



Index  
and english translation  
of the articles

	<i>Federico Oliva</i>	<b>The city beyond the crisis</b>
<b>Problems, policies and research</b>	<p><i>Francesca Cognetti, Luca Gaeta</i> <i>Francesca Cognetti, Luca Gaeta</i> <i>Luca Gaeta</i> <i>Francesca Cognetti</i> <i>Chiara Merlini</i> <i>Luca Gaeta</i> <i>Massimo Bricocoli, Paola Savoldi</i> <i>Luigi Mazza</i> <i>Alessandro Balducci</i> <i>Giovanna Fossa</i> <i>Anna Moro</i></p>	<p><b>Milan, ten years of ordinary planning</b> Sense and operations of a research program The integrated action plans in Milan planning experience What policies for living? Many houses, little impact The economic feasibility issue Housing developments and standards of public action Common places and the technical culture Learning from experience in Milan The landscape of the integrated action plans Notes for the assessment of the new inhabited spaces</p>
<b>Projects and implementation</b>	<p><i>Alex Fubini, Daniela Ciaffi</i> <i>Alex Fubini, Daniela Ciaffi</i> <i>Alberto Vanolo</i> <i>Alfredo Mela, Roberta Novascone</i> <i>Giovanni Alifredi</i> <i>Marco Aimetti</i> <i>Daniela Ciaffi</i></p> <p><i>Shun Kanda, Lorena Alessio</i> <i>Francesco Domenico Moccia</i></p>	<p><b>The strategic and programmatic document of the town of Canelli</b> An interdisciplinary and community approach to the new town plan Canelli: its geography and its appreciation as a tourist destination Social integration and public spaces The new bridge on the river Belbo and the by-pass road Industrial areas and the town centre (Dr zone) From 'Idea postcards' to role play: Prg Pianificare realmente giocando/Plannin by playing The urban design workshop <b>City and railways stations in the ecological perspective</b></p>
<b>Profiles and practices</b>	<p><i>Claudia Conforti, Francesca Funis</i></p> <p><i>Anna Laura Palazzo</i></p> <p><i>Didier Budin</i></p> <p><i>Marvi Maggio</i></p> <p><i>Biancamaria Rizzo</i></p>	<p><b>From the public confort to the Public usefulness: a case of expropriation in Florence of the 1500's</b></p> <p><b>Multilevel governance and intermunicipal action in the agglomeration of Lyon</b> The urban project for Gerland, Lyon's territory of metropolitan development</p> <p><b>Hypothesis and arguments for a glossary for the government of the territory</b></p> <p><b>Rural economy and tourism, a strategic integration to revitalize the landscape. The case of San Marino</b></p>
<b>Methods and tools</b>	<p><i>Graziella Tonon</i></p>	<p><b>Town planning and architecture. A Relationship to be renewed</b></p>

## Sense and operations of a research program

*Francesca Cognetti, Luca Gaeta*

In Milan the season of the integrated action plans begun with the approval of the Strategic document for planning policies in June 2000. Ten years after it is time to take stock of the actions implemented through a non-traditional planning tool and approval procedure. The number of projects completed make possible to observe how this form of planning is translated into concrete spatial and social outcomes.

The research we are presenting focuses on three lines of investigation: what people are living in the new developments; what are the qualities of the built environment; how much value is captured through negotiation.

The research has considered 28 integrated action plans now completed. To highlight the ordinary size of many projects, and their contribution in shaping interstitial urban areas, plans of exceptional size were excluded.

The set of our research operations is reported in the articles by Francesca Cognetti, Chiara Merlini and Luca Gaeta. A reconstruction of the past decade is provided by Luca Gaeta. Authoritative comments by Luigi Mazza, Alessandro Balducci and Giovanna Fossa open up further research lines on implementation planning. Paola Savoldi and Massimo Bricocoli reflect on the rigid and simplified treatment of the relationship between public and private spaces in the urban projects. Paolo Simonetti and Alessandro Maggioni are interviewed as key players of that planning practice. Anna Moro provides information on four integrated action plans to exemplify the research work undertaken.

## The integrated action plans in Milan planning experience

*Luca Gaeta*

The story of the integrated action plans starts in Milan with the approval of the Strategic document for planning policies, and in fact overlaps with a period of booming property market. The background is the Regional Law 9/1999 which promoted the redevelopment of the built environment with particular reference to historical centers, the suburbs and the brownfields.

The model of redevelopment experienced in Milan is interesting as an attempt to overcome the impasse of the hierarchical relationship between the plan and projects. The planning strategy is transferred to the Strategic document, the role of the statutory plan is limited to the legal sanction of decisions, the integrated action plans dialogue with the planning strategy in circumstantial ways.

Ten years of experience show significant deviation from the initial intentions. Although obsolete in its forecasts, the statutory plan actually influenced the selection of areas to be redeveloped more than did the Strategic document. The completed action plans cover small and medium-sized areas of the inner city which were zoned for residential and productive use. Major action plans of strategic relevance are instead to the post. The resilience of the statutory plan is a disciplinary issue on which to reflect. On the other hand, the weak political support for the planning strategy has pushed developers to take seriously but the regulatory section of the Strategic document, and in particular the land-to-building ratio of 65%, which has become a parameter for land values.

Though the Strategic document has not undermined the statutory plan, and although in many ways its procedure is not able to guarantee the integrated and strategic character of projects, the attempt has had some positive effects. Among these we may include the redevelopment of a large number of brownfield areas, frozen since the 80s, and the partial capture of development values in the form of land for public use and additional charges.

The sedimentation in the municipal staff of procedural knowledge and professional multi-disciplinary skills is a further benefit due to the management of the integrated action plans.

## What policies for living?

*Francesca Cognetti*

These programs address the need, also highlighted in the Strategic document, to 'get back to live in town'. In all the 28 'Integrated action Plans' considered in this study, housing is the predominant function, often exclusively.

From the viewpoint of the mix, the supply is showing some uniformity: i building cooperatives n. 16 cases there are free market residential units only; of the remaining 12, 8 have a mix of free and subsidized residential units, 4 with subsidized housing only, one with social housing. In practice, housing is totally missing: most of the units are free to purchase (63%) or assigned to members of building cooperatives (35%).

The exclusive presence of units for sale intercepts an almost uniform demand, excluding temporary and social excluding situations (more easily related to building for social rent), while the availability of varied housing solutions provides a certain variety concerning the type of families settled. In the integrated action plans all types of housing ranging from studios to four rooms are found, with a prevalence of medium-sized apartments, but also with solutions of greater value as a duplex apartment or townhouse with green. In the majority of cases, underground garage is provided, with only some of the smaller complexes excluded.

Access to this large variety of solutions is indeed made easy by the selling price: if 'extreme' cases are excluded, average price is € 2,860 per square meter, slightly lower than reported market prices for the same areas (€ 3,075 per sqm). The average price for subsidized residence is € 2,000 per sqm.

Within this housing policy, the social dimension is delegated exclusively to the building cooperatives. They have a significant role, but not always can guarantee quality, which would need a more rigorous management. In addition, the housing needs expressed by temporary residents or by people with low and average incomes, is not taken into particular consideration by all the programs implemented.

Therefore, this contemporary supply has a very traditional nature and in fact reflect a uniform, introverted and individual way of inhabiting the city.

In the projects there is a definite choice of single-function: approximately 90% of gross surface is dedicated to residential. In half of these cases, there are offices in addition to residential. Only in rare cases we are in presence of other functions, with functional mix independent on size. In terms of services, it is interesting to note that their presence is largely linked to the shares of 'quality standard', introduced by art. 6 of regional law 9/99.

In these projects, functions at the local scale, but also of the city, characterize the new urban settlement through contamination with public functions attracting different types of users in addition to residents. The project is also

a destination for temporary inhabitants, putting it in a fertile relationship with the context.

To what extent, then, the new programs are an opportunity for the city? In addition to issues of greater social impact, stronger attention to the context can, in future, qualify these interventions, precisely because of their importance to the city. Possible improvement refers to the use of ground floors, the relationship among uses, the location in the city, upgrading the relations among great plans of transformation.

## Many houses, little impact

Chiara Merlini

An account of the recent implementation of integrated action plans for Milan must necessarily consider spatial organisation. Two of the many issues involved are examined.

### *Indifference and reticence*

One initial consideration concerns the relationships existing between these new projects and the city.

The impression here is that the new projects often fail to achieve any effective urban value which might help to redefine broad areas of the city and more generally contribute to general thinking on living spaces.

A number of factors combine to produce this result.

Firstly the projects are isolated and separated from their surroundings. The risk is that opportunities to redesign the city are reduced to two projects set alongside each other. On the one hand there is a building project governed by the internal rules of the lot and on the other a project for outdoor public space, again following its own internal criteria rather than seeking a dialogue with the context.

What emerges in the new projects is an environment of separation which is also accentuated by the scale of the project, with a clear separation between condominium gardens and public parks. This separation is problematic above all because of the often reductive ways in which this contact between the inside and the outside is treated.

Secondly, this sort of 'reduction of scale' is conditioned by the limited use of different planning principles and types of space. On the one hand design composition criteria that are internal to the lot predominate and the principles on which the layout of buildings, their orientation and relations with the street and so forth are weakened. On the other hand the variety of types of space is reduced and considerations of the relationships between building type and density are simplified to create 'banalisation'.

Finally, another two elements contribute to the reduction of strategic intervention to mere exercises in removing and adding buildings. Firstly there is the practice of considering areas as empty spaces, thereby erasing that symbolic stratification that might help to define a new urbanity. Secondly, there is the reproduction of settlement principles and models which it is assumed will meet with popular acceptance and easily overcome hurdles in the approval process.

### *Separation and hardening*

A second issue considered concerns the treatment of outdoor spaces created by the new projects.

It must be stated here that condominium environments are often the result of technical decisions which fail to become real components of the design, except as im-

plementations of solutions that are acceptable from a functional and regulatory viewpoint. The extent to which they are conditioned by underground installations, for example, is extremely great, with very significant impacts on liveability. On the one hand this is because an idea of living predominates where functional factors are favoured at the expense of comfort. On the other hand it is because it has an effect on the role played by green areas in condominiums which tends to assume a purely decorative value.

More generally, a common illusion prevails that facilities are a means to improve quality. The design of parks has become an assemblage of furnishing objects, with clearly designed and predetermined uses. Assumed as valuable per se and with the forms and quantities decided in advance, the presence of facilities becomes an alternative to a more complex search for liveable conditions which need to be specified for each individual case.

### *Convenience and habit*

One can therefore see that a risk exists of a tendency arising to make what is apparently the most convenient decision in matters that are very important for the city. The most convenient, because it is the result of tried and tested solutions, which do not run into problems at the approval stage and which result from the suspension of research. It must be said in this respect that what remains in doubt in the gap that lies between the technical production of a space and a design based totally on the supply of facilities and the demands of beautification is in fact quality itself, interpreted as the line of contact between the physical nature of things and how they are used.

Perhaps what we can see in these examples is the deformation of old principles and the emergence of new habits, which tend to oversimplify our history as much as they do our present. If that is how things stand, then perhaps it can be claimed that what Milan lacks is not new housing, but a different culture of living with a greater propensity to experiment.

## The economic feasibility issue

*Luca Gaeta*

The Strategic document calls for a report on economic and financial feasibility of the integrated action plans. As a result of this rule a new kind of document entered the municipal archives along with drawings, agreements, and so on.

The review of the business plans attached to the project proposals reveals the strengthening of an innovative planning practice, at least for Milan. On the one hand, the economic feasibility becomes an input in the evaluation process managed the local government; on the other hand developers are requested to disclose figures traditionally covered by secret. The review requires caution, because the business plans annexed to development proposals are not updated during the approval process to take account of the changes occurred. However, they reflect both intentions and expectations of developers at the initial stage of development.

We have made a cross-reading based on a set of common information in order to highlight consistencies and inconsistencies. The items considered are the cost of land and development rights, the cost of demolition and remediation, development charges, the construction costs, technical costs, financial costs, gross revenues and profits. What emerges from the analysis is a prudential outline of the economic parameters applied in property development during the first wave of integrated action plans.

It is interesting to ask how and in what proportions revenues are shares by landlords, developers and the community represented by the local government. Even at the cost of some simplification it seems reasonable to assume that the benefit of landlords is represented by the land price, the developer's benefit is the gross profit, and the direct economic benefit of the local community is the sum of development charges.

By grouping these figures for each program, except in cases where land values are not reported, it is noted that the landlord gets the largest share of benefits in eleven cases. In six cases the prevailing share of benefits gets to developers. The benefit of the local community is always the lowest, ranging from 4% to 13% as related to total estimated revenues.

Simulating the distribution of costs and benefits, as we have done, can lead one to believe that the disclosing of business plans might be intended to capture development values. That is not correct. The business plans were not actually used as terms of reference in the approval process. Value capture was not the policy of the municipal government. From this point of view, the rhetoric on negotiation that surrounded the planning practice in Milan should be debunked. At least in the early years the major goal pursued through the integrated plans has been the delivering of developments frozen by outdated

land use regulation.

The practice of negotiating was applied to projects with the aim to adapt the allocation of facilities and services to the needs of the population. On the one hand the practice of negotiating has replaced the postponed increase of development charges by the city council. It has also mitigated the chronic lack of public land in the inner city. Value capture was not the premise, but the consequence. However, we should not forget what other public benefits are related to the redevelopment of land abandoned and polluted. Perhaps the smaller integrated plans have done more in this regard than the larger. It makes no sense to regret the local government failure to achieve outcomes that were not intended. Instead it makes sense to address recommendations to future governments, more willing to enforce planning obligations. To be a practical tool for negotiation, business plans shall include all the information required. The statistical comparison of data reported, by homogeneous groups of integrated plans, can help to identify uneven deviations from other plans, and also from figures reported by research institutes of the property sector. Disparities in treatment when negotiating may affect both the individual and the community. The best way to prevent them is the use of sound comparative tools.

## Housing developments and standards of public action

*Massimo Bricocoli, Paola Savoldi*

Whether standards play a role as catalysts for change in the sake of the common good this is very much depending on the quality of governance and society. In a phase of re-urbanization and of so called 'urban renaissance', the physical and symbolic features of the new open spaces being produced in Milan under the pressure of the real estate market are expressing new conditions and forms of social and spatial re-organization. This contribution presents and discuss some of the outcomes of a recent research project which was commissioned by the Puca, a research agency of the french Ministry for ecology, sustainable development and planning and which recalls several of the issues developed by the research presented in this issue. A first statement we made, consisted in choosing to explore and analyze urban policies and projects through the space they produce. Secondly we intended to stress the interest of considering space as a concretion of public action (Bricocoli, Savoldi 2010) and we have assumed a definition of public action in the sense of the combined result of joined (and disjoined) actions and practices developed by public and private actors.

Beside the recurrent reference to urbanity and to the need of avoiding the shortcomings of mono-functional housing areas (which is often assumed as an accusation against social housing estates) our exploration reveals that many of the features which are supposed to be urban qualities in the consideration of the inhabitants have turned into negative externalities of the city. While the central city of Milano is still providing services and chances that are considered relevant, many inhabitants relocated in the new developments with the express will of avoiding traffic, disorder, undesired social practices, confusion, nuisance. These expectations find full correspondence in the treatment of the open spaces that is provided by the design and management of spatial transformation in the new housing areas: the possibility of a coexistence of a multiplicity of different uses and populations is definitely considered a risk, not a valuable opportunity. While on the one hand the political and academic debate is still strongly focusing on the quantities of spaces being produced as quantities of standards, on the other hand, field research reveals that more and more, the design and of urban transformation is using open space to organize separation. It is the physical separation made of barriers and fences, as well as the separation which is being produced by public green areas that beyond an easy rhetoric which is depicting them as 'permeable and connecting surfaces' are surfaces in the urban fabric which are expected to remain void, without any sort of social practice beyond the most simple gestures. Literally, little space is left to incrementally accommodate subsequent uses: the design of urban space is

strictly following the functional and economical rationales of each single part of the development. In the sake of a real estate market which is relying on separation and functional simplification as ways to reduce risks and unexpected complications, what emerges is an opposition between public spaces which mainly consist of open green areas and private development which occurs to be built and fenced, no physical or symbolical mediation develops between the two.

The range and variety of spaces, and specifically of open spaces, is drastically reduced. Moreover, standards which are being introduced in the sake of the common good and of overall urban qualities, are often attached to the interest of specific private developments. It is the case, for example, of green areas, which frequently act as buffers more than as public spaces used by a variety of people. Our interpretation is that the spatial character of urban change in Milan is endangering some fundamentals which made the european city renown as a place of emancipation and democracy. Concepts and meanings of standards used in planning urban transformation definitely require to be pragmatically discussed in the face of the use being made of them.

## Common places and the technical culture

*Luigi Mazza*

The integrated action plans are usually presented as ambitious projects, aimed at ensuring quality of results. It may come as a surprise then that they show little concern about protecting heritage. On closer inspection it is a surprise unjustified. In Milan there is no real public policy to guide the way to work with contexts, historical and not historical. Of course in Milan, as elsewhere, there is a trend in defense monuments and valuable environmental contexts, but the way such trend is implemented varies widely from case to case, both in the intentions and effects. The problem is not only felt in Milan. It is a national and international problem that ranges from strong resistance to change, usually applied in very consolidated environmental or historical contexts, to extreme freedom and variety of solutions in other contexts. A second point worth considering is the functional mix, among the most boring words of the technical culture. The technical culture seems unaware that the mix of functions can not be imposed by law.

The market and social dynamics determine if and when it is required. The mix depends, for example, on the demand for workplaces and on the opportunity to locate them where it would be useful. It also depends on retail supply chain solutions, a system that does not seem to include functional mix among its goals. Many of those who complain about the lack of the mix in practice would not be willing to pay its price in terms of various forms of pollution, excessive density, traffic, and so on.

Thirdly, there has been in Milan some recovery of the rental housing market, but there is no doubt that homeownership will prevail in new developments. The reasons are well known. In a national market where homeownership is prevalent, to blame the absence of a rental market may be trivial. The results expected from rental housing, for example to ease access to housing for young people, can be achieved by facilitating the sale procedures, i.e. reducing transaction costs, or adopting credit policies tailored to specific social groups. We must not invent anything special, but looking at long established experiences abroad.

The three issues (relationship with legacy, mix, rental housing) are very different, but it is not difficult to grasp their interdependencies.

Their treatment depends on the availability of clear political and cultural orientations. In my opinion much work remains to be done to improve technical cultures that advice the public debate and influence the political choice.

## Learning from experience the Pii in Milan

*Alessandro Balducci*

The operation launched in 2000 with the Strategic document for planning policies stated the need to define policy objectives without freezing them in seemingly unchangeable legal provisions, to adopt transparent procedures for negotiating changes to the current Masterplan (waiting to be updated), to set limits and rules for guiding the content of negotiations.

I think we can read in this attempt a confirmation of the pragmatic planning tradition of Milan, able to test in practice a new relationship between strategic and operational dimensions, given the undeniable obsolescence of the traditional planning process we have known up to the seventies of the last century. Nothing outrageous to the planning discipline in principle.

Now it seems that the first balance offered by the research presented here suggests some relevant remarks on the results of the experience.

A first remark is the fact that since the beginning there was a disjunction between the strategic objectives and the characters of the integrated action plans. Once the implementation started what appeared to be significant were on the one hand the exemptions to the existing Masterplan and, on the other, the land to building ratio allowed. The result was a weakened relationship between the strategies endorsed in the Document and the development proposals being negotiated. This was both an effect and limit of the poor political commitment on the one hand, also attesting on the other the inability of private developers to play a different role than the traditional one. More stringent mechanisms are required that make possible to translate strategies into selective choices. Otherwise strategies remain words that are contradicted by the facts.

A second remark is that the public administration lacked a clear set of specific spatial goals, enabling it to pursue a structured negotiating process. That could have been made by the so-called Plan of the public services, as someone has noted.

A third remark, in my opinion the most important, is that the whole approach was based on a paradigm shift for the administrative action. However, the full extent of the commitment required to make the planning unit able to cope with the new tasks was not completely understood. The management of complex negotiations implies the need to simultaneously assess economic, planning, environmental and transportation issues, and last but not least are the issues related to the social acceptability of new developments.

The experience of the integrated action Plans of Milan shows that there is nothing wrong in relaxing the rigid constraints of a Masterplan, to make it more strategic and flexible in character. It is no use pretending that formerly was better: it was not. To this change, howe-

ver, which is made inevitable by the speed of the urban change, three requisites must correspond. The first is a strengthened negotiating practice at the planning unit level, supported by clear governance arrangements to translate the objectives into selective spatial choices. The second are independent tools of enquiry of the needs and expectations of citizens. The third is a strong investment to further improve the skills of the technical staff.

## The landscape of the integrated action plans

*Giovanna Fossa*

The main feature of the urban landscape of ordinary integrated action plans is the transformation of derelict areas in mainly residential developments with public spaces and green areas. The design looks at the harmonious integration in the urban context, unlike the sharp redefinition of the urban skyline which is being caused by the strategic integrated plans.

The land-to-building ratio (0,65 sqm/sqm) is considerably lower than that of the context to make room for new parks, which occupy about half of the site. The main innovative feature is the connection with the surrounding area, both ecological and in terms of slow mobility. A less visible though important contribution is the environmental remediation of the soil.

The opportunity of urban regeneration in the last decade is also interpreted by the lofts, to say the reuse of industrial buildings for post-industrial and semi-residential functions. The loft landscape is characterized by strong historical memories, a higher building density and the unknown environmental status of the soil.

The loft is in Milan the main competitor of the integrated action plan as a planning tool. It can benefit from an almost double land-to-building ratio, not burdened by remediation costs, and from direct implementation. It has a creative and trendy image, even though not fit for full residential use.

The new urban masterplan addresses the problem at its roots by introducing the indifference of land uses (with the guarantee of the land remediation) and by increasing the integrated plan's land-to-building ratio up to 100%. Integrated plans and lofts, now released from the role of by-passing outdated zoning ordinances, are implementing the vision of the urban Masterplan. A proper use of such tools opens to undistorted interpretations of their potential for redevelopment of the built environment.

The vision of the urban masterplan is facing the challenge of integrating the strategic structure of the public city with the landscapes of transformation and regeneration. The preservation of traditional industrial landscapes is facing the spacing out of the built environment to make room for new parks. The contemporary interpretation of the home-workshop combination that characterizes the loft living is facing the centrality of common open spaces, a fruitful key to understand the landscape of the integrated action plans.



## Notes for the assessment of the new inhabited spaces

*Anna Moro*

The following pages report a brief description of four examples chosen among the whole set of projects: these are Zanella-Corsica, Grazioli 'co-operative village', Gulli, and lastly Vincenzo da Seregno.

The case-studies singled out help us focus on issues raised by these recent developments. The examples show four types of project, differing in their scale, their promoters and, most importantly, in the ways in which the 'inhabited space' is conceived. Indeed, the 'snapshots' are taken from this point of view. The aim is not to give a final assessment on these projects. The idea is, instead, to apply a range of categories in order to understand the performance of the spatial devices both inside the projects and in relation to the cityscapes they are set in. In so doing we also assess their livability.

The proposed profile provides essential common details: position in the city, the agents behind the project, and some dimensional data are also provided. A first scheme illustrates the layout of the functions with the aim of checking any positive relation between them. The following scheme provides the main features of the open spaces; a picture shows the ratios between buildings and open spaces in order to convey an impression of the site. The timeline sets out the key moments in the achievement of the project, while a short text alongside the images adds guidance in assessing the inhabited spaces. This is a technical assessment of the projects' main features which should be set against the inhabitants' own rating.

It would be interesting to monitor how and whether the new spaces are becoming familiar to the inhabitants and whether such practice of appropriation has engendered, either adding or erasing, meaning in places already rich in connotation. We must bear in mind that nearly all of these sites were initially industrial areas in a state of abandonment. Another aspect to be considered is how the 'population' has changed: the individuals that cross, use and name, in a word, inhabit, these new urban areas.