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Expert knowledge and today's territorial practices: Some introductory notes

Biagio Salvemini*

This doesn't seem to be a good time for professional experts. One of the main features of Italian public life in recent decades has been the contempt shown for those who possess and produce specialist knowledge. The role of expert knowledge and the very existence of the places where it is produced – public universities above all – has been cast in doubt in various ways. In this scenario, the creation in 2009 of the *Centro di Ricerca Interuniversitario per l'Analisi del Territorio* (CRIAT - Interuniversity Research Centre for Analyses of the Territory) by a group of urban planners, historians, geographers, archeologists, economists, and ecologists of the Universities of Bari, Salento, Foggia, Sassari and of the Polytechnic of Bari, and then the publication on this journal of some of the materials presented at the first public conference of the CRIAT (at the Polytechnic of Bari, December 2010), could be seen as futile initiatives. In particular, the intention to capture a leading role on the public scene – in accordance with the statement contained in the official agreement that rules the Centre – may seem to be aiming at the moon, taking account of the fact that this intended role is to be played by mobilizing the only capital possessed by the Centre: specialist knowledge distributed in various disciplines, almost all of which with a long, proud tradition.

Complaints can be made, also from this standpoint, about the characteristics and quality of Italian society and of its political elite. But the issue has much wider implications. It is worth mentioning them, even if in the cursory, gross forms implicit in a brief premise like this, because reflections on this topic have

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constituted one of the means of aggregation of the scholars who have brought the CRIAT into being, and can be found, to a more or less evident extent, in the articles in this issue of *Plurimondi*.

The habit of challenging the social role of expert knowledge has gone hand-in-hand with the end of an era, the collapse of the particular form of western society and State: the form emerged between the 19th and the 20th centuries in some European nations amid acute tensions and bloody conflicts, and then spread widely in the 'glorious' thirty years after the end of World War II. This form of the State responded to growing organized social demands overcoming the strictly law-centred liberal political command typical of the 19th century, namely opening its institutions to corporate interests. At the same time, it conserved some elements of distinction between the public and private sphere, safeguarding its character as a third party versus the contrasting social interests. In this way, it continued to produce, even in the new context, acts of *government* of social processes.

One of the ways in which public bodies succeeded in preserving this third party nature was by building an unheard-of link between political institutions and the different fields of expertise, that were, in their turn, undergoing a radical redefinition. As from the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, specialist fields were being defined that no longer had anything to do with the role, so typical of the intellectual classes in the liberal era, of drawing up, supporting and upholding national or social identities. Old and new knowledge was, by then, anchored to the statutes of proofs, to terrain analysis, to the document, the footnote, and to procedures and protocols that conformed to codified communication forms and places and could be controlled by 'peers'. Proceeding along this path, they took their places in supranational fields, and became 'universalized'. At the same time they were 'nationalised' through the issue by each State of certificates that attested the specific skills and equipment of the bearers of the new knowledge, through the public control of research funding, of the institutions where intellectual production and transmission occurred, of the teaching and final awarding of professional qualifications. Under the control of this

new sort of expertise were placed important segments of public decision-making processes, that, therefore, tended to have particular connotations: acts of public volition gained a meaning and legitimacy inasmuch as they were the result of long, rationally constructed sequences that connected the past to the future. It was the era of planning – of the economic plans that encompassed them all, of the plans related to all aspects of welfare, of the territorial and urban planning: a procedure according to which the intellectual product of one or more experts, private agents but in possession of skills certified by the State commissioning them, assumed the status of a public act, becoming a constituent part of political obligations. In this way the political class, erected by its very nature alongside sectorial interests, delegated a part of its decision-making functions, entrusting them to subjects set at a distance from the interplay of competing interests, and therefore able to introduce universalist elements among the particularisms that segmented the *agorà*. By anchoring these decisions to officially recognised expertise, it was possible to prevent the State from dissolving into the maze of social bodies and from succumbing to the tendency to transform the rule of law into an array of different sources of juridical rights. The political command, legitimised, on the one hand, through the democratic procedures of power delegations, on the other through the support of ‘universalised’ expertise, could run down the hierarchical cascade of public bodies and apparatuses to regulate human living spaces.

If, as I believe, this configuration ever existed – and it is evident that it has never and nowhere existed in a pure state – it belongs to a world we have lost forever. Some of the articles published in this issue, especially the one by Ivan Blečić and Arnaldo Cecchini, urban planners at the University of Sassari, follow the footprints of the huge reams of scientific literature about the transformations that occurred during the decades straddling the 20th and 21st centuries, in order to delineate the ongoing processes that are attacking landscapes and territories with a violence unprecedented in the history of humanity: as regards society, the impetuosity of the flows and their dematerialization, the delocalization interwoven into the

emergence of local identities that are sometimes exclusive and threatening, the flood of practices divorced from any form of planning and refractory to any form of regulation; from the standpoint of the apparatuses, the emergence of supra- and infra-State instances, the multiplication of juridical sources, the diffusion of public decision-making processes that call upon private citizens to play an officially recognized role, the decline of the political obligation and the weakening of the role of procedures, that is of that 'lifebelt of form' invoked by Natalino Irti (2000). In this scenario, the *agorà* seems to have taken on a new form, that of a 'democracy of moderns' open to a potentially wide participation by all those envisaged as included, while at the same time producing new exclusions and threatened by neither mediated nor regulated strength relations.

In these new 'material constitutions' that are currently being defined, the role of universalistic expertise is declining. The words of the specialists go more and more unheard in the noise of conflicting demands, pressures and clamour of the bearers of practices. The social capital of these specialists, that had taken on the value of a public function, is being challenged, on the one hand by dilettantes who aggressively brandish new communication tools; on the other, by the reinvention of local, ancestral knowledge, often of doubtful authenticity, invoked as a brake on the evils of globalization but in reality more useful to act 'on the people's expectancies and perceptions', according to the territorial marketing techniques described and discussed in this issue in the article by Gianluigi Guido, an academic specialist in this new discipline. What is more, important changes are underway in these same disciplinary fields and intellectual functions that might provide further impetus in this same direction. In the institutions where expert knowledge is built and transmitted, that in the last decades underwent violent massification processes and are now subjected to equally violent policies of retrenchment, significant intellectual sectors draw back vengefully and spitefully into the ivory towers of their specific specialties and academic rites. This phenomenon is paralleled by the tendency to confine the knowledge produced in public research institutions to functions subordinated to private

interests, and by the spread, especially in the social sciences, of weak conceptions of rationality that regard uncertainty and unpredictability as intrinsic characteristics of the new territories. A prey to irreducible levels of complexity, reality now seems to be best understood through images, evocations, sensations and illuminations, adopting a storytelling attitude that weakens the age-old distinction between creative prose and analytical prose.

The debate on these issues was the soil that gave origin to the CRIAT and continues to nourish it. The reader may learn from the various articles about the outcomes of specific analytical works that, in this issue of *Plurimondi*, begin to be published under the aegis of the Centre. They have been written by researchers who are conducting investigations along well defined, highly diversified specialist itineraries, that have often started many years ago and have already produced rich results, expressed in the particular style of analysis of their own discipline. What they do have in common is a general attitude that is both political and scientific. They think that when contending with the overwhelming, novel trends of today's society, it is extremely dangerous to do away with all forms of regulation: the *governance* needs to be *governed* in its turn, also by restoring a social and public role to specialist knowledge. At the same time they maintain that this regulation sustained by the expertise cannot be achieved by repositing the structures, characteristics, concepts and languages of the disciplinary fields as they developed in a past irretrievably lost. We need new forms of expertise. But this struggle for novelty must not lead to the subordination of the expert knowledge to the new overbearing private and sectional demands, or to its transformation into a variety of storytelling and amateurish practices. We cannot do away with the *analysis*, that is to say with the knowledge procedures that the founders of CRIAT wanted inscribed in the name given to their Centre.

The debate and investigation on this concatenation of problems conducted in the last decades in the hard and soft sciences, often labelled as the 'reflexive turn', have been both lively and inconclusive. The CRIAT intends to act within this reflexive perspective through a risky step out: it does not intend to

circumscribe its activities within the reassuring confines of a specific discipline, but rather to produce pluridisciplinary area studies in the context of an area that is itself very difficult to define. In particular, it intends to call upon different specialist knowledge experts, with their different analytical and communication styles, to reevaluate the territory in the era of the 'end of territories' (Badie, 2010). The term territory, as pointed out in this issue in the article by Francesco Somaini, a specialist of the centuries between the late Middle Ages and the early modern times, is now more polysemic than ever. It refers, as stated in the title we have chosen for this issue of *Plurimondi*, to a multi-dimensional spatial object that is not *given* but must be *sought*. Conducted from within widely diverging scientific traditions, this research runs the risk of leading to mutual incommunicability; but, on the other hand, it may benefit from an experience of confrontation and contamination among the different disciplinary fields that has not been barren of fruitful results. First of all, the juxtaposition of the essay by Somaini with that of Blečić and Cecchini has a salutary disorienting effect: the ancien régime tangle of territories described by Somaini have a strangely familiar air with some of the characteristics of the postmodern age evoked in the article by the two planners from Sassari. The areal, juridically smooth, continuous, saturated, calculable territory that underpins various implicit assumptions that are still operative today in spatial analysis and institutional procedures, is obviously an extraordinary political and intellectual construct. Nevertheless, it is situated within a very precise space of time, that can be dated back to the decades of upheaval between the 18th and 19th centuries, and that has now been irretrievably left behind us.

In some cases it is the very specialist foundations of the fields that have been radically challenged when faced with the task of explaining the complexity of our contemporary human spaces. The recent transformations of landscape archeology reported in this issue by an expert on the Middle Ages, Pasquale Favia, and the landscape ecology described in the work by Pasimeni, De Marco, Petrosillo, Aretano, Semeraro, Zaccarelli and Zurlini, converge toward the construction of a 'holistic and

transdisciplinary science'. On one hand archeology is opening its humanistic foundations not only to material culture, but also to the natural constraints within which civilisations emerged. On the other, landscapes are configured as a 'panarchy of nested jurisdictional social-ecological landscapes' (Pasimèni *et al.*): people, cultures, conflicts, influenced by nature, retroact on a nature that therefore incorporates an irreversible time, and that therefore is not a stationary scenario but, on the contrary, an *actor*. Once 'social-ecological landscapes' are seen as 'whole co-evolving and historically interdependent systems of humans-in-nature', it becomes possible 'to move beyond the traditional separation of social and ecological component' (*ibidem*): historians and naturalists can try to create a dialogue and to build common analytical spaces.

And, of course, they can lean out toward the world of *planners*, that is toward the specialist discipline that in recent decades has practised the 'reflexive turn' in what I dare to call its most radical forms. Once spaces are no longer seen by the town planner as more or less satisfactory and efficient containers of society, but rather as an intrinsic part of the social dimension (Roncayolo, 1996), all the languages and concepts of the humanities and social sciences become analytical resources and, potentially, means for action. The case studies published in this issue – the work by Sechi, Borri, De Lucia, Skilters on Lithuania, which makes ample reference to the tools of microeconomics and the cognitive sciences; the one by Tedesco and Copeta on the port and maritime areas of Bari, that is the fruit of collaboration between a town planner and a geographer; the work by the town planner Paola Briata on 'social mixing policies', conducted from the perspective of urban microsociology – are all significant examples of the voraciously inclusive attitude towards other disciplines of current-day town planning research. Dealing with the classic theme of trust as a pre-condition for development, Sechi, Borri, De Lucia and Skilters apply to the regional scale a concept of territorial identity that is neither nebulous nor evocative, but can be adopted as an analytical tool also at the urban scale employed by the authoresses of the other two works. Obviously, on the close-up scale, building, acting on and

interpreting the territorial identity are tasks beset by determinations and problems. In the case of Bari, the innovative attitude that regards the tensions and conflicts triggered by interventions that affect urban spaces not as limits or obstacles to be overcome, but as an essential contribution to efficacious planning, runs up against the problem of the complex 'logics of collective action' (Olson, 1965). The move onward to organization and action is not at all automatic for individuals and groups affected by spatial manipulation: not all the actors succeed in making themselves heard in the interplay of vertical and horizontal communication typical of governance, nor are the loudest voices necessarily those of the largest or most strongly affected sectors. In the work by Paola Briata, the 'social mixing approach' that dominates 'debates on planning in multi-ethnic contexts' is challenged on the basis of empirical work on some Italian urban situations, where there is no presence of the 'pathological' forms of concentration' found in other nations, that make 'ethnic neighbourhoods' appear as a 'world apart'. Briata challenges the widespread and 'politically correct' positions that consist in 'breaking up problematic groups' concentration through social engineering', assigning to the public hand a role 'more focused on managing the coexistence of people with different (and not only ethnic) backgrounds, potentially but not necessarily in conflict'. While it may be that local identities are not a gage of salvation from globalisation, as is sometimes imagined even in the academic town planning literature, nor are they necessarily 'meurtrières', as in the famous book by Amin Maalouf (Maalouf, 1998).

The expert reader will be able to judge the proposal made by Paola Briata better than myself. What I would like to stress at the end of this introduction is the pathway followed by the authoress to reach her conclusion, since it seems to me a good illustration of the sense of this monographic issue of *Plurimondi* and also of the activities undertaken by the CRIAT. Briata states that 'social mixing policies ... may be seen not as one of the possible answers to concentration, but as an embedded answer to descriptions based on concentration'. Individuating the 'embedded answers', the implicit assumptions that lead to foregone conclusions

before going on to verify them analytically, is traditionally numbered among the essential tasks of intellectual workers. But it is a fundamental undertaking above all for those researchers who aspire to rediscovering their social role in a world in tumult. Briata suspects that 'as researchers, we try to frame problems in a way that cannot lead to existing tools and "solutions". But, in this way, we do not produce "usable knowledge"'. The ability to produce a knowledge that is usable not because it is subordinate to any given interests, but because it can be employed to govern them, is a central issue for those, perhaps influenced by the 'ethical problems' mentioned by Gianluigi Guido in his article, who do not sell territories to people not belonging there, but rather act on those territories in order to improve the lot of the people that habitually frequent those spaces. On these premises it is possible to imagine, as suggested by Blečić and Cecchini, a 'role of the town and regional planner ... wrestling in the midst of the city's local economy, the crisis of the nation-states, the globalisation and the virtual'; a role that 'cannot have points of reference in the past, or in the minimalism of the "plan-as-you-go" school, nor in the megalomania of the demiurgic, old-school comprehensive planning'.

In this sense Blečić and Cecchini advance five hypotheses about the attitude of the ideal planner. The reader could check whether they can be found within experiences that have come face-to-face with the crude, concrete real territories. One of these experiences is presented in the *Observatories* section of this issue of *Plurimondi*; that is the thoughts and actions of a professional planner who is temporarily on loan to territorial governance policies, namely Angela Barbanente, Councillor in this sector for the Apulia Region. The dialogue between Carla Tedesco and Angela Barbanente published at the end of this monographic issue is focused on a specific point that is absolutely central and strategic to modern-day territorial analysis and governance: the interplay between the different levels of regulation that produces complexity in the very institutions that have traditionally been deputed to reduce the complexity of human spaces. The language of the two authoresses is deliberately guarded, and any palingenic perspective is smoothed by accurate analysis. The

prospects appear to be uncertain but not inexistent, and demand the introduction of elements of procedural rationality into governance practices.

In this interview, in the same way as in the other essays published in this issue, 'lifebelt of form' and 'lifebelt of analysis' seem to be convergent tools that may help to build possible good territories.

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INTERSECTIONS

Territory, territorialisation, territoriality: Problems of definition and historical interpretation

Francesco Somaini*

Abstract

Territory, territorialisation and territoriality are polysemic concepts. Efforts to come up with a shared notion have been numerous, and also quite effective. But the etymology of the Latin word *territorium* has actually a plurality of meanings.

In the Middle Ages the concept was mainly associated with the notion of Jurisdiction, and this link implied that for medieval jurists it became quite normal to imagine that a single area could be not only under many jurisdictions, but also made by many territories and therefore different forms of territoriality.

In more recent times, this idea has been lost in favor of a state-centric notion, according to which the concept of territory is considered primarily as the spatial projection of modern states and the salient features of territoriality should therefore be continuity, homogeneity, and isotropism.

This 'traditional notion of territory' seems to still enjoy some favour in many disciplines, and also with historians. But actually the notion poses several problems, and so it should be abandoned in order to return to imagine - as suggested also by the ethological, biological, and ethno-anthropological studies - different possible forms of territoriality and many possible forms of territorialisation.

Keywords

Territory, territorialisation, territoriality, territorial states.

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A polysemic concept

The aim of this paper is to raise some points for reflection about the concepts of territory, territorialisation and territoriality, in order to see whether the various disciplines that deal with the territory are able to speak the same language and to reach agreement, despite their different approaches, on shared and possibly univocal ideas.

In actual fact, in this paper I will not try to propose a new sense for the three concepts, or suggest possible definitions that seek to be acceptable for all. Although I will make some comments on these points, I will actually just put forward a critical evaluation of some ideas concerning the concept of territory (and therefore also of the other two related concepts) which I feel need to be abandoned. This will naturally be done from my particular point of view, as a medieval historian, or rather as a historian of the period between the Middle Ages and the Modern age. My hope, anyway, is to present arguments that can go beyond the confines of the discipline (in accordance also with the intentions of CRIAT).

The departure point which will necessarily guide us in thinking about territory, territoriality and territorialisation does not in fact appear to be the most encouraging. The three concepts do not always seem to be understood in the same way, and seem, especially in the last few decades, to have become decidedly polysemic. Their meaning tends increasingly to change and split, not only among the different disciplinary contexts, but also sometimes within the same field of study, and also in the use of current language.

This involves two possible risks: on the one hand, a progressive drift towards hyper-specialised self-referential sectoral languages, which in fact determine a situation of incommunicability amongst the various sectors, leading to forms of authentic intellectual autism. On the other hand, the risk that the concepts are diluted into such vague and questionable species of nebulous protean forms that any possible cognitive value is lost.

As we shall see, the issue of a certain semantic ambiguity of the notion of territory is nothing new. But in the last ten years, it

seems to have been further accentuated. If for instance we take the authoritative *Dictionnaire de la géographie et de l'espace des sociétés*, published in France in 2003 edited by Jacques Lévy and Michel Lussault, we will find, under the entries of *Territoire*, *Territory*, *Territorium*, no less than 9 different definitions, ranging from those that see the concept of territory as a synonym of 'place' (in the sense of a specific or specified space of variable size and area), to those that see it as the equivalent of 'landscape', and lastly to those that try instead to associate the idea of territory with the different notions of 'space' ('social space', 'delimited space', 'perceived space', and so forth) (Lévy, 2003, esp. pp. 907-908).

And that is not all: some have given the concept of territory a strong material sense, while others have attached to it mainly perceptible/representational connotations, which would essentially limit the idea to a strictly cultural domain (and in fact on this point the idea is said to have a 'two-sided' aspect) (Debarbieux, 2003).

There are ongoing attempts to multiply the senses and settle on some possible definitions that are especially meaningful and incisive, and at the same time are able to gather enough support also beyond niche contexts. At least in their intentions, I feel positive attempts in this direction are being made by the geographers. For instance, Paolo Turco, in a recent article on the issue of territoriality, suggested that a territory should be understood essentially as the outcome of three fundamental actions: 'naming' (which identifies, circumscribes, specifies and qualifies a certain space); 'reification' (in the sense of all the possible material interventions that can be carried out in the space itself); and 'structuring' (which would in turn consist of the establishment of an organizational control over the spatial aspect, and therefore in the setting of rules, competences, duties, rights and the constraints related to them) (Turco, 2010, pp. 51-72).

This last aspect, of 'structuring', has been seen by some as the true key factor. As the anthropologist André Bourgeot observed twenty years ago, essentially it should be possible to describe a territory as a 'geographical space delimited' by an authority

(whoever that may be) (Bourgeot, 2009, p. 775). Seventy years earlier, the great liberal jurist Hans Kelsen, obviously starting from a totally different standpoint, had been on the very same wavelength in defining the territory as the spatial boundary of the forced validity of a juridical system, and therefore again as a delimited space (in turn constituting the outer boundary of a system) (Kelsen, 1967, pp. 141 and 146). This form of the concept has therefore led to emphasis on the fact that the territory should be seen, first of all as ‘the domain identified by the exercise of power’ (Farinelli, 2003, p. 37). And if for ‘power’ we accept Max Weber’s well-known definition, which described it as the ‘possibility of enforcing one’s own will’, it can be concluded, as Otto Brunner pointed out, that it would actually be manifested in the dual categories of ‘command and forbid’ (*Gebot und Verbot*) and of ‘coercion and ban’ (*Zwing und Bann*)¹. A territory should therefore be seen as a spatial domain in which these categories are operative, which basically, to use one of the evocative images to which we have become accustomed thanks to Franco Farinelli, equates to arguing that a territory is nothing but a space characterized ‘by the production of fear’ (Farinelli, 2009, p. 14).

Furthermore, these ideas focusing on the concept of power (seen specifically in the ways we have mentioned), are contrasted to others which have seen fit to insist on the cultural and social side of the idea of territory. This applies to the concept of territory elaborated in the field of French *géographie culturelle*, and which in turn has been taken up by other disciplines². In 1981, for instance, the medievalist Rinaldo Comba – giving an original re-elaboration of ideas found in cultural geographers, and interweaving them with the experiences resulting from historical research – proposed an association of the notion of territory above all with the idea of ‘lived-in space’ (Comba, 1981, esp. pp. 4-5). Referring especially to the famous study by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie on the Occitan community of Montailhou in the 14th century, Comba pointed out for example that in Sabarthès, the region of the Pyrenees where the village was situated, the inhabitants’ perception of a space based on the people’s feeling of belonging to the same cultural and material community was

actually much more important for purposes of establishing a sense of territorial identity (as well as some collective behaviours throughout the region), than the hierarchical framework (administrative or feudal) defining that same area from a political viewpoint (Comba, 1981, pp. 20-21)³. The territory as 'lived-in space' was therefore a far more meaningful entity than the territory in the sense of spatial domain over which one felt the exercise of certain powers⁴.

Another idea of territory, particularly valued today, is the one elaborated and proposed in the 1980s by the French geographer (but Swiss from the academic point of view), Claude Raffestin, who insisted above all on the concept of 'appropriation'. A territory would therefore be a space in which a 'syntagmatic actor' (or an actor intending to pursue any kind of plan) has performed (in relation to this plan) an appropriative action, or a territorialisation. This action can take on, without distinction, concrete forms (that is as a concrete objective intervention affecting the space itself) or abstract forms (for instance through the representation or attribution of a special meaning to that space) (Raffestin, 1981, p. 149). The advantage of this conceptualization is that a great range of possible special forms can be included. Raffestin's idea of appropriation seems to me to be undeniably productive. We will come back to it. I must say however that personally I also find that Raffestin actually interprets this concept in a way that seems to be related more than anything to the idea of a sort of 'acted out space', which I feel means the scope of the concept has been extended too far. For Raffestin, in fact, the nature of the actor, the content of his plan and the type of action he performs (such as of symbolic investment, or of organization, transformation or use of a given space), are ultimately not significant variables for the purposes of creating a territory. In fact, as long as there is an agent as subject (whoever it may be) and a plan (no matter what, nor how consciously adopted), and provided there is an action (or a task) related to that actor and to that plan, and naturally a space where the syntagmatic actor can operate, then that space will acquire by this very fact the features of a territory. But in this way any action performed in a given space becomes territorial (even, say,

my leaving the house to buy the paper), and every space involved in our actions (such as the domain delimited by my house, by the newsagent's kiosk and by the distance separating these two places) becomes by this very fact a territory. This equates to seeing as territory any space in which actions are performed, which in my view risks being such a broad concept that ultimately it is of little use⁵. The fact remains in any case that there can be and there have been many definitions of territory and that the meanings, as we said, apparently tend to multiply⁶.

Plural etymologies

The problem, as we mentioned, cannot be regarded merely as the effect of the contemporary age and of its propensity to sectorialize knowledge. In actual fact it can be said that after all the non univocal meanings about the idea of territory have always existed.

The Italian term *Territorio*, like the French *Territoire* (of which however we must also consider the variant *Terroir*), the English *Territory*, the German *Territorium*, the Castilian (and Portuguese) *Territorio*, the Catalanian *Territori*, the Polish *Terytorium*, and so forth are naturally all derived from the Latin *Territorium*. But the Latin word, though not very evident in classical authors – the term is for example totally absent from the vocabulary of Caesar, Livy, Tacitus and Virgil –, was supposedly marked right from the start by the coexistence of various meanings (Meusel, 1893; Ernesti and Schaefer, 1966; Gerber, Greef, 1903; Merguet, 1960). In Cicero there seems to be only one recurrence of the word, and it was used to indicate specifically the geographical space depending on a *colonia* (Cicéron/M. T. Cicero, 1959, p. 144-145 [*Philippica II*, 102]). Pliny the Elder and Seneca instead used the word *territorium* to indicate the space belonging to a city (Olympia for Pliny and Syracuse for Seneca), but both conveyed that the expression was intended to indicate a not particularly large area, coinciding strictly speaking with the urban space (Pline l'Ancien/Plinius Senior, 1962, pp. 56-57 [book 29, § 106]; and Sénèque/Seneca, 1923, p. 34 [§ 17-4]). These diversities (not only

in nuances) between the different meanings of the word would find among the ancient authors different hypotheses about etymological origins of it. In the 1st century B.C., Varro, in *De Lingua latina* for instance had *territorium* (like *terra*) derive from the verb *terere* (*tero*, *-is*, *trivi*, *tritum*, *terere*), or ‘grind’, obviously with reference to the act of breaking the clods of earth with a plough. *Territorium* therefore was to be understood mainly as an area of overworked farming land, therefore as a set of farming areas situated near a city (*prope oppidum*): areas that were often shared and that in fact could be called *territorium* due to the fact that they were intensely cultivated (*quod maxime teritur*) (Varro/M. T. Varro, 1958, pp. 18-21 [book V, § 21]). The 2nd century jurist Sextus Pomponius hypothesized instead that the origin of *territorium* should more correctly be found in the verb *terrere*, or intimidate, of which we know there was also a frequentative form *territare*/terrorize (and also the noun *territor*, at times used to refer for instance to *Jupiter*). In this case *territorium* was to be understood with reference to the size of the space in which a magistrate was able to exercise his jurisdiction (and thus intimidate/*terrere* his underlings)⁷.

As we can see, the two ideas are very different from each other: one is linked to the material aspect of the community’s farming practices, the other to the more strictly jurisdictional component⁸.

In actual fact, if the problem is to determine the exact etymological origin of the Latin word (and of its derivatives in other languages), Varro’s hypothesis seems to be more correct: *territorium* would be rightly connected to *terere* and to *terra*, and the origin of the word would therefore be essentially linked to the idea of possessing and using a farming area (*ager circa oppidum*)⁹. It is also interesting to notice that the above-mentioned Pomponius, as well as proposing (though in a doubtful form) his etymological hypothesis, was actually proposing two distinct meanings of *territorium* which did not coincide. The first, in line with Varro, was in fact a meaning related mainly to land-use, so *territorium* was identified with the ‘*universitas agrorum intra fines cuiusque civitatis*’. The second, on the other hand, was more connected to the spatial domain subject to the jurisdiction of one

or more judges (that is, the area over which the ‘*magistratus eius loci, intra eius fines, terrendi, id est submovendi, ius habent*’) (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, 1966, vol. III, p. 1864 [*Digestorum, Liber I, tit. XVI, De verborum significatione, § 239, 8*]). The first of these meanings (with the accent on the external aspect of *territorium* compared to the urban space) was later found, in the 4th century, also in Ammianus Marcellinus, who talked in at least two passages of his *Historia* about *territorium* in the sense of farmed spaces attached to a city (Ammien Marcellin/Ammianus Marcellinus, 1968, p. 150 [Book XVI, § 2, 12]; and Id., 1999, p. 6 [Book XXIX, § 1, 14]). The second meaning (which actually defined *territorium* as a clearly delimited jurisdictional space), thanks to Pomponius, would be taken up by the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, compiled by jurists in the Justinianian age¹⁰.

In medieval Latin, judging by the old repertoire of Du Cange, the word *territorium* began to appear with far greater frequency compared to the classical age, without however losing its variable meanings: now it took on a mainly landowning and predia sense (as a synonym of *ager, fundus, praedium* or *possessio*); now it referred mainly to the old geographical meaning of *modicus locus*; and now it reflected more clearly the strictly political-juridical sense of a space depending on an authority (or as *districtus alicuius*) (Du Cange, 1981, vol. VIII, pp. 76-77)¹¹. The differentiation already mentioned in the case of French between *terroir* and *territoire* would seem to be related to the versatility of the Latin word. *Terroir* (an older word, already found in the 1200s, and apparently deriving from the Roman-Gallic *terratorium*, which was in turn borrowed from Latin) sums up the predia significance of the original term, but also the components of a rural space seen from a more broadly cultural standpoint of identity (for instance concerning an area’s agricultural specializations). In contrast *territoire* (a more erudite and technical term) was actually the result of a later word formation: though there is some evidence of its use in the medieval period, it did not become fully part of the French vocabulary until the 17th century, and then spread especially in the 1700s. The meaning it expresses is more political-juridical than geographical, in the real scientific sense (Rey, 2006, vol. III, p. 3804; Robert, 1981, pp. 526 and 527;

Godefroy, 1982, p. 697; Quemada, 1994, pp. 139-141 and 142). In the Italic area, however, above all after the rebirth of Roman Law, the word *territorium* was used almost exclusively in the sense indicated by the *Corpus Iuris*. Based on various pieces of documentary evidence from Northern and Central Italy, Cinzio Violante some years ago was able to establish that the word *territorium* in the middle centuries of the Medieval period (11th-13th) by then almost always indicated ‘the jurisdictional domain in which a place was found [...]: “*in territorio de loco illo*”, “*locus ille cum territorio*”’ (Violante, 1997, vol. I, p. 5).

The close link between *territorium* and *iurisdictio* was therefore being consolidated, above all from the moment when the concept of *iurisdictio*, in turn having a great range of meanings, started to be made more precise, especially between 1200 and 1300, in a sense that we could call territorialist (Costa, 1969, pp. 120-125). It was then that the well-known question arose, studied by both Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Baldus de Ubaldis, about the issue of *utrum iurisdictio cobereat territorio*: namely whether every jurisdiction automatically implied a territory, whether the ownership of a territory automatically meant the possession of a jurisdiction; or, on the other hand, whether there could be cases of territories without jurisdiction and of jurisdiction without territories (Vaccari, 1962, pp. 735-753; Quagliani, 2006; Canning, 2003, esp. on pp. 131-132). I do not wish to enter an in-depth analysis of this issue here. I will confine myself to pointing out two aspects: the first is that – although medieval legal thought basically sought to reconcile the plurality of different political forms in a unitary ideal of *Res publica Christiana* and in the idea of a global juridical order – the numerous *iurisditiones* (often in battle and closely interwoven with each other) tended to be recognised as situational realities to be endorsed and legitimated, as were also the *territoria* that they came to establish. The second aspect, referring to a recent observation by Luigi Mannori, is that the medieval idea of territory, while admitting this kind of plurality principle in the picture of unity, was however actually characterized by an essentially atomistic view. This means that the concept of territory was not generally seen as a vast homogeneous space, organized and shaped by a strong legislator,

but as a sort of hard-core particularistic nucleus, featuring its own law system, or its own peculiar *ius terrae*. The territory was therefore seen as a sort of miniaturised space (though still conceived in a single authority system of shared symbols and references), in which every community, however small, was able to influence the space where it moved, creating a jurisprudence that was incorporated into that space (Mannori, 2008, esp. p. 26). Therefore, on the one hand there was the recognition of a multiplicity and plurality of territories large and small, created by the multiplicity and plurality of the *iurisdictiones*, and at the same time included in a great unitary vision which, in Paolo Grossi's words, sought to reconcile 'differences in unity' (Grossi, 2001, p. 223). On the other hand, however, there was the tendency to establish an atomistic idea of territoriality, which meant conceiving of territories as micro-entities separate from the outside. Such double-sided conceptions confront us with the need to recognize the existence, in the Middle Ages, of different forms of territoriality and of different modes of territorialisation¹².

In turn, this should make us wary of thinking of an idea of territory that claims to be informed by a single governing principle¹³.

Criticism of the 'state-centric' notion of territory

Diverse forms of territoriality and different ways of being or becoming territorialized, in other words, imply that one must exclude the idea that territoriality itself may be understood in terms of an overly univocal distinctive feature. The many kinds of medieval territoriality (or more in general of the *Ancien Régime*) force us to rethink the concept.

If on the one hand the need to find a notion of territory exists (and therefore also of territoriality and of being or becoming territorialized) which may turn out to be generally agreed upon, on the other hand it is also necessary to avoid remaining imprisoned in concepts which are unable to give an account of the complexity of the real.

From this perspective, it is especially important to react to the 'dictatorship' of what Jean Gottmann – the well known French-Ukrainian geographer, who published his famous study on the *Megalopolis* in 1961 –, would call from the nineteen seventies the 'traditional notion of territory' (Gottmann, 1977, on p. 41; Gottmann, 1969).

This is the notion we may call 'State-centric', and which Gottmann himself tried to sum up in the formula of territory as 'geographical space reserved to the exclusive sovereignty of a State'¹⁴.

For many jurists (and also philosophers or historians of law) this notion continues in actual fact to enjoy a good deal of credence¹⁵. Territory is considered to be one of the three 'physical elements' – or of the three essential conditions – of the definition of State (the other two being the existence of a population and a legal system) (Frosali, 1973; Chiarelli, 1973; Leanza, 1973; Manetti, 1995; Sacchetto, 1992; Biscaretti di Ruffia, 1992). On the basis of this interpretation, it is assumed that one cannot have a State without territory, and in particular one cannot think of a territory outside of a State, or at least a legal system which brings it into existence/puts it in place, defines it and circumscribes it¹⁶. It is a notion of a strictly public law theory character (and one which moreover does not take sufficiently into account the great teaching of medieval jurists, who for their part were well aware of the possibility of overlapping and criss-crossing of *iurisdictiones* and hence also of the eventual *territoria* associated with them). And it is in fact a notion that tends to think of territory only as a predicate (and at the same time a condition) of sovereignty, and more exactly of State sovereignty, or rather of that of the modern State, sovereign, territorial and centralised.

And not just this. What in some ways is still more serious (at least from the conceptual perspective) is that this 'territorialised' space of the State is understood as a space which is homogeneous, compact, and complete in itself: separate from the external world in precise ways, with linear borders clearly traced, and within which an exclusive authority operates and makes itself heard, not admitting any sharing of its authority. It is

in practice the ‘closed space’ of which Carl Schmitt spoke (Schmitt, 2006, p. 145). And it is in relation to this notion of territory that for example the so-called ‘principle of territoriality’ is postulated: that principle which asserts that everything that happens in a particular territory is subject to, and regulated by, the law in force in that territory (a principle that in the legal system of the present Italian Republic turns out to be formally endorsed, for example by article 6 of the Penal Code, according to which, ‘whomsoever commits a crime in the *territory of the [Italian] State* is punished according to Italian law’)¹⁷. To sum up: if there is a space and if there is a State (or at least an authority) that exercises its own sovereign prerogatives upon it exclusively, then and only then, will there be a territory¹⁸. Otherwise no¹⁹.

In historical disciplines too, and it is this that I wish to emphasise the most, this notion of territory and territoriality has enjoyed, and I feel still enjoys, remarkable good fortune. The historians seem to have accepted quite equably the domination of the ‘traditional notion of territory’; and hence when they too speak of territory, of territorialisation or territoriality, in general they tend more or less to assume as a basic concept the idea that territoriality is to be understood as a form of spatial control of the type that one imagines has been put into place by the States of a modern kind (although in the variety of forms and ways with which these were outlined) (Maravall, 1991, pp. 101-185, and in particular pp. 107-112).

Let us be clear about this: I am not saying here that the historians – by definition sensitive to everything related to the sphere of changing times – are led into making the idea of territoriality directly coincide with the appearance of the modern State. On the contrary! They deserve credit for having stressed how political forms certainly not traceable to that ideal type have in actual fact produced absolutely opposite territorial outcomes. Suffice to think, to restrict ourselves to a few great Italian scholars, of how much Pietro Vaccari or Cinzio Violante had to say about the ‘territorial’ character of the countryside or castrensian *Signorie* (not by chance also called *Signorie territoriali*) (Vaccari, 1920; Violante, 1980). Or else the lucid reflections may come to mind of Giovanni De Vergottini (and others after him),

on the precise territorial value of the policies of spatial organisation brought into being by the Italian Communes with the so-called processes of *comitalinanza* (in their turn the expression of a typology of City-State not really traceable, or at least not *in toto*, to the model of modern State) (De Vergottini, 1977; Pini, 1981; Varanini, 1994).

So what I mean is not that the historiography in general has lacked a specific interpretative refinement on these subjects. On the contrary! All the more so since many historians have written, and with great analytical subtlety, of stronger or weaker forms of territoriality, of greater or lesser precocity in the construction of paths towards territorialisation, of greater or lesser intensity of the processes of *Territorialbildung*, not without illuminating evaluations of a comparative kind²⁰.

The point, however, is that the reasoning on territoriality has tended to accept the concept within the terms defined by the 'traditional notion'. In general, in dealing with the problem of territoriality, the tendency has emerged of considering it in light of that complex of characteristics of closure, cohesion, continuity, absence of internal unrest, homogeneity, arrangement into hierarchy, exclusiveness of power, sovereignty and isotropism which we may recognise as the elements proper to the 'State-centric' idea of territory²¹.

Let us be clear: the question of verifying how far this concept may be applied to the various historical contexts has of course been asked, but models of territoriality radically different from those traceable to that ideal type have not been constructed. Or, if they have been, it happened in my opinion in a too shy way, with the idea that the concept of territoriality could not be defined in other terms than as it has been hypostatized by the 'traditional notion'.

Significant from this perspective is the case of the historiographical formula of the 'territorial State' (*Territorialstaat*), borrowed by German juridical historiography²².

The concept of territorial State would design political entities which, with varied success, attempted – between the end of the Middle Ages and the modern era – to organise their spatial areas in the form of territories increasingly more thoroughly defined,

pacified, disarmed, coordinated and organised²³. In the light of this conception, in Italy too, the more aware historiography has felt it could use this definition, finding it particularly appropriate to define those political realities of dimensions tending towards the regional (but sometimes also supra-regional), which were formed in the Peninsula between the XIII and XV centuries (mostly following on from the crisis of the older City States) to then survive for the entire modern era (Lazzarini, 2003, pp. V and 97-107)²⁴.

Actually, in describing the type of spatial organisation put into place by these new realities, their original character has often been emphasised: among which, in the first place, that of having often given rise to organisms disposed to recognise, within their own borders, the presence of semi-autonomous territorial nuclei (thus reconciling the impulse of centralization with the maintenance of even higher rates of particularism) (Chittolini, 1979, in particular pp. 36-37). It seems to me, however, that in defining the type of territoriality with which one has tried to provide a content to the formula of 'territorial State', the reference point used as inspiration has been and still is, at the very least as an essential term of comparison, that of state territoriality of the modern type, and 'closed territories' like those of Schmitt. It seems to be, in fact, the only conceptual model which everyone is supposed to consider²⁵.

In addition, the feature which appears to me to be most ambiguous is that if we call 'territorial' only those political formations emerging at the end of the Middle Ages or in the early modern era, we actually come to postulate through that that all the formations existing before them were themselves 'non-territorial' or 'a-territorial'. This seems to me, however, clearly contradictory. In fact, if on the one hand it is certainly undeniable that those political formations which we call 'territorial States' deployed policies (albeit in different ways) aiming at a robust control of their space, on the other it is also undeniable that no less significant demonstrations of territoriality (and sometimes just following the idea of a strong and homogenous territoriality) were put into place by political forms of a different type (as is shown – with reference to Italy – by the

examples mentioned above of the ‘territorial *Signorie*’, or the Italian City States of the XII and XIII centuries, with their processes of *comitatinanza*)²⁶.

Perhaps it will be best to introduce, therefore, some different, and more subtle conceptualisation, for example substituting the equivocal notion of ‘territorial States’ with that of ‘States with a territorialist vocation or disposition’²⁷.

But above all, what has to be insisted upon is the fact that that particular model of territoriality – which we have traced back to the ‘traditional notion of territory’, and which we could call a territoriality of the type dear to Schmitt (a territoriality including continuous, isotropic, homogeneous, enclosed territories etc.) – does not define the only possible kind of territoriality.

I believe we have to free ourselves from an over rigid reliance on the conceptual model, and take up as a starting point the fact that beside the territoriality of the ‘enclosed space’, entirely different forms of territoriality may be disclosed.

Other forms of territoriality

Ethological and biological behaviour studies, like the ethnological and anthropological ones, offer certain conceptualisations which other disciplines – and particularly historical disciplines – would do well, I believe, to take into account²⁸.

By studying animal territoriality, the chance to think of diverse forms of territoriality, various types of territory, and various ways to territorialise and control space, has been opened up. Network structure territories, satellite territories, overlapping territorial systems, high porosity territories and those with frontiers of a zonal type etc., have all been dealt with (Soja, 1971).

Forms of territoriality have also been dealt with whose main objective is to signal the presence of their originator in a given space (we may think of birds, for example, indicating their territory with song and other calls); the subject of forms aiming to mark off an area has also been brought up (markings which may be visible, or of smell or sound) to prevent other individuals

of their own species or others from entering, to guarantee sometimes exclusive access to specific resources (the wolf is an excellent example here). Forms of territoriality have been seen, representing self defence strategies founded on isolation, and which as such turn out to be alternatives to other strategies founded instead on numbers (and gregarious behaviour). Other forms function mostly to contain aggression through the spatial separation of individuals (or small groups), and as such are to be considered alternative to the setting up of internal hierarchies based on relationships of domination and subjection. But there are also forms of territoriality which coexist with extensive hierarchical organisations. And likewise there are forms in which all these features and functions are present (if at various times) (Roncayolo, 1981, in particular on pp. 218-222).

What Edward Soja in 1971 called forms of territoriality founded on the principle of spatial exclusiveness and the definition of areas well marked off and defended (*Defended area system*), and which were therefore 'enclosed' territories, are only one out of many possible forms of territoriality (Soja, 1971, pp. 23-24).

The admirable work of geographers like Soja and Sack puts forward an understanding of territoriality not as a set of conditions (homogeneity, continuity, isotropy etc.), but more precisely as the fruits of a strategy, of a behaviour aiming to condition, influence or control individuals or groups, phenomena or relationships, via spatial references and contexts (Soja, 1971, p. 19; Sack, 1986, pp. 1-2). Robert David Sack, especially, on the basis of these considerations, has suggested definitions of territoriality of great interest. His territoriality is 'the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence and assert control over a geographic area' (Sack, 1986, pp. 1 and 19). It isn't a definition as large as that of Raffestin (which we remembered above and which actually seemed too wide and extended), but it is a formula that clearly preserves to the concept of territoriality that character of spatial appropriation which Raffestin had correctly underlined.

Territory is thus what from time to time is brought into being by behaviour or a great variety of strategies of a territorial type, i.e.

behaviour involving appropriation, carried out on any scale by individuals or groups in a given space.

It follows, therefore, not only that territoriality may be described in different ways (not necessarily as a claim for exclusive control on spaces continuous or homogeneous), but also that a space may take the form of territory in certain specific circumstances and not in others; that individuals and groups may be part, at the same time, of more than one territorial context, or of several territories (as medieval jurists clearly understood); and that a territory may be fixed or mobile; porous or completed; homogeneous or jagged; continuous or discontinuous; with or without *squeezing* phenomena (i.e. the formation of internal spatial bubbles, which can be spontaneous or proceeding from the whole) or phenomena of *emboîtement* (i.e. the encapsulation of minor spaces within spaces more extended); and with linear external borders or with boundary areas, which can be rigid or fluctuating (Sack, 1986, pp. 19-21).

In other words, we can find many sorts of territorialisation and many kinds of territories for many different types of spatial behaviours.

With regard to the traditional notion of territory – the notion of Carl Schmitt or, if you like, the western and statual one – complications now arise. But the notion may be extended and enriched, at the same time, by acquiring a wider range of possibilities. So that recognising these many different forms of territoriality, and the plural geographies deriving from them (managing also to map them, i.e. to visualise them on a map or a GIS), may make a significant contribution to the understanding of many features, phenomena and problems, which, otherwise, one could grasp incorrectly or only incompletely²⁹.

Notes

¹ For Weber's definition of power, cf. naturally Weber, 1961, Vol. II, p. 244. On Otto Brunner's remarks cf. Brunner, 1983, p. 160. To see Weber's concept of power in relation to its spatial effects, see also Claval, 1978, esp. pp. 11-12.

² On cultural geography cf. Bonnemaïson, 2000; Claval, 2001; Rosemberg, 2003.

³ Concerning the work of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie cf. obviously Le Roy Ladurie, 1977.

⁴ The idea of territory as 'lived-in space' is naturally also found in other authors: cf. for instance Bevilacqua, 1997, esp. pp. 106-121.

⁵ Raffestin himself confirms that 'in different degrees, in different moments and in different places, we are all syntagmatic actors that produce "territory"' (Raffestin, 1981, p. 155).

⁶ According to Jean Lévy, the author of the encyclopedia entry mentioned at the outset, this tendency to the multiplication of meanings has been particularly accentuated in the last twenty or thirty years (Lévy, 2003, p. 909).

⁷ The passage from Sextus Pomponius, taken from *Liber singularis Enchiridii*, is cited in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, 1966, Tome III, p. 1864 (*Digestorum, Liber I, Tit. XVI, De verborum significatione*, § 239, 8).

⁸ It should also be noticed that the word *iusdictio* underwent an evolution in Roman times, and from a noun referring to the simple act of *ius dicere*, in the sense of solving controversies, saw a gradual broadening of its meaning, until it took on a territorial sense, meaning the administrative power of a magistrate/officer over a certain public district (cf. Costa, 1969, p. 98; and De Martino, 1937, pp. 140 ff.).

⁹ Cf. for example Forcellini, 1965, vol. VI, p. 70. The same origin is also favoured in Pianigiani 1907, Vol. II, p. 1426.

¹⁰ Title XVI of Book I of the Digest, devoted to the subject *De significatione verborum*, cited the passage of *Liber singularis Enchiridii* by Sextus Pomponius. And so the strictly 'jurisdictional' idea of territory entered the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and then the corpus of the later Romanist juridical tradition (for the textual reference cf. above footnote n° 20).

¹¹ See also (with reference for instance to the sources from a specific geographical area such as the Netherlands) Fuchs, Weijers, Gumbert-Hepp, 2005, Vol. VIII (*S-Zua*), pp. 5045-5046.

¹² Andrea Gamberini has intervened lucidly on the existence of different forms of territoriality at the end of the Middle Ages, on the realities of the *Reggiano* area (in Emilia) in the XIV century (cf. Gamberini, 2005).

¹³ On the co-presence of different forms of territoriality, or if you like of coexistence at the same time of various social perceptions of the space, that do not coincide or are in conflict (*'coexistencia en un mismo momento de varias percepciones sociales del espacio, no coincidentes o incluso conflictivas entre si'*) cf. Hespanha, 1993, pp. 85-121 (the quote is on pp. 89-90).

¹⁴ Other equivalent definitions suggested by Gottmann, still in the area of ‘traditional notion’, are those which define territory as ‘a portion of geographical space which coincides with the borders of state jurisdiction’, or as the ‘spatial definition of government jurisdiction and of its military and political organisation’ (Gottmann, 1977, pp. 41 and 61).

¹⁵ Paul Allié felt obliged to write: ‘Law has always thought of territory only in relation to the State’ (Allié, 1980, p. 19).

¹⁶ For Georg Jellinek, for example, the State requires a territory of necessity (*Gebiet*) on which to exercise its exclusive authority (*Imperium*). And territory implies in its turn that no other power, not of the State, can be exercised there (unless with the authorisation of the State itself) (cf. Jellinek, 1949; see also Allié, 1980, pp. 9-13).

¹⁷ Cf. *Codice Penale Italiano*, art. 6 – *Reati commessi nel territorio dello Stato* (<http://www.altalex.com/index.php?idnot=1994>). The new French Penal Code, in force since 1992, to give another example, expresses the same concept in a very similar way: ‘La loi pénale française est applicable aux infractions commises sur le territoire de la République’: cf. *Code Pénal Français*, art. 113-2 (cf. <http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichCode.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006070719>).

¹⁸ Hans Kelsen postulated actually that a State could be given even without a land (for example in the case of a nomadic people) (cf. Kelsen, 1960, on p. 70-76). But this position does not seem to be the most shared one in the debate of contemporary jurists. Paul Biscaretti di Ruffia, for example, had no hesitation in saying, in accordance with the main opinion, that without a territory, ‘you do not have a State’ (see Biscaretti di Ruffia, 1992, p. 334).

¹⁹ The connection between State (or rather modern State) and territory is on the contrary postulated in such a narrow way that there are those who have argued that the present crisis of national States should be read as the symptom of the imminent agony also of the territories (cf. Badie, 1996). Badie’s arguments are undoubtedly interesting and in many ways convincing (cf. also Salvemini, 2006).

²⁰ Among the most profoundly insightful analytical inquiries into this is that of Giorgio Chittolini: cf. for example Chittolini, 1994; or also Chittolini, 2012.

²¹ By ‘closure’ the idea of a clear separation from the outside is meant; by ‘cohesion’ a relation of close correlation between the individual inner parts; by ‘continuity’ the tendency to overcome eventual separations into spatial blocks distinct from each other, and the elimination of interruptions; by ‘absence of internal unrest’ the tendency to pacification of the territory; by ‘arrangement into hierarchy’ the definition of an easily recognisable vertical structure of command; by ‘exclusiveness of power’ the functions of command and the authorities are concentrated exclusively in one agency; by ‘sovereignty’ the non-dependence on outside powers; by ‘homogeneity’ the elimination of the differences between the various constitutive components of the territory; and by ‘isotropism’ the fact that all the parts are oriented uniformly, and are therefore all equally subject to the central power.

²² On the subject of the German territorial States see Patze, 1986. In the texts of Giorgio Chittolini indicated above in notes much more extensive historiographic suggestions may be found.

²³ It is anyway worth pointing out that in the German area – i.e. in the cultural context where the concept of ‘territorial state’ was actually defined – there is now a tendency to recognize that states that one would define as ‘territorial’ had a kind of territoriality not very satisfying to the conceptual model on which it was made that notion (cf. Chittolini, 2012, p. 6). Not surprisingly, ‘the old idea that in Germany [...] the territorial principalities were the most direct prototypes, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of the “modern state” or “modern statehood” [...], tends now to be resized, in the light of more complex categories of interpretation’ (see *ivi*, p. 8).

²⁴ In effect the notion of ‘territorial State’ in Italian historiographical usage has become a sort of equivalent of the formula ‘regional State’ (cf. for example Fasano Guarini, 1994, at p. 147).

²⁵ It is significant from this point of view to note what underlines Andrea Gamberini in his already quoted work about territoriality in the Italian Middle Age, where he concludes that a political reality such as that of the Visconti State of the late fourteenth century should be regarded as a State ‘regional but not territorial’, precisely because of its lack of interest over the problem of eliminating the autonomy of those various political and territorial bodies that were in various ways subjected to the lord (and later Duke) of Milan (cf. Gamberini, 2005, p. 206 note). I would tend, instead, to say that the Visconti State, even if in his own way, was definitely territorial (since, by the way, it had absolutely made an appropriative intervention over its space). I mean that it was a territorial state, even if, in the words of Gian Maria Varanini, it appeared as ‘an agglomeration, a constellation of different territorial realities’ (Varanini, 1986, on p. 705).

²⁶ See for example the different forms of territorial organization during the Italian Middle Age considered by Gian Maria Varanini (Varanini, 1999).

²⁷ The notion of ‘territorialism’ was formulated in the 1990s by Giovanni Arrighi and taken up recently by Franco Farinelli (cf. Arrighi, 1996; Farinelli, 2009, pp. 49-50). ‘Territorialism’ should be understood as the tendency to the incorporation of territories and populations under just one territorial control, and as the enacting of a most rigorous disciplining of the spaces acquired.

²⁸ This intuition had already been developed, insistently, in the 1960a by Robert Ardrey (Ardrey, 1984). The subject was taken up by Dyson-Hudson and Alden Smith, 1978.

²⁹ On the subject of the plurality of geographies and the possibility of their representation in maps, cf. Cengarle and Somaini, 2008, and Cengarle and Somaini, 2009, pp. 3-19.

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Trust and economic wealth in regional communities: Evidence from Latvia

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Abstract

This work aims at analysing, in the light of new insights from economic development theories, the microeconomic relationship between social capital and economic wealth. In this preliminary study, we conduct a quantitative analysis through the use of structural equation modelling, to investigate a multidisciplinary framework across social and cognitive sciences. Results suggest the existence of a causal path linking wealth, institutional trust, social engagement and trust towards people.

Keywords

Social capital, networking, trust, identity theory, structural equation modelling.

Introduction

The concept of *social capital* plays a central role in territorial development theories. It comprises a network of durable relationships across a myriad of agents such as individuals and/or groups, organizations and institutions (Bourdieu, 1986).

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Over the last twenty years, the use of this concept has spread across different branches of social sciences. In particular, in community development studies, social capital is used either as conceptual or analytic tool to examine the strengths and weaknesses of the structure of a society (Woolcock, 1998) and the ways how socio-economic well-being changes due to changes of its tangible and intangible assets over time (Putnam, 1993).

At microeconomic level, the link between social capital and economic wealth has received little attention, whereas most of the literature has concentrated on macroeconomic effects and variables. As a result, under a microeconomic perspective, the relations occurring between social capital and personal wealth show different causality directions according to the frameworks adopted under various scientific branches. Contrasting results emerge from these studies. The statistical significance of the relationship between wealth, social engagement, and trust varies across different geographical contexts. As a consequence, there is little or no evidence of a shared theoretical framework to explain such findings. This would, in fact, reflect an almost absent degree of cross-fertilization, due to the use of different methodological approaches, between social and cognitive sciences. Moreover, most social capital studies have neglected the concept of social identity and the role of social identity in the structure of social capital.

In this preliminary work, we fill the gap of a theoretical and applied multidisciplinary approach at micro-level for the case of the Republic of Latvia. The theoretical approach integrates social capital theory with social categorization theory in order to take into account the role of social identity dynamics with regard to the research issue under exam. The applied approach investigates the correlation between wealth (household income), network capital and social (trust) capital and the effect on social identity through the use of personal wealth as a predictor variable. We test a theoretical semi-recursive model through the use of a structural equation modelling.

An overview of social capital and economic wealth in community studies

Over the past century, the relationship between social capital and economic wealth becomes a central issue in capital-based community studies. The pioneering work of Putnam (1993) at the University of Princeton investigates the effects of community cohesion on socio-economic development in the regions of Central Italy in the 1960s and 1970s. The novelty of Putnam's work is the adoption of a theoretical and applied framework characterised by two dimensions of social capital: structural capital and trust, where he finds evidence in support of the positive impact of social capital on the economic growth of Central Italy regions.

The criticisms to Putnam's work were not late to arrive, mainly focusing on his overtly positive view of the role of social capital, and his lack of attention to regional socio-economic differences and specificities. In particular, doubts arise in terms of the effectiveness of the contextualization of the analyses when seen under different perspectives. Knack and Keefer (1997) find evidence of the effects of social capital on economic growth only in the presence of high transaction costs: in such a case, the existence of informal networking and trust capital helps reducing such costs. Sabatini (2007) finds different effects of different dimensions of social capital on economic growth, some of the causal effects being even negative. Whereas Putnam has focused on community level dynamics, studies dealing with social capital and community development in developing countries have been often focused on the relations between social capital and economic wealth at the *micro* (individual or household) level, where social capital is seen as a predictor of household income. In some studies (Grootaert, 1998; Narayan, Pritchett, 1997) these assumptions are supported by empirical analysis; in other cases (e.g. Krishna, Uphoff, 1999) no significant effects are found. Inconsistencies are usually explained by the fact that societies are built on different socio-economic structures in the paths of their economic development.

In most of these studies, social capital is meant as a determinant of personal / household wealth. A minority of regional scientists agree, instead, on the existence of an *inverse causality* where it is the economic wealth to affect trust (capital) among people. As a consequence, the key argument becomes that where 'members of households that are richer will have more leisure time to devote to associational membership. Higher levels of associational activity are associated, in turn, with higher levels of social capital' (Krishna, Uphoff, 1999).

The study of the effect of personal wealth on social capital is more common in social and organisational psychology studies, in particularly in the context of class analysis. Results are, once again, contrasting. Di Ciaccio (2005) states that social capital is found to be higher among high income people in several studies. Piff et al. (2010), on the contrary, find evidence of higher levels of social engagement in lower classes, and explain it by the existence of stronger egalitarian values and higher trust levels among poorer people. The differences are likely to be partly explained by the different meanings of social capital, whether weaker, temporary ties, of a mainly utilitarian nature, or stronger, trust-based linkages, are taken into account.

Limits of current literature

From the above mentioned observations, it is clear that the linkages between social capital and wealth do exist due to the use of a multitude of approaches and hypotheses. Less clear appear the results to these hypotheses, which do not show to have common grounds, leaving scientists with insufficient debate and explanations to discuss. The existing differences in the structure of the economy of the considered societies, which are acknowledged in most works, provide with a partial explanation of inconsistent results.

Inconsistencies can be also explained by arguing on the somehow overlooked nature of trust. Trust, a concept which has gradually entered the mainstream sociological debate largely due to the work of Luhmann (1979, 2000), is widely recognised as

one of the key components of ‘cognitive’ social capital (Putnam, 1993; Storper, 1997; Nahapiet, Ghoshal, 1997) which is also seen to be relevant for the enhancement of economic development (Granovetter, 1995; Sabatini, 2007). The real problem when we consider trust in social capital studies lies in the context, type and level of analysis employed. This is because trust assumes a generalised meaning towards, for example, citizenship and institutions; whereas some other times it is investigated in more concrete contexts, such as that towards surrounding people (Seligman, 1997). It is therefore essential to correctly define the concept of trust given that ambiguities and misinterpretations may arise (Alesina, La Ferrara, 2002).

A further issue to consider is the almost total absence of different components of trust in the same analytic models. Few studies find evidence of a complex interplay between different components of trust and socio-economic features (Skiott-Larsen, Henriksen, 2009).

Theoretical framework. Social capital and social categorization theories: An attempt at a multidisciplinary view

The relevance of socio-cognitive dynamics is well known in organisational science (Nonaka, 1991; Nahapiet, Ghoshal, 1997) whereas it is almost non-existent in regional studies. Territorial innovation studies can be seen as an exception to this ‘trend’, in particular the thread which is based on the innovative *milieu* theory (Aydalot, 1986; Camagni, 1991) and on the concept of innovation in territories as a complex non-linear process based on collective learning paths (Lundvall, Johnson 1994). This process has been notably investigated over the last decade through empirical approaches (Capello, 2002). Another example is that of creativity theory (Florida, 2002) which hypothesizes a positive correlation between the existence of a creative class, dynamism of the urban environment, and economic development. In all of these cases, however, the study of cognitive processes under a theoretical or applied view appears

rare, and a multidisciplinary approach with cognitive science theories is virtually absent.

The criticisms to Putnam's work indirectly underline the overlooking of cognitive issues and dynamics in territorial community studies. The debate on the distinction between *bonding* and *bridging* social capital which, in a territorial context, implies the necessity to find access to external forms of knowledge and to the openness to other cultures, is an example which has cognitive implications.

In our work, we study the link between social capital and economic wealth at *micro* level. The novelty of our analysis is to consider a multidisciplinary view alongside social psychology through social identity theory. The main argument of such a theory is that significant others, both important people and close, direct social communities, are included in the representation of self (Saribay, Andersen, 2007). The main assumption is that social identity is a relational structure nested across three levels: (1) self-categorization expressed in terms of feelings of personal differentiation and belongingness (Brewer, Gardner, 1996); (2) categorization of immediate social groups (e.g., family members, teams and collectives in respect to one's occupation); and (3) categorization of large-scale social groups (e.g., political, ethnic, national communities). The relation between the first and the second level is characterized by the process of inclusion of close others and immediate social groups in the conception of self (Saribay, Andersen, 2007). The first level is the most inclusive and also psychologically most significant and real one.

Under such theoretical framework, we hypothesize that social capital, at least in part, reflects the structure of social identity. Therefore, two different trust capital dimensions are included in our micro-level model investigating the effect of wealth (household income) on social capital. We do so to integrate the commonly hypothesized wealth-engagement-trust causal chain.

Theoretical model

Given the considerations in the previous section, we use a recursive model with four variables (one exogenous and three endogenous) and three hypotheses. With regard to social capital, the model broadly relies on Putnam's taxonomy (1993), which, as mentioned above, identifies two main dimensions: structural capital (consisting of roles, networks and norms) and cognitive (or relational) capital (consisting of trust and other 'affective', intangible linkages). However, in the present context, such dimensions are accounted for in a way which takes into account the specific scope of the analysis.

The considered variables are:

- *Household income (economic wealth)*;
- *Structural social capital* (meant as *social engagement*);
- *Relational social capital (trust)*. Trust is distinguished into *trust towards individuals* and *trust towards institutions*. Following Seligman (1997), this distinction becomes necessary in social capital quantitative studies. We assume that trust towards institutions is seen in a large scale level of categorization, while trust towards individuals is observed in a smaller scale (e.g. immediate groups).

We assume the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. Household income positively affects trust towards institutions. This is somewhat intuitive given that personal well-being leads to a better attitude towards institutions.

Hypothesis 2. Trust towards institutions positively affects social engagement. This represents a reasonable assumption in our context (it is a novelty given that this pattern is usually not considered in social capital studies), where structural capital assumes the non-instrumental meaning of social engagement. The hypothesis considers a positive effect of a good institutional climate on the social behaviour of individuals.

Hypothesis 3. Social engagement positively affects trust towards people. This is a common assumption, generally confirmed by empirical analyses, in both organisational and regional social

capital studies (Tsai, Ghoshal, 1998; Grootaert, Van Bastelaar, 2002).

From the point of view of social capital studies, the main novelty of the proposed theoretical model consists of two assumptions: a) the positive effect of wealth on (non-utilitarian) networking is mediated by trust towards institutions; b) different trust dimensions appear in different stages of the causal chain. The resulting model (Figure 1) is therefore a *recursive* one, since a hierarchical cause-effect sequence of variables is hypothesized, according to the *path analysis* model (Bollen, 1989).

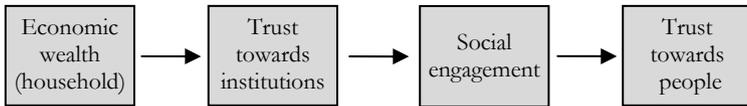


Figure 1: Theoretical model

Case study: Social context

The Republic of Latvia is an interesting context for the study of intra-community dynamics because of several peculiar factors. First, the Latvian society is characterised by the presence of a multi-ethnic framework in which consistent minorities co-exist. The multi-ethnic structure experienced a massive immigration from other Soviet republics in the years between 1944 and 1991. Second, over the last twenty years the Latvian economic, social and political context has been subject to numerous structural changes, a feature being common to almost all ex-Eastern Bloc countries. The consequences of such changes reflect, on one hand, the relevant cultural generational gap existing by Soviet-trained older generations and more Westernized youth, and, on the other hand, the economic polarization of society, due to a predominance of *laissez faire*, neoliberal economic policies in the first years after independence. The Latvian context is therefore characterized, in line with a general trend in European post-communist countries (Heineck, Sussmuth, 2010), by low levels of social capital. According to Eurobarometer (http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm), the level

of trust and cooperation attitude among Latvian people is considerably lower than the EU average, and the engagement in socially conscious activities is low as well.

We can describe the Latvian society as being characterized by a problematic relationship between *integration* and *linkage*, a situation in which trust and goodwill are limited to family members, friends and close acquaintances (Woolcock, 1998). In this society there is also an insufficient exploitation of potential civic linkages creating, in effect, a missing link between community and institutions (Laboratory of Analytic and Strategic Studies, 2007; Zobena, 2007). A partial explanation to this argument can be found in a perceived distance between nation and state, resulting in generalized distrust towards state governance and public institutions. Ethnic fragmentation and interethnic tension is another possible cause (Laboratory of Analytic and Strategic Studies, 2007). The above mentioned features are among the problems which affect the diffusion of sustainability oriented and long term-conscious attitudes among citizens.

Data and methodology

The data are the result of a survey carried out by Latvian SKDS research institute in December 2010 within the Latvian state-endowed project Nacionala Identitate (National Identity), and aimed at measuring citizens' well-being self-assessment and their attitudes towards the community and institutions. The sample covers over 1000 individual observations carried out in the whole territory of the Republic of Latvia and is representative of the whole population. The proposed theoretical model has been tested through the use of *structural equation modelling* for observed variables (Joreskog, Sorbom, 1979), with the support of complementary techniques such as factor analysis, by means of software SPSS 15.0 and its extension AMOS 7.0. Structural equation modelling has been chosen over simple regression analysis because of the complexity of hypothesized cause-effect relations (two of the model variables are at the same time

dependent and independent), common in *path analysis* models. The chosen measured variables are listed below. All of these variables are ordinal (e.g. non-metric; Stevens, 1951); social capital variables have been measured according to psychometric Likert scales (Likert, 1932), whereas household income has been measured by identifying income levels:

- Household income ranges measure economic wealth;
- Intensity of support towards neighbours measures structural capital;
- Trust towards neighbours measures trust towards people (immediate group trust);
- Trust towards the state measures trust towards institutions (large-scale trust).

Given the ordinal nature of variables, we use Bayesian estimation. Due to *listwise* criterion restrictions, the effective number of useful observations has been limited to 554 individuals.

Results



Figure 2: General model results

Results show an acceptable adaptation to data ($P=.350$). All hypothesized effects are found to be significant at 99% level (Figure 2). Errors associated with the two trust dimensions are positively correlated, which may depend on both variables being extracted from the same group of questions. Because of this, the resulting model is considered being partially recursive (Bollen, 1989). No relevant unexpected effects are found. Squared multiple correlations are low and imply a modest explicative power of the model. In other words, some relevant predictors of the endogenous variables appear to be left out of the model.

Causality direction

Proofs in support of the hypothesized causal chain verse do exist. Results have been tested by substituting causal verses with a-directional correlations and by inverting the causal verse, obtaining in both cases an acceptable but lower goodness of fit (respectively: $P=.290$; $P=.200$).

Conclusions

This work considers a theoretical and empirical attempt to employ a multidisciplinary approach to study the relations between social capital and economic wealth at *micro* level. The novelty of our study is to consider, under a theoretical point of view, a multidisciplinary approach which is consistent with the social identity theory in social psychology studies. We construct a model where social capital, at least in part, reflects the structure of social identity, this way closing the gap between social capital theories and social categorization theory.

In our model we include two different trust capital dimensions by investigating the effect of wealth (household income) on social capital. In this way, we join together the commonly hypothesized wealth-engagement-trust causal chain. Our results are in support of the causality direction of this chain. Given that the explicative value of the model is low, we interpret the results with caution. However, our work mainly aims at identifying the statistical relevance of the link between the considered variables rather than defining a predictive model. We can therefore argue in favour of our findings which can be considered worth of interest. The work needs undoubtedly to conduct a robustness exercise against a number of control variables to test the sensitivity of our hypotheses, and policy implications need also to be addressed to strengthen our assertions. This will be the scope of further investigations.

Given the preliminary nature of our study, we can conclude arguing that the analysis of the general sample supports the main assumption of the model where trust towards institutions presents a positive effect of well being on social engagement.

Also, the existence of the causal path ‘social engagement-immediate group’ trust is consistent with the social identity theory (Coté’s hypotheses, 1996, 1997).

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Beyond social mix: Looking for a path to rethink at planning in the ‘cities of difference’

Paola Briata*

Abstract

Over the last fifteen years the increasing number of foreign immigrants in Italy has led to a growing body of urban studies whose first aim is to describe how the newcomers’ presence has changed the major cities. These are mainly descriptions on how the immigrants settle and use urban space. Despite the variety of these settlements, a common aspect is underlined in the Italian multi-ethnic environments: the absence – excluding some exceptions – of ethnic concentration in specific neighbourhoods. Despite this, spatial policies have mainly used the same planning tools adopted in other countries to reduce ‘pathological’ forms of concentration.

This article aims at exploring the possible reasons for these choices, starting from an analysis of the rationales that usually guide these forms of intervention, exploring similarities and differences between Italy and other Western countries, and pointing out how much the peculiarities of the Italian settlements may be useful to consider them as ‘urban labs’ to discover the ‘resources’ of the ‘cities of difference’.

Keywords

Multi-ethnic settlements, Italy, spatial planning, social mixing policies, local resources.

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Introduction

Over the last fifteen years the increasing number of foreign immigrants in Italy has led to a growing body of urban studies whose first aim is to describe how the newcomers' presence has changed the major cities. These are mainly descriptions on how the immigrants settle and use urban space. Despite the variety of these settlements, a common aspect is underlined in the Italian multi-ethnic environments: the *absence* – excluding some exceptions – of *ethnic concentration* in specific neighbourhoods. This aspect could be observed from the 'quantitative' point of view – the immigrant's share is rarely over 20-25 per cent over the residents' population – as well as from their nationality point of view – settlements are 'deeply' multi-ethnic, as people from different countries live in these areas. They are not ethnic enclaves, but 'cities of difference' in the multicultural sense given by Fincher and Jacobs (Fincher, Jacobs, 1998).

The most common form of concentration is related to some commercial areas. Sociological and economical studies (Ambrosini, 2010) have underlined that labour-intensive jobs abandoned from the natives tend to be taken by the newcomers. From the spatial dynamics' point of view, the immigrants' economic activities (especially corner shops) occupy spaces no more used by Italian entrepreneurs, preserving the neighbourhoods' vitality (Grandi, 2008). In the face of a very aggressive national debate on this issue (Rivera, 2009), these studies try to construct 'out-of-the-mainstream' descriptions of the immigrants' presence, presenting it as a resource.

Given this general context, this article carries on a research path focused on spatial policies in multi-ethnic environments in Italy (Briata, 2010; 2011b). Previous research has been useful to focus on three main spatial forms of intervention where the immigrants' presence is significant and/or visible:

- where an 'intensive' use of public spaces by the immigrants could be found, forms of intervention based on 'breaking up the newcomers' territorialities' (Yiftachel, 1990) through forms of urban renewal aimed at introducing functions and services able to attract also the Italian population;

- where the immigrants' share is significant in the residential buildings, *public-led forms of rehabilitation* aimed at enhancing the real estate pressure. These forms of intervention may imply the weaker groups' – not only immigrants – displacement;
- where the ethnic economies are significant, visible or able to attract foreign clients, forms of intervention based on (a) *rules, restrictions and ordinances* that may have a negative impact mainly on the immigrants' shops – including forms of zoning that introduce special regimes for some areas (b) *commercial 'development' policies*, aimed at attracting new Italian shops and services.

This means that, despite urban studies have underlined the absence in Italy of 'pathological' forms of concentration that could be found in other countries, spatial policies have mainly used the same tools adopted in other realities to reduce concentration.

This article aims at exploring the possible reasons for these choices starting from an analysis of the rationalities that usually guide these forms of intervention, exploring similarities and differences between Italy and other Western countries, and pointing out how much the peculiarities of the Italian settlements may be useful to consider them as 'urban labs' to discover the 'resources' of multi-ethnic environments, and to develop new forms of research and action.

The problematic aspects of concentration

Debates on planning in multi-ethnic contexts have been dominated by the topic of the newcomers' concentration/ segregation in specific neighbourhoods (Marcuse, Van Kempen, 2000). This 'label' covers a wide range of phenomena felt to be problematic: a large number of immigrants in a certain area, a high percentage compared to the total number of inhabitants in a neighbourhood, specific forms of settlement such as the ethnic enclaves (Tosi, 2000).

In the mainstream visions of public debate and policies ‘ethnic neighbourhoods’ are considered as ‘worlds apart’ which create barriers to interaction with the rest of the society, hindering the integration of individual immigrants (Mustered, Andersson, 2005). For these reasons, spatial policies have often been characterized by a dominant approach that aims to mitigate forms of concentration, by dispersing immigrants and in general problematic groups across the urban territory and/or breaking up their settlements’ territorialities by introducing people of different ethnic, social and economic background (Home, 1997; Yiftachel, 1990).

In the last twenty years these forms of intervention have been adapted by policy discourses to changing conceptions of the role of the state in public provision, as well as to new development scenarios of the post-industrial cities that have to be attractive for business services, creative industries, knowledge-based economies and tourism. The promotion of ‘diversity’ at neighbourhood level in terms of social class, income, ethnicity, and lifestyle has been proposed as a precondition for socio-economic upgrading of people living in deprived places (Donzelot, 2006). This is mainly a way to counteract stigmatisation, putting these places ‘on the map’ of the urban territory (Fainstein, 2005).

In these directions, policies aimed at stimulating diversity in social housing estates, inner city areas or decaying historical centres have been carried out in a wide range of countries, becoming a sort of *mainstream approach* to ‘problematic’ neighbourhoods (Mustered, Andersson, 2005).

Despite the absence of an academic debate on this topic, social mixing approaches have influenced intervention also in Italy (Briata, 2011a).

Principles and problems of social mixing policies

Despite the different patterns of socio-spatial segregation that characterize the different countries, a number of common aspects in conceptualising and pursuing objectives of diversity

could be underlined. In particular, social and functional mix are presented as strictly interrelated objectives, and policies aimed at stimulating diversity should involve housing, retail business, services and public spaces (Urban Task Force, 1999). In many countries social mix objectives have mainly resulted in policies aimed at promoting mixed tenure, housing price level mix, or building type mix to attract wealthier and/or middle-class residents in deprived and problematic areas (Bolt, 2009).

In the last years, a growing body of international literature has critically analyzed anti-segregation policies focusing both on their *principles*, as well as on the *results* that have been observed where they have been implemented.

Analytical works have been helpful to underline that social mix is considered in public discourses and policy agendas as a key factor to enhance individual and groups' opportunities for upward social mobility at least for three main reasons¹:

a *local development* perspective – as social mix may be helpful to change the perception of deprived and problematic neighbourhoods 'from outside'², counteracting stigmatisation, attracting new inhabitants, and stimulating new broader relationships and socio-economical opportunities for people living 'inside' these places;

a *social upgrading* perspective – related to the supposed 'civilizing' influence of wealthier and middle-class residents, whose presence could motivate problematic individuals and groups, thanks to the contacts with role models from a different socio-economic background;

a *social cohesion* perspective – as the exposure to 'the other' can lead to mutual understanding, learning or, at least, tolerance.

One major objection is linked to the fact that considering social mix as a key factor for change in residents' behaviour thanks to the wealthier or middle-class residents' influence, means reducing these people's problems to 'social pathology', neglecting that poverty and social exclusion depend also on structural social and economical factors, and that the single persons or groups' know-how/will/exposure to otherness, as

well as the local level initiatives may be not enough to reach socio-economic upgrading (Raco, 2003).

At the same time, based on the outcomes of anti-segregation policies, the assumption of a strong link between social mix and housing mix is far from being proven (Kearns, 2002). Moreover, tenure mix practices have demonstrated that these policies may result in spatial proximity between different socio-economic/ethnic groups, but that this condition does not necessarily translates into social interaction between people of different background in public spaces, schools, services and shops (Allen *et al.*, 2005). So also the thesis that the exposure to 'otherness' leads automatically to mutual understating and tolerance is far from being demonstrated.

Other studies have analyzed social mixing initiatives in the context of new development scenarios of the post-industrial metropolis where anti-segregation policies may be seen as strategies to change the deprived neighbourhoods' role, image and population in the broader cities' contexts. A growing body of literature has underlined how mixing initiatives may be seen also as forms of state/municipality-led gentrification, carrying with them significant threats of displacement for weaker groups (Lees *et al.*, 2008). Other perspectives have seen anti-segregation policies as a spatial declination of security policies, reading them as a means for the public hand to re-establish control on places that seem to have only their own rules (Atkinson, Helms, 2007).

Why not ghettos?

A completely different point of view has been analysed by studies less interested in the 'external' exclusion of 'segregated' neighbourhoods and more focused on the internal dynamics among the inhabitants of these places. The debate on the limits and on the potentialities of segregated places has a long history that goes back at least to Park studies (1925) in the context of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology. Despite this, the interesting aspects of the recent rediscovery of these issues is due, on the one hand, to their connotation as 'a reaction' to

social mixing initiatives and, on the other hand, to the strong link that they establish with the current situation of the welfare state restructuring. These perspectives have tried to look at segregated neighbourhood not only as dangerous environments with their own rules, but also as places that could have a potential in stabilizing the cities (Cattacin, 2006). In this view, these places' function in contemporary societies would be underestimated because here immigrants and people of low socio-economic status can find a warm and loyal surrounding and, considering the shrinking capacity of intervention of the welfare state, *self-regulated spaces of mutual-help and solidarity*. These relationships have a strong capacity to act and to solve concrete problems, and mixing policies may weaken or brake established networks, without giving any other kind of resource back. These perspectives do not suggest to consider the spaces of segregation in a positive way *tout court*: their potential integrative role in the cities is in fact strictly connected with the welfare state's financial crisis and the related difficulties in the implementation of redistributive policies. In this general context, combating these places may create more problems than solutions.

Concentration and public policies' role

Despite the vast amount of critical academic literature, social mixing initiatives still remain the main form of intervention in the immigrants' settlements, revealing a sort of disjunction between research and policy agendas. At the same time, this disjunction may be helpful to stimulate reflections on the weak aspects of research that has focused on these issues.

In particular, as underlined in previous paragraphs:

- there are critical views of social mixing policies that, despite their criticism towards anti-segregation actions, still seem to be linked to a negative and problematic image of the immigrants' and weaker groups' spatial concentration. These negative views appear in some way embedded also in the researchers' analysis and narratives, and may condition the

- research point of view, not being useful to explore innovative approaches and ways of action;
- there are studies that underline the will of the public involvement to re-establish control on 'problematic' neighbourhoods, considering this issue mainly in a negative way, but the physical, economic and social conditions of decay that often characterize these neighbourhoods, make the will of the public involvement to establish forms of control far from being illegitimate. A negative view *tout court* in this sense may not be helpful to explore innovative approaches related to the 'control' issue, for example declining it in terms of care and not only in terms of repression;
 - there are studies that suggest to reconsider the potentialities of segregated places with a particular attention to their self-regulating capacity. The welfare restructuring is without any doubt a reality, but this does not mean that the public hand shouldn't and couldn't have any kind of role in these places, for example managing situations of conflict or integrating and/or sustaining existing networks. Underestimating the state's or the local authorities' possible role in these places may not be helpful to explore innovative paths of intervention.

Existing gaps in literature may create open spaces for further research and analysis based on two main families of problems related to: i) the connections between the *descriptions* of problematic neighbourhoods and the consequent *forms of intervention*; ii) the *role that may be played by the public hand* in these kind of places.

In the next paragraphs the article aims at pointing out how much the peculiarities of the Italian environments may represent a good research field where to observe the international literature's less explored aspects, and may be useful to consider these environments as 'urban labs' to explore the 'resources' of multi-ethnic contexts, and to develop new forms of research and action.

Descriptions and ‘solutions’

A wide range of literature, studies and data have underlined that ethnic concentration is an uncommon phenomenon in the Italian context. Despite this, policy agendas did not invest in original and innovative spatial policies in these kind of environments.

The very aggressive public debate on immigration could be the first reason for the administrations – even the more ‘progressive’ ones – to act in this way. Historic and central areas are labelled by the media as *banlieues*, and places where the Italian-born residents are still the majority are described as *ethnic ghettos*: these negative narratives of multi-ethnic environments seem able to affect policy agendas more than the out-of-the-mainstream descriptions of academic literature presenting the immigrants’ as an urban resource.

In this direction this article works on the hypothesis that some core concepts and narratives that underpin analysis and forms of intervention in these places – in particular the problematic aspects of concentration – may be considered as ‘assumptions’ (Raco, 2009) that, far from being proven, play a large part in conditioning the public debate and policy agendas, but also in *orientating the researchers’ ways of seeing*.

For example, all the ‘distinctions’ in ethnic economies aimed at seeing in immigrant-run corner shops a service for the all the residents of a neighbourhood independently from their origin, seem to be used to demonstrate that in some places ethnic concentration is not an issue. The same could be said on the descriptions of the immigrants’ presence in terms of share as it was introduced also in this article: an ‘absolute’ index of concentration does not exist and concentration is defined both by perceptions and by relationships of the local level with wider levels.

As underlined by policy analysis and social sciences, analysis and problems’ framing are strictly linked with existing tools that decision makers may mobilize to cope with them (Bobbio, 1996; Crosta, 1998). In this case it seems as if, as researchers, we try to

frame problems in a way that cannot lead to existing tools and ‘solutions’.

But, in these ways, we do not produce ‘usable knowledge’ (Lindblom, Cohen, 1979). A way out could be exploring ways of reframing descriptions of multi-ethnic settlements considering the ‘concentration/segregation’ issue as a powerful ‘assumption’ that is at once both descriptive and prescriptive. In this perspective, social mixing policies may be seen not as *one of the possible answers to concentration*, but as an *embedded answer* to descriptions based on concentration. This could mean that not only policy agendas should be reframed as literature has underlined until now, but that also our ways of looking at the immigrants’ settlements – as researchers – should be subject to challenge and put under critical and auto-critical observation.

From immigration as a resource to the multi-ethnic neighbourhoods resources

Italian multi-ethnic environments are cities of differences where the majority of the residents are Italian. And Italian-born residents usually do not feel comfortable with the negative descriptions of their neighbourhoods made by the media and policy makers. Descriptions operated from outside are quite different from those made by people living inside these places (Briata, 2011b).

In the last years the Italian multi-ethnic settlements and their descriptions as ghettos, or *banlieues*, have stimulate the insurgence of some literature that has tried to focus not only on the problematic aspects perceived from outside, but on everyday life and coexistence problems as they are perceived and described by Italian and foreign residents – people, community groups, users. This is the rationale that guides description such as those of Torpignattara in Rome by Fioretti (2011) or for Via Padova in Milan by Arrigoni (2011) and Gadda (2012).

This attempt to catch the insiders’ point of view may be seen also in a number of pioneer actions carried out by public administrations in some cities. Here the guides for the analyses

of multi-ethnic environments were a number of associations and community groups rooted at the local level that are engaged in everyday activities in these places, coping with concrete problems.

An example could be the ‘participated analysis’ carried out in the Padua train station area by an association rooted at the local level that works on social exclusion issues, involving the local entrepreneurs, workers and residents. This work aimed at establishing some core points to be followed in the area regeneration. The project was characterised by different types of field analysis: ethnographic observation, interviews to relevant actors, discussion with community groups, interviews to different ‘categories’ of people living in the area (young/old; workers/residents; Italian/foreign entrepreneurs; men/women).

Among the more significant outputs:

- the differences between the perception of the place ‘from outside’ and ‘from inside’; between daytime and night; between women and men (independently from the immigrant/not-immigrant origin);
- a vision of the immigrants’ presence from the Italian residents’ point of view that does not hide problems, but at the same time that is not a stereotypical one – there is not a negative perception of immigration in general, but a number of deviant behaviours are associated with the foreigners;
- a vision of security that does not seem to be complacent with the narratives based on ‘emergencies’ proposed by the media, but that claims for the restoring of a ‘lost normality’ through initiatives able to bring regeneration, vitality, a different positive visibility of the area that ‘should be much more similar to the city centre’ (Banca Etica, 2008).

This survey was the first step for a project based on the residents’ proposal for a quite problematic square that led to the opening of a ‘zero kilometre’ market; the promotion of a number of events to bring people in the area also in the evening; the ‘adoption of an ethnic shop’ from the Italian entrepreneurs to build up bridges between different economic realities.

The Aldermen for trade in the Padua Municipality has decided to propose this approach also for other areas.

This experience has been described not for its still weak outputs, but for the unusual way to 'build up the problem' that seems to individuate. A description made also by 'voices' of a multi-ethnic co-existence *de facto* – that imply problems, mistrust and prejudices – but that in some circumstances may lead to consider the 'outsiders' as 'established': micro-stories that tell of concrete problems, and of the local capacity (or incapacity) to cope with them; resistance by the local groups to the existing dynamics; tactics that render everyday multi-ethnic and multi-cultural coexistence possible; awareness of what kinds of problems could be faced at the local level, and what kinds of problems require a not local approach or/and the public hand intervention.

Such a way of looking – less focused on immigration as a resource, and more focused on the *resources of multi-ethnic environments* – may be helpful also to understand the role that the public hand may play in these places. A role maybe less focused on breaking up problematic groups' concentration through social engineering, and more focused on managing the coexistence of people with different (and not only ethnic) backgrounds, potentially but not necessarily in conflict.

These ways of looking may be more helpful to understand some strengths and weaknesses of these places such as the capacity of some local association to strike root and cope with everyday life problems, or the level and nature of some conflicts. A comprehension of these aspects could be helpful also to understand what kind of role may be played by the public hand – provider, enabler, conflict mediator, regulatory.

This does not mean that all the resources to cope with the problematic aspects of these neighbourhoods could be found inside them, but that in the comparison between the insiders' and the outsiders' perspectives some new paths of research and action may be explored.

Notes

¹ Based on international planning, geographical and sociological literature on social mixing initiatives, this ‘classification’ has been done directly by the author (Briata, 2011a).

² The reference to internal and external descriptions and dynamics is proposed being aware that what is ‘inside’ or ‘outside’ a place is a strategic construction operated by the local and not-local actors (including the researcher that embraces these distinctions) to simplify complex situations, and to prefigure some course of research and actions, excluding others.

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Cities and information technology: Five features and five working hypotheses

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Abstract

The alloy of new information technology and new capitalism forges a powerful chisel carving the city. What are the features of this city? It is a city, we claim, where the real and the virtual melt together, where the new capitalism is liberated from the slavery of territory, and where liquid city becomes city without inhabitants. We discuss these claims in the first part of the paper. Then, in the second we lay down five working hypotheses for a process of *renovatio urbis*, and how we practitioners, planners and architects can and should actively contribute to it. The five working hypotheses go through the rediscovery of the sense of limit, participation (if and when possible), planning for the entire city, empowerment and involvement of social energies, and by being technologically modern.

Keywords

Information technology, urban planning, capitalism, city, *renovatio urbis*.

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Five features

The real and the virtual are melting together

In the past, computers were used for measuring, understanding and planning the city. Today they together with the Internet are no longer external tools used to read and interpret the world. Rather, they turned into its constituent part, in some sense they became the world itself, the city itself. No secret, we pretty much echo Mike Batty's *Computable City* (Batty, 1995) here.

It is indeed impossible and useless to distinguish places and communities in the real world from those in the virtual. There is a good deal of virtual in reality and a lot of real in the virtual. Imagine a group of people mobilising via Facebook gathered by a common cause, or fundraising – say – for Ron Paul's presidential bid through blogs. Do we take them as less real than a group of bikers gathering on a crossroad? And what if the bikers organised their critical-mass tour via Facebook? And what about the protests in Egypt, first kindled via Twitter? Internet has become a constituent part of mobilisations in the real world, and it sometimes is the paramount device to make them real, in the sense of making them become a common shared knowledge of facts. In this specific sense, many riots in China are doomed to remain unreal – unknown to the outside world.

Of course, face-to-face interactions convey a completely different set of attitudes and feelings than do forums, chats or videoconferences. And of course, forms and media of interaction matter, in general. But they matter less in our case. How people interact, the means of communication they use, if they enter in physical contact or not, if they do or do not define themselves as part of a community, all this is not as relevant as it is to detect if their actions and interactions spawn new information and new knowledge, if they give course to actions and transformations.

The scrambling creative disorder of these experiences explains why the so called processes of institutional participation promoted by governments usually do not work. Participation is a bottom-up process breeding its own rules. Groups formed in the

virtual world are generally extremely open. They are usually assembled for a particular problem (for example to exchange information on a rare disease), but often end up going beyond their initial and declared aim. By cultivating and expanding connections between people, they become a critical stepping stone in the process of mobilisation and organising – hence, they enhance the development of what some scholars call ‘social capital’. But their strength is – at one and the same time – their weakness. Lack of structure, organisation and a low degree of institutionalisation often cause these groups to dissolve as swiftly as they were created. Such tendency is perhaps one of the most unpredicted aspects of the microelectronic revolution, which, as a matter of fact, was inspired by ideals of cooperation.¹

Bright and dark sides of virtual communities

Virtual communities affect the real world in many ways – they create knowledge and products (software or games for instance), services, political and social movements (Benkler, 2006). They produce economic growth – contributing directly or indirectly to the GDP (Auletta, 2009) And they are a good example of how human activities in the economic or social domain – despite the *Great Transformation* (Polanyi, 1944) – are not exclusively driven by market norms, but also by other reciprocal activities (Aime and Cossetta, 2010) such as sharing, exchange of gifts or redistribution (Williams, 2002) of resources.

Our electronic prostheses give us a dazzling sense of empowerment that comes with the greater capability to communicate, participate and have our say. Yet there is another side of the coin – there always is. A dark side, perhaps too emphasised in the media. True, there are Internet communities not accessible to the rest of the world, but there mustn’t inevitably be something wrong with it. Such communities exist also in the real world –fan or game players clubs for instance – often with weak ties between their members.

More unpredictable are political and social consequences of the drifting break up of a common mass popular cultural and

political arena. American political satirist and comedian Stephen Colbert wittily invented the word ‘truthiness’ (of which there is a Dog Latin variant: ‘veritasiness’) to designate a ‘truth’ that is known intuitively from the gut because it ‘feels right’, no matter the evidences, facts or logic. Not long ago a small set of media outlets had much greater power in shaping the mass culture: few major national television channels and a handful of newspapers. With all the chances for cultural homologation, of course, these were nonetheless a shared political space where different points of view would encounter. The proliferation of alternative media, blogs and social networks is progressively eroding that situation. What may seem a welcomed breakup of monopolies and opening up of a greater pluralism and a more direct participation of the public in the debate, is also, undeniably, encouraging new forms of cultural and political tribalism: hanging out and crowding the same media outlets and groups with the like-minded while cutting off all the possibilities of encounter and dialogue with others may lead to original forms of radicalisation. The power of truthiness, rather than a debate. Even if, to be fair, it is not clear to what extent we should blame the new communication possibilities for some of that, and how much of it instead has to do with the deliberate advancements of specific economic and political agendas. After all, Rupert Murdoch and Silvio Berlusconi are on the whole mainly dealing in quite conventional, old-school media.

The liquid city

The contemporary city is – in many senses – more virtual than it was in the past, a sort of a ‘box of speeds, in which the flows (any kind of flow) are the main aspect, a sort of liquid city’ (Bauman, 2000) That does not mean that it has lost its material characters – on the contrary, the city is now more concrete than ever. It is, however, clear that it has gained new intangible dimensions, increasing in number and importance. Flows of goods and people are accompanied by flows of ideas and services. These movements, in turn, imply great social, economical and spatial effects (Sassen, 1994).

The moment in time in which we live is, of course, not the first era in history in which the city is intensely crossed by flows of people, goods and information – intense flows are a common feature of mediaeval, renaissance and modern cities. However, in the past flows were always linked to space and places – places for living, producing, trading, entertaining, talking and chatting, making decisions, and administering. These were activities by different people (by age, social class, gender, place of origin etc.) who were nonetheless physically, emotionally and culturally entangled with the same places (for a period of their life or for their entire life). In contemporary cities, the material dimensions, the places, vanish as the city is seized by virtuality and liquid flows. This is a fundamental change taking place in the post-Fordist liquid city.

The liberation of the ‘new capitalism’ from the slavery of territory

The fourth aspect of the contemporary city – related to the vanishing of the physical dimension – is that of the ‘new capitalism’ which loosens and breaks its anchors in the territory. It is free, mobile, fickle, intangible, and belongs to ‘the entire world’ rather than to any specific place and country. Its architecture is of no relevance to the context. The old capitalistic world needed materiality, an architecture and political institutions to both represent and exercise its power and legitimacy: that was the golden epoch of the great Capital cities.

In the past, the capital employed in production and was highly immobilised in places. In the contemporary world, the capital flows freer and hardly belongs to any specific place. The capital does not require the construction of physical monuments to embody power, and is not as apt as in the past to show great interest in the space or physical places: the demigods of financial capital live at their private Olympuses, obsessed as they are with skyboxification (Sandel, 2012), and are not interested in the city as a shared locus of communality.

Mind you, it is not that building and rebuilding cities have ceased to be an essential building block of capital accumulation. That is

so as it ever was: it is telling that the 2008 economic meltdown came out of an startlingly impressive housing boom and bust, which is precisely the reason for its severity (Harvey, 2010). Rather, the relevant story here is that the capitalist class and their material base – means of production and places of living – were in the past constrained by the primitive technology of the time to be bonded to specific places and territories, sharing them with others. The information technology was a technological precondition for unshackling that constraints and shellacking those bonds. Isn't the overnight withdrawal of capital in the 1997 East Asian financial crisis a paramount epitome on the grand-scale of just how fast and effortless can breaking of those material, spatial bonds be? To be sure, information technology was not the only cause of that episode; a whole regulatory and governance architecture had to be in place, appropriately tweaked and tilted to make it possible (Stiglitz, 2003). The sole cause, no; a technological precondition, yes.

The city without inhabitants

This brings us to the fifth feature of the contemporary 'post-Fordist' city (Amin, 1994), a 'city without inhabitants' and, hence, 'inhabitants without a city', made possible by the use of information technology in production and consumption. This dispels the form (*urbs*) as well as the content (the society, *civitas*) of the city. We are losing the city in its traditional form as its urban commons get appropriated (Harvey, 2012). The distinctively urban qualities of cities are impoverished through modern forms of enclosures and by the imposition of spatial organisations that discourage authentically public uses by the local residents in favour of profit-making and capital accumulation. Rather than citizens, in this way cities gets inhabited by consumers. The producers who used to live and thrive in cities have left for the enormous sweatshops of the immense Asia, and the simulacrum of the city becomes an engine and a temple of consumption or even a ghost city – a jam with some lump designed by a gang of archistars. By losing citizens we also lose politics and democracy.

Five working hypotheses

The five features of cities we just discussed force professionals involved in managing the transformations of cities, territories and landscapes to face new tasks. Architects and urban planners should no longer accept to design this unauthentic rubbish. Neither should they continue to cooperate in the destruction of the city-for-citizens, using the rest of the quagmire as a building material to develop ‘beautiful’ and ‘inspiring’ places. Instead, our role should be to contribute actively to the process of *renovatio urbium*.

Perhaps there are useful bits which, newly combined, could become our starting points for the *renovatio urbis*: there are experiences – occurring in new kinds of communities, often emerging in interstitial spaces from spontaneous practice of mobilisation and solidarity – capable of achieving social cohesion and reshaping spaces through urban activism. Many experiences may well be just incidental and – as a matter of fact – they rarely strive for mutual coordination or give themselves a stable organisation necessary for reaching wider and long-term goals. They often do not develop around an explicit political project, vision or culture. This is precisely why they could benefit from experts and professionals, capable of listening and giving them support and expertise (Paba, 2002; Paba, 2003).

We need to build a structure around these incidents and fragmentary flares of *civitas*. A structure capable of offering continuity (in time and space) and rules, to enable the creation of new public spaces, buildings and housing of high quality. The *Best Available Technologies* should be applied to create spaces and dwellings for everybody, for young people, adults, the poor, the middle class. Policies are needed for the *urbs* and *civitas* that welcome different populations, not merely to grant a piece of land to each, but permitting the dialogue, the weaving, the hybridising with the universal rule of the good citizenship. These cannot be *public* policies: such objectives cannot be achieved through the market. The construction of a new citizenship is the only viable way for forming and arriving at the new *urbs*.

It is indeed a difficult but necessary task to reshape public

policies, and the most important question is this: who are the citizens?; what does citizenship mean in the fragmented city? The absence of an answer to this question is at the basis of the so-called 'crisis of democracy' (Crouch, 2004). As a matter of fact, the conflicts have grown even stronger with the crisis of democracy. Citizens are often sensible and react rapidly. This is always a good sign also when the reaction is 'wrong'.

'Informed citizens' usually deal with single, generally strictly local issues. Often they do not perceive themselves as 'citizens', but rather 'users' or 'consumers': they rarely act to gain power or control, but rather they ask services or freedoms. They also rarely speak for other people, neither do they have a long view in terms of time and space. Hence, their voice speaks for their claims *bic et nunc*.

Then there are voiceless citizens who in general do not find someone else to lend them voice. This might be a greater challenge, but still it is not the greatest issue. In fact, we have powerful and low-cost tools at our disposal which could beneficially be put at work to facilitate the debate, decision making, implementation and simplification of bureaucratic systems.

The real challenge to citizens' right to be included in public policies is the power of the urban land rent, especially as a materialised form of financial capitalism. This is the true enemy responsible for the destruction of genuine contents and values of the urban dimension. Go and gaze at the various forms of fragmented or defective cities you can find in their purest form: there are *banlieues*, then there are old-town centres transformed into backdrops or historical theme-parks, then go and see sprawls and 'exploded city', or the planet of slums (Davis, 2006), or the *griffes*, or the displaced Olympuses (places created by archistars for modern demigods in the Hephaestus's workshop), next look at the gated communities, and at all the centres for mass consumption, and at enormous malls and outlets at the junction of highways, and at scattered landscapes of buildings developing around new hubs of low-cost airlines, and so on. All distinctive non-cities, all 'discomposed (formless), generic, segregated' (Maciocco, 2008).

All these rather dystopian ‘new-cities’ have been generated by the financial capitalism - the engine of the globalisation of the 21st century— in its strive to capture the maximum land rent, without any *urban* planning. This is an era in which true wealth is acquired without work and merit (Harvey, 2010). The money from financial speculation is the ‘honey and nectar’ of moderns demigods who live a disembodied life that flow from a place to another looking for their temples and alcoves entailing the economical and symbolic devaluation of all activities and space related to work.

This seed found fertile ground in the *polis*, and eventually generated the crisis of democracy. What will be the future of the large portions of enormous cities without *civitas* all around the world? What will be the future of the cities scattered throughout the continents? The operator in Bangalore controlling air traffic for the rest of the world, the shoe producers of Indonesia and Vietnam making all the *Nike* sneakers of the world ... Where do they belong? Which city are they citizens of? And of which nation? Where is the centre of power that rules their lives and establish their wages?

Cities will continue to exist as long as there is human civilization, but in what form? Isaac Asimov’s urban utopias show us two extreme alternatives; the incredibly crowded life in the *City* (the entire World) and the profound loneliness in the space colony of *Solaria* (in which the city disappears together with all human relationships: see Pedna, 2004 and Asimov, 1953, 1957). Perhaps there are also other possible outcomes.

What will be the title of town and regional planners of the virtual, telecommunication town? The kind of town Mitchell called the *City of Bits* (Mitchell, 1995), in a paper that proves to be very useful in outlining the possible futures of the profession. The role of town and regional planner – wrestling in the midst of city’s local economy, the crisis of the nation-states, the globalisation, and the virtual – cannot have points of reference in the past, or in the minimalism of the ‘plan-as-you-go’ school, nor in the megalomania of the demiurgic, old-school comprehensive planning.

Another set of challenges have to do with the theoretical

problem of the 'limits of the system'. The limits refer both to the spatial and to the temporal dimension. And finally, always lurking is the risk of technological cretinism and the infinite *querelle* amongst doom-mongers, conformists, and do-gooders.

Let us then list five working hypotheses.

Rediscover the sense of limit

A limit does not mean that we have to resign and restrict ourselves to what already exists. The awareness of a limit does not undercut the effort to achieve, nor does it prevent us from trying to transcend or make *that* limit irrelevant in another contexts – on the contrary; creativity is enhanced by the existence of constraints. To reevaluate the much disdained Bacon² who once said 'the nature can be commanded only by obeying her', the governing of real processes resides in the 'astute' ability of the 'pilot'. An awareness of the bottom limit is necessary. In the event of social and political clashes, the contenders (at times irredeemable antagonists) combine the nature of production and power relations with an outline of the regulatory constraints; this combination determines and defines the area where it is possible to intervene, but where the ability of the planner comes into play.

Do participation if and when necessary and possible

One of the problems with the processes of participation is the identification of the area of interest: who is entitled to participate? The local community? What should be done in a far-off, sparsely populated places? Take for instance the uninhabited island of Asinara in Sardinia. The nearest mainland community and municipality – Stintino – is not administratively responsible of the island, although some descendants of the ancient inhabitants are settled there. The island is instead part of the municipality of Porto Torres, which on the other hand is only partially in charge of the island, because Asinara is also a National Park, with its own management bodies. We can also

imagine ways in which others may express interest in the Asinara island and its gulf: the local tourism system, the Regional council of Sardinia, environmental associations, perhaps the scientific community. Who should be involved in the participation? Which local communities, only the permanent part of them? And if we pack them all together, who is there to defend the interests of future generations and of the of mankind in general? It should be mentioned here that participation – in its original sense of involvement of subjects in the decision process – is not always necessary. Sometimes a good communication, a thorough information, or consensus-building processes are preferable (by the way, these are all very important activities, which only out of laziness or mystifying intents can be defined ‘participation’). In still some other cases it may be more useful to open up a negotiation. Although it is not ‘participation’ *stricto sensu* since it leaves the sole responsibility of decision to the government, it does involve ‘actors’ in the process of defining goals and actions.

Plan for the entire city

The field of activity for architects and planners must be the *entire* city. On August 25, 2005, in a scruffy condominium in a central area in Paris (near the Place d’Italie) seventeen people, of which fourteen children, lost their lives in a massive fire that swept through the seven-story building. All were regular immigrants from Africa. This is only one tragic evidence that at the core of one the most important ‘global cities’ there is a dramatic housing problem. Unfortunately, this is the case in every contemporary city where public policies to ensure the right to housing for all inhabitants do not exist or were abandoned. Public policies for housing once used to be the most important focus of urban planning, especially after the First World War: Martin Wagner was leading the actions of Berlin Municipality for housing; in the red Wien of that time, the great *Hof* arose (Tafuri, 1980). Certainly, it was a system devised for the Fordist city, but at least it was part of a conscious and elaborated plan for the entire city – not only housing, but also public spaces, systems of mobility, symbols and huge green areas. And one of their main objectives

was to control the urban land rent. In these cities, the spaces for production, entertainment and political deliberation were conspicuous: they all served to establish the *genius loci*. It is only in such a comprehensive vision that the creative act of urban project and design can play its role: liberty and freedom are enhanced in the grid of rules of the public city.

Empower and involve social energies

We have already stated that the virtual and the real worlds are multidimensional. Multidimensionality can be discerned in the organisation of production, and in how people organise their lives and their social networks. It may well be accurate that ‘there ain’t no such thing as a free lunch’, but this doesn’t imply that the lunch must be paid with money; other economies exist, based on cooperation, sharing and donation (an offered lunch is not free at all). These exchanges are common on the Internet, but exist also in the ‘real world’. Further informal yet relevant ‘ethical’ economies exist. One good example are the time banks with their time-based currency, another are the local exchange trading systems. All that glitters is not gold, of course. It may be easy for the dominating economical system to use, digest, corrupt and transform these practices assimilating them to the economy of profit. Fortunately, the desire of millions of people to think and act freely and autonomously is often stronger. Hence, alternative systems develop offering the possibility for more people to create alternative kinds of wealth, products of quality, lifestyles, ways to imagine and design the future. *Open source*, *free software*, *peer to peer*, *blogs* and *Wikipedia* are just few examples. How of Earth can and should cities be planned and designed without the involvement of such social energies and autonomous empowerment? They can’t and shouldn’t.

Don’t look back in anger

Last but not least, new professional methods and technologies should be fully utilised to approach the future. In the past, some professionals used to boast for being able to distinguish between

various pencil producers merely by looking at the line drawn or at the shades of the colour. These professionals may be reluctant to master new methods or to understand their sophistry. We believe that a series of tools for analysis, evaluation, simulation, management and monitoring are useful to the planner and can make her work more effective. Questions would be answered more rapidly and choices would be more appropriate. This would be a sort of a 'helmet' of *Augmented Reality*; a set of instruments enhancing the vision and enriching it with the data, information, hypotheses, alternatives and scenarios.

No answer can come only out of technological solutions, and we must ruthlessly fight and even mercilessly deride any technological cretinism. But no rearguard nostalgia of return to the quaint good old times is possible. We want to be very clear about that: *renovatio urbium* requires us to be absolutely modern.

Notes

¹ See, for instance: Sterling (1992), Freiburger, Swaine (1984).

² The criticism of the positivist *vulgata* should not involve the fathers of modern science since experience tells us that the modern era is clearly much better than the era in which superstition and fanaticism reigned with no respect for the environment.

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Disciplinary territories and disciplines of the territory: Paths and intersections between the archaeological research and other scientific approaches to the landscape

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Abstract

This paper discusses the development, within the framework of archaeological knowledge, of a specific branch of study dedicated to landscapes, describing its scientific outlines and research objectives. The work deals with the archaeological concept of ancient and contemporary territories, intended as historical and social layered landscapes. Among the qualifying features of this archaeological activity are diachrony and interdisciplinarity, which promote a close integration with various other scientific disciplines dealing with the territory. Environmental archaeology, rural archaeology, and spatial archaeological analysis represent the areas most linked and intertwined with other research fields. They produce a complex and global archaeological study of layered landscapes aimed at a multi-dimensional planning.

Keywords

Landscape archaeology, layered territory, diachrony, interdisciplinarity.

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Introduction

Over the past decades, archaeological landscape research in Europe has developed in terms of both theoretical-methodological reflection and quality of results; in recent years the approach of territorial research has been deeply revisited and the same concepts of landscape and territory were subject to careful examination and review.

Recent scientific literature shows that the definitions of archaeological landscape, although diversified, may be reduced to the least common multiple defined as a *container* of abiotic and biological forces acting in a given environment.

The qualification of the landscape as a container (a similar expression, also applied to symbolic elements, was used in geography by Quaini, 1991) does not come from the desire to favour a broad, general or a generic definition and neither from defining the territory as a mere scenery, a theatre backstage where natural transformations take place, where humans act, and where relations between the latter and the environment are created.

Such a definition aims to attribute a systemic and relational nature to the notion of an archaeologically conceived landscape. It is therefore understood as a very complex context. The whole territorial spectrum is seen as an active and mobile entity. It is subject to mutations when one of the elements operating within the set of changes is also capable of triggering a general mechanism of change, which also acts on the individual components.

An archaeological landscape is also a *layered* landscape that has a horizontal as well as a vertical dimension. Its layered nature is repository for sedimentation of traces left by changes and territorial developments and preserves the memory of the various forms of settlements which were formed over time.

Two terms frequently used for this condition are those of landscape-archive and landscape-palimpsest, both used in a strictly archaeological context (Volpe, 2008), whereby contemporary landscapes are 'complex palimpsests of layered

landscapes', more than in other disciplines (Marini Barbiani, 2011).

Based on these assumptions, the archaeological landscape has a historical perspective. It is the product of the interaction between humans and the environment in which the persisting elements of the environment are continuously confronted with factors of innovation and change. Moreover, the archaeological landscape is also considered a *social landscape*, to the extent that it is not just the physical space of encounter between man and nature, but also the place of cultural, symbolic, ideological and power development, often shared collectively, as a result of social interaction.

At the same time, the landscape is also the material manifestation of the interaction between anthropic communities and the environment: it determines the formulation of choices regarding the place of residence, production and the circulation of people and goods. This definition has been widely used by Spanish scholars and it led to the classification of three categories of environments such as 'physical, built, and imaginative' (Martin Civantos, 2006, pp. 4-5). For symbolic and conceptualized spaces a number of relevant arguments are discussed by Criado Boado (1997).

In our opinion, this framework represents a *climax* in which the levels of knowledge, awareness and appropriation of certain territories by the human action and social consciousness gradually increase. Brogiolo (2007) highlights the role of the economic aspect and proposes a reshaping of this triad in 'workspaces, human settlements, and ideological spaces'.

Beyond the site, towards the territory

New scientific ideas were progressively established in the last decades of the last century through an intense dialogue with other disciplines relating to the territory. Consequently, in terms of research methods and systems, was recognised a need of designing the right trajectory for the future advancement of

archaeological landscape studies based on previous works linked with the territory (David, Thomas, 2008; Cambi, 2011).

Between the 1960s and 1980s the layered and archaeological landscape was mainly seen as an alternation between site and off site areas located in between the settlements. This vision, in analytic terms, was generally unbalanced in favour of the sites, considered as the expression of a higher degree of human presence or action for residential or productive purposes, therefore hierarchically superior and dominant with respect to off-site/non site spaces (Cherry, Shennan, 1978; Bazzana, Guichard, 1986).

A broader view has replaced this sequence of in and off site spaces, based on the role of population and employment through the recognition of the crucial importance of the *hors site* and *sans site* areas in territorial dynamics: this has replaced the centrality of settlements with the centrality of network of settlements and landscape (Zadora Rio, 1986; Leveau, 1999).

Off-site and non-site areas may constitute a varied source of archaeological information no less important than the one coming from settlements and productive sites. To this end, a good example is the recognition of landscapes as source of power (*powerscape*), focusing on installations outside the sites such as roads and canals (De Guio, 1990).

Recent literature addressing the equilibrium between in site/off site settlements argues that the landscape is nothing more than 'a *per se* wider archaeological site' and, in its social and productive connotations, is 'part of the material culture of the society that created these ancient landscapes' (Martin Civantos, 2006, p. 3).

Diachrony and interdisciplinarity in the study of layered landscapes

The archaeological perspective on ancient territories which deals with the spatial and geographical dimension is currently defined as non-selective, non-exclusive and non-hierarchical. This open view extends also to the chronological and historical sphere. The approach to layered landscapes is now predominantly of

diachronic style, with no predetermined temporal partitions, paying attention to the evolution of territories and communities, as well as to the transformation, not necessarily synchronous, of parts of the territorial system. This view does not exclude specific or chronologically more limited research paths.

Alongside the diachronic angle, the interdisciplinary perspective has become a basic approach for archaeological research (in particular, but not only, for landscapes) (Volpe, 2008). This well defined view of the territory and the diachronic attention paid to multi-factorial elements contribute to looking at the landscape as the product of interaction between residential areas, manufacturing sites, work spaces, rural and pastoral areas, woods and uncultivated areas, infrastructure for transport and mobility, and supply chains. Each of these elements is broken down into various archaeologically relevant units: in agriculture, enclosures, estates, and farmhouses; in livestock farming, pastures, meadows, cattle tracks, pens and stables; in woods, charcoal burning and cutting areas; in fluvial systems, banks and canalisation; in raw material extraction systems, stone and clay quarries and mines. Of great relevance to the analysis of archaeological units are peculiar (springs, wells) or marginal areas (lagoons, swamps, high mountains, desert and cold areas).

The spectrum of scientific disciplines with which archaeology interweaves more frequently and intensely includes geology, geophysics, geography, biology, botany, climatology, ecology, demography, history of agriculture, land and settlement development, agronomy, architecture of buildings and landscaping, urban planning, ethnology, cultural anthropology, and many others. In addition, the archaeometry (with its heritage of questions, issues, and scientific and technical analysis) now constitutes the interface between hard science and archaeology.

Environmental archaeology and landscape

Over the past few decades, the branch of environmental archaeology has found and defined its scientific outlines (Evans, O'Connor, 1999; Dincauze, 2000). It was driven by the increased

awareness of the importance of natural factors and ecological contexts in determining territorial dynamics and, particularly, by scientific experiences in the field of *historical ecology*.

The concepts of *ecosystem* (Butzer, 1982) and *ecofact* have contributed to disjoin environmental archaeology from the exclusive domain of prehistoric archaeology, broadening its field of application. In this new scenario, even the archeobiological research (in its archeobotanical, archeoantropological and archaeozoological version) has found new and more robust foundations.

In this framework, archaeological research is based on historical ecology approaches which highlight the importance of the local, regional and sub regional scales. Restricted geographical areas, on the other hand, represent the right dimension both for establishing and defining the relationship between human groups and the environment in order to modelling forms of acquisition and management of resources, and for creating a community identity and collective awareness.

Small scale archaeological studies are at the crossroads between methods and choices of local and topographical history of British tradition (Aston, 1985). Furthermore, contributions from German and Italian eco-history are also worth mentioning. The idea of ancient landscape seen under a local perspective is presented as being a historical and social product (Beck, Delort, 1993). Another view also considers environmental archaeology at macro scale, in particular when climatic processes of long duration and substrates and geo-pedological contexts are taken into account in the analysis.

Rural archaeology and landscape

Environmental archaeology studies are closely linked with those devoted to the investigation of the countryside. The latter have, in turn, inherited the research insights both from historical and geographical origins of settlements and productive patterns in agricultural areas (Guilaine, 1991; Choqueur, 2000) and from

analysis of ownership and tax regimes, goods and resource production, and management of settlements.

A branch of geographical and historical studies on rural areas and the environment has adopted a *regressive* method in surveying the territories, thus recognizing *de facto* the layered features of the landscape, the sedimentation of elements, and the traces of various types and chronology. Contemporary landscapes contain only reduced fragments of previous landscape modelling, sometimes incorporated and used differently, sometimes deprived of their role and thus relegated to the rank of residues and material documents of pre-existing configurations. Other structures and systems undergo a more radical process of obliteration, thus becoming an obvious 'object' of archaeological research. Nowadays it is therefore possible to identify the degrees and the various combination of 'functional, archaic and fossil' elements, and to determine the 'actual, reliquary or fossil' feature of the landscapes (Quiros Castillo, 2004, p. 173).

The archaeology of agriculture, meant as applied research and interactions with the environment, thus adds, alongside the results of historical analysis, those of layered analysis, reconstructing phases and periods in chronological order starting from the more ancient up to the more recent one. This approach helps to investigate different rural landscapes and the formation of traces and evidences in sequences of layers (Kirchner, 2010).

The objective of the study of rural archaeology is also the reconstruction of factors affecting past agricultural networks, from particle units (Tosco, 2012) to complex estates systems. In addition, it also aims at the rearrangement of partitions, divisions and their organization (the archaeological analysis of the Roman *centuriatio* as well as enclosures, open fields and *bocage* are good examples). Furthermore, a different aim is that of deciphering the mechanisms of extraction and transformation of natural energies and the use of natural resources.

Finally, as far as types of ownership and working conditions are concerned, the entire countryside and its cultures are nowadays a debated subject of archaeological research (Ortega Ortega, 1998).

Measured, perceived and symbolic spaces: other landscapes in archaeology

There exist, in archaeological research, other branches which have recently captured the attention of international scholars investigating the landscape as a container and context of cultural mechanisms and social structure definition.

In particular, the focus of these new fields is manufacturing cycles of material goods, from the procurement of raw materials to the dismissal of tools. In this way scientists can better observe the interactions among production, landscape and natural resources by defining specific research paths, such as hydraulic and mining archaeology.

Recently, the archaeology of architecture also focuses on the study of symbolic influences and signs of power revealed by specific types of architecture (sacred, fortified) and the influence that these symbols exert on the landscape (Brogiolo, 2007).

Spatial analysis in archaeology has gained a notable attention worldwide in its methodological, theoretical and empirical applications (Hodder, Orton, 1975; Clarke, 1977). Ideas arising from the geo-descriptive and quantitative reflections have also significantly stimulated the landscape archaeology field by offering more elaborated spatial indicators (Kamermans, 2000). New applied techniques are the result of a debate originated during 1960s in the field of processual archaeology. The debate raised the question of settlement dynamics measurement and archaeological modelling with a perspective of a worldwide applicability. Nowadays, a specific branch of spatial archaeology based on data acquisition, data manipulation and modelling (Macchi Janica, 2003) aims at obtaining the quantified, verifiable and measurable elements necessary to further investigate the historical settlements and ancient landscapes.

These new research techniques have found greater opportunities since the development of GIS systems. The availability of updated information and data has also spurred geographical analytical systems and models already used by archaeologists in the past (e.g., the Voronoi's maps-Thiessen's polygons).

The archaeological landscape is also a central theme in the light of reconsidering and updating the views of the postprocessual archaeology scholars (Tilley, 1994). These views put the emphasis, on one hand, on the construction of the landscape's idea; on the other hand, on the capacity of the landscape to produce meanings and symbols which affect how the landscape is perceived by individuals and communities.

Given the above considerations, landscape archaeology can be based on the three concepts of constructed, conceptualized and abstract landscapes, which define both the material and the *mental* and symbolic aspects of territory (Ashmore Knapp, 1999). Studies on ancient and layered landscapes, therefore, fully incorporate the contemporary archaeological debate. The territory is the focus of this debate which insists on diachronic knowledge and on the need for recomposing the archaeological thought (Brogiolo (2007). The territory is therefore seen under global approaches (Volpe, 2008, p. 454) which need wide interdisciplinary contributions.

Concluding remarks

This paper has focussed on archaeological knowledge of landscape according to various research fields. Notwithstanding the problems in terms of compatibility across meanings, definitions, interpretations and concepts, the territory which emerges from contemporary research in archaeology studies shows us a multitude of facets as the outcome of interdisciplinary interactions between archaeology and other disciplines of the territory.

Multidisciplinary cooperation needs to put its attention on the protection, enhancement and development of historical landscapes, as well as on the integration of various knowledge in terms of new perspectives offered to public and civil evaluation and political-administrative choices concerning territorial planning.

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New perspectives and approaches in social-ecological landscape evaluation

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Abstract

To face the challenge of sustainable development of human settlements, an effective interdisciplinary integration has to be achieved by embodying the complexities of societies and economies into landscape ecology analyses. Such integration is getting far more complex today as landscape ecology is expanding its scope to respond to the challenges of sustainable development of human–environmental systems. In this paper we point out the recent and novel approaches applied in landscape ecology to move beyond the traditional separation of social and ecological components in social-ecological landscapes (SELs), considering SELs as a whole co-evolving and historically interdependent systems of humans-in-nature. To meet the challenges of sustainability, landscape ecology needs to strengthen its capacity to develop spatially explicit problem solving related to landscape sustainability issues. In this respect, addressing SELs represents a more pragmatic basis for envisioning how the real world works and how we would like the world to be, as SELs represent the spatially explicit integration of social-political and ecological scales in the geographical world. However, there is still the need to go beyond the traditional views embraced by landscape and urban planning where

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sustainability has been envisioned as a durable, stable condition that, once achieved, could persist for generations.

Keywords

Ecosystem services, environmental security, landscape dynamics, ecological networks, multiscale assessment, sustainability.

Introduction

Landscape ecology offers new concepts, theories and methods that highlight the importance of spatial and temporal patterns on the dynamics of interacting social-ecological landscapes (SELs), which represent the context for the development of human settlements. Landscape ecology is considered to be a holistic and transdisciplinary science of landscape study, appraisal, history, planning and management, conservation, and restoration dealing with the interrelation between human society and its living space (Naveh, Lieberman, 1994). It combines abiotic, biotic, and anthropogenic interactions, therefore it represents a multidisciplinary research program and a practical approach (Petrosillo *et al.*, 2008). New emerging applied fields are represented by ecosystem services valuation and environmental security, namely socio-ecological landscape risk analysis (Petrosillo *et al.* 2009, 2010a, 2010b), multi-scales ecological network (Petrosillo *et al.*, 2010b; Zaccarelli *et al.*, 2008a), spatial and temporal dynamics of social-ecological landscapes (Petrosillo *et al.*, 2010a; Zaccarelli *et al.*, 2008a, 2008b; Zurlini *et al.*, 2006 a, 2006b; 2007), and analyses of tourism sustainability (Lacitignola *et al.*, 2007, 2010; Petrosillo *et al.*, 2006, 2007, 2010b). In the following paragraphs there are some of the most recent insights about the contribution of the landscape ecology to the analysis of social-ecological landscapes.

Social-ecological landscape risk analysis

The natural and semi-natural systems provide, through ecological processes and functions, a wide range of goods and services essential to support human wellbeing and quality of life (Costanza *et al.*, 2007). However, human activities are altering the ability of ecosystems to provide these services (Vitousek *et al.*, 1997), so it is necessary to identify and monitor ecosystem services both locally and worldwide, incorporate the economic value in the decision process and identify the complex relationships among mankind, environment and services, recognizing their dynamic character. In particular, a relevant role is played by the maintenance of Ecosystem Service Providers (ESPs) in a disturbed context given by the temporal and spatial patterns of human land-uses at different hierarchical levels in a panarchy of social–ecological landscapes (Petrosillo *et al.*, 2010a). In this context, Petrosillo and colleagues (2010a) have proposed a measure of the functional importance of ESPs given by natural areas and permanent cultivations in providing ecosystem services. This study points out how natural areas and permanent cultivations (olive groves and vineyards) will act in the interplay of disturbance patterns within SELs, regulating landscape mosaic dynamics and compensating disturbances across scales.

In performing landscape risk analysis it is important to take into account the historical dynamics of SELs with an approach based on ‘learning by doing’ (Gunderson, Holling, 2002). Some studies address the recent historical dynamics of SELs considering the ecosystem services provided by natural protected areas and the risks that may emerge considering the economic, social and environmental conflicts, arising from multiple uses. These studies, dealing with environmental security, are carried out through the integration of objective and subjective assessments of risk (Petrosillo *et al.*, 2008). In this context, the protected areas seem to have important practical implications, because they support effective management practices tested in the past and then implemented, providing indication on action priorities. Furthermore, human perception represents the subjective component of environmental security that is fundamental

because security is meaningless unless there is somebody perceiving it as such (Petrosillo *et al.*, 2009). In this perspective, Petrosillo and colleagues (2009) assessed the temporal dynamics of land-use and land-cover mosaics, and indirectly of the natural capital they support, using the economic valuation of ecosystem goods and services as surrogate of the natural capital flow. The results of this research highlighted that not all environmental conservation policies have played an equal role in fostering the security of natural capital.

Multi-scale ecological networks

Several research attempts have been carried out to enhance the conservation of biodiversity through the development of ecological networks models to foster landscape sustainability. The conceptual patch-corridor-matrix model (Forman, 1995) considers each conservation area as a connected component of a regional network capable of sustaining metapopulations and biodiversity. This conceptual model is useful for the assessment of the matrix surrounding conservation areas for effective planning choices. The analysis of landscape context at different spatial scales is particularly relevant in highly developed regions where protected areas are geographically scattered and relatively small, and where ongoing human activities and new land-covers can be juxtaposed within increasingly fragmented native land-covers and habitats. In addition, human activities inside and outside protected areas take place at multiple spatial scales ranging from the regional differentiation of tourism (Petrosillo *et al.*, 2006) and agricultural areas (Zurlini *et al.*, 2006a), to the landscape decisions made by individual farmers within small agricultural fields. In this context, Zaccarelli and colleagues (2008a) have quantified the spatial pattern of disturbance at multiple scales and have investigated how the environmental conditions of differently spatial contexts may affect conservation networks in facing human disturbance. Their research represents a novel approach for describing the landscape context of protected areas, by assessing disturbance, measured by NDVI

(Normalized Difference Vegetation Index) changes. Often, strategies geared to sustaining human well-being like good production, do not guarantee the maintenance of biodiversity in terms of specific-diversity, but would foster the persistence of structures and functions that support ecosystem services, by preserving the natural disturbance regime and the adaptive capacity of the biotic component. Several researches have shown that the recognition of the natural value of a site according to the European Directives (Habitat and Bird Directives) is not sufficiently effective for the conservation of the natural capital, while the presence of a local management authority setting some limits on human activities that cause landscape changes, can increase the security of natural capital (Petrosillo *et al.*, 2009; 2010b).

Spatial and temporal dynamics of social-ecological landscapes

Through the application of tools like Geographic Information Systems (GIS), Remote Sensing and moving windows algorithm to landscape analyses, it is possible to assess the spatial and temporal dynamics of the recent history of SELs. Zurlini and colleagues (2006a) investigated the spatial patterns of human disturbances at multiple scales in SELs, and described an operational framework to identify multi-scale profiles of short-term anthropogenic disturbances to measure the amount and configuration of disturbance, by applying moving window algorithms to satellite imageries. Results allowed identifying scale intervals where disturbance has been most likely and clumped – i.e. fragility highest and resilience lowest, as retrospectively observed by past exposure to external pressures. In addition, Zurlini and colleagues (2006b) argue that the type, magnitude, length, timing, and predictability of external pressure, the exposure of habitats, and the habitat's inherent resistance have important interactive relationships that determine resilience at multiple scales. Therefore, they provided an operational framework to derive operational indices of short-term

retrospective resilience of real grasslands in a northern Italy watershed, and to find scale domains for habitat edges where change is most likely. The results suggested that the effects of external pressure are significantly related to habitat scale domains, resulting from the interactions among ecological, physical, and social controls shaping the systems. To interpret the spatial patterns of disturbances at multiple scales in SELs Zurlini and colleagues (2007) suggested that, within the socio-ecological framework, management of disturbances depend less on local drivers of disturbance and more on broader-scale drivers. Since disturbances may be imposed at multiple scales, species could be affected in different ways by disturbance in the same place, and a potentially way to appreciate these differences is to look at how disturbances are patterned in space at multiple scales (Zurlini *et al.* 2006a, 2006b). Therefore, taking into account the scales and patterns of human land-uses as source/sink disturbance systems, Zaccarelli and colleagues (2008b) described a framework to characterize and interpret the spatial patterns of disturbances along a continuum of scales in a panarchy of nested jurisdictional SELs like region, provinces, and counties. By using moving windows they identified multiscale disturbance source/sink trajectories in the pattern metric space defined by composition and configuration of disturbance. This study clarified the potential roles of natural areas and permanent cultivations in buffering landscape dynamics and disturbances across scales. In addition, they highlighted that in the real geographic world spatial scale mismatches of disturbance can occur at particular scale ranges because of cross-scale disparities in land-uses for the amount of disturbance and/or the lag distance of disturbance configuration, leading to more or less exacerbation of contrasting source/sink systems along certain scale domains.

Analysis of tourism sustainability

Tourism is the cause of numerous environmental pressures but, at the same time, it represents a source of income being one of

the main productive sectors of SELs. In light of this, Petrosillo and colleagues (2006) addressed the risk assessment of tourism environmental pressures for 10 SELs. They combined two models to perform the assessment: the Holling's conceptual sustainability model (Gunderson, Holling, 2002) and a fragility model (Zurlini *et al.*, 2006b). The results suggested that the environmental pressure due to tourism could not be adequately represented by the official tourist presences in areas characterized by mass-tourism. In this context, Lacitignola and colleagues (2007, 2010) focused on the interplay between tourism and ecosystem quality in marine protected areas, developing a model of SELs based on tourism. In particular, by distinguishing two main tourist typologies – mass and ecotourists – they focused on the interplay among tourists, quality of ecosystem goods and services and economic capital, to provide a tool for scenario building useful for effective sustainable management of tourist destination. Under this line of research the period-doubling route to chaos has occupied a prominent position and it is still object of great interest among the different complex phenomena observed in nonlinear dynamical systems. This aspect is of relevance in the context of adaptive management of tourism-based SELs, since these period-doubling reversals could in fact be used to control chaos, since they potentially can act in suppressing possibly dangerous fluctuations.

Finally, the management of recreational ecosystem services depends on how they are perceived by people, so that to improve their management it is necessary to consider the perception of their users (Daily, 1997). Research carried out by Petrosillo and colleagues (2007) addressed the general problem of tourist perception in a marine protected area, detecting a different perception mainly related to visitors' place of residence.

Conclusions

To face the challenge of sustainable development of human settlements, an effective interdisciplinary integration has to be

achieved by embodying the complexities of societies and economies into landscape ecology analyses. Landscape sustainability can be considered in terms of order and disorder of SELs, where order implies causality, well-defined boundaries and predictable outcomes, while disorder implies uncertain causality, shifting boundaries and often-unpredictable outcomes. Recently, Zurlini and colleagues (2012) and Zaccarelli and colleagues (2012) addressed the interplay of order and disorder in SELs using spatio-temporal analysis of entropy-related indices of NDVI time-series. The aim of these researches is to help in interpreting what an increase of order/disorder means with regards to SELs, and the underlying drivers and causes of conditions in SELs. The approach can be used to increase spatially explicit anticipatory capability in environmental science and natural resource management based on how the system has responded to stress in the past. These advancements should greatly contribute to the application of spatial resilience strategies in general, and to sustainable landscape planning in particular, and for the spatially explicit adaptive co-management of ecosystem services. In conclusion, there is the need to go beyond the traditional views embraced by landscape and urban planning where sustainability has been envisioned as a durable, stable condition that, once achieved, could persist for generations.

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Urban planning practice and urban practice at the city/port interface

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Abstract

This paper aims at investigating the relationships between (deliberative) planning practice and urban practice of everyday life partly drawing on the outcomes of field work carried out from both the geographical and the planning perspectives. The latter concerns conflicts generated by mega-projects at the city-port interface. Difficulties in representing the ‘urban reality’ in the decision-making process, even when communicative approaches are adopted, are highlighted.

Keywords

Mega-projects, deliberative planning, urban practice, space/time routines.

Introduction

In the contemporary political and scientific debate a twofold vision of urban issues emerge. The role of cities and urban areas as growth engines within globalization processes and centers of innovation in the knowledge economy is recognized: cities can attract inward investments, events, push political institutions to improve their position within ‘urban hierarchy’ through

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development of social and cultural capital, investments in environmental quality, improvement of the access to service facilities, development of efficient infrastructure systems etc. In parallel with the focus on the economic role of cities, social and environmental demands linked to uneven socio-economic development within cities are highlighted (Atkinson, 2007). In accordance with this view, EU documents stress the importance of sustainable economic growth: 'Economic growth is sustainable when it goes hand in hand with efforts to reduce poverty, fight social exclusion and tackle environmental problems' (CEC, 2005, p. 3).

The strategies developed by cities in recent years include both actions supporting the engagement of cities in forms of competition with one another and area-based initiatives targeting urban deprived areas, tackling social exclusion and promoting social and economic cohesion. However, during their implementation, these strategies often result in conflicts particularly difficult to face, as actions to support urban competition and actions to enhance the quality of life of inhabitants and promote social cohesion are difficult to be carried out in parallel.

One can argue that by dealing with conflicts planners develop somehow the capacity to deal with the contemporary 'multiple' city. In particular, referring to strategic planning, Forester (2010, p. vii) suggests not to equate 'the presence of conflict with the impossibility of acting and planning well. In the political circumstances in which planning inevitably takes its place, planners must have capacities to work in the face of conflicts. Conflicts present difficulties, not necessarily impossibilities'. He states that in what he calls 'spaces of deliberative opportunities', 'diverse local actors in diverse processes can bring forward creative, if opposing, ideas and suggestions and proposals in efforts to try to shape urban and regional futures...'

This paper will question the above mentioned arguments by focusing on conflicts generated by mega-projects¹ threatening (or perceived as threatening) to disrupt the existing urban fabric. The processes of setting up and implementation of mega-projects, in fact, are particularly interesting to investigate the

difficulties of representing the variety and complexity of urban practices in decision-making processes, even when communicative approaches are adopted. In this case planning practices and every-day life practices are particularly distant as they refer to objectives and values very far from each other.

In recent times, within the academic debate, the role of large infrastructures within multi-level decision-making processes - as a resource for local development and urban regeneration has been explored (Dematteis, Governa, 2001). Notwithstanding that, in the last decades, referring to the Italian context, in most cases decision making processes concerning large infrastructural development have been very difficult and often projects stood in a stalled situation (Becchi, 2005; Bobbio, Zeppetella, 1999; Zeppetella, 2007). This occurred even when stakeholders had been included in the decision making process. These reflections bring us to question, at least in the Italian case, the effectiveness of the 1980s participative approaches to environmental conflicts (Susskind, Cruikshank, 1987), today often still brought up as a model. These approaches stated that through the involvement of a wide range of stakeholders in negotiating procedures, it was possible to 'break the *impasse*'.

Partly drawing on the outcomes of field work concerning a mega-project in a port area of a Southern Italy's city, Bari, on the Adriatic coast (Fedesco, 2009; 2011), the questions we tried to answer are the following: To what extent do planners dealing with conflicts develop the capacity to deal with the contemporary 'multiple' city? Is it possible to fully understand urban diversity through the analysis of conflicting interests in 'spaces of deliberative opportunities'?

This paper is divided into four sections, beyond this introduction. In the following two sections we better specify what we refer to when we mention both 'urban planning practices' and 'urban practices'; the latter are interpreted as spatio-temporal routines. In section *Insights from a case-study*, we focus on the modes in which urban planning practices dealt with urban practice, i.e. the 'urban reality' as shaped by everyday life, in a planning process concerning a port area. In section *The sea-*

front and the port from the perspective of space-time routines a different description of the area is given. In the final section some brief conclusions are traced.

Urban planning practices...

In her recent book *Making Better Places* Healey (2010) underlines that planning activity is often identified with the procedures and practices of 'planning systems' aiming at promoting public objectives through the setting up and implementation of spatial development plans and the regulation of private property rights. On the contrary, in order to overcome the narrowing and reductive perspectives with which many planning practices have become associated, she presents the planning field 'as a practice of bringing imagined futures into being' focusing on '...how the projects were brought into being – how possibilities and project ideas were imagined, how resources were assembled, how ideas progressed from designs to land clearance and building activity, and how attention was sustained for projects that had long-time spans from initial idea to completion' (Healey, 2010, p. x).

These ideas can be traced back to previous reflections in planning theory. In fact, during the 1990s, within the 'communicative turn' in planning theory, several authors examined the day-to-day work of planning practitioners and described the ways in which planners address even abstract cognitive problems within a system of 'interactions' (Mandelbaum, 1996, p. 201). It was recognized that the ways in which opportunities and constraints are perceived, debated and confronted in daily planning practice influence the realization of rules and the patterns of resource allocation (Healey, 1992, p. 19). What is more, in the same period, the importance of knowledge being held by groups other than professionally trained planners was recognized, thus, the establishment of deliberative arenas became part of the planning process (Rydin, 2007).

According to this view, we can broadly define 'urban planning practices' as practices somehow developed in relation to

planning systems (Cellamare, 2007, p. 45). However, among them we can include not only practices by which planners and policy makers describe and interpret problems, draw documents and build up projects but also practices by which they try to include stakeholders and inhabitants ideas, values, needs into the planning process.

What is more, according to an 'epistemology of multiplicity' new forms of interactive planning practices should include listening and talking, as well as learning to read symbolic and non-verbal evidence (Sandercock, 1998). However, the use of deliberative processes as a way of handling multiple knowledge largely prevailed (Rydin, 2007).

... and urban practices as space-time routines

On the other hand, we can consider urban practices linked to everyday life space-time routines (Amin and Thrift, 2005). In this view, it is fundamental to take into account some studies of Geography which make reference to human experience of places and urban reality. This experiential approach, if on the one hand has a phenomenological derivation, on the other is linked to the concept of everyday life elaborated in the '60s by Lefebvre. According to the French philosopher, it may be interpreted as 'the humble and the solid, what goes by itself, what the parts and fragments thereof entangle by the course of time' (Lefebvre, 1979, p. 51). This concept has had relevance in Geography and some scholars have completed it and proposed it once again; for example Crivelli affirms that 'a sphere of relationships by which men learn both how to structure their time and their space, and how to reproduce these structures' (Crivelli, 1986, p. 93). However, it is possible to ascribe another aspect to everyday life that is inventiveness, constant creativity which might be understood as the ability to think to alternative solutions in relation to the present time (Copeta, 1992, p. 108).

Moreover some geographers (for example Raffestin, 1986) have underlined the spatial dimension together with the temporal one of everyday life. These dimensions have the name of spatial-

temporal routines and become evident on the territory of everyday life. For Raffestin everydaylife has its hidden dimension, territoriality; both of them, territoriality and everydaylife, are the sides of the same coin. In the opinion of the Swiss geographer, territoriality has its exteriority, that is a *topos*, a place, but also an abstract space such as the institutional political and cultural system, thanks to mediators. These routines or practices – in the sense that practices very often are a routine – according to De Luca (1979, p. 25) may be either subjective or objective, either having sense or unconscious expressions; he underlines that everyday life can be considered ‘as the place both of social life and individual life, both of repetitive behaviours and innovative ones, in relation to settled traditions and habits’ (De Luca, 1979, p. 25).

These theories, which had been forgotten for a while, have come back in geographic reflections thanks to English-speaking geographers. For this reason we will make reference to geographers such as Amin and Trift, who in their book *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*, apply these concepts to the reading of the Urban reality of cities in North Europe. They affirm that ‘cities unite, mix, separate, hide, show peculiar social practices as the city is everywhere’ (Amin and Trift, 2005, p. 35). In this way they affirm not only a ‘fluid’ concept of city but also the relevance of practices.

Allen explains the meaning of urban rhythms in this way: ‘they are everything concerning the normal going and coming of people to the great number of repetitive activities, sounds also odours which are present in the streets of the city and give to the most of them who live and work there a sense of time and of the place...’ (Allen, 1999, p. 56). Amin and Nigel Trift add: ‘the metaphor of the rhythms of the city is useful to underline some neglected rhythms of time’ (2005, p. 38). For example those of the cities’ night life in this way become clear.

Insights from a case-study

Having specified what we mean by ‘urban planning practices’

and 'urban practices', this paper aims at highlighting if, how, to what extent and with what kind of consequences, deliberative urban planning practices are shaped in order to take into account urban practices of everyday life.

As already mentioned above, the ideas developed in this paper are partly drawn on the outcomes of field work concerning mega-projects in waterfront areas. In port cities the twofold vision of urban issues between the efforts to enhance urban competitiveness and the attempts to reduce intraurban uneven development enhancing the quality of life of inhabitants and promoting social cohesion is particularly evident. The port can be seen as the area in which local urban networks and worldwide networks meet (Meyer, 1999). As a consequence, port-cities are a very interesting field to investigate the issues we are dealing with as, on the one hand, they are engaged in managing the development of their infrastructures in order to develop their economic potential within the globalization processes, involving an increasing delocalization of industrial production as well as increasing fluxes of people and goods; on the other hand, they have to manage the territorial impact of these infrastructures, relating them to both the inhabitants' everyday life and the conservation and valorization of the identity features of the territory (Alberini, 2006).

A few years ago, within a research concerning urban conflicts in the Bari port area (Tedesco, 2009) it was highlighted that protests of citizens committees against the impacts of large infrastructural development in the port area on the existing urban fabric contributed to transform the top-down decision making process into a 'deliberative arena', i.e., referring to Bobbio (2002), an experience in which all those who are directly affected take part in a collective decision-making process based on the use of arguments.

The theoretical framework used for the empirical work (in brief, the *government/governance* relationship) shed light on two main aspects of the decision making process: i) the difficulties of interinstitutional relationships (the process involved several institutions: the Port Authority, the municipality, many departments of the Regional government, many departments of

the Ministries) ii) the passage in planning practices from top-down to bottom-up approaches. This passage was particularly interesting as in the case of large infrastructural development, top-down approaches traditionally used to prevail (Altshuler, Luberoff, 2003).

Even if some disputes on the representatives of local associations emerged, this opening of the decision making process to a wide range of local actors through the establishment by the Port Authority of an Observatory (a deliberative arena with the commitment of monitoring the environmental impact of the port area large infrastructural development) was considered to be a positive outcome of the process. In particular, within the public discussions not only public institutions, but also associations representatives brought 'expert' arguments either against or in favor of the completion of some infrastructural developments. The impact of these infrastructures on the coastal ecological system as well as on the hydrogeological system was at stake. Besides, many urban practices (as space time routines) which would have been cancelled/supported by the port area infrastructural developments and their consequences on the urban structure emerged (such as jogging, canoeing, waiting for the ferry boat). Hence, one can argue that the 'urban reality' was well represented in this deliberative conflicting arena, also due to the presence of opposing arguments. However, the urban practices which emerged during the process were just a 'selection' of urban practices which it was possible to observe in the area. They were mainly the practices of new comers of the neighborhood (which developed fast during the 1990s and was interested by gentrification processes) while other 'traditional' practices were not taken into account.

In particular people by night, in summer, traditionally use public spaces in this part of the city informally, having their dinner, either brought from home (together with chairs and tables) or bought in street food shops temporarily set up in the area. We will better describe this practice in the following section. What it is worth underlining here is that this practice, which is absolutely central not only for many inhabitants of the area, but also for many citizen living in other areas of the city, was not considered

at all in the successful deliberative planning process! What this process certainly missed was the capacity to intercept space-time routines shaping the urban reality. Some of these forgotten practices produced other quite violent conflicts in the following years opposing the major who focused his attention on the illegal aspects of this practice (many street food shops are illegal) and citizens and sellers claiming for maintaining this traditional public use of areas surrounding the seafront.

In the following section we will describe the urban reality, as it emerge beyond the planning process, assuming space-time routines as a perspective.

The sea-front and the port from the perspective of space-time routines

A contemporary city is a unity which lacks an internal coherence, but also a group of processes which are often disconnected. It is a place of near and at the same time far away connections, an interrelations of rhythms. The method to understand these rhythms is apparently simple: walking, thinking, describing. First of all it is better to define the meaning of walking which identifies the role of the flâneur, as it has been described by Benjamin (1995). More recently, Sansot (2000) describes his walks and his method of being a flâneur: to walk, to speak, to write, to read... and so the streets become metaphors of a new vision of the world.

For Paba, on the contrary, to walk means not only covering a space, but also 'acting on a structure of communication, crossing a palimpsest of cultures, of territorial codes of urban grammars, of models of human geography that lead the ones towards the others. To walk is also reading the contemporary world and even having a dialogue with the past one (...) reading the old texts of the ground and of the territory which emerge from some clefts' (1998, p. 52). It is an active and reflexive walking, through which one can describe the urban reality which, according to De Certeau (2001, p. 33), must be related to everyday life. From this perspective, descriptions do not profit only of the 'eye' of the

geographer but also of literary texts, films, newspapers etc...

So, to walk means first to observe the urban rhythms, which in Amin and Trift's opinion 'are the coordination by which the inhabitants and the visitors look and order urban experience' (2005, p. 32). This *flânerie* may reveal a lot of the innumerable secrets of the city. It corresponds to the sense of time and space which in the Mediterranean cities express themselves in a different way than in North European cities: for example, usually long breaks for lunch, and most of all very long nights. As the Greek geographer Leontidou (1993, p. 943) affirms, 'it is here in the Mediterranean cities that we find cities which never sleep'.

Apart from the long nights (mostly in summer), other aspects characterize the city of Bari, that is the informal aspect, the spontaneity, the fluxes and what, to use an English term, can be defined its 'sensuous geography'. Such characteristics will be read in that part of Bari's territory which coincides with its nearness to the sea and which is identified with: a) the seafront b) the port.

a) The sea is 'always transparent as a crystal and is completely green-blue, of the colour of the sand which is under it' (Carofiglio, 2008, p. 89).

The seafront is long about 12 km. It represents in the best way the ancient link land/sea of Bari's people. Moreover, it is also the key element of the Mediterranean city (Leontidou, 1993). It is especially relevant from the point of view of its fruitions which correspond to its rhythms. The latter are fundamental for the social life of the city. In fact, in the Mediterranean culture great value is given to the seafront and to public spaces, because they are places which have symbolic value and are landmarks and traces for social relationships and urban identification; moreover they reinforce a sense of belongings and rooting.

With regard to the city of Bari, it is possible to distinguish a day fruition from a night one, and a winter fruition from a summer one. The night fruition of public spaces during summer is particularly interesting; it shows another way of enjoying the city. In other words, it is possible to refer a 'double fruition', and double rhythms due to the fact that its day fruition differs from the night one: during the day the seafront is used as a connected

axis, while by night it becomes a meeting place. However, the night fruition takes place above all during summer. During summer, in fact, thanks to the night rhythms, the seafront becomes a 'public space enjoyed in a private way', that is to say that its space is enriched by the manifold meanings that people ascribe it, thus becoming pivotal for the people and for their identity (Petrigiani, 1972). It is an integral part of the city and its inhabitants: it is a resource to be enjoyed.

b) 'The port is a different universe. If it happens to you to go there by night, you will not understand how it is so vast, how it is possible that such a large part may be part of the city, when you might have the impression that it should be the contrary' (Carofiglio, 2009, p. 85).

Thus, a different world: the long arms, formed by the piers, stretch into the sea to underline its versatility, its ability to satisfy different operational needs: wharfs equipped for loading and unloading commodities, with services for ferry-boats, cruises and accommodation for passengers on a cruise.

Rhythms are different: more frequent – many times a day – for those who have to get on board or disembark from the ferries.

The rhythms of the passengers express in waves: they spread in the area of the port towards accommodation services or they try to find a bus for tours outside the city, buses for a scenic tour of the city, taxis, small trains to visit the city. Besides, we can consider the people who work in the port, who are busy with the daily loading and unloading of the goods on different work shifts.

Thus, the port area accomplishes a functional role. This is the reason why everyday activity is mostly routine and banality. As Amin and Thrift affirm (2005, p. 75), 'it is the community of having a specific place not of the place itself (as it happens for the seafront). It is the community which cannot be classified, it is the community without identity'.

Some brief conclusions

The description of the sea front and the port from the

perspective of space-time routines showed us an urban reality which was invisible in the (deliberative and conflicting) planning process concerning large infrastructure developments in the port area of Bari. Our case-study allows us to clearly highlight that even if several urban practices emerge in deliberative arenas, the latter do not represent the 'urban reality', even when they are crossed by conflicts. Put in a different way, conflicts generated in spaces of deliberative opportunities only partially describe the urban reality.

The gap between the emergence of urban practices in conflicting deliberative arenas and the urban reality can be understood in several ways which, put it roughly, refer to the relationship between collective action and the individual practices exploiting 'interstitial' urban spaces. Due to limited space, we will read this relationship focusing on the role of expertise in conflicting decision-making processes. Expertise plays a paradoxical role in environmental, territorial and technological conflicts: it is central to them, but, at the same time, it is a contested element, it is somehow brought in the middle of the conflict (Pellizzoni, 2011). As a consequence, public institutions (as well as planners) face many difficulties because, on the one hand, they do need to be supported by experts, on the other hand, they have to deal with the deconstructin of knowledge by the opposing parts involved in the process, as well as, in more general terms, by social sciences (*ibidem*). Coming back to our concerns about the representativeness of urban practices emerging in 'spaces of deliberative opportunities' we can wonder who possess the expertise which is essential to participate. Expertise is a key but 'selective' resource for the inclusion of people (and arguments) in spaces of deliberative opportunities. Hence, it is not the urban reality as it concretely stands in the city which is represented in deliberative arenas, it is rather the urban reality as it is represented by people who possess and can manage the expertise useful to participate in deliberative planning processes.

What is more, when inclusive urban planning practices are adopted, planners risk to have the illusion to be able to represent the urban reality while citizens bring in the decision-making arena knowledge and expertise which are 'filtered' by the

planning process objectives. This illusion can be a strong limit for planning processes even when different 'knowledge claims' are recognized (Rydin, 2007).

Last, but not least, given that policy instruments contribute to the construction of problems they deal with (Blumer, 1971; Crosta, 1995; Estèbe, 2004), handling multiple knowledge does not necessarily mean to overcome the description (and the boundaries) of the urban reality which we build up in relation to a specific planning process. But in handling multiple knowledge within planning processes we often come across unexpected connections between several dimensions and aspects of the urban reality which we would not expect to acknowledge as linked. Hence, a major point concerns the capacity of the actors involved in the process to overcome the boundaries of the 'objects' they are dealing with, as they are represented through planning tools.

Notes

¹ This contribution is the outcome of a common reflection by the two authors. However, section *Introduction, Urban planning practice and...*, *Insights from a case-study* and *Some brief conclusions* were written by Carla Tedesco. Section *...urban practices as space-time routines* and *The sea front and the port from the perspective of space-time routines* were written by Clara Copeta.

² In recent years the term 'mega-projects' has been associated to a big variety of interventions, ranging from 'large-scale government investments in physical capital facilities ... to revitalize cities and stimulate their economic growth' (Altshuler, Luberoff, 2003) to 'work of deliberate urban reconfiguration, of generating major projects... to create or recreate urban locales' (Healey, 2010, p. 124). In this paper the term mega-project is used in quite a narrow way, referring to large infrastructural developments in port areas impacting on valued elements of the existing urban fabric and on the everyday life of communities.

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The peculiar nature of place marketing according to an inductional approach

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Abstract

The declared aim of *inductional marketing* is the total involvement of the customer, which leads directly, due to the satisfaction experienced, to the act of purchasing. According to this approach, even when the products to be promoted are 'local territorial systems' (that is, territories which share social and economic characteristics), it is important to *create* consumers (read, 'users' of these systems) *before* products themselves (acting to modify the offer of these systems). In view of this renewed concept of marketing, *place marketing* is then characterized by considering not only the strategic resources that are the heritage of a territorial identity, that is a vocation of a system, but also the image perceived by potential users of that local territorial system. It may prove to be an institutional tool suitable for creating a frame which guides the actions of firms and other strategic actors, allowing them to develop strategic decisions in a context that influences the meaning given to their development policies, suggesting ways to interpret and decode problems and uncertainties, integrating resources and core competences with the expectancies and perceptions embedded in particular contexts of users' experience.

Keywords

Place marketing, inductional approach, local territorial systems, strategic planning.

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Introduction

The use of the discipline of marketing for the development and improvement of different territories is nothing new, although some might consider it to be: indeed its origin can be traced back to the late '30s with the publication of the volume by McDonald (1938) entitled: 'How to promote community and industrial development'. The first examples of territorial competition can even be traced back to the processes of colonization of the Americas, or in Europe, to policies aimed at attracting investments by means of public agencies or by promoting the image of popular tourist destinations. This tradition was then further spread by journals such as *Economic Development Commentary* and, later, by seminal studies such as those of Kotler, Haider, Rein (1993). In literature, place marketing has, since its beginning, appeared with reference to a limited spatial dimension, i.e., *city marketing*, a term that has been used in various European languages also to refer, in general, to marketing applied to larger territories, being geographically referred. Over time, the definitions proposed by various scholars concerning the approach of marketing applied to the territory (sociologists, city planners, economists, business analysts, scholars of public administration, scholars of economic geography etc.) have focused on different elements and implications, although they do present common elements linked to the concept of marketing, such as a facilitator of exchanges between local supply and demand.

The anthology of definitions can only give a vague idea of the numerous different points of view of the scholars cited, however from this review of the literature a common point emerges¹.

Although the original construct of corporate marketing (the 'marketing concept') was introduced in the late 1950s, a period of mass production of goods and fairly similar consumer needs, the current definitions of place marketing are still based on this traditional paradigm based on exchanges or, at least, on relations. Rizzi claims (2005, p. 258, mentioning the urban activities, which are here meant in a more general sense, as territorial): 'By now, on a theoretical and academic level, a broad definition has been

established of the concept identified in all actions and activities aimed at making the supply of urban functions meet the demand from residents, local and external businesses, tourists and other visitors. It is, therefore, the process through which urban activities are related to the demand of target customers to maximize the social and economic functioning of area in question’.

The evolution of the marketing concept

It should be noted that, in the business field, since the beginning of the discipline of marketing, there has been an overlapping of at least three different paradigms (Table 1). The first one, *transactional marketing*, defines marketing as a process of planning and implementation of ideas, goods and services to create exchanges that satisfy both the goals of individuals and those of organizations (Kotler, 1986). Focused precisely on the concept of exchange (transaction), it is still very popular for the ease with which it declines the four main implementing policies-product, price, place and promotion (the famous ‘4 Ps of the marketing mix’). The second paradigm, *relational marketing* (or CRM, *customer relationship marketing*), based on the studies in industrial marketing of the so-called ‘Swedish School’ (Gummesson, 1998), aims to establish, maintain and enhance profitable relationships with customers and other partners of the firm, in order to achieve the objectives of the parties involved, not just once (*una tantum*), but by means of repeated transactions. Marketing should, therefore, encourage these relationships because they can turn into lasting business relationships. This approach has often been associated with place marketing for the community of certain elements (Caroli, 1999), such as the systemic nature of supply, the long-term interaction with buyers, the active role of buyers, and the importance of relationships with people other than those directly involved in the transactions. The same elements (product complexity, high interdependence between supply and demand, lengthy negotiation processes) bring place marketing close to the marketing of industrial goods, where the buyers are firms.

Tab. 1 - Evolution of the paradigm of corporate marketing

<i>Paradigm</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Main aim</i>	<i>Objective</i>
1) Transactional marketing	<i>Exchange</i>	<i>Cognitive</i>	<i>To make known</i>
2) Relationship marketing	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Motivational</i>	<i>+ to make it preferable</i>
3) Inductive marketing	<i>Induction</i>	<i>Behavioral</i>	<i>+ to make people buy it</i>

Source: Adapted from Guido (2005), p. 116.

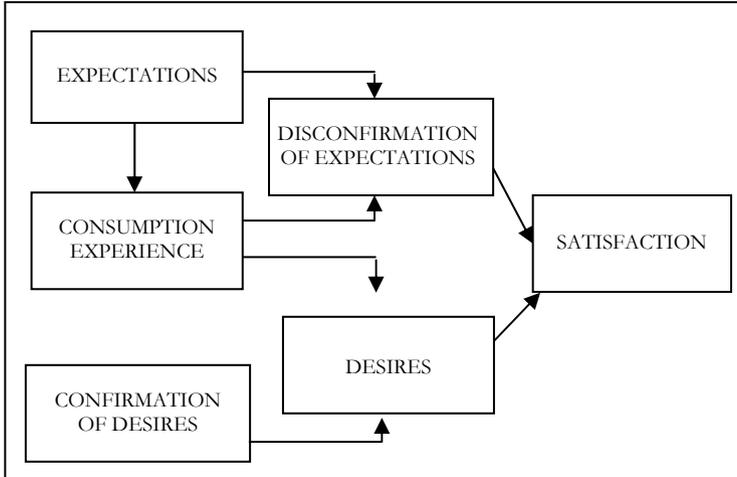
Still within the field of business many other approaches to ‘post-modern marketing’ have recently been added to the traditional transactional and relational marketing paradigms, very different in nature and operative instruments (Zyman, 2000). They are based, though, on common assumptions, derived from the satisfaction of basic needs in affluent societies, such as: the recognition of the fragmentation of consumer needs, the prevalence of consumption of symbols rather than products, and the need for companies to individually tailor their supply, to create new consumer experiences and be close to real-time consumer communities. Thus a third paradigm has clearly emerged from the elements shared by these different approaches, that of *inductional marketing*, a term coined by Guido (2005, 2010), which stresses the marketing task of inducing the consumer – and, more generally, any other economic agent who is in contact with the firm – to cooperate with it: in the case of the end-users, this means, in essence, that they are encouraged to buy the firm products. Therefore, for transactional marketing, the goal is purely to facilitate information and commercial exchanges, whereas, for relational marketing, is the allocation of preferential treatment in dealings with the firm; for inductional marketing, the declared aim is the total involvement of the customer, which leads directly, due to the satisfaction experienced, to the act of purchasing. All other external factors or contingents being equal, this is achieved by a positive

comparison of the two terms used to measure satisfaction for customers – and, more generally, for all those who come into contact with the firm (Figure 1): on the one hand, what they *anticipate*, both in terms of *expectations* (representing the rational aspect of cognitive elements) and *desires* (representing the motivational factors related to individual personal goals), and, on the other hand, what they *perceive* of the whole experience of interaction with the firm (for customers, the experience of consumption, in its different stages: from the recognition of a need to the gathering of information, from the evaluation of alternatives to the purchase decision and finally the use). It is, operationally, the so-called approach of ‘consumers as products’ (Guido 1998, 2010 and Varaldo, Guido 1997, for further details on the modalities of marketing actions).

The inductional approach to marketing

By expanding the traditional *disconfirmation paradigm* (Oliver, 1997), the *inductional marketing* is meant as an innovative approach to customer satisfaction at a firm level, able to better reflect consumer behaviours in the affluent society, where the enjoyment of goods is not only material, but increasingly takes on social and relational characteristics. Because the standard reference is the perceived consumer experience, and not the objective performance of the goods consumed, an increase in the quality of goods – as suggested by many approaches on total quality – is useless unless able to change the customers’ perception. It is, therefore, on what is anticipated (in terms of expectations and desires) by potential customers and on what is perceived in terms of consumption scenarios that firms have to work with appropriate communication strategies trying to enhance customer satisfaction. Consumers, in this light, becomes the ‘real’ end-product of the transformation processes put in place by firms, since the enjoyment of firms’ offers determines both their expectancies and perceptions (which the same firm, with its strategies, has helped create).

Fig. 1 - The *disconfirmation paradigm* revisited



Source: Adapted from Guido, 2005, Varaldo and Guido, 1997.

According to the inductive marketing, even when the products to be promoted are 'local territorial systems' (that is, territories which share social and economic characteristics), it is important to *create* consumers (read, 'users' of these systems) *before* products themselves (acting to modify the offer of these systems).

One must consider that the current situation in the competitive environment is not comparable to that of the late 1950s which saw the origin of the transactional marketing paradigm, nor to the 1980s, when a relational paradigm was more suitable. It appears, therefore, necessary to review the past definitions of place marketing, taking into consideration the features of previous paradigms which are still valid, but adopting a new perspective that considers the *drivers* – i.e., forces of change – which push towards a different competitive environment for local territorial systems. Three factors, in particular, have been identified in marketing literature (Castellett, D'Acunto, 2006; Rizzi, Scaccheri, 2006): the *globalization of competition* that increases the firms' rivalry both within and outside the markets and, at the same time, creates a growing interdependence and connectivity between firms involved, pushing towards the internationalization

of the productive organizations; the *development of digital platforms* through the spread of ICT (Information & Communication Technologies, in particular, Internet and electronic interfaces) which, with the consolidation of the post-Fordism, allows the transition from a market economy to a network economy; and the *managerial development of public administration*, namely the transition from the traditional bureaucratic and legal institutional management of relations with citizens to a managerial logic of public services – the so-called ‘new public management’. These factors are pushing for a renewed perspective of the concept of marketing, raised from specialist functions, or simple competitive alternatives for each enterprise, to a widespread and integrated approach to its processes of strategic management. On the other hand, if an inductive paradigm is not adopted to define place marketing, with an emphasis on the psychological aspects of perception by potential customers and on the strategies needed to determine their fruition, it is not possible to fully understand the difference that distinguishes place marketing from, for example, urban planning strategies (which outside Italy fall within *city management*, or *aménagement du territoire*), which ‘merely govern the processes that occur in the local area, but are unable to conceive the territory as a resource which can be destined for alternative uses’ (Mistri, Morandin, 2002, p. 147), or from local development policies *tout court*, which cover a very wide range of policy areas – from the organization of local transport to the reduction of unemployment, to the raising of financial resources for the implementation of public works – and are a direct expression of a local government which has its own electoral representational paths.

A new vision of place marketing

In view of this renewed concept of marketing, place marketing is characterized by considering not only the strategic resources that are the heritage of a territorial identity, that is a vocation of a system, but also the image perceived by potential users of that local territorial system. It acts, simultaneously, at a strategic level,

analyzing the available competitive *variables* so as to design the development strategies of such a place and, at an operational level, defining the communication policies needed to influence the *parameters* of the satisfaction judgments – i.e., the expectancies and the perceptions of the experience of interacting with such a local territorial system – which are at the base of the choices of potential users. Such an approach takes into account the three above-mentioned *drivers of change*, i.e.: the globalization of competition, when analyzing the competitive positioning of local territorial systems and their strategic resources; the power of communication strategies, enhanced by the connectivity and the interdependency of the new technologies; the different managerial roles taken on by strategic public actors, who are part of the governance of local systems. By considering the changes made and their impact on all the main dynamic forces of the market, such an ‘inductional’ place marketing approach may prove to be an institutional tool suitable for creating a framing (or framework) which guides the actions of firms and other strategic actors, allowing them to develop strategic decisions in a context that influences the meaning given to their development policies, suggesting ways to interpret and decode problems and uncertainties, integrating resources and core competences with the expectancies and perceptions embedded in particular contexts of users’ experience.

Applying the new inductional paradigm, therefore, it is possible to define place marketing as *a set of persuasive activities, created by a strategic subject (made of both public and private actors), aimed at reforming expectations, changing the priority of desires, and acting on the perception of experiences of interaction with the local territorial system by the users, both internal (business and residents) and external (investors and tourists), in order to induce them to cooperate* (Table 2 suggests how). This is done by identifying a strategic area (i.e., a place vocation) and working on the strategic resources of such a local territorial system, taking into account the image of such system as perceived by the potential users, in order to achieve a competitive advantage over other local territorial systems, in the light of research conducted within and outside the local territorial system in question. This means, operatively, modifying the rational reasons of choice

(*expectations*) of the users by the means of prices (e.g., costs and incentives), of changing the order of priority for reasons of choice (*desires*), and of communications (e.g., differentiating the destination images), as well as building consumer experiences of the local territorial system (*perceptions*) by creating scenarios of use (exalting the vocation of the local territorial system) and making it accessible ('distributing' it to other users)².

Tab. 2 – *Place marketing in an inductive perspective*

<i>Definition</i>	<i>Strategic action</i>	<i>Operative action</i>
Set of persuasive activities, carried out by a <i>strategic subject</i> , aimed at: - altering expectations - changing the priority of desires - acting on the perception of the experience of interaction with the local territorial system by users, typically: - local (firms and residents), and - external (investors and tourists).	This is done by (Phase1): - identifying a <i>strategic area</i> - emphasizing the <i>strategic resources</i> of a local territorial system, in relation to the image perceived by its users - so as to achieve a <i>strategic object</i> (i.e., a competitive advantage over other local territorial systems) in the light of research: - within the local territorial system (Phase 2), and - outside the local territorial system (Phase 3)	This implies (Phase 4): - amending the rational grounds of choices (<i>expectations</i>) of users: - by means of prices (e.g., costs and incentives); - changing the order of priority of the reasons of choice (<i>desires</i>): - by means of communications (e.g., differentiating destination images), and - building consumer experiences (<i>perceptions</i>) about the local territorial system: - creating scenarios of use

(emphasizing its vocation) and - making it available (‘distributing’ it to the different users)

These are activities which have to be fitted into the different stages of a *marketing plan*, with all the limitations and peculiarities involved in the adaptation of the corporate paradigm to place marketing activities, strategically designed for the development of the various local territorial systems (see Guido, 2000, 2002, 2007). The final objective, therefore, is not to plan or modify the territory according to the expectations of demand, but to enhance and appreciate it by changing, on the one hand, the expectancies and, on the other hand, the perception of its tangible and intangible characteristics in order to maximize the consideration (i.e., the satisfaction or the value given) by the different types of users.

A paradigm of this type finds its most successful application within an *integrated* and *competitive* strategic model. It is an *integrated* model, because marketing has to encourage each agent (e.g., person or firm) that comes into contact with the local territorial system to cooperate with it (either by purchasing, investing, or acting to the system’s advantage). Hence, it is not merely a means of encouraging exchange (as in transactional marketing), or relationships (as in relational marketing), but an attempt to determine them, by the strategic subject, acting uniformly and consistently (according to Bramanti, 1998, p. 19, emphasis removed, ‘the action of place marketing, in order to be effective in the long term, must be based on the consensus of all stakeholders and on the transparency of all the interests at stake’). It is a *competitive* model, because in affluent economies and structurally modified environments, the results achieved by the local territorial system within its networks of supply, logistics and market, are almost always at the expense of competing systems. This is considering both the overabundant supply of local territorial systems (not only in terms of physical spaces, but

also of qualifying factors), that reproduces situations of domain by the demand, and the value that users derive from it, which is due to social shortage and not simply the material resources. The competition between territories might not necessarily be negative for the local territorial systems in a network, which could benefit from a better strategic positioning of a local territorial system connected to them; nevertheless, in any case, their competitiveness may be diminished by the fact that scarce resources could be allocated elsewhere.

Conclusions

Ultimately, therefore, territorial competition can hardly ever be considered a win-win game (Sviluppo Lazio, 2005). As Rizzi states (2005, p. 259): ‘some might highlight the risk of commercializing and “corporatizing” urban and territorial goods, which by definition is a public good, full of cultural, ethical and social value, and it is not strictly related to the criteria of economic calculation and prices.’ Obviously, if there is a possibility of acting, more or less voluntarily, on the choices of others, this gives rise to ethical problems; it is therefore necessary to take into account that identity and perception are concepts shared by all the paradigms of marketing in the sense that, in this case when referring to the product ‘territory’, the objectivity reached by adding together all the parts which make it up, is submitted to subjective and contextual interpretation by its users. It follows that when adopting this approach to encourage potential users to ‘purchase’ (read, ‘use’) a local territorial system, the social responsibility of the strategic subjects adopting place marketing strategies increases in relation to their ability to manipulate people’s expectancies and perceptions, rather than the objective quality of their offers. However the aim of developing a local territorial system – the final goal of any place marketing strategy – should guarantee the positive aims of satisfying the needs of an entire community and, at the same time, of reaching out to potential customers by inducing realistic expectations, satisfying some of their desires, and teaching them

how to obtain maximum satisfaction from their experience of use.

Notes

¹ The concept of place marketing has been the subject of a chronological evolution. If for Walsh (1989) and Meffert (1989) it seems acceptable the mere *transposition* of the principles of marketing to the local context, for Van den Berg and Klaasen (1990) the promotion of issues that determine individual *well-being* are more important. For Van der Meer (1990) place marketing mainly acts as a *link* between urban functions and the demand of potential users, while for Texier, Valle (1992) the focus is shifted onto the *collective actions* designed and implemented by the various parties to achieve this end. For Camagni (1992) urban marketing is a tool of *competition* between cities and in order to maximize economic and social efficiency. Kotler, Haider and Rein (1993) offer a decidedly *corporate perspective* of place marketing, using a mix of functions related to the policies of the marketing mix of firms; Paddison (1993) describes place marketing in terms of its main objective: to strengthen the *competitive positioning* of the area when compared internationally. Gold and Ward (1994) focus on the *promotion of places*, through the communication of specific images; Smyth (1994) aims at the general implementation of certain *activities with economic value*. Van den Berg, Bramezza and Van der Meer (1994) emphasize the importance of *programs* that aim to create and maintain beneficial exchange relationships; Ashworth and Voodgt (1995) target development strategies of urban activities for the identification of *target customers*. Golfetto (1996) highlights the need to *differentiate* supply so as to respond to a very segmented demand; Storlazzi (1997) emphasizes the role of *public management*. Casella (1997) shows how the marketing approach should be achieved by means of specific *planning*; Valdani and Jarach (1998), have as their aim the achievement of *political and organizational objectives*, such as an increase in the working population or the enrichment of the resident population. For Varaldo and Caroli (1999) place marketing should *link* the area's supply to its demand; for Paoli (1999), the supply is made up of *industrial investors*. Cercola (1999) sees the aim of regional marketing as *creating value* for the benefit of the community, Caroli (1999) as the *balanced development* of the area. Ancarani (1999) considers the territory as a *resource* capable of attracting other resources; Paradiso (1999) considers that it is necessary to focus on *identifying needs*, selecting one or more social segments on which to direct action. Napolitano (2000) hopes that it is possible to reach the largest possible number of these *segments*; whereas Valdani and Ancarani (2000) believe that a *virtuous circle* should be generated between the satisfaction of the local public, the attraction of external ones, and the creation of value. Cidrais (2001) believes that the management of place marketing should be, more or less

concentrated and *institutionalized*; Vesci (2001) sustains that it should be implemented by a *local body*, for example, an agency with public capital. Latusi (2002) broadens the discussions of the needs to be satisfied to *needs and expectations*; Petruzzellis (2002) continues with the *management and reproducibility of scarce resources* to meet these needs. Gilodi (2004) draws attention to the *relational processes* of exchange which the territorial value depends on. Foglio (2006) focuses on the *optimal management* of the meeting of supply and demand. Caroli (2006) argues that place marketing is as much a *method* as a *function* aimed at the economic development of an area; Salone (2006) considers it a set of methods and tools to be used in the *formulation of territorial policies*. To this end, Rizzi and Scaccheri (2006) set *strategic planning* as the starting point of any place marketing project.

² The strategic management of the *inductional determinants* of place marketing aimed to the development of local territorial systems implies:

- 1) *Reforming the expectations*, which means knowing in detail the knowledge of potential users which forms the rational expectations about what the local territorial system can offer. This requires the identification of one or more social segments on which action should be prioritized: the interpretation of these requirements makes up the expression of a system of values and policy priorities that a strategic subject expresses and which is formed through rationality prevailing in the system, the effect of the qualitative and quantitative interactions on the strategic subject. Unlike the product of a company, as it is not possible to design or modify a territory according to the expectations of demand, it is necessary to act on these to reduce any gap between the identity and the perception of the local territorial system, usually by emphasizing rational reasons of preference for its appreciation, such as economic ones;
- 2) *Changing the priority of desires*, which means, on the opposite, directing – especially by means of marketing communications – potential users of the system to review the order of their hopes in relation to the benefits that the local territorial system is already able to deliver; that is to raise those benefits as parameters of choice for potential users. In this sense, the perceived image of the local territorial system is crucial: the image is not merely what is projected, about what you want to communicate, but the outcome of a representation of the desires of potential users which allows to interpret the system as a collective identity;
- 3) *Acting on the perception of the experience of interacting* with the local territorial system, which means participating in the production of expectancies (both expectations and priorities of desires) so as to be able to meet them. Given that, often, the needs expressed by the demand are not very flexible, the ability to structurally transform the local territorial system according to expectations and desires becomes a crucial drive to the development of it. ‘Experiences relate to various types supply - economic, educational or entertainment - that will implement new opportunities in the local context, in line with the characteristics of the territory, which emphasize and accentuate its peculiarities, or that contain new elements that create new opportunities for stay and

consumption' (Corio 2005, p. 11). By emphasizing the vocations and creating pathways for the use of the territories, scenarios are generated in which users can benefit from a holistic experience, not only material but also social, as the bearer of socio-cultural values. This brings to:

4) *Satisfaction*, because, from the positive comparison of expectancies (i.e., expectations and desires) and experience of consumption of the local territorial system, a virtuous circle of *satisfaction-attractiveness-value* is developed – as mentioned by many scholars. The satisfaction generated by this process is the basis for future interactions by users about the local territorial system.

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OBSERVATORIES

Governing territories between Regions and the EU: A dialogue

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Abstract

Drawing on the debate on ‘territorial cohesion’, this paper focuses on the challenges of governing territories from a regional perspective, within the ‘EU space’. It is a dialogue between two researchers, one of them current Regional Councillor with responsibility for Planning, Housing and Urban Policy in Puglia, Southern Italy.

Keywords

Territorial cohesion, EU territorial policies, government/governance.

Premise: A dialogue¹, why?

Researchers may be linked in several ways with the phenomena they observe when they carry out research work. And all the more so if empirical research is concerned. As a consequence, to highlight this relation between the researcher and the subjects he/she is dealing with is essential to better understand his/her point of view.

Until to the middle 2000s the two authors of this contribution have been carrying out many joint research works. The impact of

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EU territorial policies on Italian planning practices was one among our favourite topics. Our discussions on it involved a junior researcher (Carla) and a senior researcher (Angela). In 2005 Angela was appointed as Planning, Housing and Urban Policy Councillor by the newly elected Apulia Region government. The election for the first time of a left wing regional government involved a significant shift in regional policies. Our discussions continued, but they slowly transformed into interviews taken by a researcher to another researcher temporary having the opportunity to observe as an 'insider' the phenomena and the processes she used to research. Thus, we came up with the idea to write down, as a dialogue, our reflections on the challenges of governing territories from a regional perspective, within the 'EU space'.

What space is the 'EU space'?

As it is well-known, the Treaties do not assign a specific mandate to EU in the field of spatial planning. However, since the late 1980s, Brussels promoted territorial (or spatial) policies which either explicitly or implicitly influenced domestic planning systems as well as planning practices in the Member States.

Within the academic debate, this new role played by the EU in national (and local) planning arenas and its relationships with the varied (and often conflicting) spatial planning systems and practices in the different Member States has been observed from different perspectives, focusing on several of its aspects (Tedesco, 2007; 2008). Some authors focused on the process of construction of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP)² (Janin Rivolin, 2004) as both a process and a document developing a common understanding of European spatial development policy (Schön, 2005) and its application in the different Member States (Faludi, 2003, 2005). One of the first outcomes of the document's approval was the establishment of ESPON (European Spatial Planning Observatory Network) aiming at promoting research on the territorial impacts of EU policies. The application of the general principles of the ESDP

was realized by several instruments and mechanisms. Among them: transnational and trans-border planning initiatives, the acknowledgement of the ESDP as an institutional planning tool, and the establishment of formal agreements and partnerships (Shaw, Sykes, 2009).

Other authors focused on the domestic level and observed the changing role of planning within the EU system of multi-level governance, which raised several issues in relation to its regional dimension (Alden, 2001). The latter were acknowledged to be particularly meaningful in some Member States such as the UK.

A third perspective focused, instead, on the indirect impact of some EU sector policy (transnational cooperation, transport, environment, energy, agriculture, structural funds etc.) on the operation of the planning process (Tewdwr-Jones, Bishop, Wilkinson, 2000), through the analysis of the EU's influence on the planning process documentation. More or less in the same direction, further contributions focused on the entering *de facto* of the EU as a new actor in local planning arenas through a number of EU policy practices, such as those developed within area-based initiatives promoted and/or funded by structural funds policy (Barbanente, 2005; Doria, Fedeli, Tedesco 2006; Tedesco, 2005). The latter were established across a number of different target areas and assumed different focuses, varying from rural development in sub-regional areas to the struggle against social exclusion in urban deprived areas. In this perspective the misfit between EU objectives and principles and local practices is a key-concept to understand local impacts of EU policies (Risse, Cowles, Caporaso, 2001).

If one looks at them thoroughly, these perspectives can be interestingly interrelated. In fact, it is possible to single them out only starting from an analytical perspective, useful to frame the issues at stake, but easy to be overcome both from a theoretical and an empirical point of view, as it is stated in some documents linking the three main objectives of the ESDP to 2007-2013 cohesion policy. In the same perspective, it is possible to bring up some reflections on the concept of 'territorial cohesion, which is central to 2014-2020 programming period (see EU, 2011) as even distribution of human activities, i.e. as a concept

useful to translate the sustainable development objective in territorial terms (CEC 2004, quoted in Duhr, Colomb, Nadin, 2010).

On the one hand, it has been largely recognised that (non-linear) relations do occur between what has been experienced in the field of EU territorial governance and the existing national planning traditions. From this point of view four distinct perspectives on European spatial planning can be outlined: North-Western, British, Nordic and Mediterranean (Janin Rivolin, 2005). As far as the Mediterranean perspective is concerned, it has been observed that (mainly at the local level, but also at the regional and national levels) innovations in planning have been developed by participating in the different initiatives promoted and/or funded by EU structural funds. Put differently, in mediterranean countries such as Italy – where there has not been any influence of the ESDP on the planning system, the latter being largely ignored by planners until the late 1990s (Janin Rivolin, 2004) – an EU spatial development perspective has been somehow diffused through the EU governance principles underpinning structural funds initiatives. On the other hand, it can be pointed out that the ESDP contributes to pay attention to specific territorial problems which are (should be) central within structural funds policy such as those of urban areas (Atkinson, 2001) and that it includes a variety of policy options, which can be considered a ‘non-binding’ guidance for structural funds policy.

Furthermore, it is possible to argue that, through the debate developed around the concept of ‘territorial cohesion’ and its implication for the future of the ESDP (Böhme, 2005; Faludi, 2005), the aforementioned different perspectives have an increasing amount of points in common: the ESDP has been acknowledged to have paved the way for an institutional recognition of the territorial dimension of cohesion and its future has been linked to the opening of intergovernmental discussion on a possible definition of shared principles of EU territorial governance, useful to link the cohesion policy with the operational national planning systems (Janin Rivolin, 2005, p. 19).

Referring to the concept of territorial cohesion some authors argue that a new relationship between spatial and regional policies can be envisaged for the future, as it is possible to point out that the Structural Funds are in fact already contributing to increased territorial cohesion within the EU (Polverari, Bachtler, 2005, p. 29).

Following Schön (2005, p. 393) the concept of 'territorial cohesion' can be developed as closely linked to the political aim of supporting weak, lagging behind or handicapped regions, and thus to diminishing inequalities and disparities between the different parts of the European territory. However, equity in living conditions is not sufficient as a policy aim. Rather, the quality and nature of those living conditions are also of significance. Thus, achieving a high level of living conditions on a regionally balanced basis is central to the aim of territorial cohesion.

A regional perspective

Given this framework, emerging from both theoretical and empirical research work on the role of the EU in territorial policies, a first – maybe obvious – question is: what is the role of the EU at the local level, in particular at the regional level, in building up territorial policies?

I will not refer generically to the regional level and to spatial planning policies, as such an approach would be misleading: after the transfer of spatial planning jurisdiction from the central government to the Regions in the late 1970s, in Italy regional spatial planning approaches and experiences have become more and more varied. My reflections are based on empirical evidence of the case study of Regione Puglia, as a Member of Regione Puglia's executive committee responsible for spatial planning. Under the 2007-13 programming period Puglia is one of the EU Convergence objective regions in the Italian Mezzogiorno. The Convergence objective aims at reducing economic disparity within the European Union, and thus a large amount of EU spending are channelled into the Convergence objective regions.

Simple questions are very useful in order to highlight basic matters. I think that Europe at the local level mainly represents a funding source, also for building up territorial policies. The more the economic crisis goes on, the more difficult it becomes to reverse this prevailing perception. And the more local governments lack of financial resources to provide essential infrastructures and services, the more EU funds tend to replace ordinary funds, contrasting with the additionality principle. The more an Italian policy for the Mezzogiorno disappears from the national political agenda and the national level of government, the more EU funds replace national funds for regional development and territorial cohesion. We should reflect further on the role that Europeanization had as a strategic asset exploited at the domestic level, namely by the national government, in order to abandon the national policy for the Mezzogiorno (Bull, Baudner, 2004). Furthermore, the issue of co-financing within structural funds policy cannot be taken into account if one does not consider the constraints of the Internal Stability Pact and how are they regulated in national norms. Hence the national tier does influence regional policies.

As far as the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) is concerned, its influence was extremely limited both on EU Structural Funds mainstream programmes and on existing territorial policies and plans. The reasons are numerous and complex. In the experience of Regione Puglia, cognitive aspects and organisational aspects, interrelated to the Italian spatial planning tradition, seem to prevail on other reasons. The European Spatial Development Perspective is largely unknown outside the narrow circles of academic research and practitioners involved in EU projects. The INTERREG III Programme, which is considered as a way to promote the application of several ESDP topics, empowered a group of bureaucratic actors of the Regione Puglia's service responsible for that Programme with procedural expertises and wide-ranging groups of consultants, but did not involve the regional spatial planning services.

Comparative studies on spatial planning in Europe emphasize the strong concern of the Italian spatial planning system with physical planning, urban design and rigid zoning and codes, whether they include it in the 'Mediterranean tradition', under the 'urbanism' approach (European Commission, 1997) or they include it in the 'Napoleonic legal style' with a tendency to prepare a national code of planning regulations and to create a hierarchy of plans (Newman, Thornley, 1996). Among the three elements of the urban planning systems described by Healey and Williams (1993), the

plan making function, the developmental function, and the regulatory or control function, in Italy the latter continues to prevail also at the regional level. And it is clear that just this is the most distant planning function from the ESDP policy objectives and options to be addressed to all those involved in spatial development at the national, regional and local levels. In this context, both Regione Puglia officials and professionals working in the spatial planning field are deficient in knowledge and experience in strategic planning as a framework for the spatial coordination of public investments as well as for the spatialisation of a policy discourse about social cohesion.

Regione Puglia tried to bridge the gap between the spatial planning tradition and the strategic approach on which the EU cohesion funds programming should be based. On the one hand, it promoted ten strategic plans for some sub-regional aggregations of municipalities, just in order to spur them to share a common strategy in order to promote local development and base on it the EU structural funds allocation for a more coherent and effective use of those funds. On the other hand, it changed the approach of the statutory spatial planning system, both at the regional and at the local level, reinforcing the strategic part of those plans, promoting the innovation of their contents through the crucial role given to public participation and environmental sustainability, and thus made local spatial planning and cohesion policy more permeable from the cognitive and experiential point of view.

But, the scarce influence of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) was not limited to the spatial planning field. Also in the circles of the 'community programming' the spatial dimension of the cohesion policy is neglected. No reference is made to the European Spatial Development Perspective in the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF) 2007-2013 and in the Mezzogiorno Strategic Document (Documento Strategico Mezzogiorno - Linee per un Nuovo Programma Mezzogiorno 2007-2013). And from the viewpoint of Regione Puglia also the transfer of regional development good practices developed within the INTERREG Programme into EU Structural Funds mainstream programmes seems to be very limited.

Even in the specific field of planning, the 'gatekeeping' role of the national level is relevant. This role is developed through different tools (norms, funds, procedures) and is evident in several policy fields (both formal and informal). It impacts on different aspects of EU territorial cohesion objective. This mechanism is different from the direct link established between the EU and the local level within pilot or Community Initiatives such as the URBAN

and the LIFE programmes, where the central government role is very weak. A good example of the direct influence of EU on planning procedures (at different scales) is the Environmental Strategic Assessment (ESA) procedure, which has been adopted at the national level (Directive 2001/42/EC), and which is binding for regions.

Focusing our field of interest and considering the operational aspects of the issues we are dealing with, as you suggest, what are the outcomes of the EU territorial cohesion objective, as mediated by the national level, on both the planning regional system and planning practices at the regional level?

As far as structural funds policy is concerned, the delivering of resources is possible only when EU rules are followed. However, the EU assessment criteria only concern the efficiency of the expenditure and the compliance with the procedures, hence the latter became the only dimension seriously taken into account by regional powerful bureaucrats, while the territorial cohesion objective can be missed. In particular, some fundamental principles of the EU territorial approach related to territorial cohesion (such as integration, participation ...) require a long time to be fully assimilated in local practices, due to their innovation features. This long time is easily labeled as 'inefficiency'. Of course the political objective of efficient expenditure of EU resources is a significant one, and all the more so in a 'backward' region such as the Italian Mezzogiorno, often described by some political parties such as a homogeneously underdeveloped one, where the money invested does not produce development due to waste and inefficiency.

While the impact of EU policies on procedures and financial accounting is very strong, their impact on planning practices and approaches, as well as on the regional planning system, is largely weaker. Notwithstanding that, structural funds can be considered to be an opportunity for supporting the building up of strategic planning and urban design. Hence, they somehow temperate the prevailing regulatory features of the Italian planning tradition. This concretely and meaningfully occurred in the setting up of regional guidelines for municipal plans as well as in the setting up of the Regional Landscape Plan.

Even in the SEA the EU objective of territorial cohesion has been weakened due to both the way it was adopted in domestic legislation and the misfit between the Italian planning tradition and the main elements of the

strategic approach. In fact, even if the Legislative Decree 152/06 and its following modifications and integrations state that the SEA has to accompany all the policy process, shaping knowledge, objectives and outcomes towards environmental sustainability, it de facto produces an interpretation of SEA as an ex post assessment, useful to evaluate the conformity of plans to the law. Thus SEA concretely becomes a sort of Environmental Impact Assessment applied to plans rather than to projects. The reasons for this peculiar interpretation of SEA are mainly in the separation between the competent authority and the implementing authority as well as in the prevailing role of the first authority on all the other institutions involved: it is the competent authority that selects the institutions to be involved, collects, coordinates and assesses their opinions, states the compatibility of the plan. In addition, the implementing authority has many difficulties in interpreting the SEA as a tool useful to improve the policy process and to shape the contents of the plan towards social, economic and environmental sustainability. This difficulty is due not only to the regional technical, political and practice tradition, ignoring or misleading the importance of public consultation in the phase of policy design, but also to the difficulties in acknowledging the usefulness of drawing the plans on several alternatives and on the assessment of their impact on the environment and society. Within this framework, the risk is that SEA can be considered to be just a formal step within the planning process, contributing on the one hand to slow it, on the other hand, to reinforce hierarchical relationships rather than opening the decision-making processes. Thus, also in the field of environmental assessment, the control function tends to overwhelm other important functions, and SEA was not able to mitigate the dominant regulatory function of planning, introducing a strategic perspective.

Some reflections on the government/governance relationship

Notwithstanding the problems you brought up, the attempt of regional territorial policy to highlight the different dimensions of planning (following Mazza, 2004, regulatory, strategic, design), partly supported by EU territorial policies, emerges.

The relevance in the planning field of approaches and tools not based on hierarchical control suggests us to mention the

governance concept, referring to governance as a new style of government, distinct from the hierarchical model and characterized by a stronger degree of cooperation and the interaction between state and non-state actors within decision-making networks that mix public and private actors (Mayntz, 1999). However, the framework you just described shows us the coexistence of *government* and *governance* forms, each of them characterized by specific knowledge, actors, tools, singling out two different expertise domains rather than a passage from government to governance.

To what extent can we recognize a separation between government and governance domains in terms of knowledge, actors, policy tools, and to what extent do these domains communicate, in relation to the Puglia's regional government political objectives?

Coming back to the gatekeeping role of the national level we started from, it is worth underlining that in national legislation the passage from government to governance is taken for granted, for instance in the use of negotiating tools such as 'agreement protocols' (protocollari di intesa) or 'programme agreements' (accordi di programma). Even in the new planning model we built up at the regional level the policy process is opened to several public and private actors since the first phases. This suggest us to consider the governance and government domains as not divided.

Furthermore, relationships between government and governance domains are also in the continuous alternating of hierarchical and cooperative modes within the policy process. Even in the EU programmes, drawn on the notion of governance, in fact, when the relationship between the regional administration and the beneficiaries of structural funds becomes a relationship between those who deliver and those who benefit from the funds, the hierarchical relationship is reproduced. And all the more so, if the prevailing criterion shaping action is the criterion of efficient expenditure: local administrations concentrate once again on procedures reinforcing the hierarchical relationship and transforming some participants to the arrangements into overarching controllers.

Notes

¹ This contribution has been developed by a dialogue between the two authors on all the issues developed. However, sections 1 and 2 as well as all the questions have been written by Carla Tedesco. Section 3 has been written by Angela Barbanente.

² As it is well known, the ESDP is the result of a ten-year period of studies, research, conferences, meetings of the informal council of ministries responsible for 'spatial development' policy. This document proposes some policy options articulated around three main objectives: polycentric spatial development and a new relationship between town and country, equality of access to infrastructure and knowledge, wise management of the natural and cultural heritage.

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