthening of settlement systems at sub-regional level has emerged, originating from a widespread mesh of minor centres that were once agricultural areas and urban outskirts.

Piedmont, unlike other regions specialised in traditional made in Italy production, is hardest hit by the challenge of economically more advanced countries in the sectors of medium-high tech. The attempt to respond to this situation would appear, *inter alia*, to be the transformation of the district productive structure of Piedmont (composed of the sharing of generic area resources and the stratification of identifying features in territorial systems protected by a relative isolation) into specialised systems, production chains organised by groupings of enterprises defined not only on a local basis, but increasingly more connected in territorial (extraregional) systems which are recognisable and comparable in terms of district history.

In the sphere of urban policies, the processes of production conversion have brought into play a large

number of areas where innovative forms of urban renewal and regeneration have been experimented by means of partnerships, complex programmes, and ministerial and European funds.

Within this framework, the watchword of the latest SPDs has been 'to aim at a diversified regeneration'. All the regional programmes have hinged on the strengthening of the fabric of the small and medium enterprises through the promotion and diffusion of innovation, with attention to processes, products and facilitation of access to credit. In parallel, strategies to strengthen the infrastructures and services have been implemented, directing the location choices of numerous productive investments. Particular attention has been paid to territorial protection and valorisation through projects of environmental remediation and rehabilitation of degraded sites.

According to the SPD, beyond the improvements that have taken place, the economic framework of Piedmont continues to reveal certain problems concerning the economic and productive reorganisation. With reference to the strategic lines, and in line with the Programme of regional development, the SPD illustrates a series of processes correlated with the general objectives towards which the financing is to be converged; these are designed to support, strengthen and render structural the mechanisms of conversion already launched, in both the industrial and the agricultural sectors, to enable the restoration of the environmental and territorial equilibriums, and to reorganise the resources present in a rational key. In the sphere of environmental protection, the SPD devotes attention to the issue of the

disposal of solid and liquid industrial waste, and concentrates financing on the construction, modernisation and expansion of plants for the treatment and valorisation of 'special' and 'hazardous' industrial waste, composting plants, and various initiatives for the delivery of waste originating from selective collection. After the major experience of local concertation developed in the Piedmont region through the territorial Pacts, in the SPD this experience is being followed up through the Integrated Area Projects (PIA), plans for socioeconomic development driven by the objective of valorising portions of the territory through actions which emphasise their specific characteristics, and distinguished by the integration of different types of action and by the involvement of a number of stakeholders. The adoption of a local-scale approach to integrated planning marks the pregnant significance which the Piedmont region has attributed to this type of development programming. The SPD invests in the integrated projects little more than 13.6% of the total 1,026 million Euro. The state of implementation of the Programme (at 31/3/05) highlights satisfactory progress in financial terms: 76.5% of the total of available resources have been assigned and the disbursements have reached 40.6%. It should be noted that the Programme offers a fairly diversified scenario in terms both of the types of action to be implemented and the implementation/management processes envisaged (the aid measures have been activated through public notice, and the infrastructure or services initiatives through regional ownership or management).

Lazio*Pietro Elisei*

Lazio is characterised by a distinct lack of territorial uniformity. There is a strong temptation to speak of a region-city when we analyse the territorial context of Lazio, but this definition is only partially true. While on the one hand it is clear that the urbanised area of the capital acts as a catalyst for flows of different kinds (people, goods, capital, information, etc.), it is also certain that the Lazio urban framework comprises other important urban and productive centres. There is a 'Lazio without Rome' which, although it does not feature the rhythm and numbers of the capital and its province, nevertheless boasts a respectable productive fabric and potential for development. The policies and initiatives linked to the investment of the Community Funds are concentrated above all on the valorisation of the 'Lazio without Rome' concept. In this sense the inspiring principle of the SPD has been strategic, in that it tended to strengthen a polycentric vision of development which was characterised on regional scale and which overlaid or integrated with the action on the territory induced by Rome and its metropolitan area. Despite this propositional approach, the gap between the Roman metropolitan area and its region remains great, especially in economic terms.

The SPD Lazio 2000-06 was shaped in a socioeconomic context, that of the late 90s, characterised by the implementation of a national policy of strict control of certain macroeconomic indicators (public deficit and inflation) connected with compliance with the criteria of Maastricht, and also by weak economic growth. After 1998 the Lazio region

went through a period of recovery up to the overtaking of the national average, in 2002 (the contribution of the Lazio economy to the growth of the national GDP in 1998 was over 10%).

The current programme for the Ob. 2, therefore, was mapped out within a context of low growth, and with the incognito of the Jubilee ahead of it. The programming conditions for the seven-year period 2007-13 appear to be just the opposite. A context of high growth and a future which will in all likelihood bring the GDP down to lower levels. The current Objective 2 proved to be too concentrated on precise infrastructural actions, and on rather nonstrategic aid to improbable enterprises. Moreover, what is surprising is the small investment in knowledge-based economies, considering the high concentration in Lazio of persons who have the capacity to trigger processes based on the knowledge economy (Rome is the leading city in Italy in terms of the 'creative class', representing 24.62% of the workforce). Finally, the attitude of the current SPD is curious, since it judges axis III (the valorisation of local systems), provided with a third of the admissible funding, as that which will have least impact on innovation and competitiveness. On the contrary, the boosting of the infrastructures and the rehabilitation of the urban centres should support competitiveness. In other words the SPD does not interpret the actions directed at local development in a competitive sense.

Pursuing competitiveness at regional level, setting the territories in the centre, especially those which are more promising in terms of development performance, demands policies that are connected with the idea of: promoting innovation in the

enterprises and the institutions, creating and investing in a qualified workforce, boosting accessibility, mobility, internal and external connectivity, promoting economic diversity, and the capacity to implement strategic decisions at urban and regional level.

Tuscany

Massimo Bressan, Armando Dei, David Fanfani

Since the early 70s, through the contributions of Becattini and the IRPET (Tuscan Regional Institute for Economic Planning), the debate on the territorial forms of local development in Tuscany has revealed a plurality of models of relation between society and economy. The policies adopted by the regional administration reflect this territorial diversity.

The analysis of the most recent experiences of urban and territorial policies highlights the substantial absence of an overall picture of strategically coherent action capable of directing local planning in a single direction. This circumstance, combined with the proliferation of operational instruments produced by the regional, local and national structures operating in the sphere of the so-called complex programmes, has led to the differentiated capacity of governance of the administrative structures resulting in an extremely heterogeneous panorama of local development.

The most significant experience, on which the analysis has been focused, concerns the implementation of the Objective 2 SPD, which represents an interesting example of public action, in terms both of the considerable financial resources (approximately 1,232 million Euro) and the extent of the territory involved: 82% of the regional territory, involving over 1.8 million inhabitants, that is, 52.4% of the regional population.

In relation to territorial distribution, the public spending of the SPD features a considerable concentration: approximately two-thirds of the overall spending (regarding the first four

years of implementation) is localised in 15 LLS (of the 53 overall recorded by ISTAT in the entire regional territory) which have received a public contribution of over 15 million Euro.

The SPD spending has been characterised above all by actions aimed at boosting the competitiveness of the local production systems (56.1% of the expenditure).

Approximately one third of the spending (35.3%) is linked to actions aimed at increasing the competitiveness of the territories. Only 9% of the expenditure is due to actions aimed at innovation; by far, the greatest part is accounted for by recourse to incentives aimed at the enterprises. Much less weight is attributed to the actions aimed at achieving public assets, both generic and specific.

The *expenditure for innovation* assumes marked importance in the local systems of Florence, and particularly of Prato: these two LLS together focus 60% of the regional spending on 'advantages for innovation'. The analysis carried out allows us to confirm that, on the themes of local development the 2000-06 programming cycle of the structural funds represented for Tuscany an opportunity to focalise the design capacity of the local and private bodies on local development objectives and on complex tools for the management of public action.

40% of the public spending is concentrated solely in the LLS of Florence, Prato, Livorno, Pisa and Massa Carrara. Within the 'urban' LLS the operations are on average more concentrated in the central municipality (especially in the cases of Prato and Livorno), in comparison to what takes place in the other LLS. If we add to these 5 LLS those which have at least 50,000 inhabitants we reach no

less than 60% of the public spending.

The next programming period of the ERDF will feature a greater attention on the urban dimension; the new regulation of the structural funds speaks of urban regeneration, calling up the *positive aspects* of the Urban experience and delineates forms of programming integrated between management authorities at regional level and urban authorities, delegated to the implementation of the actions.

In this sense the experience conducted in Tuscany highlights the fact that there is room for a greater involvement of the local authorities in the management of the territorial policies: the quantity of the infrastructural actions and the considerable mobilisation of private entities have been intercepted by the economic programming and by the town planning, generating experiences which can be further integrated in the future regional programming.

The centrality of the periphery

Maurizio Marcelloni

Amongst the elements assumed by the new master plan for Rome, for which the counter-measures were recently adopted, we find the centrality of the periphery: an objective that is part of the challenge created by the new form of the contemporary city. The scale of Rome is truly unique: approximately 129,000 hectares. Its development provides an immediate reading of the city-archipelago, even inside its perimeter. However, we should forget, notwithstanding this physical dimension, that Rome has, in any case, now assumed an extramunicipal scale that can be read in physical continuities and relationships with many surrounding areas: the municipal archipelago is part of a metropolitan archipelago. Undoubtedly we are dealing with a process that is still in the initial stages: the limited amount of statistical data still demonstrates a contradiction between the significant demographic growth of the nearby municipalities, with respect to the constant stability of demographics in Rome and, on the contrary, a continually strong growth in the number of people working in the capital, compared to a contained level of growth in the nearby municipalities. This decentering of significant functions also affects the heart of the large city. In fact, in Rome this trend began in the periphery. As part of this new dynamic the periphery of the large city now finds itself in a position between the old compact city, which still tends to fulfil its role as the focus and definition of important images, and the surrounding municipalities that tend to acquire a new

quota of important functions and which also often possess their own important historical identities. The mayors of these areas are now beginning to perform very active roles, much like in the large city. The contemporary city, of which Rome is undoubtedly a very good expression, is demonstrating a revival of the role of nearby municipalities and the periphery. This is a general trend that is affecting all large cities. Within the city, the role of the historical periphery may assume different meanings: it may be forgotten by the economic dynamics between the centre and nearby municipalities, or it may be involved. In the first case it becomes the point of concentration of all of the factors necessary for further exclusion; in the second case, there is hope to build a vital reality within the new contemporary city. I believe that as part of this dynamic at the metropolitan scale, the decentering of administrative roles within large municipalities is ever more urgent and the single municipalities can play an equally active role. The idea proposed by the new master plan to create so-called new urban and metropolitan centralities is part of this framework. There are many reasons for this, the first and foremost being the startup of a process of building a polycentric urban structure. The idea of the new centralities stimulates polycentrism, focused on the objective that each municipality must possess its own vital centre, which must be strong and recognisable. I should mention that the subtitle of the new master plan, which disappeared in the adopted version, was *The Cities of Rome*. Traditionally, the question of the 'periphery' was dealt with through a range of policies: a collection of punctual interventions of

varying nature (the redesign of a road, the creation of a missing connection, the construction of a new public park or some other service for the elderly, etc.) whose objective was that of improving the quality of services in the area. These policies (integrated programmes, Prusst, etc.) undoubtedly represent important operations, though they are insufficient for modifying the structure of the periphery. In fact, they are actions with an exclusively local influence. The idea of the new urban and metropolitan centralities lies in the fact that these diffuse policies must be tied to strong policies concentrated on correcting the isolation of the area, inserting it within an urban, if not metropolitan system. In simple terms the question of the 'periphery' must be dealt with simultaneously from the bottom and the top, employing policies that unite the local and the global scale. The new urban centrality of the Romanina appears, amongst the many called for in the new plan, to be emblematic of these issues. The design challenge is that of giving an urban project the sense of being an intervention at an intermediate scale: not a large architectural project, but the identification of an urban sign; not a finite project, but an articulated programme for the identification of a system of spaces of relationship: the hierarchy of accessibility, the system of green spaces, the design of public spaces. In other terms we are speaking of the organisation and the quality of public space, around which and over time to construct the built portions, based on unitary criteria that are capable of guaranteeing the proposed system of public spaces, but also capable of leaving ample space for architectural design. For me the most important drawing of any urban project is that

which defines the general structure of a project and its relationships with context: this drawing is the result of a lengthy analysis of the surrounding territories, of investigations and discussions with neighbourhood committees. It determines a series of punctual interventions outside of or along the margins of the new centrality (also defined in terms of their cost), without which the new central area is inaccessible to the residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods, for whom it is to be constructed. The true danger of these large interventions is, in fact, that attention is concentrated exclusively on accessibility at the large scale and that, in the end, the new point of attraction remains just that, above all for those who come from some distance. This is the result of privileging the global to the detriment of the local, leading to an inverse process to that for which the centrality was created: the creation of a new heart of an urban area. Thus the primary objective is that of rooting the project within the territory, carefully identifying the functions to be placed, its connections with the exterior, the offering of services based on demand and the valorisation of the elements of recognition. From this point of view, the constant relationship with the X Municipality was a determining factor. Passing from a real estate type project to one that is based on the creation of points of interest for the city and the territory, where the very process of negotiation (quantity, quality, costs, etc.) is the result of public discussion. In other terms, the construction of a shared project of urban transformation, where scheduling is as important as design. An attempt to construct a process of guiding public decisions, within which the terms of exchange, and the

advantages for the city and the local population are both evident and explicit. International architecture competitions are also part of this framework: they are a piece of the puzzle, but always just one piece, and part of a much more complex operation.

The preliminary studies

Carmela Mariano

Designing a centrality means confronting with the 'complexity' of the urban context. In the case of the Romanina we are dealing with a periphery where it is necessary to breathe life into an organic and rationalised pattern of sites and identify a framework that is legible and recognisable in its overall structure. The attention to context, the guarantee of participation and the objective of the effectiveness of the intervention are the terms that the construction of an urban project for a centrality must confront. Beginning from this premise, the preparation of the project was dealt with by providing a series of preliminary studies of the environmental sustainability, the historical values of the site and archaeological investigations, mobility, local requirements and participation-based processes, the functions to be included and the costs, scheduling and management of the project. The preliminary analyses included the environmental sustainability of the intervention, verified through the procedure of environmental impact analysis and the effects resulting from the implementation of the project, based on the methodology of strategic environmental evaluation, the preliminary environmental analysis of the components of the landscape and the natural elements found on the site. The preliminary archaeological investigations required an indepth campaign of testing aimed at ascertaining the presence of any elements that would restrict the urban transformation. The integration of the project with its context is also guaranteed by the

verification of the compatibility between the requirements for the settlement of the centrality with the proposed system of mobility. The study of the current conditions of mobility in this urban area is aimed at reducing the deficit of infrastructure in order to arrive at a proposal for the organisation of mobility that is capable of guaranteeing an improvement in the entire urban sector and responding to the requests of the new master plan, which subjects the approval of the centralities to the presence of rail-based connections. The attraction of the centrality and the objective of functional *mixité* is guaranteed by the maximum integration of residential and nonresidential functions and a focus on the design of a connective form of public space. The hypothesis of locating nonresidential functions, composed of public and private office space, private activities related to a film and communication centre, to research, to the social economy, hotel structure and activities for free time and recreation required the definition of a series of preliminary agreements for the location of the important attractors, such as Gèode, the Ministry of the environment, the Museum of science. In the case of the Romanina, the local community and its citizens are seen as active subjects and their participation is a central element in the legitimization of the design decisions and the contributions made to the construction of the scenarios that orient choices. Within these scenarios we find the startup of a process of participation, in collaboration with the local communities, between the Municipal government, the X Municipality and the Department of architecture

and urban planning for engineering at the La Sapienza University. The construction of a network of neighbourhood workshops and the organisation of a central committee has led to a series of meetings to verify and discuss the process of defining the urban project and the critical evaluation of the design solutions proposed for the centrality. An urban intervention of the scale of that for the Romanina cannot be concluded within a prescribed and brief period of time because it must consider a range of variables which do not allow us to determine the final structure of the interventions beforehand. The project for the Romanina calls for the construction of a model that guarantees the flexibility of the realisation of the various parts as part of a framework of an urban design that is controlled by regulations and strategic guidelines. In this sense the legal and financial study of scheduling, costs and the implementation of the centrality required the creation of a consortium that is responsible for the project. It was constituted as a public limited company that acts as the sole interlocutor with the municipal government, working on the development and the management of the urban project and, above all, the maintenance and the management of the areas and services. In this sense the innovation of the model for the construction of the urban project of the new Romanina centrality aims at a level of quality that is the result of a lengthy process, where methodologies and procedures are dealt with from the very beginning, where the relationships between the project and its context are clear, as are the interactions between institutional subjects and local representatives. For

this reason the search for suitable design solutions must pursue and achieve a capacity to transform design ideas into interventions that contribute to improving the quality of life in the city.

The history of a competition

Francesca Rossi

In July 2004, following the submission of the First Draft of the Feasibility Study, the Gruppo Scarpellini (the owner of the site), with the support of the City of Rome and InArch held an invited international competition for the preliminary design of the new centrality. The objective of the competition was the definition of a master plan: the formulation of an idea of the spatial and functional organisation of the new urban centre.

The choice of the invited designers, based on the principle of integrating the participation of Italian and international figures, included Carmen Andriani (Rome), Alessandro Anselmi (Rome), Bruno Fortier (Paris), Manuel Salgado (Lisbon), Francesco Venezia (Naples) and the offices MVRDV (Rotterdam), Avventura Urbana (Turin) and 5+1 (Genoa).

The competition officially began on December 11, 2004 with a group seminar and site visit. The competitors were then given two and a half months to prepare their submissions. The official competition documents, posted on the InArch site (www.inarch.it) and later on the official competition site (www.farecentroaromanina.com), also included two 'restrictive' documents: the 'restrictions' drawing and the 'fixed sightlines' drawing. They were prepared by the competition organiser to 'suggest' the elements of historical-archaeological and environmental interest that were to be treated as qualifying and valorising resources within the project, as well as to focus attention on the overall image that the project would present from via Tuscolana and the A1 highway.

The submissions were to

include: four A0 format panels with the overall site plan, schemes and ideograms illustrating the functional distribution, programme, accessibility and connections with the context, the characterisation of public spaces and green spaces, perspectives and sections from fixed view points (indicated in the 'fixed sightlines' drawing) and an A3 format album with a descriptive report detailing the guiding criteria behind the design decisions and the urban organisation.

On February 24, 2005 the jury, composed of the lawyer Cesare Citro, the architects Maurizio Marcelloni, Manfredi Nicoletti, Bruno Gabrielli, Allan Jacobs, Ariella Masbounji and Daniele Modigliani, the engineer Paolo Colarossi and the architect Maurizio Morandi began the work of evaluating the projects submitted.

The evaluation criteria for the projects considered the overall image of the project, the quality of the organizational structure, the ability of the project to create meaningful connections with the context, the relationships of 'scale', relationships with the landscape and with the surrounding urban fabric, the feasibility of the project, the complexity of the design proposal and the clarity in describing complexity. The final criteria were based on the project's ability to respond to the 'need to create a new centrality', a request that was at the base of the competition brief.

At the end of two days work the jury selected three of the eight projects: Carmen Andriani, Avventura urbana and Manuel Salgado. During the discussion regarding the selection of the winners, what clearly emerged was the complexity of the theme of the competition and the lack of reference points in dealing with such an ample

and complex programme in the heart of an unstructured periphery within the contemporary city.

The awareness of these difficulties and the will to support the challenge offered by the competition to the very end was rendered concrete during a second design phase that featured the participation of the three winners, and supported by the client as a form of private consultation. The second phase was also witness to the involvement of the client, designers, local administration, municipal government and neighbourhood associations in further defining the urban functions to be located in the area, in resolving existing issues of mobility and design and in-depth investigations of environmental and archaeological aspects, transforming them into elements of valorisation. During the five following months the three designers met individually with the neighbourhood associations in their municipal office, as well as with transportation experts, interacting with one another and with the client prior to the presentation, on July 25, of the development of the three proposals. The choice made by the client at this time, with the assistance of the jury, was to proceed with the project by Manuel Salgado.

Description of the preliminary layout

Laura Valeria Ferretti

The challenge of the Romanina project was that of designing a new piece of the city, a city centre, and of joining the flexibility of the planned functions and the relative spaces with the necessity of creating an intervention that would ensure, over the inevitably lengthy period of time required for its completion, the respect of the base structure and the quality and reciprocal compatibility of the works of architecture. The solution proposed by Manuel Salgado identifies the primary instrument for controlling the realisation of the project in the design of public space and the elements that define it. The plan is based on a grid with a strong central axis, interrupted by a transversal path defined by the presence of historical-archaeological elements. Within the regular grid of the chessboard, the densification of public functions and a system of public squares create a centre that functions as a magnet, attracting even the surrounding neighbourhoods. A large park is located along the northern, eastern and southern edges of the site, which also penetrates occasionally within the fabric, representing the completion of the system of public spaces. In order to ensure the control of the quality of the public spaces, the project establishes a series of guidelines that regulate the characteristics of permeability and transparency of the ground floors and the upper edges of the buildings that define the edges of the main system of public spaces. Streets, public squares, small gardens, courtyards, galleries, commercial spaces, hotels and public buildings are used to create

a *continuum*, that also visual and rooted in the memory of Roman public spaces (of the premodern city): the 'corridor' road, the closed public square, the courtyards of the apartment buildings and the spaces of the civic buildings. A 'conventional' city in the words of Salgado himself: conventional because it is composed of streets, squares, blocks and voids all designed and accurately defined by solids, fabric and emerging elements. Within the regular grid of the chessboard, the occupation of the lots is relatively free, conditioned only by a few rules and self-regulated by the maximum allowable surface area for each lot in relationship to the type of function. The rigour of the structure in plan is balanced by the versatility and flexibility of the occupation of the blocks, allowing for a simultaneous presence of order and variety, multiplicity of spaces and recognisability of sites that is one of, but not the only characteristic of an urban centre. Equally important in 'making a centre' is the mix and diffusion of functions, continuous use throughout the day and night and the ability of the intervention to 'root itself' within its surroundings: to create relationships, to facilitate connections, to remove obstacles, to rationalise paths towards the portion of the city that is to act as the heart. The Romanina project has identified and reinforced these ties through a systematic study of the system of voids, of connections, of services, local mobility and the habits and expectations of the local population. The primary axis is virtually extended towards Tor Vergata and Ciampino, the subway and the high-speed traffic arteries are placed below grade, while on the surface there is a double system of tree-lined avenues for local traffic,

public transportation and pedestrian spaces, all connected to the system of the main public squares. The orthogonal roads connect the centrality to the surrounding neighbourhoods and to one another with a dense network. This latter offers a multiplicity of means of fruition and typologies of highly sustainable landscapes, active from a biological point of view, producing a variety of typologies of spaces. The continuous and organic pattern of the elements identified by the system of archaeological remains represents the natural extension of the park and an element that reinforces the ecological network, connections and local identity. The quality of the project is also reinforced by the complete adoption of new techniques and technologies for energy production and reduced consumption. The conventional city mentioned by Salgado (we could say premodern) was built floor by floor, absorbing advances and setbacks, constructing itself through the consolidation of good and bad habits and through visionary and innovative projects, taking the time to metabolise errors and novelties; it was also built, notwithstanding everything and up to a certain point, through a shared sense of space. It is only the innate understatement that allows Salgado to describe the Romanina intervention as the design of a conventional city and not a conventional city built in an unconventional manner (and counter-current with respect to the dominant culture of architecture).

An approach to the urban project

Yannis Tsiomis

Establishing the innovative value of the urban project today is a problem. To understand if innovation is formal or urban we must investigate projects not only in terms of their image, but also in terms of their meaning, because the value of the project will be evaluated only when the spaces are built and inhabited. A principal problem is that of the time for reflection that is given to actors and decision-makers before providing the instruments of implementation. This is also tied to the problem of defining the precise conditions under which the project is chosen. During the decision-making process the jury's opinion does not guarantee urban quality (as in architectural design competitions) and the criteria of judgement are different. The procedure is lengthy and costly, but it guarantees the success of the results.

For the Romanina competition the decision was made to operate in phases before making the definitive decision. International experience teaches us that some criteria are more strategic than others (feasibility, the pragmatism of solutions and the consideration of phasing over time) in achieving urban innovation. The best project will be that which resists over time and adapts to programmatic changes and transformations, without altering the principles of its original conception. Urban projects, above all those that are part of competitions, have two sides: they are both the element of mediation (as terrain and instrument of negotiation) and precisely what is at stake for the actors involved (with whom it is evaluated for importance and meaning)

as a result of the negotiation of particular topics, such as centrality, fragmentation and edge. It is thus possible to discuss a series of principles: the centrality as a relationship between centre and periphery; fragmentation or points of sociopolitical reference interpreted exclusively through the relationship between past history and history in construction (this is also valid for the concept of fragmentation of the city); the concept of the edge in relationship to a cultural and social context.

Important is the concept of functional and social mixité as expressed by Bohigas, who defines the first as a differentiation of functions necessary for guaranteeing social cohesion without which political activity would be reduced and democracy would suffer. Architecture and urbanism for Bohigas work in the void, understood as the public space that defines the development of the city. Thus the urban form and the question of scale are not forms that are exempt from the culture and political vision of the actors involved, including architects. Through the urban project we thus raise the problem of political will and the distinction between the requalification of the city and the territory and a simple project of organisation.

The urban project thus describes a method for how to proceed with designing the territory, it is a process in which parameters (context, scale, time and actors) are interwoven and articulated through the design process. Nonetheless, the attitude expressed by architects differs as a result of their particular vision of the evolution of urban civilisation, and this explains the diversity of the solutions proposed for the Romanina project. The urban phenomenon, like all phenomena, is composed of

crises and instances of change, continuities and ruptures. The Romanina is the perfect example: periphery and new centrality in one.

The Romanina competition demonstrates that the key to success of the urban project lies in the rigorous management of the analytical elements and the quality of the project. There are many questions about its role with respect to the existing fabric, which is both chaotic and disorganised. The solution proposes the creation of a new centrality that guarantees the coherence of a new settlement and simultaneously structures the existing fabric.

The Romanina competition stands out as a result of the quality of the projects, each different from the next and representative of current trends in urban planning, a characteristic that allowed the jury to choose based on clear criteria. The three projects chosen during the second phase (Carmen Andriani, *Avventura urbana* and Manuel Salgado) represent completely different approaches, perhaps rendering the final decision more complex but also more interesting, as a result of their particular nature.

During the most recent phase, the projects have undergone substantial modifications, reinforcing the validity of the procedure adopted for the competition. The Romanina competition represented an opportunity for reformulating questions that any city asks itself about the relationship between the organization of its territory and the consolidated centre. Above all, the competition demonstrated that today style is the approach that we adopt in making the city.

The competition for the Romanina Master plan. The challenge of the centrality*Bruno Gabrielli*

The Romanina competition represents a new experience for two specific reasons: it was promoted by a private subject and it was the first testing ground for the 'new centralities' of the master plan. I will limit myself to making three 'flash' reflections.

The interpretation of the theme of the 'new centralities'

The theme is tied to a part of the periphery that is characterized by an urban fabric with no apparent logic, flanked by important elements (subway, new university campus, etc.) and voids, some of which have been selected by the new master plan as central areas, seen as catalysts of interest and functional diversification.

Notwithstanding the decay produced by illegal construction and the inertia of the administrations in these areas, there exists a sufficient force to deal with 'urban sprawl' through the definition of territorial realities that aim to become functioning organisms.

The competitors have responded to the design theme by creating a self-sufficient nucleus, proposing an ordered neighbourhood, with its own centre and periphery. The three projects selected distinguish themselves for having identified their lines of force within the context itself, of having given life to an organic system that is capable of assuming attractive functions, of having utilised a variety of languages, morphologies and organization: from a revisitation of geometric regularity (Salgado) to the desecration of the same using an experimental language (Avventura Urbana) or through the

exaltation of infrastructure (Andriani).

The relationship between architecture and urbanism within the 'urban project'

The competition proposed a reflection on the relationship between architecture/urbanism, the importance within urban design of participation over time of the various actors who are part of the process of change. The theme proposed was not fully understood, for example, in the project by F. Venezia, even if it was full of fascination as a result of its organic and absolute design, it negated the process of plurality requested because it was too similar to an architectural project. Architecture, within an 'urban project' must instead be subordinated to urbanism, defining the importance of management after role, hierarchy, functional organisation and the design of the overall scheme.

The complexity of evaluating design quality

Design quality cannot be estimated solely using the evaluations of technology, function and aesthetics. We must also consider socioeconomic factors, feasibility and their system of relationships. Within the urban project, the problems tied to quality must be dealt with using a protocol of self-evaluation that is useful to the jury as an instrument of comparison. The most interesting project from the first selection was that by Avventura urbana, which proposed a rich space, with a strong pattern of structural relationships, an optimum proposal that was less convincing during the second phase.

The project by Andriani, as part of an attempt to clarify the structure of the design from the first phase, presents an over-evaluation of the basic infrastructural system.

The project by Salgado, apparently more rigid and defined, demonstrated itself to me more flexible and structured in a clear and open manner and thus easy to characterise in architectural terms and adaptable over time to needs and functions, with a complexity and richness that is typical of central urban spaces.

'Creating a centre' in the Romanina area: interview with Manuel Salgado

What was the most involving element in the competition for the new centrality?

The Romanina competition was not a normal architectural competition within which to present an architectural proposal with a precise form and a recognisable image. The objective was that of constructing the base for an urban project that was not a macroobject of architecture, but rather a programmatic and strategic process that makes use of diverse instruments to promote a proposal for urban transformation. The Urban project is a hybrid product that utilises the logic of planning; playing with uncertainty, more than the formal design of the territory.

What do we mean then by urban project?

Within the millenary history of the urban form there are multiple testimonials of portions of cities that were built according to an overall project. The new difficulty resides in conserving, over time, the design of the city within the complex game of relationships and the pulverisation of centres within the decision-making processes that characterise their management.

We, unlike the others, do not consider the order of the city to be a preconceived notion of European architects who have gone beyond reality. We saw the Romanina project as an attempt to reconcile planning and design and strategy and design.

In your opinion what distinguishes an urban project from a large-scale architectural project?

The challenge is the variable of time. The uncertainty of the future obliges us to think of the

urban project as an 'open work' that allows for the emergence of new opportunities, that integrates programmes from different users and different designers with its own idiosyncrasies and which does not generate a formless and incoherent organism. We feel that, for this work, the following are essential: the pattern as the matrix upon which to build; the design of open spaces and public space in particular: accessible, symbolic, social and representational; infrastructures as vital elements for the city and contributions to the new form of the urban landscape; the location of activities with strong symbolic value.

Within this concept of the 'open work', drawings are simulations on top of the matrix that establish the frontier between public and private space, which is what designs the city. For this reason we feel that with the urban project there must exist various levels of rigidity: the maximum level of open spaces and the minimum level of building, with rules for the overall design.

This is to demonstrate that we are not in the realm of utopia, but that we wish to provide cities with the seal of quality upon that with is for everyone: public space; the rest may continue to be designed to respond to the solicitations of time.

Strategies, rules and decisions

Federico Oliva

The experience of Romanina obtained an universal consent: implementation modalities about urban project, international competition, relationship between urban transformation and mass mobility, environmental care represent the good elements characterizing this experience. However the full success depends on the decisional system of Italian politics.

Metropolitan strategy, based on the choice of 'urban and metropolitan centralities', the more important choice of new Rome Masterplan, is clearly explained in Marcelloni's article that however highlights the conflict between an open metropolitan vision towards environmental and infrastructural systems and a containment of settlement growth. This contrast is due more to an ideological behaviour than to a real assent to such vision.

In spite of this limit due to lack of politics, new Masterplan strategy seems right and innovative. It's right because the polycentric solution and the consequent general decentralization seems to be the only realistic solution. It's innovative because there are only few Italian experiences that debate the role of central city and aim to other development perspectives.

Innovation of competition is well described by Rossi and Gabrielli: the selection of the last three projects corresponds too three different modalities about centrality subject and, at the end, the winner solution grants the greatest integration and territorial permeability, but also necessary flexibility during the time. Salgado agrees with this idea and, in his interview, he explains as an outwardly rigid structure,

characterized by a regular grid based on two orthogonal central axes ('Roman'), showed itself the most flexible tool. He illustrates the difference between a great architecture project and an urban project; such ideas are taken up and studied in depth by Tsiomis.

Other two important essays concern preliminary studies and preliminary masterplan, that influenced the quality of selected projects. In fact, analysis about environmental system, arts and mobility system highlighted project potential for preliminary masterplan; while the environmental evaluation and participation are not so present in Italian experience.

The main lack of Roman experience consists in drawing up a PRG yet, a too rigid and statutory tool to face the present problems about transformation and urban redevelopment.

For this reason, local authority used PRG as a structural plan in many cases and it makes some derogation of existing rules, in order to grant the necessary flexibility and the concrete realization in advance to the final approval. As regards Romanina and the other centralities, PRG gives a defined volume quantity (almost 228,000 mq net areas, equally subdivided in private and public, that became almost 350,000 mq after citizen's objections to the plan) and it rules uses. Mix of uses is granted, as well as minimum public transfer equal to 50% of whole area. Some incentives were provided, in order to increase volume potential, but not until 500,000 mq, proposed by Salgado.

Plan quantity definition was discussed for long, because of the constant demand to reduce it from the majority, egged on by ideological ideas rather than real strategies. At the end,

ideology prevailed against studies and analysis, in particular about houses demand.

It's probably the increase of residential quantities was connected to the citizens' undertaking to realize some infrastructures, in particular the extension of underground, the construction of great road network, new station and a great interchange car park. All these reasons are sensible and politics should value public utility of action, from contribution towards construction of road network, to social building, to public utilities; and first of all it should value if project is consistent to strategy for a metropolitan balance.

Salgado's project contains fair values as regards territorial density, public parks and gardens, common spaces, public and private quantities. So, why does a right project has to be negotiated as regards quantities? Why does a dimensional not verified regulation has to stiffen an initial purpose? These questions bring tool and political decision process up for discussion again.

Political choices have to be coherent and free from any tactics, if we agree upon plan strategy of contrasting any territorial process without hierarchy and arrangement.

It's not easy to realize centralities, neither to construct a new mobility system with meagre public resources.

As regards tool, complex and difficult strategies need e new tool proposed and supported by town planning reform, that is structural plan. This plan is not statutory and only defines the great choices concerning the future structure of city and territory.

Recovering historic centres: an urban project for Beijing, Baimixiejie, the White rice road

Francesco Rubeo

The Baimi Xiejie neighbourhood rehabilitation project is the result of the partnership established between the municipalities of Rome, Beijing and Paris, since 2004, in the framework of the European Commission aided Asia Urbs Programme. The Department of architecture and engineering of La Sapienza University (Rome), the School of architecture and humanities and social sciences of Tsing Hua University (Beijing) and the Institute of politic sciences (Paris) have also participated, with the Municipalities, under the coordination of Risorse RPR SPA, a company totally owned by the Municipality and Provincial Government of Rome. The project has been carried out in two years by 30 experts and 20 trainees in the ICB office (Information Centre Beijing), located in the target area. The relevance of this project is in its holistic approach toward the recovery and rehabilitation of Beijing historic centre, not only respecting the urban and architectural fabric but having, as main objective, the preservation of the social mix existing in the area. It is a truly innovative approach with respect to the Chinese cities development practice. As requested by the EU, it is a completely replicable model that gives to the Beijing Municipality the opportunity to open a new era of recovering and rehabilitating its historic centre. China today gives the feeling of a constant and intense mix with its stratifications, its vitality and speed. On one side stratification and vitality are history, culture and tradition

rediscovered as a network of social values weaved together with architectural and urban-historic aspects. On the other side, speed is the rhythm of the persisting growth sweeping everything. However it is still not too obsessive because absorbed by stratifications and vitality, generating apparent harmony in the most consolidated layers of the city. But the growth of social, economic and production differences is progressively breaking this balance: the city is a mirror reflecting these issues, making them visible to all. Beijing is growing at a frantic pace, urban space changes by the day and the historic centre, where the equilibrium of stratification, vitality and speed takes place, is progressively eroded to give place only to speed and simplification. The *hutong*, literally the alley, has been the place where a true balance between all social, physical and dynamic differences occurred, until a few years ago. "Richness and poverty", 'young and old', 'slowness and speed' have cohabited there sides by sides in semiprivate or semi-public mode, and the privacy and the promiscuity have been balanced by the spatial contiguities. Today the *hutong* is disappearing, crashed by an overwhelming city with its big networks and buildings. Also the need for rehabilitating the old neighbourhoods pushes toward the substitution of the old urban fabric and its social layers by demolishing the old *siheyuan* (traditional Chinese courtyard houses, now fractioned in sub units and decaying) to substitute them with modern 'in-style' ones or with big blocks. Nevertheless the old fabric still has a large extension, about 125 sq.km, and the substitutive approach is now showing its limits. Cultural limits, since the local authorities are reaching

awareness about the danger of loosing identity and tradition; social limits, mainly related to massive relocation issues; economic limits, since the loss of the historic centre is a loss of assets that should instead be valorised and developed to enhance real estate, economic and turistic growth.

The Baimixiejie (the road in the centre of the 6 ha target area chosen by Beijing municipality for this pilot project), the white rice diagonal road, exists from the Yuan Dynasty, as part of the DaDu City that later became Beijing (1369); it was part of the Shi Cha Hai lake's bank, important pole in the rice commerce. After the decrease of the lake's size the Baimixiejie became part of the orthogonal fabric, though preserving its diagonal shape, and the area around it, because of its environmental qualities and the proximity to the Imperial City, became the residential place of important officers. Even if the buildings have been substituted through time, the target area's layout is still recognizable today as it was in Qing Dynasty (as documented in Qian Long Emperor's map, 1750) and several *siheyuan*, once owned by important officers, still exist. The ancient layout and buildings represent a very important asset of the area. From 1949 the *siheyuan* have been confiscated to the original owners and fractioned to be donated to the people by the People's Republic Government, and the yards have been filled with new buildings creating a complex micro-fabric. This process has brought the progressive settlement of a growing number of families in each *siheyuan*, once single-family, withdrawn residences, creating instead a labyrinth of narrow alleys connecting new micro-courtyards, full of life, historic memories and social relations and, at the

same time, places of equilibrium of intimacy and family life.

The living conditions of this micro-fabric, made by one storey buildings with very high density, are often limit-conditions due to the lack of networks and basic infrastructures; this is the reason why the old fabric demolishing process had started, giving way to the development of a new city. The Urban Project is the model we have used to approach this complex situation, considering, at the same time, urban environment rehabilitation tasks and economic, financial and social issues, working in a context that doesn't pay attention to the values of historical and social stratification. Alternative scenarios of rehabilitation have been offered to the local authorities and the feasibility evaluation has been elaborated to help the construction of the Urban Project, on one side, and, on the other side, help the local authorities for future implementation, in the target area and in other parts of the city (replicability of the model). Following the 4 phases of the model's construction: analysis and compatibility framework construction; construction of alternative scenarios; choice of the most balanced scenario; deepening of the chosen scenario and replicable model. The issues that have been developed in the Urban Project are the following: environmental feasibility (at urban environment level); socioeconomic feasibility; economic and financial feasibility; legal, administrative and procedural feasibility. The deep analysis of the neighbourhood, including a door-to-door inquiry, has disclosed the delicate social interrelations and precious urban values, manifesting a low compatibility with strong intervention scenarios. The

objectives of the project have been consequently set as follows: preserve the social layers and networks, recover the architectural and cultural heritage, recover and regenerate public spaces and urban fabric and, at the same time, enhance living standards, build networks and infrastructures. Economic, financial, legal and administrative feasibility has to be pursued in parallel to ensure the sustainability of the process. A system of guidelines has been made to guide the intervention on the urban system, giving two possible options for implementation: a unitary intervention, with unitary management to be carried out in relatively short time; a progressive implementation, with punctual intervention carried out through a longer period. By basing the urban design on the existing historic layout, the project foresees the reorganization of the buildings along the boundaries of the area, the reconstruction of the most decaying fabric made by buildings with no value, the conservative restoration of the *siheyuans* removing the self made illegal buildings and the construction of new services. The one storey typology is maintained, using two storeys only when is strictly necessary to maintain more local population and improve living standards. The rehabilitation model is developed in two different fields: public spaces and built environment. The first issue needs particular care to respect the complexity of the *hutong* characters. The second focuses on typological research to find the best solutions in the restoration and reconstruction processes both, following the tradition and the needs of the people (the failure of other local experiences has shown the importance of the link between typology and traditional way of living).

The economic and financial plan has been conceived to be a support for the local population and local economy, giving compensation to the people who can't afford rehabilitation costs, defining a financial strategy based on public funds and/or external funds, maybe coming from the development of a profitable project somewhere else, to compensate the negative balance of the regeneration process. The main strategies identified for the management of the implementation process are three: public management (with public funding); private (with public funding or, more coherent, compensative development on another area); public-private partnership, with the constitution of a mixed capital New Company. The guidelines, the economic and financial plan with social instances, the procedural model, the management model, the timing plan for intervention and the criticality framework are the output and the tools elaborated by the Asia Urbs chn5-08 team for an effective implementation of the Baimi Xiejie Urban Project. This model, given to the Beijing Municipality, proposes a totally innovative approach for intervening in the historic centre. The 'deletion of the past' is now showing its big limits: the growth in cultural awareness is bringing the upper social classes to return to the *siheyuan*, while the local population is instead opposing the consequent massive relocation to the suburbs where the social links and traditional values are miserable with respect to the *hutong* lifestyle. The model, due to its replicable character, especially in the economic and social issues, can be applied to every part of the old city of Beijing and to

other Chinese historic centres with similar conditions of decay, using a model that can really guarantee rehabilitation and development in continuity with tradition and that valorises the past.

Making liveable and sustainable major urban streets: a renaissance for multiway boulevards

Yodan Rofè

In an effort to adapt cities to automobiles and trucks, traffic engineers introduced the notion of the functional analysis of streets. Duplicated in many street design manuals, it takes the form of a graph analysing streets as having two functions: mobility or the movement of traffic through an area, and access to land uses along them. The more a street is dedicated to through traffic, the less it should allow access to adjacent land uses. The development of hierarchical functional analysis was not an arbitrary notion. It had two key aims. The first was to expedite through traffic from getting bogged down in congestion caused by frequent intersections, or by cars pulling out of parking and private lots. The second was to improve safety by reducing the number of possible conflict points between cars, and between cars and pedestrians. This entailed a reduction in the frequency of intersections, and limiting free access to major roads, where many cars were expected. With hindsight, it is possible to say that these efforts may have succeeded in reducing conflicts, but in the process created urban areas devoid of life, poor in orientation, unfriendly for pedestrians, and lacking in character (Murrain 2002). This is because the functional analysis of streets misses the social function of the street as a place for human encounter. As shown by Hillier (1996, pp. 149-182), the street fulfils a social function as a result of the potential for encounter between passers-by and between them and the inhabitants of the street. This potential is a product of the movement function and

the access function of the street. Traditional major urban streets were places where both movement and access were maximised. As streets converged on the center, the distance between intersections became shorter, entrances more frequent, and ground floors were aligned with shops. Within modern practice however, the opposite holds: the distance between intersections becomes longer along major streets, and buildings are turned away from them and accessed in a circuitous way. The result is the destruction of the city's social space. As Marshall (2005, pp. 1-19) concludes, where there is movement there is no accessibility, where there is accessibility, usually, there isn't enough movement to sustain economic and social life. To resolve the inherent conflict between through movement of vehicles, and the need to provide accessibility on major urban streets two types of solutions have recently been proposed. The first is the separation of vehicular traffic, as it enters the city, and particularly on reaching urban centres, into two parallel streets. Thus allowing streets of smaller width to carry more traffic, and reducing the complexity of intersections without sacrificing turn movements nor reducing the number of intersections. This solution has been proposed by Alexander and his colleagues (1977, pp. 123-130), and recently by Peter Calthorpe (2005) in his Urban network concept. It has been implemented in the structural axes of Curitiba, where a central street carries the public transit system, with access roads flanking it, and a pair of streets one block away from it on each side, carry fast moving traffic, one in the direction of the city's centre, and one away from it. This solution, however, still

embodies the principle of separation between vehicular traffic and transit, pedestrian oriented streets. Although the parallel streets on which traffic flows allow frequent intersections, and do not necessarily inhibit immediate access to land uses along them, they do not form by themselves pleasant urban environments, and do not necessarily welcome pedestrian activity. Boulevards have evolved in the 19th century from their origins in the late Renaissance and Baroque periods into complex streets that allow a diversity of traffic flows and activities, and help resolve the conflicts between them. They are characterized by containing within them strong rows of trees that delineate between different realms of movement. Jacobs, Macdonald and Rofè (2002, p. 4) describe essentially three types of boulevards: the 'street boulevard', which has a similar cross section to an ordinary street, but is somewhat wider, and has a wider sidewalk, the 'centre median boulevard' which has a wide pedestrian median in its centre, and the 'multiway boulevard', which has a central roadway, flanked by tree lined medians of variable width, and with access lanes allowing vehicular access to landuses. The following examples show several of the contexts where multiway boulevards can become the structuring elements of an 'urbanizing' suburban or ex urban area. They also show, how boulevards, by their size, clear form and presence allow mixed uses to coexist together, as well as for gradual change and improvement to occur from marginal uses to more intensive and profitable ones. The first proposal is part of the new general plan for the city of Villabate, a suburb of Palermo. The city's territory

is bisected by three major infrastructure lines. The areas between the corridors are disconnected from each other and from the existing city, a condition which inhibits their development and integration to their surroundings. By replacing the separated grade highway with a multiway boulevard, unlimited access from buildings, and side streets to the access lanes will become possible, and at grade intersections with the city's major streets, will provide easier access to the existing city, and proposed expansion areas to its North. The story of Octavia Boulevard goes back to the famous 'freeway revolt' in San Francisco. The boulevard replaces a spur of the central freeway on which construction was stopped in the 1960's, and which was later damaged in the earthquake. The removal of the freeway allowed for a 40 meter wide boulevard, as well as area for new residential and commercial development that will help remake the neighbourhood severed previously by the freeway. As told by Boland (2006), the removal of the freeway, and the construction of boulevard instead, were put to a citizens' vote three times, and the boulevard finally approved in 1999, and completed in 2005. The completion of the design depended on close cooperation between planners, urban designers and transportation planners to resolve the differences in professional cultures and outlook (Macdonald 2006). Begin Road, previously named Petah-Tikva Road, is a thoroughfare in the heart of the Metropolitan CBD. The construction of the Ayalon Freeway in the early 1970's relocated much of the inter-urban movement from Begin Road. Begin Road's role began to change to that of a distributor road, to the many commercial uses now

attracted to the area because of its increased accessibility by road and rail. It contains major bus traffic: inter-urban, metropolitan and local. The land uses around the street are changing from light industrial into business, services, commercial and residential. The thoroughgoing traffic lanes have a designated righthand side bus lane, and two lanes for private vehicles. As Begin road approaches the older centre of Tel Aviv, its right of way is constrained to 35 meters from the previous 44. To resolve this problem, while maintaining the character of the street, the boulevard is split into a couplet of parallel boulevards, each with access and thoroughgoing ways in one direction, while busways are continuous in both directions.

In recent years there has been a reappraisal of urban major road design in cities. Cities like Milwaukee, Portland, Boston, Seoul and Barcelona have transformed some of their major road infrastructure into more liveable and pedestrian friendly boulevards. Furthermore, the whole approach to urban transportation planning, and the hierarchical paradigm of streets is in the process of change, a sign of this change is the recently published report, prepared jointly by the Institute for Transportation Engineers, and the Congress for New Urbanism (ITE 2006), proposing new methods and standards for the design of major urban streets. Working on some of these projects and during discussions of design alternatives, we have found that the most difficult idea to convey is the sense of the wholeness of the street. Streets in general, and boulevards in particular, succeed or fail as entire wholes. While not providing the best solution to any one of the requirements of a

major urban street, the multiway boulevard is able to provide for all of them in a balanced way; and while there may be conflicts between uses and movements, if the environment accommodates them, and provides clear information, people are able to resolve these conflicts with ease. This is one of the points that is hardest to get across to engineers and public officials who often tend to insist on 'fool proof' and "conflict free" designs. Boulevards are an excellent solution where many competing and conflicting uses need to be accommodated on the street, and where there is sufficient right of way. When right of ways are limited, one can separate them into a couplet of parallel one way boulevards to create streets with a sizable traffic capacity, but which maintain liveability. Multiway boulevards are flexible and adaptable, and will be successful as long as the principle of the 'pedestrian realm' is maintained. They serve as one possible solution for the design of major urban streets, for which solutions must be found if we are to make our cities more liveable and sustainable.

A comparative study of the New York and Milan convention-trade fair centers

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A growing number of world cities, including Milan, Munich, Tokyo, London, Boston and other places, are building large new convention and trade fair facilities at the edge of urban areas accessible to airports and central business districts by both transit and highway. The new peripheral sites selected to relocate convention and trade fair centers are unconstrained by existing urban street grids and can be designed around the program needs of these facilities for maximum efficiency and utility. They can also accommodate extensive truck loading and car parking facilities, in addition to being accessible by regional transit systems. These cities are then redeveloping their in-town convention-trade fair sites into new urban communities. The sale and redevelopment of these in-town sites can finance most or all of the cost of building larger more modern facilities at peripheral sites. This phenomenon is occurring for several reasons: the international convention and trade fair industry is entering a period of rapid change, requiring larger and more flexible facilities that are not easily accommodated within the fabric of urban communities; a growing share of the visitors to events held in these facilities are 'day trippers' flying in for just a day or two, or driving from a suburban area of the metropolitan region; these facilities also generate enormous car and truck traffic that congests urban highways and city streets; large trade shows require the rapid installation and deconstruction and removal

of large prefabricated exhibits which require convenient truck access to exhibition halls; the current in-town locations for outmoded and landlocked facilities are often in highly desirable settings that have enormous value and redevelopment potential; the renewal of the in-town ex fair sites with a mixed use redevelopment could provide new open space, urban parks and greenways, and in some cases, compact, intensively used in-town congress centers, all of which are consistent with and can reinforce existing urban texture. In this framework Milan is the most recent transformation experience of a fair center, creating a global model both for the creation of new peripheral trade show facilities and for the reuse of in-town sites. New York is faced with the need to modernize and expand its convention-trade fair facility, the Jacob Javits Convention Center, and has several alternatives for achieving this transformation. The article presents a comparative study of the transformation on-going in the Milan fair system and of the proposals for the transformation of the Manhattan fair-convention center, which are now being examined. The comparison, beyond the research interest, will be useful both for the definition of the New York strategy (Javits Center expansion or relocation) and for the issues still open in Milan for the local development around its new peripheral site and for the implementation of the winning proposal in the design competition for redevelopment of the downtown former Fiera area.

Milan

The Milan fair had just been reorganized with two venue centers, a new 'outer pole' which is the main trade fair facility, and an 'urban pole'

that is the most recent portion of the former in-town site, now used for smaller consumer shows and conferences.

The outer pole is located northwest of the city of Milan boundary, on the former oil refinery site, inside the boundaries of the cities of Rho and Pero. This is a totally new architectural complex, developed to host the most important exhibits and trading events. It is one of the largest fair center in the world. It consists in 6 one-floor pavilions, 2 two-floor pavilions and a service-congress center. The location is very accessible, on the main infrastructural axis of Milan (the historic Simplon axis), between the city center and the Malpensa airport: accessibility at international level (crossroad between the trans-European corridors Lisbon-Kiev and Genoa-Rotterdam), regional level (served by the regional rail system), urban level (subway connection to the urban pole and the city center). The outer pole has the potential to spread a new development in the surrounding region. Just completed, it is regularly operating since fall 2005; designed by M. Fuksas (winner of the 2001 international competition), its 'sail' roof is already a new symbol of Milan. The urban pole in downtown Milan is the most recent part of the existing Milan Fiera area, which has been kept in order to host small, custom oriented exhibit and trading events and a conference center. The urban pole is the result of an expansion built in 1993-95 on the former industrial area called Portello. The decision of that expansion was made together with the decision to find a new pole (in addition to the Portello expansion) in mid '80s. The cost of the land acquisition and the construction of the new complex (750 million euros) has been provided by the

Milan Fiera Foundation (a private entity) with funds (523 million euros) from the sale of the historic part of the existing Milan Fair area, bordering the urban pole. This area (an historic military facility which has hosted the Fiera since 1923) was sold subsequent to an innovative design-development competition in 2003-04. The winning mixed-use redevelopment master plan for the former fair site will provide a new urban park and a new urban landmark district, including 3 skyscrapers by architects Hadid, Libeskind, Isozaki.

New York

New York now faces a similar challenge of maintaining the competitiveness of the Jacob Javits Convention Center, managed by a state agency (Javits Center Development Corporation). It was designed by I.M. Pei and constructed on a former rail yard site overlooking Midtown Manhattan's Hudson River waterfront in 1975. As the US convention-trade show industry contracts, a handful of large facilities are chasing a smaller number of large shows; convention-trade fair facilities have become an essential piece of post-industrial infrastructure serving the region's important tourism and advanced service and technology sectors; how can an expanded convention-trade fair facility be incorporated into New York's urban core? Given the need for Javits to reinvent itself, a series of proposals have been made for its transformation:

- 'North expansion' approved by the Department of City Planning in 2005 and supported by the State of New York. This proposal would expand Javits North to 42nd Street with a hotel at 42nd Street (designer, HOK, cost \$ 1.4 billion, SF 1.3 million);
- 'The Flip', promoted by the Newman Real Estate

Institute of Baruch College of the City University of New York (CUNY): this proposal would build a new Javits Center over the Hudson Rail Yards, and demolish old Javits and redevelop the former Javits waterfront site (designer: Geddes Demshak, cost \$ 7 billion, SF 1.3 million);

- 'South expansion' (community alternative promoted by the Hills Kitchen Neighborhood Association): this proposal would expand Javits south over the western Hudson Rail Yards; construct 4 towers (office, residential and hotel) on top of new Javits (designer: Meta Bruzema-FX Fowle, cost \$ 1,4 billion, SF 1.3 million).

All these proposals focus on expanding the facility in its current location; face immense land acquisition costs in the Manhattan core; underutilize a valuable urban parcel; cut of the Far West Side from its prime amenity, the Hudson River Waterfront, and conflict with larger development plans in the district; and fail to provide a sufficiently large facility to compete against other cities.

In January 2006, in response to rising land acquisition and construction costs, a new official plan was proposed by the State of New York for Javits expansion (designer: Richard Rogers Partnership and FX Fowle). This proposal would cost \$ 1.7 billion; reduce the proposed expansion by 20%; add new exhibition and meeting space on two new upper floors; require the sale of portion of the current marshalling yard to finance the updated facility; build a new marshalling garage at Javits' northern end, foreclosing future expansion.

A number of serious questions have been raised about the viability of the project, including:

- how will the facility interact with the waterfront, including the 39th Street

Ferry Terminal?

- will the proposed multilevel design compromise Javits' functionality?
- will a projected doubling of time and costs required for setting up and dismantling of shows further undercut the competitiveness and utility of the new facility?
- is this plan a long-term solution for NY's convention needs?
- will expansion plans damage nearby residential areas?

In 2005 Regional Plan Association began to explore an alternative 'Swap' proposal for Javits expansion, which would break the project into two phases:

- construction of a new southern expansion of Javits similar to that proposed by the Hills Kitchen Neighborhood Association (a community group) on the Western Hudson Yards site, including approximately 40,000 sq.m of exhibition and conference space and a new convention hotel and four additional residential or commercial towers. A new subsurface pedestrian link would be constructed to link this facility to the existing Javits Center, which would receive cosmetic improvements and repairs to its roof and HVAC systems needed to extend its use for several years;
- construction of a new Javits Center on air rights over the Sunnyside Rail Yards in Long Island City, Queens, and retention of the new in-town convention site built on the Western Yards in Manhattan as a free-standing 'urban pole' similar to Milan's in-town facility. When the new Sunnyside Facility was completed, the existing Javits Center would be demolished and its site reused for high density residential development. As in Milan, the proceeds of the sale of the valuable current Javits site would be used to finance construction of the new Javits facility in

Sunnyside.

The new Sunnyside pole would include 200.000 sq.m or more of trade fair facilities on a deck over the new Sunnyside Yards intermodal transportation center (to be completed in 2012 as part of the Long Island Rail Road East Side Access rail expansion project). It would form the centerpiece of a new Long Island City Regional Center that could also be built on and adjacent to the transportation center.

This 'Swap' alternative (like the 'Flip') would open up the Manhattan waterfront on the Hudson River to new residential-commercial development, making finance available, and would connect the Far West Side to the river. This alternative, however, would also make a long term competitive strategy possible for Javits and promote renewal and development of Long Island City. The large Sunnyside area would not be constrained by the urban road grid, which would allow the construction of a broader and more flexible structure, similar to Milan's new Fiera facility. The area would be able to take even heavy traffic and auto vehicles more easily than the West Side of Manhattan which suffers from a series of constrictions. With its new intermodal center, the Sunnyside facility would become one of the most accessible sites in the metropolitan area, easily reached by subway or commuter rail from Manhattan, the suburbs and the airports. A ramp off the Long Island Expressway near the Midtown Tunnel would provide easy automobile and taxi access from the metropolitan area. Taxi rides to and from Manhattan hotels, restaurants and other attractions would be 'reverse commuters' similar in time and distance to taxi rides today to Javits from the East Side of Manhattan. Trucks would have much

improved access to the Sunnyside facility than they do today to Javits, reducing the cost of putting on trade shows, a major disadvantage at both the existing and proposed West Side facility.

Comparative issues

The concept being examined by RPA to relocate the trade show facility outside Manhattan has interesting similarities with the decision to relocate the new Milan Fiera: relocation as a regional strategy using a multicenter urban-regional development approach; mixed use as a trend of both urban renewal and local development; the contextualization of the out-of-town venue to translate focused investments into community advantages; the possibility of self financing for an expensive piece of economic infrastructure; the environmental sustainability of a transformation which reclaims abandoned areas, contributes to the urban ecological network and allows the waterfront to be returned to the public.

The role of high quality design is underlined in both cases as important to the success of the transformation.

The definition of the guidelines for the redevelopment of the original in-town site constitutes a strategic part of the process in both cases. One fundamental decision in the case of Milan was to combine parks with skyscrapers, with a floor area ratio (FAR) double that is usually used for redevelopment of abandoned areas in Milan (1.15 compared to 0.65 sq.m/sq.m) together with the request for a large new urban park to fill at least half the redeveloped area. This decision was justified by both the demand of an emblematic design and the financial feasibility; it was performed by the owner (the Fiera) in partnership with the municipality, given the

clear convergence of public and private interests in the entire operation for the reorganization of the trade fair system.

The process is only just beginning in Manhattan, but the institutional decision process has until now been driven entirely by the demands of the convention center and its management, and only secondarily by broader concerns about urban design and economic development in the West Side district. The city's new zoning plan for the Far West Side presumes that Javits would not be relocated. Plans developed for the area by community, civic and academic groups have taken a different approach, assuming that Javits could be expanded elsewhere and the waterfront reclaimed for other higher value public and private uses.

In the mid-1990s, as part of its third regional plan, RPA convened an architects committee of prominent designers to suggest alternative schemes for redeveloping the Far West Side. Several of the urban design schemes emerging from this process concluded that Javits should be relocated and the waterfront returned to the public.

In both cities the demand for green and public spaces is expressed not in quantitative terms but in terms of connections, especially with the waterfront. The theme of water is present in both cases, in Manhattan with the priority of reestablishing public access to the River Hudson waterfront and as a driver of new property development. Milan has pursued similar goals, but as a reinterpretation, in the design of the park, of the traditional concept of Milan as a water city built on canals at the centre of a copiously irrigated countryside. In both cases, there are important urban views. In Milan there is that from the freeway access road (viale Scarampo in line

with Santa Maria delle Grazie) and in New York the alignment of 34th street with the Empire State Building and the views lengthwise and on the river.

In Manhattan, there has been an attempt to transform the existing Javits Center into more of an icon on the waterfront, but its sheer bulk and site and budget limitations have severely constrained the design creativity of the project's gifted team of designers. The Fuksas design in Milan, by comparison, places itself as a regional scale land art in the background of the Monte Rosa skyline. This issue has not yet been faced in New York with explicit reference to the relocation of the Javits Center, but it is not completely unconsidered, because the participatory process promoted by RPA in 1999 (RPA's Long Island City Urban Design Workshop) faced the issue of the transformation of the skyline of this emerging regional center, identifying Sunnyside Yards as a new focal point of function and landscape. Concern was expressed in this workshop over the drastic change made to the skyline by the recent Citicorp tower and the question of the future image of LIC was posed with the proposal to transform the district into a new center, and while conserving the varied traditional architecture of the postindustrial district. Milan, by comparison, wants to change its image with the Libeskind-Hadid-Isozaki design, breaking with tradition and putting its trust in 3 spectacular skyscrapers, while the peripheral centre expresses greater dialogue with both the local and the regional scale context.

The role of non government and non profit actors in the process is underlined in both cases with technical expertise in urban planning and complementary areas:

the ULI in the case of Milan and the RPA, the Newman Institute and the Hells Kitchen Neighborhood Association to a much greater extent in the case of NY. The Urban Land Institute made a determining contribution to defining the guidelines for Milan Fiera which were used to orient design in the negotiated tender procedure and included simulations of bids. The RPA is playing a similar role by suggesting an alternative development scenario for the Javits Center in the event that the current official plan fails due to lack of financial and practical feasibility, or successful litigation by community groups.

Learning from Milan

Two venue system. There is no doubt that the Milan Fiera is the most recent development of this internationally emerging paradigm that splits convention center functions into two discrete locations. The Milan case is interesting both in terms of the innovative method and because its state of implementation is starting to make initial assessment possible.

New York needs to learn from and emulate this experience, by considering redesign of Javits Center complex to include:

- a new convention-congress center on Hudson River waterfront, integrated into larger hotel, office, residential and public space concept with urban renewal of the site of the old Javits;
- new trade fair facility on Sunnyside Yards, built upon a new Sunnyside intermodal transportation center with subway, regional rail, Amtrak intercity rail, access to CBD and airports, and road access, good truck access, and structured parking for cars and trucks.

This system of venues (as for example in Milan and Birmingham) is a completely new concept for US because most American

convention centers are located in places where land values are minima and center cities lack vitality. The two largest US venues, Las Vegas and Orlando, are not even located in center cities. The largest in-town facility, Chicago's McCormick Place, is located two miles south of the city's downtown loop business district, accessible solely by automobile. New York's structure and urban land values are more comparable to European and Asian world centers, with vibrant central business districts and high land values. New York (as Milan) has also developed into a multi-centered metropolitan region, with more than a dozen vital regional centers. The new paradigm for siting convention and trade fair facilities into urban and satellite venues fits well into New York's regional geography; it is coherent with a multi-center development strategy both at urban and regional scale. It allows the possibility to work separately for different products, offering a wide site easily accessible for large scale products and a down town site very close to the showrooms and media centers (located in the city center).

Subsidiarity and governance. The Fiera is a private organization which has worked in synergy with local government authorities and various stakeholders right from the start of the process and it has been a protagonist of this redevelopment of undisputed interest to the community.

The synergies between public and private sector interests, which took on concrete form with 'AdP' (programme agreement) in 1994, have been essential for providing investors with certainty over the bureaucratic schedules for approval of the design and the implementation of infrastructural improvements (paid for by government

authorities at different levels). In the case of the Fiera, governance has been effective, while in the specific case of NY there is a clear divide between the role and needs of the Javits Center management, a state agency, and the needs of the municipality and industry stakeholders, as well as between the municipality and the local community.

Method: integration of financial feasibility with design quality. In the process of redeveloping the former Fiera of Milan, the need for the Fiera to raise finance and the municipality of Milan's urban redevelopment objectives were integrated in a competitive and transparent procedure: a negotiated tender procedure which required the bid for the purchase of the old Fiera area and the redevelopment project to be prepared and delivered at the same time. The groups that took part in the tender had to necessarily include developers, financial backers, architects and interdisciplinary consultants. The jury (composed of representatives of the Fiera assisted by interdisciplinary experts of international standing and by a representative of the municipality of Milan) first assessed the quality of the designs and the time schedules to select a short list of 3 groups and then the criteria of the highest bidder was applied to those on the short list. The selection of the design for the out-of-town venue was also made on a competition basis which integrated the quality of the design with the bid made by the general contractor (competitors: architects jointly with general contractors), in order to obtain certainty over construction times and quality with the shortest delivery times.

Extremely short time scale. The process for the

redevelopment of the Milan Fiera was extremely efficient: 10 years from the opening of the new venue, 3 years between the tender process and the construction of the out-of-town venue, 1 year for the design and sale of the redevelopment area.

Learning from New York

New York's planning process is more complex and generally includes much more intensive citizen input than comparable processes in other world cities.

Planning for the rebuilding of the WTC site, or Governors Island, for example, included an extensive public participation process. This process was neglected on the Javits Center site, however, with the result that there is little, if any, public support for the current plan. Alternative sites were never considered or debated, and alternative site plans for the site, including proposals by the community for a southern expansion and by Baruch College for the 'flip' to shift the Javits to an east-west orientation on Manhattan's West Side, have never been seriously considered or debated. The latest plan, which proposes expanding Javits north by 1 block, is now subject to strong community opposition, which will inevitably delay the project. It must also be noted that the neighborhood around the Javits Center has evolved in the quarter century since the facility was built from a warehouse district with virtually no residents to a mixed use urban community, with several thousand residents and office tenants with a strong interest in minimizing the impacts of the convention center on the community. Based on their concerns about the impacts that Javits expansion would have on the community, civic groups in neighborhood recently filed

a lawsuit against the Javits expansion plan.

The current project is also hundreds of millions of dollars over budget and has made a series of planning and design decisions that will compromise the utility of the facility if it is completed. Convention center managers and users are concerned that the day this facility opens it will be outmoded and sub-standard in the highly competitive US convention-trade fair industry, and even less competitive than the current facility due to the expected increase in cost and time required to set up and take down shows. To function at all the expanded facility will require tens of millions of dollars in annual operating subsidies from the State of New York.

The expected controversy and delay over the current northern expansion plan will also create the opportunity to reconsider the current plan. A new governor of the State of NY will be elected in November 2006. The next governor will have the opportunity to re-examine this plan and consider alternatives, including the in-town convention center-Sunnyside trade fair alternative. RPA's role is to propose alternatives that can inform public discussion and be considered and adopted by public and private sector decision makers.

In the case of the Milan Fiera, preliminary consultation with the city before the guidelines were drawn up was performed by means of surveys and interviews with selected personalities, but without the 'design' aspect which has characterized recent strategic redevelopment strategies in New York. This has been achieved, for example, on Governors Island, and in planning for the rebuilding of the World Trade Center, the Hudson River Park. This method places value on creative input and proposals from

community participation rather than from theoretical and ideological inputs. Specific aspects underlined in the use of this approach also come after the volume and surface areas of the redevelopment are defined and include for example spacetime designing of public spaces and parks for different uses and users (as occurred for the park on Governors Island). This approach could be adapted to the final design of Milan's large Citylife park, which is already being redefined by the municipality. Public engagement in the design process could increase public use and reduce the privatization of the park within residential areas. The 'industrial' role of tourism for competitiveness. New York's Javits Center is an important component of the city's postindustrial infrastructure for its culture, knowledge and tourism industries, and as an attraction for tourists, business visitors and human capital in general. The Milan Fiera is basically a 'manufacturers' trade fair which exhibits primarily machines and machinery in the mechanical engineering sector and furnishings and fashion goods. 30% of exhibitors are from Lombard manufacturing industries, 50% from the rest of Italy and 20% from abroad. The Fiera doesn't yet have a plan targeted on tourism in general (which could include students, leisure time and cultural visitors as well as visiting business people), but this direction is consistent with the objective of diversified local development. Furthermore, the RPA proposal for New York foresees synergies of the convention-trade fair facilities with provision of waterfront parks and other urban amenities and in general with environmental and landscape resources. Similar opportunities exist in Milan's Rho area, with particular reference to regional parks, ancient villas

and water courses. *Railway yards in operation as a resource of building land.* To interpret not only abandoned railway yards as a land resource for the redevelopment but also those in use could be an interesting long term approach even in the local context of Rho. This applies to the railway yard now used for rail carriage maintenance and the Certosa yard. The areas are located near the new Milano Fiera venue; building on air rights above these active rail yards would overcome the barriers that they represent and permit their reintegration into the urban fabric, and at the same time maintain or even strengthen their intermodal hub functions.

The strong role of regional rail services. In the RPA proposal for convention and trade fair facilities in the New York region, both urban and out-of-town venues are located adjacent to stations on the regional public rail transport network. The functioning of this network is not only seen as a commuter service, but also as a competitive factor on a par with international connections, an indispensable requirement for real multi-center development. For the Fiera both venues are served by the SFR (Regional Rail Service), but despite the leap ahead with the railway regional bypass, this SFR is still not adequate for the development strategies of the metropolis in terms of structure and also of the standard of service. New York's exceptional network of subways and regional public transport lines is now being expanded, with the extension of the 7 subway line to the Hudson River waterfront and the creation of a new intermodal station in the Sunnyside Yard (expansion of both facilities was recently approved by the New York State Legislature and the voters in the 2005 Transportation

Bond Act). The Sunnyside intermodal station makes this an excellent venue for the proposed out-of-town venue with access to two subway lines, all three regional rail networks, Amtrak's intercity and higher speed Acela service, and potential rail access to all three regional airports. The new Milano Fiera site has similar rail access, with metro, regional and intercity and high speed rail service in place or nearby, and planned access to Malpensa airport. For the former Milan fair area, although the connection with the subway line 1 and the North Milan railway is already operational, it must be underlined that the planned station for the future subway line 6 under the skyscrapers seems behind schedule as far as integrating it in the design and in the related finance is concerned. Construction of this station seems indispensable but improbable in time for the demands of such a volumes and functions concentration, quite exceptional for this regional urban context.

Conclusions

The dual venue development of the convention-trade fair system that we have seen or outlined requires a new type of development, a transformation of the landscape on a new scale, a transformation of the economy and of society, a new way of generating and using resources and the environment. How the change is managed will shape the quality of life and economic success of world cities like New York and Milano. These decisions concretely express our ideas of cities and our development models. They can certainly be interpreted as strategic regional design and landscape projects for which the old bickering over planning versus design seems clearly obsolete. The quality of the design and the

vision of the transformed landscape have acquired a strategic role even in urban and regional marketing. Similarly architecture and open air public spaces, like the rediscovered waterfront and a new urban park, have also acquired a strategic role capable of generating new symbols and life styles. These are innovative projects from a cultural viewpoint above all because they overthrow old perspectives, create new rules of the game and also face the challenge of experimentation. They are the expression of a city that is exceeding its limits in government practices and in the community vision.

The out-of-town Milan Fiera is the first major Milan function to be relocated outside the City borders. It is an icon of governance, of a strategic vision at the metropolitan scale (a similar philosophy has been followed recently with the out-of-town sites of Milan universities).

The proposal to relocate the trade show functions of the Javits Center outside Manhattan to Sunnyside, even if it represents a continuation of a regional vision for the city promoted since years by RPA throughout metropolitan plans (with many examples already implemented), seems in any case particularly symbolic in the development of the post 11 September New York landscape with the new emergence of the NJ skyline over the Hudson River and the Citycorp skyscraper and proposed other high rise towers over the East River in Queens.

Power and authority in the changing city

Cristina Bianchetti

This paper deals with the way the fast transformations occurring in many cities in our country are creating difficulties to urban politics. And the way a specific form of the crisis between power and authority is redefined into a specific shape revolving around such difficulties. Needless to say urban transformation processes have caused serious difficulties of government, arousing extended debates in some cases, even in other eras. On the other hand the crisis between power is not to be fully ascribed to urban issues, although it does find an excellent stage in the urban environment to be represented.

Power and authority are not synonymous words. In very simple terms the crisis in their relationship may mean that some of the power exerted on urban transformations lack a general acknowledgement. Whereas those who have the authority to lead the transformations cannot accomplish them. Speaking about joint power and authority may arouse some embarrassment. The possibilities to exert power and to display authority are defined through minute relationships and widespread practices. Hence it should be possible to observe the tangled outcomes of power by looking at those very possibilities, as Foucault would say, and grasp their implications. Therefore the changing city and the categories of power and authority are put here into relationship vary cautiously. The aim is to offer a few hints for future studies not to be limited to the observation of their phenomenical quality but contained in a reflection on transformations.

The paper puts forward two

hypotheses. The first one considers the fast transformations experienced in cities and the juxtapositions they create, as a favourable field for the observation of the way power and authority are relocating, both of them perceived as active and uneven elements, transversally and enigmatically linked to desires and interests of transformation. Such a hypothesis implicitly claims that reverting to using general categories is useful to understand the transformations.

The second hypothesis is more specific and states that public agent copes with power-authority tensions not just by means of bureaucratic or disciplinary speeches, but by looking for authority in the relationships with the public opinion aware and informed on urban matters. Such a process is today widely accepted but nonetheless its problems are often overlooked.

The hypothesis is coupled to these two in the closing states that what has been previously said concerns us to a great extent. All this for several reasons: firstly because of the power and authority in the technical side; moreover one should consider that what has been previously outlined has a lot to do with the decreased ability of some skills to play a role of social mediation which they were able to exert in the past. This can be seen from different perspectives. One is dealt with in Sennett's latest book about mediation meant as translation of a command into an action. The other one hints at the ability of such a field of study to account for the modernizing processes in our country; which architects and planners have accomplished to do in the past, sometimes outstandingly; other times by simplifying a reality viewed as a tangle which reason tries to curb; some

other times falling in a sort of passionate sociologism. Anyway such an approach is nowadays much more complicated because of the evergrowing inability to mediate the local condition with the social condition during the practices. In other words the fact that public opinion about urban issues fades away refers to the decreased possibilities of the debate on space to construct links among territory, forms of government, practices, and collective imagination. It also refers to the difficulty to bind a debate on space to what is not to be considered as such. This difficulty does not concern just us but as long as we are concerned, it has formidable effects of impoverishment on the public opinion informed of urban issues.

The considerations developed here are referred to a urban context which perhaps today is subject more than others to strong transformations, namely Turin's, a city where 'the tough dimension of fordism' makes the transformations' jerks more evident.

Many of the considerations encompassed in this paper were shaped during the summer courses I coordinated in the last two years (Summer School 'Great City Mutations in European Contexts', I architecture faculty, Politecnico of Turin, sponsored by the city of Turin, Region Piedmont, Siti). The outcomes are in C. Bianchetti (edited by), *Torino, il villaggio olimpico*, Officina, Roma, 2005; *Torino 2, metabolizzare le olimpiadi*, Officina, Roma, 2006. The approach is indebted with a suggestion born during a public conversation with Carlo Olmo in Modena, last november.

Ludovico Quaroni: urban planning concepts before their time

Patrizia Gabellini

In Ludovico Quaroni's way of planning, in his writings and in his teachings, various writers have recognised a precocious awareness of concepts that have become characteristics of our contemporary ideas and indicate the abandonment of Modernity. With Quaroni the scope of urban planning is centred on the 'physical city'. Research is shifted to the intimate relationship between urban buildings, environment and society, to the territorial differences that are established through elusive and stratified historical processes, to the historic city as a place whose original characteristics are permanent and enduring, making identity more evident. The interpretation and planning of the urban and territorial 'figure' make use of immediate and comprehensible visual forms-metaphors that are capable of acting as an expressive focal point for interpretation and as a driving force for the project. The 'image' is therefore a necessary vehicle for an interpretation that can be communicated. This is an important shift of emphasis in comparison to the Modern point of view applied to the new city in order to express in it a functional rationality and to try out ways of living that are consistent with universal biological requirements. Present-day accordance with the teachings of Quaroni is found in the frequent use of terms such as context and landscape, in the way in which landscape is seen as "a heritage of identity resources, whose conservation requires a deep understanding of the processes of selective

accumulation that have operated over time, and above all a deep understanding of the ceaseless interaction between environmental factors, dynamics of building development, ways in which local societies live and work and cultural and symbolic values of the period" (Clementi 2002). When it is recognised that "there has, without doubt, been a recourse to image and imagination during the last fifteen-twenty years, as a widespread and, in some cases, decisive step" in urban planning research (Belli 2004), it reinforces the capacity for this part of Quaroni's work to penetrate into Italian urban planning. The contribution towards the role of urbanists and their practices is not as strong and actual, but constitutes a fertile awareness of significant questions, several of which have been widely examined over more recent years. Underlining the multiple and intersecting aspects of planning, Quaroni refers to the common interests of experts from varying disciplines and to the need for interdisciplinary activity. To this same aspect he adds on the intellectuality of urbanists, on the cultural character of their task. The idea of a work with such wide-ranging interests and implications draws attention to the need for internal communication, aimed at other technicians or figures in the planning process. The conviction that urban planning is a 'moral culture' moves this attention to external communication, involving divulgation to those for whom the plans and projects are ultimately destined. Today it is normal to think that consensus around an idea is fundamental for the creation of conditions for a subsequent action and to leave a mark within the unrestrainable flow of history. Methods of divulgation have lost their

ingenuity and the sophisticated development of forms of communication is one of the distinctive elements of contemporaneity. On the other hand, the convergence of studies on public policies in the field of planning has spread awareness of a shared expert and general knowledge, which is not predefined nor predefinable, within a process that tends to blend them together and to create in itself new areas of teaching and new skills. This has contributed towards a final abandonment of the prospect of demiurgic urban planning introduced in the wake of progress through history and has rendered anachronistic that elitist vision of urban planning that is still to be found in Quaroni's thought. With reference to planning form, three of Quaroni's expressions are worthy of consideration: *Piano idea* (Planning idea), *Piano norma* (Planning rules), *Modello direttore* (Directing model). The *Piano idea* is an expression introduced into the urban planning debate in the mid 1960s, raising the question as to the two-fold nature of the local development plan. The *Piano idea* should establish "the overall idea of the plan". It is a programming instrument, "an 'abacus' of subsequent controls" that will be the prerogative of the *Piano norma*, which represents the regulatory aspect, linked to the multiplicity of interests and actions and the result of an interdisciplinary interpretation, which is subjected to adjustments. The *Piano idea*, in this interpretation, reemerged a few years ago in the proposal for the new regional planning law for the Marche Region, marking a significant difference to a banal version of the Structural Plan. This proposal for organising

the urban plan (Planning idea and Planning rules) is the result of research into a specific form for the urban planning product and for understanding a problematic relationship between vision and execution. This focuses upon the temporal dilation of urban action and seeks to deal with the participation of many different figures and with changes in the surrounding conditions. Considerations as to timescales and urban planning methods also form the basis of the *Modello direttore*. In this case it is proposed to incorporate into the plan a series of instructions designed to control the form without confining it to a rigid, restrictive three dimensional solution such as that of the volumetric plan. The different methods of understanding and translating the plan, commenced in the early 1980s and progressively metabolised, provide the clearest proof of the interest aroused by these teachings of Quaroni. The Planning idea, Planning rules and Directing model become a part of the idea, which was striking and contrary to prevailing thought at the time when it was formulated, that it might not be appropriate in all cases and in all places to revert to a unified planning system, given the notable economic, geographic and human diversity of the Italian regions. Even this view now forms part of the accepted theories and practices of planning.

Public land as leverage for urban projects

Luca Gaeta

The process of revision regarding methods of local financing in Italy dates back to the passing a law (no. 142/1990) that ratified the financial independence of the communes (municipal councils) and the provincial authorities (Marongiu 2001). The new law entitled these bodies to apply their own local taxes. A later bill endorsed the rechanneling of levies from the State in favour of the local bodies, introducing the ICI (*imposta comunale sugli immobili*), a local duty on property, like the British 'poll tax'. The gathering of funds for current expenses and investments came increasingly from the local communities, and was the outcome of distinct economic policies with preset margins of autonomy, stipulated in a new clause to Article no. 119 of the Italian Constitution, approved in 2001. This reduction of central tax transfers did not leave all the local communities stranded, however; its impact varied according to the geographical situation and the relative community's demographic level, and not least on local tax input. Depending on investment expenditure, the regular financial sources are boosted by inflow deriving from various types of debt liability, from traditional mortgages to the issue of shares or bonds. At any event, the terms of internal stability tightened the onus of the local authorities' debt liability (Bellesia 2004). Further sources of revenue include the local body's property resources, including buildings and terrain. In the year 1987 the government commission of inquiry into public real estate, chaired by Sabino Cassese, finally arrived at an overall estimate of the

extent and value of the nation's public real estate. The results show that the local municipal councils are by far the dominant landholders in the country. It is estimated that, excluding cultural assets, the real estate value of local bodies' property totalled around 120 billion euros. This immense patrimony nevertheless offers a low average yield when compared with the outgoing costs of management. Its real potential therefore is largely unexploited, and it could feasibly finance urban spending as an alternative to local taxes. Public properties could accordingly provide a valid financial resource for actuating urban renewal programmes. The land is therefore a resource from which the local authorities should be benefiting in line with the economy of the market, without thereby having in any way to renounce on the safeguard of public interest, which is intrinsic to the national welfare.

The financial shift of the real estate market

The so-called financial shift generally affects the more evolved real estate markets, and consists in the concentration of real estate assets in the portfolios of financial institutions, which consequently assume control of the production and management processes. Owing to the very nature of these actors, the profitability of such assets takes priority over their actual fruition as property. By this system, what was originally a physical asset becomes a financial one. The financial shift in Italy is a recent phenomenon, and to some extent atypical. Banks and insurance companies have disposed of large portions of their property, while retaining control, due to loopholes in the relatively backward Italian real estate financing

tools; this trend is particularly noticeable in the Milanese area, where a discontinuity can be observed toward the end of the 1990s, following the Tangentopoli graft scandal. The main factor in the upturn has been the low cost of money, which has consequently affected mortgage rates. From 1997 on, foreign interest in the country's landholding giants increased, focusing largely on the main urban areas. The spinoff operations affected insurance companies, banks and the utility sector. Such unprecedented operations put Italy on the map of international investors. The new decade opened with the introduction of the Euro, which reduced the risks of fluctuating exchange rates, and facilitated direct comparisons of profitability. Fuelled by a sluggish stock market, the cycle of investments in real estate turned from premises to the redevelopment of dismantled industrial sites. This acceleration had repercussions on the home buying market, in which sales values rocketed, laying the way for rife short-term speculation.

Why should public landholders remain on the sidelines?

As noted above, the reduction of transfers of tax funds from central government, plus the growth of the real estate market, puts the onus on local councils to accurately deploy their income from local real estate, which duly provides them with a steady inflow of funds for use on urban renewal policies and projects. The planning policies of the local bodies largely contribute to increase land value (Beckerich 2001). However, when seen in this light, those policies are geared to curbing inequalities among private subjects, or with the aim of

retrieving a part of the private benefits generated by public actions. Rarely are proper forecasts made of what impact new planning measures might have on public land assets. Essentially, public bodies are both regulators and landholders. They hold the power to regulate the use of the land, while at the same time they are owners of the land subject to the said regulations. A dilemma appears to arise regarding the legitimacy of the actions of a subject that gains financial advantages from a regulatory power exercised in the general public interest. Actually these advantages benefit the local communities themselves, and are in no way to the detriment of legitimate private interests. One could argue that a policy favouring the upgrading of public land might however increase the overall burden of land rent weighing on families and businesses. That would be a perverse result. In actual fact, it is unlikely that a single actor, however important, would be capable of influencing the total revenue of a given city's land market. It is more probable that the revenue from public land could equally be generated by an alternative allocation of the factors that determine it, with the difference being that those benefiting in this case would be private landowners. This topic brings us to consider the types of leverage at the disposal of the local bodies. I have already mentioned the regulation of land use. If applied bearing in mind the reasonable expectation of the market, the assignation of end-uses will guarantee immediate and substantial advantages irrespective of any eventual building processes. One must therefore ask whether it is always preferable to assign less remunerative end-uses to public areas, when the

local bodies have the means to appropriate private land for providing gardens or parking space, with due compensation for those who are penalised. In the case of transport infrastructures, largely at the expense of the public authorities, the problem remains of a "strategic management of infrastructural investments and the portfolio of public domain so as to absorb part of the land value created by the new access conditions" (Curti 2006). Regrettably, the local bodies are not adequately equipped to handle such strategic investment management, in terms of active real estate policy. Often their knowledge of the true potential of their real estate is patchy. Added to this hazy picture is the problem of mentality, namely, the ingrained attitude that public domain is perforce unproductive, except where it can be utilised for political bargaining purposes. It must be understood therefore that this underutilisation of public assets goes against the collective good. The expertise required for a proper assessment and correct evaluation of the sum of assets must be assumed by the local authorities, in direct cooperation with professional town planners (Shaw 1991).

What strategies should be adopted after land up-grading?

Once the value of public real estate has been successfully enhanced, the problem now lies in how to transform an asset that is immobilised into financial capital. The main alternative is between selling the assets or keeping them as property but ceding their use to third parties for a fixed term. The choice should be motivated principally by the objectives of investment in light of

which the land value itself has been pursued. The link between land up-grading and the financing of urban projects plays a significant role in legitimising the actions of the public authorities, and so this option is preferable. But selling is not always the most apt solution, given that the public bodies themselves are invested with the longterm management of these land assets. Furthermore, public land performs certain irreplaceable functions: it guarantees a stable and capillary grid for the provision of public services; it contributes to safeguarding the affordable housing demand; it is also a solid financial guarantee; and it is a source of steady revenue over time. A policy of longterm rental contracts for public land is in widespread practice in several European countries, particularly in the north. Such policies have not taken root on Italian soil, though there are some legal institutions (Canessa, Colonna 2001; Paglia 2004) linked on the whole to policies for social housing. The experiences abroad have proved appealing, particularly in countries with efficient town-planning systems. In fact the policy of public leaseholding is known among planners as a means of reining in the landed interests. It is nevertheless a flexible policy, and can be tailored to suit different ends (Bourassa, Hong 2002). It is not, however, simple to take advantage of the local government's role as landholder. The classic image of the landlord who merely pockets the hardearned cash of the workers does not take into account the complex set of overheads and other costs incumbent upon the public landholder, who must pursue coherent, proactive management policies in order to achieve the expected goals. In a

democratic regime, the public landholder must also contend with the renters, who are also his electorate.

Conclusions

The issues discussed here are not entirely new to traditional planning theory. In his pioneering attempt to make a financial and economic assessment of his project for a garden city of 32,000 inhabitants, Ebenezer Howard organised the city's layout and the development process in such a way as to turn a profit from the management of the land purchased by the project's backers (Howard 1902). The development of farmland, the parcelling of land into specific lots, and the concession of building leases, were so devised to generate the financial revenue needed for the subsequent maintenance and enhancement of those amenities that make the garden city so appealing. The topic of the development of public real estate has continued to attract increasing attention among the evaluators in Italy as abroad (Ferrante 1999; Panassidi 2003; Paglia 2004). Planners can contribute to strengthening the range of tools for intervention by working on the system of land use regulation, and by planning infrastructures and utilities, all factors in the land development process. Basically, it is an opportunity to make available to the public what planners have learned from their long battle against the ploys of speculation.

Museum-city and museum of the city: reflections on an utopia

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Despite of different evolution forms traceable in the settlement process of various urban context, European cities still keep identitarian elements recognizable in shared histories and common morphogenetic roots that built social and economic space able to generate administrative-political relationship and cultural landscape. The city, as representative place of memory and history, tends to enhance its own competitiveness through the promotion of local development models and policies based on environmental sustainability and on endogenous economies on which it is possible to build the social and cultural relationship of the *framework community*. The aim of this paper is to investigate how today it is possible to correlate the environmental and cultural-historical heritage spread all over historical city centre and urban texture to focus on the idea of *urban ecomuseum*, being compared with innovative forms of city fruition offer and being able to affect the urban plan building process, involving, in a comprehensive cultural offer vision, different government and urban management public systems, economic and enterprise private systems. One of the main problems inherent the disciplines related to evolution processes of anthropization of the territory is to interpret the modifications of communication systems and knowledge sharing. In the urban regeneration process management it is useful to change times and ways of use of the urban relationship spaces. In the past they could be

identifiable with a static symbol image reflecting the selective community choice that preferred them to other less attractive settlement contexts and spaces. The communication technological innovation, the growing reduction of spatial proximity, allows to enjoy singular places, delegated to perform high-rank urban duties in the contemporary cities. Through the purpose of perceptive and functional codes these places could rapidly become ephemeral and obsolete, while the historical city still keeps its privileged functions. The historical city centre has kept, together with its key-role of community long-lasting material and immaterial signs container, the capability to make recognizable a kind of operational statute linked to the presence of an historical environmental heritage and to the relationship with contemporary society still able to understand those signs. Looking at the recent regeneration urban policies deploying their effects in most of the Italian cities, it can be argued that this process could be enhanced through the integration of new forms of environmental and cultural goods use economies building a comprehensive vision of local development model, experimenting ways of reintegration of historical evidences, of memory values, cultural identity, artistic and technical environment quality. A reintegration to be up-to-dating either through the attribution of new social functions, aiming at creating new relationship contexts, or through aspects linked to management models and knowledge valorization and heritage fruition for the city use. The spreading of new communication forms allows relationship tipology at local and territorial scale that can modify the up-to-dating processes of urban policies. As a consequence, the

purposal of *complex projects* allows to manage wisely shared information flows able to create the conditions for a correct management of the historical and cultural resources in a framework of effective government of physical transformation of the city. Some modernization processes coming from the innovative use of historical territory contribute to build knowledge platforms where economic, social and cultural aspects can draw together. One of the most innovative element of cultural promotion in the city governance could be represented by the urban ecomuseum that could allow an happy cultural-historical review of the idea and the shape of a museum, including the exhibition techniques. It has to be sorted out what kinds of contents should contain an ecomuseum and its meaning. Since ecomuseum involves the construction the community economic, social, cultural space and it is the place delegated to keep and conserve these values, it has to be settled how to share the identity enclosed into paths and functions. A typical ecomuseum reference could be the *stone city*, or rather the global context in which the collective identity has built and shows its own culture, a way of life, a tradition, an art. All these aspects characterize under the identitarian point of view those urban places. Not only the searching of the *curieux*, but also of the *quotidien* in a new perspective that compress the space in which lives and feeds the cultural good, an historical place, often immaterial, full of spread values that consolidates the awareness of the transformations lived by local community through the time in a given territory. The awareness of the existence of a value heritage strictly linked to a framework

territory is defined from the anglosaxon literature as *sense of place* or more commonly as *genius loci* (1). To make evident the complex cultural plot that connects typical elements of a given space or territory helps to consolidate identity as premise for any local development action willing to be long-lasting and consistent with historical-cultural heritage.

The evolution of the ecomuseum idea

The ecomuseum idea comes from the awareness of the recognized value due either to goods belonging to historical-cultural heritage or to social and economic reasons of their production and hence to the space that they represent and identify themselves. Since 1960 the concept of heritage has been enlarged and a new model of museum was created: the *spread heritage*, overcoming the traditional concept of museum. The *petit patrimoine* traceable in a multiplicity of immaterial aspects belonging to community life space constitutes an impressive carrier of meanings and relationships that link together cultural heritage and place. The birth of *field museum* shows the need of new interpretative tools that help to perceive the material and the immaterial sense of the territory. Speaking about ecomuseum means to amplify this perception because city represents the place that "absorbes time and ... consecrates the social relationship" (2). That's why the Framework Plan experience allows to individuate a possible extension of the ecomuseum idea to the historical city context. In the urban scenarios of the richest countries, the production and the information flows have a leading role for economic growth and inter-city competition and territorial marketing. The new pointed

out operational management models seem to be oriented to an urban planning practice turned to a comprehensive resource recovery, to a more flexible use of the foremost places and buildings, to the opening of communication platforms between virtual and physical space. The stratified historical cultural heritage in the city and in the territory can make understandable the place identity matrix, and at the same time, to purpose itself as a tool for a self-sustainable local development. Historical centres offer unique material to interpret city relationship networks founded on the phylogenetic framework community matrix. In a beginning approach these issues were analysed during the drawing up of the Framework Plan for Historical Centre Recovery of Cagliari. According to urban regeneration and economic development expectations and to shared principles of sustainability, were purposed new possibilities of use and management of the city historical cultural resources, through innovative transmission forms of the local heritage knowledge (3). The procedures and the decision support techniques allow to evaluate the consequences on the environment and on the economy of the transformations provoked by tools for the territory programming and by strategies implemented through complex projects. The set of rules prepared for the Framework Plan to achieve the objectives and to define strategic actions implement a technical-operational method oriented to recognize in a specific context stratified values from which drawing behaviors and ways of use and transformation suitable to environmental, historical, cultural resources spread in the urban texture.

The Framework Plan recognizes and classifies, on the basis of the permanence of environmental historical values, the settlement type-morphologies operating to give an effective functional role to the environmental-historical units. The context knowledge, based on a GIS georeferenced platform, is main condition to implement the set of rules of the Plan to the historical-environmental units. The urban texture of Cagliari has been shared in units to which it is possible to refer historical-architecture heritage and conservation, recovery and suitability criteria. In the recovery project and in the urban regeneration is essential the evaluation moment both for the existing resources and for the actions purposed. This approach allows, through shared knowledge forms, to orient support policies to the recovery problem and to the fruition of the historical-environmental resources existing in the historical texture. Beside the general urban recovery is actual the tendency to regenerate for non-residential use dismantled buildings. This process foster also the recovery of obsolete social spaces and the valorization of the existing cultural deposits. Paying attention to the sustainability of the purposed transformations, the Plan experiences an ecomuseum approach towards historical city. The local identity, its culture and its society, is made understandable through a system of memory paths allowing the perception of ordinary relationships and morphologies (historical, cultural and social). Spaces, landscapes, urban functions of the historical quarters are made clear and enjoyable, rebuilding the sense of a pluristratified context full of impressive architectural and cultural evidences. The advanced fruition

purpose, operating discovering synergies between environment, social and economic context and cultural goods, appears compatible with the comprehensive framework of uses. And it is consistent with the interpretation of the urban structure as ecosystem in co-evolution with its unitarian palimpsest, on which manage to get into innovative processes of socioeconomic development and of historical texture regeneration. It has to state beforehand that the potentialities of communication instruments are of the greater importance as elements of added value for plans based on a cultural matrix. Development and management promotion of the urban renewal process allow in cooperative way to start sequences of actions and complex projects capable to bring again interest to historical centres. The idea of structuring knots and paths of memory in an ecomuseum network of the historical city has offered the possibility to obtain important synergies with the renewal actions foreseen by the Framework Plan. The consequences of this approach can originate new ecosustainable local development and generate projects aiming at the integration of valorization process of the whole territory resources. This means to consider the recovery of urban cultural heritage (here intended as the systems of local community historical values, typical of the historical city centres) as a founder of the evolutive process of the contemporary city. The knowledge of the invariable parts of ancient city is not merely confined to the single monument, and discovers slow social, cultural, economic stratification processes that gave continuity to settlement models. The acknowledgement and the valorization of these value

systems are hence the basis of the projects of an ecomuseum.

Notes

1. In France Malraux law, since 1962, valorizes cultural space.
2. See Perrot J.C., "Rapport sociaux et villes au XVIIIème siècle", *Annales ESC* 1968, p. 252.
3. The Framework Plan for the historical centre of Cagliari has been elaborated between 1996 and 1998 on behalf of City of Cagliari, by an interdisciplinary group led by Giancarlo Deplano.