

VANCOUVER 76

HABITAT

CONFERENZA DELLE NAZIONI UNITE
SUGLI INSEDIAMENTI UMANI



ITALIA



**ITALIAN PARTICIPATION
AT THE HABITAT CONFERENCE**

**VANCOUVER
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The subject of human settlements, the theme of the United Nations' "Habitat" Conference, arouses problems of vast importance and dimensions. If there is to be any guarantee of reasonable, if not immediate, success in dealing with these problems, then we are to look to wide, constant, international collaboration. It is for this reason that our country is participating in and viewing the Conference with great interest.

The guidelines which will emerge from this exceptional occasion will certainly be essential as regards a correct ordering and conducting of regional urban policies, both at a national as well as at an international level. Given also the importance of its urban structures and historic evolution, Italy recognizes that the human settlement system is one of the corner-stones of the economic and social growth process of a nation. This aspect of development assumes special importance and significance in the case of countries which are on the point of economic take-off and which urgently require a harmonic evolution.

Our country, therefore, recognises the Vancouver Conference as a very important moment for discussion with regards general, basic problems dealt with by the United Nations. In presenting to the Conference a critical interpretation of its own problems and solutions experienced so far, on the basis of a consolidated, recognized tradition, Italy confirms its willingness to collaborate, in this sector too, both in a bilateral as well as in a multilateral form and within the framework of regional organizations.

Recent commitments of historic importance and wide political significance, such as the Lomé Convention, bear out the sincerity of these aims.

Italy is confident that the results of the work to be carried out and the comparisons to be developed at Vancouver will not remain an episodic, isolated event.

It is essential then, at the operational level, to guarantee a concrete follow-up to this Conference, by conferring an adequate increase in potential and activity on those United Nations' bodies and institutions which have already given proof of their value in perceiving and bringing into focus such a wide range of problems to be discussed here. For the best will and ability is needed to deal with urgent issues and specify those solutions which will constitute a further step towards peace and progress in the world.

MARIANO RUMOR

Minister for Foreign Affairs

The United Nations' Conference on human settlements draws the attention of public opinion, governments and world-wide culture today to the problem of the quality of life on the territory as an essential element of the civil and social growth process of the community of man.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to give a synthesis of the knowledge and experience acquired and concrete prospects which are emerging in our country on this subject.

In the last thirty years Italy has lived through a widespread and rapid process of growth. If on one hand this phenomenon has contributed to the social and civil development of the country, it has, on the other, accentuated the age-old, existing problems such as the diversity between north and south, and has created serious new imbalances such as the concentration of the population and use of resources in a few areas of Italy and the abandon of the rural zones.

In this phase of economic crisis today, Italy is living through the contradictions of that development; these contradictions are to be found in many other countries which have lived through similar growth processes, which may have been less rapid. There is, however, a positive side to this state of things which is offered as a constructive contribution to the Vancouver conference. First of all the firm will emerging in Italy, at all levels, to base production development on a more rational use of all national, physical and human resources to be directed, prevalently, towards the increase of social services.

Secondly there is the growth and consolidation of new experiences: a legislative policy for the territory based on increased power for public action; the commencement of a move to rescue existing building assets; the process of decentralization of decisions concerning the land pattern; lastly, the concrete, active participation of the community in town and land management.

We are convinced that the Conference on Human Settlements will create a moment of fundamental importance for exchanging ideas and experiences, and supplying concrete elements and indications to each country so that they may achieve that aim, which today takes priority and cannot be postponed, which consists in a development process for an improved quality of life within the framework of an even wider and more conscious civil and democratic participation.

ANTONINO GULLOTTI

Minister for Public Works

Italian participation at the Vancouver Conference aims at expressing all the complexity of the particular moment that our country is going through.

We are not arriving, therefore, with a simple evaluation of past experiments nor programmes for a distant hypothetical future: our participation focuses on the present, the difficulties of today, the political, social and demographic evolution of the country in the near future and the conflicts and phenomena it will bring.

We have analyzed our recent past with care, without overlooking its negative features, nor neglecting the objective conditions in which our development has taken place, nor underestimating the positive results obtained in each undertaking.

The image we have traced of it lies in the pages of this report; it is the image of a country which has undergone a weighty development process over the last thirty years, which has paid and continues to pay the price in human, material and environmental terms and which is now faced with the commitment of tomorrow. We are concerned and anxious, but not discouraged nor inert.

In Vancouver we shall meet countries which have somewhat greater freedom of movement in tracing their future and we shall also meet a larger number of countries which are still struggling with the elementary problems of their social and economic life. We shall bring to the Conference our experience which may be interesting and stimulating precisely because it was formed in conditions which will probably prevail in the years to come in many vast areas of the world.

It is our hope that, beyond the workings of the Conference, this comparison of requirements and proposals, on a subject of such vital importance as the settlement, will serve to widen the vision of everyone to the need to find not only solutions of local or national importance, but also rationalizations and harmonizations at a regional and finally world-wide level. We also hope that in the post-Vancouver era our country will be able to participate more and more actively and constructively in the debate on and intervention into problems of the Habitat which must be faced so that it may contain several more billion inhabitants on a planet which already feels the weight on the present ones, and ensure for them a condition of human dignity.

AURELIO PECCEI

Chairman of the Scientific Committee

ITALY AND THE PREPARATION FOR THE HABITAT CONFERENCE

1. The HABITAT Conference held this year in Vancouver can be considered as the arrival point of a long process of preparation which had its beginnings in the period immediately following the Conference on Human Environment held in Stockholm in 1972, and during which the idea for HABITAT was launched.

In the subsequent period, work has centered not only on thoroughly investigating the organizational details of the Conference and defining its agenda, but what is even more important, the scope of the initiative itself has been gradually modified and re-defined. This has taken place under the impulse of political, social and economic events of the greatest importance which have precisely in these last four years left profound marks on a great number of countries.

For this reason, the stream of preparatory meetings organized on various levels by several groups of countries and the U.N. in many different places from 1972 until the present day have to be carefully considered, for it is the fruit of these encounters combined with the work of the Conference itself during May and June that will enable us to gain a full understanding of the meaning of this entire process and its implications for the future.

This observation has particular importance for a number of countries where the recent evolution of their political, economic and social structures has been noteworthy. There is no doubt that Italy finds itself in this category.

2. The initial position of Italy in respect to the planning of the HABITAT Conference can clearly be seen in the ideas expressed before the first session of the Governing Council of UNEP (the United Nations Environmental Program) held in Geneva in June, 1973 (1). It is a position of substantial support for the initiative within the general framework of the U.N.'s capacity and competence, even if with some reservations regarding specific and necessary questions as to the source and extent of the resources needed for the venture. The espousal of such a position led to the confirmation of Italy as a candidate to the Preparatory Committee by the General Assembly in December 1973.

It was the Preparatory Committee above all which in its subsequent sessions offered the opportunity to gradually bring to focus the topics having the maximum interest for an international exchange of experience by organizing a number of discussions between representatives and expert specialists of various countries.

3. As far as Italy itself is concerned, it is not very difficult to ascertain that because of its urban culture, its overall development and its problems, this country constitutes a major point of reference not only in terms of its historic witness or its natural or art heritage, but perhaps even more so in terms of its topical interest.

(1) Italy sat in the UNEP Governing Council from 15 December 1972 to 31 December 1974.

Italian history is substantially the history of its cities. The structure of Italian society, both past and present, is deeply rooted in its man-made environment. The country's settlement network is rich in prestigious names: not only those of the large cities which in modern times have reached or regained metropolitan dimensions (Rome, Milan, Turin, Naples), but also many lesser cities such as Genoa, Bologna, Bari, Florence, Palermo, Venice and Perugia, and even the multitudes of towns and villages which compete with the larger cities on the level of the cultural, economic and strategic influence they have had through the centuries.

At the same time the events of modern Italy, and in particular, the profound transformation Italian society has undergone since the end of World War II have been examined very closely by the rest of the world. In this period of but a few decades, the development process has exerted a decisive and, unfortunately, mostly negative and perturbing influence on both the country's regional pattern and its already-existing urban framework.

More recently, world attention is centered on the process of evolution now taking place in Italian society. International public opinion is conscious of the fact that the recent outcome of polling the public will (such as in the 1974 referendum on divorce or in the 1975 local elections) is only an expression of the more general mutation now going on. There is no doubt that some of the interest which is now being aroused is due to the role played in this context by local government and by the influence exerted on public opinion by the experience gained in the successes or failures of the country's urban-management programmes.

Another central point of interest can be conversely found in the choices public opinion now opts for and their consequent effects on urban management itself, and, more in general, on the process of urban development. In the view of international public opinion, it is precisely due to Italy's considerable fragmentation and its political and ideological polarization, that perhaps more than any other, this country allows for an on-site inspection of the results of urban-planning methods growing out of diverse or even contrasting orientations.

4. It is for this reason that Italy's National Report to the HABITAT Conference traces a synthetic history of the evolution taking place in the decades following World War II. It does this by laying accent on the events which occurred, the policies which were adopted, and the prospects for the future which they now present.

Inside a considerably diversified framework, the Report identifies the direction now being taken in planning by the Italian Government, and at the same time, a series of monographic studies are enclosed which were written by some of the country's most important scholars and experts in the field. The aim in integrating the Report with these studies is first of all to bring light on those specific aspects of the Ita-

lian habitat situation which most merit the attention of an international body like that of the Conference.

However, this is not all, for another reason in including these works is to present a real — and not stereotyped — picture of Italy's habitat. And this can happen only if there is a plurality of views representing in some way the complexity of the current situation and its many contradictory aspects.

5. In drawing up a balance-sheet of the work carried out so far by the Preparatory Committee, it is possible to distinguish the role played by Italian participation in the proceedings in the sense of the contributions it has made in giving direction to the major themes to be taken up by the Conference concerning those issues which, from the point of view of Italy, are of prime interest. In fact, if one makes a comparison between the definitive version of the paradigm of topics to be discussed at HABITAT (see A/CONF70/PC/L.7) and the subjects dealt with in Italy's National Report and the accompanying monographs, a clear picture would emerge of their high level of convergence.

— Within the context of **Settlement Policies and Strategies**, the two major Italian reference points are the experience gained through national economic planning (beginning in the mid 1950's) and the multi-decade policy worked out for developing the country's Southern Regions (2).

— In the field of **Settlement Planning**, it would be a wise idea to take a look at the country's recent and considerable development of municipal master plans and subdivision plans, all of which can be characterized by their innovative criteria as compared with those used in the 1950's and 1960's (3).

In this context, a possible new role for urban design is also to be considered (4), as well as the new tendencies towards safeguarding and correctly utilizing — and not only from the cultural point of view, but also economically — a delicate and, in fact, doubly-precious heritage: the Historic Central Cities and the landscape (5).

— A description of the problems connected with **Institutions and Management** allows us to exploit to the fullest Italy's recent experience with a new form of decentralized government: the "Region". What this in fact entails is an effort to transfer administrative jurisdiction concerning especially the problems of urban and regional planning, and the habitat itself, away from being the responsibility of the traditional central seat of government to the recently-formed Regional Governments (6).

— The scarcity of available **Shelter, Infrastructure and Services** certainly amounts to one of the most complex and most discussed problems in Italy today. As far as planning is concerned, it is, above all, important to be aware of the recent radical change in course taken in the role played either by public authorities, by public companies, or by the consumers, and in the consequent effects this has had on the in-

(2) See the monographic studies, « The Habitat Problem as seen through the Experience of Economic Planning »; « Governmental Intervention in the South of Italy »; « Regional Indicators ».

(3) See « New Trends in Urban Planning ».

(4) See « The Role of Design ».

(5) See « Conservation of Historic City Centers and Urban Planning »; « The Effects of the Tourist Settlement on Environmental and Physical Patterns ».

(6) See « The Regions and their Power in Territorial Matters ».

(7) See « Public Action in the Housing Sector ».

(8) See « The Laws Governing Land Use ».

(9) See « Socio-economic Transformations and Settlement Modifications »; « Power and Participation in Cities ».

(10) See « The Cultural Institutions and Habitat Policies ».

(11) See « The Future of Urban Planning ».

tegral utilization of building stock, employment of manpower, and the national economic structure in general (7).

— The same could be said of the question regarding **Land Tenure**. Current legislation in Italy, which leans towards eliminating the intolerable weight carried by real-estate speculation, has to be compared in a critical manner with similar legal measures adopted at the same time by other countries (mainly, but not only, in Europe), even if it is true that such foreign legislation is based on different historical and ideological grounds (8).

— Last but not least, the gradual development of **Public Participation** in Italy seems to take on a special significance both in its spontaneous aspects (popular demands for housing and public-service facilities) and in its institutional ones (the recently-passed law governing the direct election of the Neighbourhood and Zone Councils) (9). Extremely related to this is the role played by the country's cultural associations and institutes which in Italy have taken on an importance rarely surpassed in other countries (10).

6. It is easy to foresee that the debate which is to take place at the Vancouver Conference will certainly ask those participating in Italy's delegation to share their knowledge and ideas especially on this sort of experience and on these problems. It is just as predictable that the Conference will not expect of Italy (nor, for that matter, of any other country) the presentation of prefabricated solutions or mere formulas tied to this or that proved success, but instead will expect a rigorous analysis of situations and problems still largely unresolved, but at least correctly posed (11).

In fact the direction progressively taken while preparing for the Conference has actually moved away from the initial thinking on the matter which, perhaps with an excessive dose of optimism, was based on the presumed availability of a conspicuous amount of projects which had been positively experimented with and which would thus have general applicability. The conceptual position based on the assumption of common goals for all of humanity, common means by which they could be reached, and on so-called universal criteria and standards has, from Stockholm on, gradually lost its credibility. Faith in technocratic planning methods applied on a large-scale basis has declined considerably. Even the Demonstration Projects themselves have by degrees taken on vague and ambiguous connotative features in that they have become the potential vehicles of an ideology of export and imitation, "aimed at enabling the developing countries to 'catch up' with the developed ones by means of adopting a 'modern' method of urban planning" (the Dubrovnik session held in 1975).

Indeed, the fundamental problems are not so much those dealing with technological backwardness or the lack of expertise or know-how, which in fact can be surmount-

ted by a broader exchange of experiences, but instead those having to do with political and economic disparities, not only between nations but even within a single country; with the misappropriation of resources by certain population groups to the detriment of others; with the waste of space and riches, not seen as an occasional practical error, but as the means by which to systematically maintain discrimination and dominance on the national and international levels.

(12) A/CONF.70/WG/13
and A/CONF.70/WG/CRP2

The emergence of this recognition can be clearly seen in the level of the contributions made by technical experts during the preparatory sessions (12). It is to be expected that this trend will be confirmed even more so within the general political context of the Conference.

The probability of universal consensus will perhaps be less than that of other previous large conferences organized by the United Nations. But, this in no way means that the exchange of views and information at Vancouver will be all the less useful. In fact, it is probably the opposite which will show itself to be true.

GABRIELE SCIMEMI

Italian Delegate to the
Preparatory Committee for the
Habitat Conference.

COORDINATION AND ORGANIZATION

Italy's effective preparation for the Habitat Conference began in September 1975, immediately after the Italian Government's official decision to take part in the Conference.

The time at our disposal, therefore, has been very limited and if on one hand a fairly intense rhythm was impressed on our work, we have, on the other, sought to reach both the high level and the amplitude demanded by the subject.

Nevertheless we may say that this is an extremely topical subject in Italy at all levels: political, administrative, popular, technical and cultural.

In very recent times politicians have been preoccupied with settlements, and ensuing national and regional legislative provisions have been aimed at stimulating the development of the settlements, in an active sense, and prohibiting or reducing the distortions which so far have generally gone hand in hand with their growth.

We must also call to mind not only the political and administrative measures but also the popular, decentralizing work which poses the problems and importance of participation in clear terms. Lastly, we must mention the cultural activity of the National Institute for Urban Planning, Italia Nostra, the Universities and so on who have given rise to debate on the subject, advanced proposals and pointed out disfunctions.

It is under this cultural aspect that we must recall that precisely during the initial phase of preparation work for the Vancouver Conference, in December 1973 IN/ARCH promoted a Congress entitled « Human Settlements and Technological Innovations in the next thirty years » under the patronage of the Ministries for Foreign Affairs and Public Works.

As the 25th Anniversary of U.N.O.'s Universal Declaration of Human Rights occurred in the same month, it was considered appropriate to link the theme of the Congress to art. 25-1 of the Declaration which refers to the quality of life, housing and social services, and a document was produced on the Improving of human rights vis-à-vis settlements and the territory.

In structuring Habitat, the Declaration of Principles, which is almost a « charter » for Vancouver, took a leading role. The comparison of these two declarations, their contents and philosophy is obvious in the Document which was presented at a session of the Preparatory Committee.

In the 1973 Congress the subjects treated were more specific than those which appear among the Habitat ones; they included the methodological approach to social-economic, legislative and technological problems, prospects for research and experiment and so on.

Ever since that period the Institute for Architecture carried out intense work providing information and applying pressure so that Italy, already represented in the Con-

ference's Preparatory Committee, might participate actively in the Conference and also take the relative, correct, timely, political and administrative decisions to ensure her presence. Permission was granted in August 1975.

Upon receiving the task of organizing the work concerned in Italy's participation, IN/ARCH was invited by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to set up a Scientific Committee, with Amelio Peccel as president and consisting of various personalities from the world of culture, work and production, to help in the preparatory work. A work group, articulated on the structure and the aims of the Conference, was also formed. Thus work started with numerous meetings, participation at the Preparatory Committee's sittings and contacts at various levels.

The main undertaking of IN/ARCH was to give an organizational basis to the Italian participation in its various components: the preparations, through active consultation with the Scientific Committee and Prof. Scimemi's coordinating work with his initial drafts of the Report; the promotion and preparation of decentralized, initial meetings, the preliminary work and realization of the audio-visual material together with the Italian Radio and Television as specified consultants; the continual advertising of the undertaking and the stimulus to galvanize into action the various forces taking part. All this was carried out as well as the normal organizational coordinating work.

Just as the work started the Ministry for Foreign Affairs set up an Interministerial control committee with the Minister, Pasquale Ricciulli as chairman, to follow the development of the work. A special role was assigned to the Ministry for Public Works which, having consulted the public administrations, drew up the final draft of the national report.

A large group of scholars and experts produced a large number of monographs on the main subjects of the Conference which concerned the situation in Italy.

The audio-visual material (three films and the relative summaries) was prepared with the technical and artistic participation of the Italian Radio and Television, for which the latter met the non-indifferent expense.

Various other public bodies and private associations, Government administrations and individuals interested in the subject supplied contributions, stimuli and suggestions.

We had hoped to draw much wider participation into the preparatory work, but the great shortage of time imposed insurmountable limits.

Operations of this kind should be started at least two years beforehand (in our case a year after the decision to hold the Conference) so that work can be really thought through, completed and above all inserted into a careful timing of events where there is a continual exchange of information and tranquillity over the material succession of operations.

In the studies on international co-operation TECNECO participated especially in initial phases à propos of programmes for the formation of technical cadres.

Lastly, throughout this activity the organization depended heavily on the continual advice of Prof. Scimemi, the Italian Delegate to the Conference's Preparatory Committee.

The audio-visual material, realized by the Italian Radio and Television and IN/ARCH, consists of three films which deal with three aspects of human settlements in Italy: — the problems concerning the relationship between the city-countryside and agriculture — industry in the framework of the structural transformations which have taken place in Italy in the last two decades, the phenomenon of internal migration and social modifications.

— the problem of housing and the large city from the complementary point of view of settlement development and requalification of urban fringes on one hand, and restoration and conservation of the historical centres on the other.

— the problem of housing from the complementary viewpoint of new settlements in the territory and rescue of minor historical centres.

Considering the importance of the Habitat Forum (the parallel activity by non-Government bodies) and its connection with the Conference, there has been wide dissemination of information, both collected and received, about the Forum itself within similar Italian organizations; there was also an attempt to promote the formation of a special Italian Committee, but for various reasons, this did not succeed.

These notes are being written a little under a month before the Vancouver meeting. Preparatory work is all but completed; there is an intervening pause for meditation before facing the debate, and the national declaration which Italy will « present » at the Conference is being drawn up.

This is the moment to reflect on the enormous amount of work carried out in nearly 150 countries by collateral organizations, participants in the most various ways at the Forum, the mass of studies, interest and expectations set into motion by this machine which got under weigh three years ago.

How, in the two weeks' work will all this human, written and projected material be able to express itself, be assimilated, condensed and coordinated; furthermore how will it lead to documents in which all those who actively participate can recognize themselves fully, if not at least discover a contribution?

By intervening officially at a moment when the articulations of the Conference had already assumed an outline, Italy has intended, and also wished, its studies to be incorporated in the structure of Habitat, as results from the scheme inserted in this publication. This scheme represents an interpretation and completion of the initial scheme proposed by the Secretariat.

From the articulation of the debate and the meetings, immediately prior to the beginning of the Conference, should emerge a guide and method which will carry the proceedings through with self-discipline and a knowledge and willingness to listen as well as intervene. There should also be a moment for linking and yet maintaining

the independence of the Forum so that we reach formulations which are sufficiently clear but open to ulterior developments.

This is the serious task which confronts the participants and lies with the Secretariat led by Enrique Penalosa, who has shown his great ability in setting in motion the preparation work, and to whom go gratitude and recognition for the work he has achieved.

The post-Vancouver era has already begun and it should be the real aim of the Conference to disseminate, mature and apply the indications which emerge from it, through international and national action and the articulation of organisms which will preside over the subject of settlements.

What is needed is the ordering and up-to-date management of the subjects which concern us.

This last step, over and above the moments of intensity, enthusiasm and confluence of interest in isolated events, should constitute the decisive move forward to an improved human settlement pattern.

LUCIO PASSARELLI

General Coordinator IN/ARCH

SUMMARY

National Report

Audiovisual presentations

Studies and contributions

Monographs

The following list indicates the name of those who drew up documents for the Italian contribution to the Habitat Conference (contained in this volume) and collaborators.

MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MINISTRY FOR PUBLIC WORKS

MINISTRY FOR THE BUDGET AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMMING
MINISTRY FOR AGRICULTURE AND FORESTS
MINISTRY FOR CULTURAL ASSETS

INTERMINISTERIAL CONTROL COMMITTEE

Italian Delegate to the Preparatory Committee: Gabriele Scimemi

IN/ARCH General Coordinator: Lucio Passarelli

Scientific Committee: Aurelio Peccei, Chairman; Susanna Agnelli; Paolo Barile; Giorgio Benvenuto; Mario Bixio; Sergio Bonamico; Vincenzo Cabianca; Pietro Catalano; Marino Colombini; Francesco Compagna; Ferruccio De Micheli; Baldo De Rossi; Marco Dezzi Bardeschi; Umberto Eco; Peter L. Fano; Enrico Fattinanzi; Nora Federici; Luigi Felici; Beniamino Finocchiaro; Franco Fiorelli; Sergio Lenci; Eleonora Masini; Aldo Maria Mazio; Fabio Misuraca; Carlo Odorisio; Lucio Passarelli; Giorgio Pellegrini; Luigi Petrangeli Papini; Ludovico Quaroni; Nello Renacco; Francesco Ricci; Sara Rossi; Bernardo Rossi Doria; Fabrizio Rossi-Longhi; Gabriele Scimemi; Alfredo Solustri; Roberto Vacca; Umberto Vescovi; Vittoriano Viganò; Bruno Zevi.

For the three following films: RAI-TV, Italian radio and television: coordination by Giulio Macchi;
for IN/ARCH Costantino Dardi

Urbanization and country - side

edited by Vittorio Marchetti - directed by Gianni Gennaro - text: Lucio Villari - montage; Sandro Cavaterra

Housing in metropolitan areas and Housing in towns and villages

edited by Costantino Dardi and Giulio Macchi - directed by Filippo De Luigi - text: Costantino Dardi - montage: Alberto Bonotti - with the collaboration of Claudia Aloisi

Use was made of excerpts from the series of documentary films entitled «Italy from sky», by courtesy of Esso Co.

For the International Cooperation and Declaration of Principles on Human Settlements: Sergio Lenzi; initial studies and proposals for International Cooperation, TECNECO.

For the coordination of the work group and monographs, Aldo E. Ponis

For the Habitat-Forum liaison and preliminary meetings, Mauro Salvemini

Secretariat: Nicola de Risi, Mireille Leonori

For preliminary meetings in various cities:

Bari: Marcello Petrignani, Arturo Cucciolla - Bologna: Enzo Zacchiroli, Silvio Cassarà - Milan: Vittoriano Viganò, Paolo Farina and Alberto Grimoldi - Naples: Camillo Gubitosi, Alberto Izzo, Francesco Forte and Attilio Belli - Rome: Elio Piroddi, Gaetano Miarelli and Enzo Russo

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NATIONAL REPORT
EDITED BY THE MINISTRY FOR PUBLIC WORKS

**The Ministries for the Budget and Economic
Programming, for Agriculture and Forests and
for Cultural Affairs have also taken
part in the drafting of the present report.**

**With the cooperation of IN/ARCH
(National Institute of Architecture).**

The interministerial work group set up at the Ministry for Public Works was presided over by Dr. Michele Martuscelli, Director General for Urban Planning, and coordinated by Arch. Piero Moroni.

REPORT ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS IN ITALY

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INTRODUCTION

UNIQUE ASPECTS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND HABITAT PROBLEMS IN ITALY

1. All industrialized countries demonstrate similarities in the course of the process of transformation of their settlement systems. The stages of development including the transition from agricultural to industrial activities, urbanization, the expansion of transport systems and mass media have a variable impact on different particular national realities, depending upon their timing and particular characteristics. Today's habitat problems are thus the result of the accumulated and unsolved contradictions and conflicts from various previous stages, ultimately resulting in imbalances and the breakdown of the entire settlement system.

2. In reality, most of the severe problems related to regional imbalances in North-west Europe are due to the unique role played by industrial development as well as urbanization in the last century. These phenomena took place around the points of extraction of natural resources and along the axes of interchange created by the growth poles of the so-called « steel-civilization », that is: the Ruhr, Rhineland, Northern France and the Low Countries. The very same structural matrix may be identified in the settlements of the English « black countries », the metropolitan system in the Northeast of the United States and the Osakakobe conurbation.

The process of formation of some very large metropolises such as Paris, Berlin, and Moscow, characterized by « wasteland » effects within the context of the rest of the national territory, proceeds at different phases but following the same process. Such process results from three typical and recurring characteristics of urbanization in the nineteenth century: the concentration of management and administrative functions; the creation of an international commercial-financial apparatus; the massive and comparatively rapid migration from neighbouring agricultural areas. Only in a subsequent stage, does a process likely to be called « structural differentiation » take place in these large cities. This process is based on an industrialization which is freed from the location of usual sources of raw materials and energy supplies, and strongly differentiated in different national situations.

When considering emerging countries, the urbanization process has particular features corresponding to their political and economic history especially in the recent colonial and postcolonial stages. In general, however, industry is not the cause for the growth of a city, but it is a phenomenon setting in at a given moment of growth, causing the cities to face problems of transforming their structures.

In countries characterized by more recent urbanization, such as most African countries, where industrial development is completely lacking, the unlimited expansion of cities occurs for various reasons.

This urbanization suggests some aspects of the process of development of some nineteenth century European metropolises, based on abnormal growth of management and administrative functions. However, in the case of the capitals of these emerging countries, the reasons for urbanization are today associated with the discovery of new needs, the development of an exchange economy, a conviction that there is a political solution to subsistence problems. This urbanization is made possible by the mode of building production, that is the widening use of spontaneous construction which offers everyone a basic dwelling unit, even without financial resources and a developed building industry.

In places where the urbanization process has taken place gradually, such as in China, Egypt and India, industrialization took place within existing urban realities

which had developed as commercial and shipping strongholds of European colonialism. In such instances, the basic productive sectors mainly involved the manufacture and export of local products (textiles, raw materials, and agricultural produce from the colonies). Most of the subsequent distortions in the productive system within settlements (such as territorial and industrial concentration, scant diversification of production and so on) originate from these very same initial conditions.

3. The circumstances characterizing the urban crisis vary greatly, throughout the world in relation to the different socio-economic and environmental situations. In industrialized countries, they generally stem from excessive settlement concentration, traffic congestion, lack of public services and deterioration of natural environment. However, in developing countries, these factors are: the excessive diffusion of settlements due to the spreading of native housing types tied to a spontaneous construction process; the unprecedented growth rate; the impracticability of a policy of public utilities and services; the absence of administrative structures; and its resulting implications for the management and control of urbanization. However, in all countries there are factors which lie at the base of a certain dissatisfaction with housing conditions, both in urban and rural areas. These are: the waste of resources provoked by excessive urban concentration or dispersion; the gap between social needs and the ability to fulfill them and the lack of coordination between public and social service policies and productive activities.

The problems dealt with in this work range from the crisis of habitat in Italy to a multiplicity of experiences, policies (proposed and adopted), and new perspectives. With this in mind, the present report aims at offering broad interpretation which is hopefully useful for general consideration.

4. As far as Italy is concerned, the problems of habitat and of the settlement process show numerous analogies with those that apply in most industrialized countries.

On the other hand, however, we should also mention the peculiarities in this country that originated with urban development during the last decades. The Italian situation shows both notable qualitative differences from other national situations and the presence of certain common phenomena (such as environmental disruption and lack of public services) of an uncommon magnitude.

The peculiarities attached to the Italian case in the context of the worldwide urban crisis derive basically from two elements; first, the accelerated industrialization and consequent urbanization process occurred in a shorter time span than in any other industrialized country; second, a very frail physical urban system, characterized by the scant availability of usable physical space and natural resources, and also by a settlement structure of many small dispersed agglomerations retaining a significant socio-cultural value.

The impact provoked by the massive migration flows that occurred in the first twenty years after the end of the war upon the already existent physical-urban framework, has literally upset the territorial pattern of the country.

The result is an overall unbalanced habitat both in metropolitan areas and minor centers, as well as in agricultural settlements and in the areas of out-migration.

5. While Italy is one of the most industrialized countries in the world, we must keep in mind that this title has been acquired quite recently.

The achievements of other countries with more steady economic structure (e.g. France, England, Germany, USA, etc.) through a process that took a whole cen-

ture, from 1850 to 1950, have been made in our country in a much shorter time-span; less than 20 years, between the end of the Second World War and the early sixties. This is the so-called « miracolo italiano ».

In fact, the situation of Italian industry at the end of the war appeared very similar to the one in industrialized countries around the middle of the XIXth century: a good half of the population was still employed in agriculture and the industrial apparatus presented a high rate of concentration, with little diversification in production and scant availability of absorbing markets.

While France, England, Germany and the USA took off at the time of the great capitalistic expansion around the turn of the century, Italy accomplished the same stage during the feverish years of post-war reconstruction, through the massive introduction of new technologies and the opening to foreign markets. In about 20 years the rate of industrial employment rose from 27% (post-war figure) to 43% (that is to the levels attained by Germany, France, England) in the '70. At the same time labour force in agriculture fell from 48% to 19%, contemporarily with the phenomenon of massive migration from agricultural areas and minor centers towards large cities and northern areas enjoying a widespread industrialization.

Recent studies indicate that the range of migration throughout this period reached 15 million inhabitants, more than a quarter of the total population of the country.

6. The important and rapidly-occurring phenomena mentioned above were taking place in an extremely fragile territorial setting.

At the end of the war, the settlement pattern in Italy was still characterized by a weak urban network based on a very limited number of cities (22) exceeding the threshold of 100,000 inhabitants; altogether, they grouped less than 17% of the total population (during the seventies their number will rise to 40, and include almost 30% of the total population).

There was a myriad of settlements numbering a few thousand people each, which had very scanty urban services. Most often these were characterized by prominent historical, cultural and environmental values.

At the same time, the environmental picture was clearly marked by the scarcity of resources such as areas available for settlements - less than 45% of the total, with a consequent dwelling density of 400 inhabitants per sq/Km, even higher than in the Low Countries - and arable lands and water resources, far below the European average.

7. One could therefore expect the dramatic impact between the heavy migratory fluxes, accompanied by the rapid and massive redistribution of population in settlements and labor, and a territorial framework which was at the same time weak (given the low level of urban organization and the scarcity of natural resources) and delicate because of the pre-existing historical environment and its wide diversity in cultural backgrounds.

Less foreseeable were, on the other hand, the devastating effects — largely irreversible — which this kind of territorial blitz was to have on the country, such as the widening of historical imbalances between the North and the South and the appearance of new disequilibria between coastal and internal areas, and between the mountainous and hilly regions of the country.

Actually, during the last twenty years a new model of territorial arrangement has been taking shape.

(1) A very significant indicator of this phenomenon is represented by the evolution of metropolitan areas. Studies of the Office of Economic Programming have forecast that, given the present trends, 37% of the Italian population in 1980 and 45% in 2000 will occupy a land area equal to 4% of the total. We are already approaching the 1980 estimate.

Such model is very different from the pre-war one and could be defined the « model of concentration », in the sense that it tends to destroy existing urban and cultural patterns and to concentrate development within limited « strong » (1) areas. The prevailing feature of this model is the very poor relationship existing between territorial resources and their utilization.

Resources are exploited to the threshold of destruction in areas of concentration, and underutilized to the point of ultimate deterioration of the physical environment and of the socio-cultural structures in areas of outmigration.

8. The structural phenomena mentioned above (that is, industrialization - migration-urbanization) have taken place within the negative context of a **very weak and outdated institutional and administrative apparatus.**

Such apparatus was totally unprepared to face the problems posed by postwar growth especially in areas of concentrated development, or to deal with those powerful wide-ranging real estate speculation mechanisms, that were created by that very type of urban growth.

The history of land use control policies of these last decades is characterized by prolonged attempts at channeling and rationalizing this very chaotic process. On the one hand, the central and peripheral administrative apparatus have been given powers and more suitable instruments to cope with the enormous management problems created by the extent and rate of territorial change. On the other hand, attempts have been made to control and limit speculation in urban areas through specific legislative devices.

Moreover, the inversion of such model of concentration could only be brought about by facing the problem in its entirety, that is by bringing forward alternative policies aimed at decentralization and diffusion of development. This has been the aim of the special programs and policies for Southern Italy, the strategies of national economic planning and the various sectorial policies.

9. The reasons for the substantial failure of the attempts to invest and rationalize the uncontrolled process which led to the almost complete disfigurement of the country's settlement system may be easily traced back to the general negative outcome of planning policy. This was aggravated by the subordination of the political institutional framework to economic and market mechanisms and by the failure to bring about land use reform in order to affect real estate income. Furthermore, it appeared impossible to set up and carry out a balanced policy of decentralized development within a centralized power system. In this regard it may be added that only in the last few years has a deep change taken place in the system of territorial autonomy (through the establishment of Regions and intermunicipal « comprensori » and by organizing decentralized territorial units within the metropolitan areas and so on).

Such reform may be the best method for the proposal and development of the alternative model.

10. These very unique aspects of the Italian case within the global context of habitat problems may, upon close examination of their more unusual feature — that is by concentrating mainly on the differences rather than the analogies with other historical and national realities — possess a truly significant value for a general comparison of the problems of human settlements on a global scale. This is also true in relation to the solutions which have been attempted. A realistic analysis of the difficulties met and a fair estimation of the results obtained, could be decisive in the search for common perspectives and solutions.

CHAPTER ONE

EVOLUTION OF THE STRUCTURE AND CHANGES IN THE PHYSICAL AND URBAN FRAMEWORK

1. The Process of Industrialization

11. The industrialization process in our country has mainly taken place during the post-war period and within a rather limited period of time starting in the fifties. Such process has therefore deeply modified the population structure and also, as we shall see, the urban structure. An analysis of investment trends in the various sectors and the modifications recorded in employment by sector will help comprehend the phenomenon.

12. Indeed, the first postwar census, taken in 1951, already shows a marked distribution of investments (Table 1): In the North the ratio between investments in industrial and agricultural sectors (not counting building construction) is 6 to 1, while in Center Italy it is slightly more than 2 to 1, and lower in the South.

On the whole starting from the early postwar period about 30% of investments were centered in the industrial sectors (45% in the North) and only 11% in agriculture.

The granting of this privilege to the industrial sectors in the North is confirmed by investments in two other sectors. The first one is building investment: in 1951 about 55% of the total was absorbed by the North, denoting the effort put in the housing sector and the construction of manufacturing plants as well.

The second sector is transportation and communications: in 1951, about 60% of investments were in northern areas in order to reactivate and develop the infrastructural network in support of the productive apparatus. As of 1951, agriculture is clearly the productive sector enjoying the least investments.

Investments in agriculture not only are far behind industrial sectors, but also behind building investment (about 50%) and about the same as the level of investments in transport and communication.

TABLE 1 - Gross fixed investments (1951, 1961, 1971) by sector of investment and geographic region (billion of lire)

Geographic Region	Census year	Enterprises, by sector						Public Administration	Total	stock variations	TOTAL
		Agriculture Forest & Fishing	Industrial activities	transport & communications	commercial, credit insurance & gener. services	construction	Total				
Northern Italy	1951	104,8	642,2	134,9	153,8	279,2	1314,7	78,9	1393,6	179,4	1574,0
	1961	242,8	1442,7	285,0	492,4	904,8	3374,7	215,8	3590,5	351,8	3942,3
	1971	243,1	1400,5	415,4	695,1	1384,1	4138,1	260,8	4398,9	121,9	4520,8
Southern Italy	1951	49,1	212,7	37,5	53,1	118,0	379,4	49,5	428,9	48,0	476,9
	1961	89,2	265,9	107,5	163,6	315,5	841,7	138,6	1080,3	84,4	1164,7
	1971	104,8	366,5	229,7	235,0	338,1	1265,1	153,3	1418,4	29,4	1447,8
Southern Italy & Isles	1951	87,1	136,1	55,6	46,3	108,8	433,9	94,0	528,5	69,8	598,1
	1961	277,0	384,4	145,5	166,0	395,7	1368,6	145,6	1514,2	117,8	1632,0
	1971	273,1	1102,0	369,9	264,9	554,9	2564,8	277,9	2842,7	41,7	2884,4
	1951	241,0	900,0	228,0	253,0	506,0	2128,0	223,0	2351,0	297,0	2649,0
	1961	609,0	2100,0	538,0	822,0	1616,0	5685,0	500,0	6185,0	554,0	6739,0
	1971	621,0	2869,0	1006,0	1195,0	2277,0	2968,0	682,0	8660,0	193,0	8853,0

(Source: Istituto Centrale di Statistica - ISTAT)

During the period 1951-1961 the gap existing between industrial and agricultural investments tends to widen. In 1961 industries reach about 32%, while agriculture drops to 9% of total investments. Even more important, however, is the further concentration of investments in the North — over 70%, compared to 12,5% in Central Italy and 17,5 in the South.

During the period 1961-1971 industrial investments in the North remain almost static while they increase remarkably in the South. This corresponds to the period of industrialization effort in the South, characterized by capital intensive development. New investments in agriculture are on the whole practically irrelevant and, in fact, in the South of Italy they suffer a slight decrease.

The only sector which shows an impetuous thrust upward during the two decades is construction.

13. An analysis of employment trends in the various sectors (see Table No. 2) offers more significant evidence of the rapid industrialization and urbanization process in the country.

In 1951, out of a total of 19,6 million employees, agriculture accounts for 45% against 22% in industrial activity.

In the decade 51-61 the situation is modified: among over 20,4 million employees, agriculture absorbed 30% while the industrial sectors reached 28% and construction doubled.

Agriculture has lost about 2,6 million workers, 1,5 million of which from central and southern areas. But whereas northern and central Italy show an increase in absolute figures, employment in the South decreases by about 100,000.

Such trend does not show significant changes during the decade 61-71. Although industrial investments in the South have doubled (thus almost equalling those in the North), industrial workers in the South increase by only 80,000 against an increase in the North of as much as 350,000.

At the same time, without adequate agricultural investments the South loses 900,000 more workers in this sector. Of the 19,4 million workers in 1971, more than 50% are located in the North, and less than 30% in the South.

The distribution by sectors is even more significant: in the North, out of 9,7 million employees, 50% are in the industrial sectors, 30% in construction and only 12,5% in agriculture; in the South out of 6 million workers, 30% are still in agriculture, 25% in tertiary sectors and less than 20% in the industrial sectors.

Finally, the trend of decrease in the ratio of economically active population is quite significant. Its decline over time — which also relates to the particular social structure of our country — has been steady, and it is equal today to 34,7%.

The data by geographic region show, however, that since 1951 such ratio is exceptionally high in northern areas, compared to the rest of the country, and that the differences between the three areas have been increasing notwithstanding an overall decline. As of 1951, the active population in the North represented 45% of the total active population, against 32% of the population in the South; by 1961, the percentage increased to 49% in the North while in the South it dropped to 30,5%. Finally, in 1971 it increased to 51% in the North and again dropped to 30% in the South.

TABLE 2 - Employed, (Thousands) by sector and geographic region (1951, 1961, 1971)

SECTORS	1951				1961				1971			
	North	Center	South	Italy	North	Center	South	Italy	North	Center	South	Italy
Agriculture												
Industrial activities (manufacturing)	3272,0	1689,0	3679	3640	2278,0	1219,0	2710	6207	1215,4	595,5	1841,1	3652
Construction	2991,0	755,6	947,7	4694,3	3750,5	947,5	1015,8	5749,8	4101,0	1052,5	1134,7	6288,2
Public Administration	511,2	239,7	357,8	1108,7	813,0	368,8	714,4	1896,2	755,9	353,7	764,2	1873,8
TOTAL	470,1	288,9	378,7	1137,7	543,7	388,8	482,2	1414,7	724,1	468,2	621,4	1813,7
	9391,3	3810,6	6591,0	19692,0	10075,7	3988,7	6368,9	20430,4	9770,0	3708,0	5931,0	19409

(Source: ISTAT)

2. Urbanization

14. By December 31, 1975, in Italy there were 56 million inhabitants, almost double the population recorded at the time of unification (1861: 26,1 million inhabitants). The total extent of the Italian territory is 301,245 sq/Km and the density is rather high (186 sq/Km/inhabitant). Such density is theoretical, however, since only about 1/4 of the country is flat, while the remaining 3/4 are hilly and mountainous, and are therefore poorly suited for permanent settlements.

The population increment, according to the last three censuses (1951 - 1961 - 1971) is as follows:

	Resident Population in thousands	Rate of Increment of Inter-census Population
1951 Census	47,516	—
1961 Census	50,624	6.4%
1971 Census	54,136	6.7%

(2) For example during the decade 1961-71 there were more than 1 million emigrants, mostly to other European countries.

(3) It should be borne in mind, however, that this final rate of increase might be biased by a dynamic factor caused chiefly by migration flows within the country itself. In fact, the change of environment and above all temporary separations between husband and wife may have contributed to lowering the birth rate.

The low population increment is due to a high emigration rate (2) and to a low natural increment.

As far as the birth rate is concerned, in the postwar period it remained rather low, but since 1964 there has been a continual decrease until in 1974 the rate was 16%, among the lowest in European countries and in the world. On the other hand the death rate has remained constant at about 9.5% (3).

15. The analysis of the distribution of the population within the national territory is a much more difficult task. To accomplish it, all the aspects of the urbanization processes should be examined. They constitute — apart from the rate of population increment — a fundamental point with serious repercussions for the overall development of the country, giving vent to large urban concentrations and under-population of vast areas, thus causing extremely dangerous socio-economic and ecological conditions.

The population increment between 1951 and 1961 was by far greater in the North (1.5 million) than in the center (0.7 million - where Rome plays an important role) and the South (0.9 million). This last fact occurs despite the high birth rate in the South. (See Table No. 3).

A similar and more important phenomenon can be traced back to the decade 1961-1971, when the total birth increment of 3.5 million inhabitants, is thus divided into an increment of 2.3 million in the North, as against 0.9 million in central Italy and only 0.3 million in the South. These figures give the size of the migratory flows. Within the period 1951 and 1971, a total of 4.3 million people migrated away from the South. That is, almost one fourth of its original population.

The abandoning of the mountainous and hilly areas, as well as those in the countryside, is confirmed not only by the figures of the flux of the rural population (that during the period 1961-1971 lost almost 5 million people), but also by the modified distribution of the population living in the various altimetric belts.

The shift from inland to coastal areas is evidenced by the population increment in the municipalities along the coast (12.4% in the period 1951-1961 and 14.2% in the period 1961-1971). The hilly areas have witnessed a slight decrease, while the mountainous areas show considerable drops both in absolute and partial values. More than 47% of the Italian population lives today in the coastal belt cities. (See Table No. 4)

The urbanization tendency finds an overall confirmation in the statistics of the population size of Italian municipalities from 1951 through 1971.

Municipalities grouped by class of population	% of national population			municipalities %
	1951	1961	1971	
upto 5,000 inh.	26.4	24.3	21.4	75.6
from 5,001 to 20,000 inh.	32.4	28.7	26.2	19.7
from 20,001 to 50,000 inh.	13.2	13.6	15.2	3.3
from 50,001 to 100,000 inh.	7.6	8.7	8.0	0.8
from 100,001 to 500,000 inh.	8.1	10.2	13.7	0.5
beyond 500,000 inh.	12.3	14.5	15.5	0.1

TABLE 3 - Resident population and active population - percentage corresponding to the three geographic regions

Resident Population	1951				1961				1971			
	North	Center	South & Islands	Italy	North	Center	South & Islands	Italy	North	Center	South & Islands	Italy
	21,162	8,667	17,685	47,616	22,660	9,387	18,576	50,624	24,919	10,305	18,801	54,136
%	9,403	3,610	6,563	19,577	9,541	3,599	6,491	19,592	9,504	3,581	5,663	18,749
	44.4	41.7	37.1	41.2	42.1	38.3	34.7	38.7	38.1	34.8	30.1	34.7

TABLE 4 - Land mass and population in altimetric areas

Altimetric areas	1 9 6 1					1 9 7 1				
	Land mass (in hectares)	(%)	No. of mu- nicipalities	resident populat.	%	Average population	No. of mu- nicipalities	resident populat.	%	Average population
Mountain	10,603,995	35.20	2.601	8.135.449	16,07	3.127	2.602	7.754.818	14,32	2.980
Hill	12,547,561	41.65	3.332	20.086.072	39,67	6.028	3.347	20.882.061	38,57	6.230
Plains	6,974,631	23.15	2.102	22.402.048	44,26	10.657	2.107	25.499.668	47,11	12.102
TOTAL	30,126,187	100%	8.035	50.623.569	100%	6.300	8.058	54.136.547	100%	6.700

(Source: ISTAT)

In 1951 (see Table No. 5) there were 6955 Municipalities (out of a total of 7,804) having 10,000 inhabitants or less which accounted for 21.1 million out of a total of 47.1 million Italians.

This means that 45% of the population resided in small municipalities scattered throughout the territory. There were only 25 cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants. This accounted for a total population of 9.4 million people (only 20% of the total population).

By 1971 municipalities with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants had grown to 7,181 accounting for 19 of the 54 million Italians of that time, that is to say, 35% of the population.

Cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, represented 0.6% of Italian municipalities where almost 30% of the population resided.

The clearest evidence of the transformation process of urban structure is given by comparing the population increment in the various regions and their capital cities (see Table No. 6). For instance, the Piedmont Region has undergone an overall increment of 914,000 units; of these 854,000 are concentrated in the city of Turin; Lombardy's increase is 1.9 million, of which 1.4 million are centered in Milan; the increase in Latium reaches 1.3 million, almost all in Rome. The same phenomenon can be noted in the South.

The intensity of demographic concentration appears more evident when referred to the 32 major Italian « metropolitan areas » (4) in which the population, in 1971, amounted to 43% of the total population, distributed over 5.8% of the land area.

(4) Some grew up around the major cities (Milan, Turin, Rome, Naples), others have a polycentric structure (e.g., the Venetian belt, the Emilian belt and the mid-Arno Valley); others surround smaller Southern « poles » (Pescara, Bari, Taranto, Palermo).

TABLE 5 - Resident population according to demographic size of municipalities

	up to 500 inhab.	from 501 to 1000	from 1001 to 3000	from 3001 to 10000	total up to 10000	from 10001 to 20000	from 20001 to 30000	from 30001 to 50000	from 50001 to 100000	from 100001 to 250000	beyond 250000	TOTAL
1951 Municipal. Population	322 117962	848 642838	3060 5843123	2785 14576855	6955 21180778	501 8736773	128 3104463	82 3116557	53 3609997	14 1997118	11 7412569	7804 47138235
1961 Municipal. Population	491 174986	1017 765850	3090 5747016	2623 13583459	7221 20771321	488 6572969	137 3277844	95 3586274	62 4384940		32 12500221	8035 50623569
1971 Municipal. Population	648 216705	1156 864458	2952 5373732	2425 12558908	7181 19013803	497 6694483	145 3506337	123 4684647	63 4327152		47 15798789	8056 54025211

(Source: ISTAT)

TABLE 6 - Variation in resident population in Regions and provinces of Regional Capitals, 1951 - 1971

REGION	Resident population in Region				Resident population in province of Regional Capital					(bx100/a) % Variation Cap Variation Reg. 1951-1971
	Absolute value		Variation 1951-71		Capitals	Absolute val.		Variation 1951-71		
	1951	1971	absolute (a)	%		1951	1971	absolute (b)	%	
Piemonte	3518177	4432131	914136	25,98	Torino	1433001	2287016	854015	59,60	93,42
Valle d'Aosta	94140	109150	15010	15,94	—	—	—	—	—	—
Liguria	1566361	1853578	286417	18,29	Genova	928890	1087973	159083	17,12	55,50
Lombardia	6566154	8543387	1977233	30,11	Milano	1505153	3903685	1398532	92,91	70,73
Trentino Alto A.	728604	841886	113282	15,55	—	—	—	—	—	—
Veneto	3918059	4123411	205352	5,24	Venezia	700450	807251	66801	9,02	32,53
Friuli Venezia G.	1226121	1213532	-12589	-1,03	Trieste	297003	300304	3301	1,11	26,22
Emilia Romagna	3544340	3846765	302415	8,33	Bologna	763907	918844	154937	20,28	51,23
Marche	1364030	1359907	-4124	-0,30	Ancona	399143	416383	17468	4,38	423,57
Toscana	3158811	3473097	314286	9,95	Firenze	916310	1146367	230057	25,10	73,20
Umbria	803918	775783	-28135	-3,50	Perugia	581323	552936	-28387	-4,88	100,90
Lazio	3340798	4689482	1348684	40,37	Roma	2150670	3490377	1339707	6,30	99,33
Campania	4346264	5059348	713084	16,41	Napoli	2081119	2709929	628810	30,21	88,18
Abruzzi	1277207	1166624	-110513	-8,65	L'Aquila	365077	293066	-72011	-19,72	65,16
Molise	406823	319807	-87016	-21,39	Campobasso	—	—	—	—	—
Puglia	3220485	3582787	362302	11,25	Bari	1200547	1351288	150741	12,56	41,60
Basilicata	627586	603064	-24522	-3,91	Potenza	445188	408435	-36753	-8,26	149,87
Calabria	2044287	1988051	-56236	-2,75	Catanzaro	718465	718069	-396	-0,06	0,70
Sicilia	4486749	4680715	193966	4,32	Palermo	1021701	1124015	102314	10,00	52,75
Sardegna	1276023	1473800	197777	15,49	Cagliari	669248	802888	133640	19,97	67,57

(Source: ISTAT)

with a density of 1,375 inhabitants per sq/Km. In the years 1961-1971, the population increment in these areas reached 17%, as compared to a decrease of 0.12% in the remaining areas.

The following table shows the increments of four main Italian metropoli in comparison with their respective « metropolitan areas »:

Municipalities included in the metropol. area	sq/Km	Population (In thousands)						Increments 1951-71	
		1951		1961		1971		%	
		Mun.	Area	Mun.	Area	Mun.	Area	Mun.	Area
Milan 52	4360	1274	3740	1582	4631	1372	5677	35	52
Naples 151	2007	1011	2805	1183	3254	1227	3647	21	30
Rome 10	1770	1652	1769	2188	2337	2782	2982	70	66
Turin 34	730	719	923	1026	1308	1168	1674	64	81

The reverse side of the coin is depopulation in the country's remaining areas: between 1961 and 1971, 4,943 Italian municipalities, that is 60% of the total, almost all of which with a population of less than 20,000 inhabitants, have shown a decrease in population (53.4% in municipalities in the Northwest Regions; 51.4% in North-east Regions; 72.7 in Central Regions; 75% in the South; 59.9% on the two Islands). Absolute loss in population also effects the Northern and Central Regions (for instance, the entire region of Umbria).

In some areas the rate of decrease has reached nearly irreversible dimensions (an increase population beyond the age of reproduction).

The coexistence of a strong urbanization process and heavy migration, especially in southern Regions, determines two series of basic problems. In the migration areas, the scarcity of population in wide areas of the territory, provokes very serious economic damage and compromises the ecological and environmental equilibrium (under-utilization of the « permanent social heritage » represented by urban centers, the social infrastructure, etc.).

On the contrary, in areas of concentration the excessive « presence » of inhabitants in the urban areas creates considerable inconveniences affecting the conditions of life in large cities (shortage of low-cost housing, lack of public utilities and means of transport, high cost of living, pollution, etc.).

The inconveniences do not so much derive from the dimensions of the major Italian cities (dimensions which could appear fairly modest if compared to the ones in major world metropoli), but rather from the disorderly manner in which such dimensions have been reached.

3. The physical framework and its changes

16. The process described up until now has taken place within the framework of a land mass characterized by a very unfavorable morphology, a very high population density and a considerable lack of natural resources.

The physical and environmental conditions of the Italian land-mass truly create a number of difficult settlement problems for maintaining a stable existence for a high-density population.

Proof of this is the necessity, pointed out from time immemorial, to take specific and direct action in order to establish right from the start a correct relationship between land and water.

« Land reclamation » has left its imprint as a constant effort to clean the valleys and the plains, both great and small, of malaria and stagnant waters. At the same time, an effort was also made to insure stability to the river basins in the mountains and to make sure that the rushing waters followed their natural course in an orderly manner instead of coming down in dangerous torrents, as was usually the case.

An attempt was made to provide irrigation to land that was usually dried out and, in the same vein, make the vast hill-side formations useful both for agricultural and rural living purposes by means of ingenious hydraulic systems which regulate the flow of water.

It may be useful to review some of the country's geographical features in order to give a sketch of the settlement problem as it presently exists in Italy.

17. The surface area amounts to a total of 301,245 sq/Km. 23.1% of it is made up of plains areas, 41.7% hills, and 15.2% mountains (elevated areas above 6-700 meters).

As far as land use goes, the territory can be classified in the following categories: around 20,000 sq/Km (40% of the total) are made up of hills and plains under cultivation; another 30,000 sq/Km (or 10% of the total) are cultivable; 50,000 sq/Km of the hilly and mountainous areas (almost 17% of the total) are pasture and foraging lands; 60,000 sq/Km (20% of the total), mostly lying in mountainous or

hilly areas, are forests: 30,000 sq/Km (or 10% of the total) are non-cultivated and unusable land. Settlements and infrastructure make up another approximately 15,000 sq/Km.

The average inhabitant density is quite high: 186 inhabitants per sq/Km. Yet if we take the geography and elevation characteristics listed above into consideration, and if we compare the quantity of population to the area actually inhabitable that is fit for settlements and cultivation, we get a very high density reaching 400 inhabitants per sq/Km, as compared to 350 in the Netherlands, 320 in Great Britain, 280 in West Germany and 125 in France.

18. The physical features of the Italian peninsula are conditioned by particular lithological, geological and geomorphological characteristics. Italy, with its tortuous structure, has a long history of natural disasters due to the instability of its lands-mass.

In a recent survey carried out among the country's city administrations, it seems that 2/5 of the cities have been affected by natural disasters, over than 1/3 have suffered recent flood-damage; more than 1/3 have to face problems of poor road conditions due to nature.

19. As far as mineral resources are concerned, it must be noted that because of the particular structural features of the peninsula, mineral deposits are generally small in size and often have a low mineral content. Mineral deposits are found in about 30% of the territory, but since they are so widely scattered and the mineral contents are so poor, not even the use of the most advanced technologies could make exploitation competitive on the world market.

The main resources are coal, mercury and sulphur, all of which are now facing a crisis. To get an idea of this, it would be enough to mention that in 1900 Sicilian sulphur accounted for 80% of world production, while, at present, exploitation of this mineral is so unproductive that the EEC has asked Italy to close down this sector. As far as unemployment is concerned, the mining industry has shown the following trends since 1951: 13.2% up to 1955; 38.2% up to 1961; 70.5% up to 1972. It may be possible to keep some sectors functioning only if research operations, as well as the exploitation and mineral enrichment processes, are made more rational. The only other reason to keep them functioning would be the severe social and economic consequences if shut-downs occurred in Sicily, Sardinia and Tuscany.

20. As for water, the geological and geomorphological structure of the peninsula makes the distribution of water resources, both on the surface and under it, extremely varied (with the sole exception of the Po Valley where many and extensive water bearing strata are to be found).

But this area has seen a dissipation of water resources from the end of the war onward, with the consequence that the area now faces, all of a sudden, the not always natural disasters due to the changes in water levels between the Venetian lagoon and the strong geographical subsidence in the Ravenna area.

In Italy there are considerable imbalances in the territorial distribution of water resources. Heavy concentrations are found in the North and extreme deficiencies in the South (only 13% of total precipitations occur in Sicily, Sardinia and the smaller islands).

It would now be a good idea to look at the **present insufficiency of the water supply**, using the following optimal minimum and maximum amounts: 80 liters per day for each inhabitant (in the countryside) and 300 liters/day/inhab. in cities having more than 100,000 inhabitants. From this graph it can be seen that 41% of Italian municipalities suffer from water shortage, with the situation reaching alarming proportions in the South.

TYPE OF RESOURCES	Cubic meters per second	%
Springs	80.1	48.2
Surface Waters	15.2	9.1
Underground waters	71.1	42.7
TOTAL	166.4	100.0%

Water Insufficiency per Region

Regions	No. of Municipalities	Municipalities with insufficient water supply	
		Number	%
Northern Italy	4,200	1,111	31
Central Italy	1,639	653	40
Southern Italy	1,468	878	60 (*)
Sicily	380	323	85
Sardinia	351	133	38
	8,038	3,298	41

(*) In Apulia it reaches 87% and in Basilicata 76%

As for the incorrect utilization of this resource, we must consider for example the indiscriminate use of ground water by industrial plants, whose annual consumption is about 5 billion cubic meters, amounting to more than 30% of the existing ground water. This is a very alarming statistic and unfortunately not the only one of its kind.

4. Imbalances in land use and the crisis of settlements

21. Accelerated urbanization and industrialization caused a series of economic, social and territorial imbalances during the years 1950 - 1970, which constitute the framework within which our country is presently forced to make new choices. This situation has been aggravated by the serious imbalances which have historically existed between the South and the rest of Italy.

In 1951 the population in the South was more than 37% of the total Italian population, a percentage which, based on available data, does not differ from that of previous decades.

Population increase in the years after that can be seen in the following table:

Geographic Regions	1951 Population (thousands)	%	1961 Population (thousands)	%	1971 Population (thousands)	%
NORTHERN ITALY (Piedmont, Val d'Aosta, Liguria, Lombardy, Trentino Alto Adige, Friuli, Venezia Giulia, Emilia Romagna)	21.161	44.5	22.660	44.7	24.919	46.1
CENTRAL ITALY (Tuscany, Marche, Umbria, Latium)	8.667	18.2	9.388	18.8	10.305	19.1
SOUTHERN ITALY ISLANDS (Abruzzi, Molise, Campania, Apulia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicily, Sardinia)	17.085	37.2	18.576	36.7	18.801	34.8
ITALY (Total)	47.516	100.0	56.624	100.0	54.025	100.0

The most recent census shows the continuation of migration away from the South. From other data of the same census it appears that, between 1961 and 1971, more than 2.3 million people left the South. During this time in fact, the natural population increase was about 2.5 million, while the real increase in terms of resident population was hardly 200,000. In some regions (Abruzzi, Molise, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicily) the natural population increase no longer compensated for migration: there, an overall decrease in population took place.

22. Alongside the basic regional imbalances existing between North and South, many others have cropped up and the tendency is for them to increase. In fact, from 1971 census data, it appears that a process of concentration is still taking place in certain areas of our country. Even if this process has different characteristics and distinctive features for each regional situation, it is now spreading throughout the country.

For example, the abandonment of mountainous and hilly areas as well as the countryside is once more confirmed in data referring to the decrease in rural population. In the period 1951 - 1971 the rural population lost 5 million agricultural workers (from 8,032,000 to 3,397,000) going from more than 41% of the national workforce to less than 16%.

Depression and emigration also affect central and Northeastern regions (for example, Umbria, in the central parte of the country, registered an absolute loss in population in the period between 1961 - 1971). Analogous situations can be found within individual regions where great metropolitan areas (Milan, Turin, Genoa, Rome, and Naples) or polycentric areas (the Venetian Belt, Emilian Belt, Mid-Arno Valley) or in smaller « poles » in the South (Pescara, Bari, Taranto, Palermo) are counter-posed areas which are either abandoned or de-populated.

23. A partial picture of the damage caused to Italy's environment and natural resources by the previously illustrated territorial imbalances, can be seen in the following cases.

For example, the amount of uncultivated land reached 23,000 sq/Km in 1970 and 33,000 in 1973. Except for the marginal land, that is, land not profitably usable for agriculture, included in those figures, it is a fact that as people leave the countryside,

a form of agricultural management generally takes hold which is not very attuned to correct soil use.

The unfortunate result of this is soil erosion, because less care is taken in the use of irrigation which, a traditionally guaranteed the control of water where it originated.

The 60,000 sq/Km of wooded areas « listed » in the census (an extremely low figure for a country in which 3/4 of the whole area is made up of mountains and hills) do not at all correspond to the real situation. In effect, even by 1973, it appeared that 5/6 of these areas were more or less seriously damaged. The result is that the effective amount of wooded areas « in good condition » is more like 10,000 sq/Km, 1/30 of the entire country's surface area. Construction (especially mountain resorts), forest fires and finally, the energy crisis, which from 1973 onward has brought with it an increase in firewood consumption to more than 6 million metric tons per year, (a figure much higher than the natural reproduction capacity of the existing wooded areas), are together the main causes of the degeneration of those areas. The result is an increase in hill-side erosion and the impoverishment of already scarce natural resources.

As far as the coastal regions are concerned, by 1971 there were 174,454 industrial plants located in these areas, employing a total of 1,243,000 people which amounted to 18% of the total industrial work-force. Of those plants, 30-35% were composed of units dealing with the oil, steel and power industries. In particular, more than 50% of the country's oil-refining capacity was concentrated along the coasts of Sicily and Sardinia. Added to these productive settlements are those dealing with tourism: 70% of the national tourist facilities in 1970 was concentrated along 400 Km of shoreline.

On the whole, as of 1973, out of 3,500 Km of flat-lying coastal areas (beaches) 1,600 Km are « legally » free of construction. However, more than 800 Kms of those were in fact already occupied by illegal buildings. That is to say, that the stretches of Italian coasts free from cities, industries, roads and rows of vacation homes, may be today considered to be a « species endangered by extinction ».

24. As far as urban structures go, they are equally afflicted by impoverishment and waste. In 1955, the first attempt at an Italian national economic plan (the « Vannoni plan ») posed as its objective, the construction of 13 million rooms in ten years in order to meet the housing shortage of the time. The objective was greatly surpassed: the number of rooms built between 1955-1964 was more than 19 million. However despite this fact, it was exactly in 1964 that the « Economic Development plan of 1965-1969 » still called for « optimal housing needs » amounting to 20 million rooms.

The cause of this profound change can certainly be found in the natural increase in qualitative needs due to the improvement in socio-economic conditions in the country.

However, the main cause is the accentuation in territorial imbalances, in the phenomenon of internal migration from the marginal areas to those where development is being concentrated. Last but not least, the high number of non-utilized housing units should also be taken into account.

Table 7. gives an idea of how this latter phenomenon not only has vast dimensions, but, is, at the same time, wide-spread throughout the entire country. The reasons for this vary: in the large cities, it is due to the inaccessible rents; in the small

towns housing is abandoned because of emigration; and in tourist centers, there is a large number of second and third homes (see, for instance, the case of Val d'Aosta).

In the 1971 census, Italy had 17.4 million dwelling units totalling 63.2 million rooms, a population of 54.1 million, and a theoretical occupancy rate (obviously more than good) of 0.86 occupants per room. In reality, almost 12% of the total amount or 7.4 million rooms, turned out to be non-occupied, bringing the average occupancy rate to 0.97 occupants per room (a value which, like the others, is pretty good).

During the previous census taken in 1961, 14.2 million dwelling units totalling some 47.5 million rooms were counted. Of the latter, 7% or 3.1 million room were non-occupied. Since the population at the time was 50.6 million people, the theoretical occupancy rate would come to 1.07 occupants per room. The real average, however, came to 1.14 occupants per room.

TABLE 7 - Rooms occupied and not occupied, total, by geographic region and by administrative region - 1971 (thousands)

Regions	Populat. (*)	Rooms total (*)	Non occu- pied rooms (*)	Non occu- pied over total %	Over rooms total %	occupied rooms Over occu- %
Piemonte	4.432	5.862	762	13,00	0,76	0,87
Valle d'Aosta	109	182	93	29,12	0,60	0,84
Lombardia	8.543	9.787	775	7,92	0,87	0,95
Trentino Alto A.	842	1.076	150	13,94	0,78	0,91
Veneto	4.123	5.250	486	9,26	0,79	0,87
Friuli Venezia G.	1.213	1.445	173	11,97	0,84	0,95
	1.854	3.014	584	19,38	0,62	0,76
Emilia Romagna	3.847	5.091	519	10,19	0,76	0,84
Total by Regions	24.963	31.707	3.502	11,04	0,79	0,89
Toscana	3.473	4.831	627	12,98	0,72	0,83
Umbria	776	955	106	11,10	0,81	0,91
Marche	1.360	1.799	244	13,56	0,76	0,87
Lazio	4.689	5.312	703	13,23	0,88	1,02
Total by Regions	10.298	12.897	1.680	13,03	0,80	0,92
Abruzzi	1.167	1.456	2.220	15,11	0,80	0,94
Molise	320	396	64	16,16	0,81	0,96
Campania	5.059	4.453	428	9,61	1,14	1,26
Basilicata	603	556	77	13,35	1,08	1,26
Foggia	3.583	3.349	901	11,97	1,07	1,22
Calabria	1.988	1.838	342	18,61	1,09	1,33
Sicilia	4.679	4.690	657	14,01	1,04	1,16
Sardegna	1.474	1.617	132	8,16	0,91	0,99
Total by Regions	18.873	18.355	2.321	12,65	1,03	1,18
Overall Total	54.130	62.959	7.503	11,92	6,95	0,97

(Source: ISTAT)
(*) in '000

By the statistics given above it can be immediately seen that there is an enormous waste due to the high number of non-utilized rooms and, at the same time, it can also be seen that their number has been considerably on the increase in recent years. It would seem, at first glance, that migration flows, which certainly continued throughout the 1960's, had accentuated the phenomenon of abandoning the towns and villages of the South or the interior. However, a closer look gives an even more dramatic tone to the increase in empty dwellings when the data is taken apart. Then, the number of non-utilized rooms is extremely high also-and maybe, above all-in the large cities.

This fact is due to the persistence of significant imbalances in the construction industry and in the housing market, both of which will be dealt with in the second chapter of this report.

In the light of such imbalances, the statistic which at first seemed so positive, that is, the decrease in the occupancy rate from 1.14 to 0.97 occupants per room, has to be re-examined. At the same time, it should also be noted that, besides the evident waste, a significant amount of unsatisfied needs still exist.

Many families which are unable to find housing with rents equal to what they can afford to pay, are forced to live in uncivilized conditions (in 1971, it was calculated that there were 57 thousand dwelling units which were so-called « unfit »: caves, shanties, lofts, etc.). Other families are compelled to solve their housing problems through individual initiatives in contrast with the law and urban-planning norms. This is especially so for newly-arrived or even « stabilized » immigrant families who, for example, in Rome, build-or buy from illegal developers-housing on terrain set aside for agricultural purposes, parks, and other public open space.

Building policy which has been for the most part favorable to private developers (up until the 1971 reform law, which will be dealt with in a later section of this report) has, in turn, exalted to an ever-increasing and abnormal degree the real estate market. Real estate income has taken on immense proportions. The expansion of the large metropolitan areas has given rise to lucrative earnings from the ownership of real estate. It has been figured that around 3,000 billion lire are « earned » this way, each year, in the metropolitan areas. The value of urban building stock in the sole city of Milan, for example, shot up from 4,500 billion lire in 1956 to 7,300 billion lire in 1962, which amounts to a re-valuation of 152.5%. In the same period, the areas covered by the Greater Milan Master Plan reached a re-valuation of 290%.

The role of incomes derived from the development of the tourist industry has not been any less spectacular. This is especially true when it comes to residential subdivisions, bungalow villages, and condominiums.

All this has caused a constant increase in the cost of housing, and, consequently, an increasing share taken by « housing » in the family budget. When looking at statistics for 1973 on a national scale, it seems that housing expenditures account for very little in the family budget: little more than 9% of the overall total. However, when the data is separated by « expenditure classes », it can be seen that, as the total amount spent decreases, the proportional amount spent for housing tends to increase and vice versa.

In fact, this amount goes from 10% of the total when the first « expenditure class » is dealt with and arrives at 25.7% of the total when dealing with the « last class ». In other words, the money spent for housing amounts to more than one-fourth of the family budget for low-income families. In fact, this situation has taken a rapid turn for the worse in the last 2-3 years, reaching a peak of 40% and even a bit higher for some of those families.

CHAPTER TWO

URBAN AND REGIONAL POLICIES

1. Policy for Southern Italy: The Agrarian Question and Special Programs

25. Partially destroyed cities, dismantled industries, unemployment, and increasing social tensions. These, in short, are the realities of Italy at the end of the Second World War. Poverty and the aspirations of proletarian and peasant masses provoked large worker demonstrations in the North and peasant discontent in the South.

The rapid recovery of Northern industry soon relieved social tensions in the North. Industrial expansion was due in particular to the availability of manpower (at least until the 60's) at a total cost which was far below other European countries. It was also due to the strong gain in foreign demand caused by the liberalization of exchange and later the formation of the European Common Market.

26. In the South, peasant protest took the form of a movement for occupation of uncultivated lands. The fragmented agrarian structure based on « latifondia » was not able to confront the needs of the peasant population. Therefore, decisive government intervention was necessary, and led to the approval, in 1950, of the agrarian reform law. The purpose of the law was essentially to improve living conditions in rurale areas and to stabilize the social situation, eliminating the structure of the large estates (latifondia) — which had undergone an irreversible decline — but nevertheless preserving significant local power.

The reform was put into practice through the expropriation and redistribution of land to farmers. The new farms were given technical assistance; cooperative association was also encouraged.

It was a vast scale operation, which greatly modified the traditional archaic socio-economical conditions.

Rural colonization settlements within organic reclamation projects gave a new image to the agrarian landscape, in some areas they represented the starting point of a new settlement pattern which attracted industry and civilian infrastructures. However, the outcome in terms of capital return and agricultural production has varied from area to area of intervention.

Moreover, under the effect of competitive pressures within the Common Market — particularly heavy on smaller agricultural farms — and because of the dream of better living condition to be found in industrialized metropolitan areas, the exodus phenomenon did not spare the areas where the agrarian reform had taken place.

27. During the same period of the agrarian reform, the Development Fund for the South (Cassa per il Mezzogiorno) was established for the purpose of narrowing the gap between the depressed South and the North, where the first signs of industrial development were being revealed. The Development Fund is a public authority with significant financial resources and wide powers to develop and implement special programs in the South.

In the first seven years of operation, the Fund was particularly involved in the construction of roads, irrigation works and land betterment, and supported small and medium-sized enterprises with credit assistance.

In the balance, this first phase represents an appreciable step forward, in particular due to the irrigation works and establishment of the road network, which is indispensable to the « innervation » of the Southern agricultural region and the improvement of productivity on some lands.

From 1957, the activities of the Development Fund were oriented primarily and increasingly towards providing incentives for industrial development. The institution of « industrial development areas » and « nuclei of industrialization » was foreseen (the latter refers to a framework which is more restricted than regional plans) for the purpose of concentrating incentives in predetermined places, adequately serviced to facilitate the installation of complexes involving several industries. The incentives are public fund for infrastructure development and bidding for plant construction. The organization of the region, and administration of these concentrations, was attributed to special consortia constituted by representatives of the productive sectors and local concerned authorities.

In accordance with this orientation, industry received a greater percentage of investments reaching 80% in the period 1971-72). Considering the way in which industrialization policy in the South was articulated, essentially the following criticism may be formulated: in the first place, 60% of investments in the industrial sector were concentrated in two activities — metals and chemicals — that is, in two sectors which have a high concentration of capital; secondly, only 32% of all investments went to sectors with high employment compared to 60% in the North during the same period; finally, the industrialization process developed by favoring, even in the South, areas which were already relatively « strong » (urban and coastal areas).

As an indication of the kind of development this policy has brought about there are the differences in levels of income within the South. At the present time, the most developed provinces of the South have actually achieved a per capita income level twice that in provinces which were ignored in the distribution of investments. In other provinces, per capita income is about half the national average.

The abandonment of agriculture and the type of industrial development, which because of its structural characteristics has a very modest effect on the economic development of the regions under concern, has continued to nurture Southern unemployment. It has given rise to enormous migrations towards the most developed areas and the industrialized North, leading to a process of progressive decline in the economic, social and settlement framework of the poorest regions.

Only the construction sector has received a significant impulse from the new industrial plants. This has led to the formation of a typical environment where old urban and economic structures, in the process of decline, are surrounded by industrial expansion and « modern » housing which, nevertheless, demonstrate primarily only the negative characteristics of the most economically developed cities.

28. In conclusion, one must recognize that in spite of the special programs in the South the basic objective of eliminating the differences between North and South has not been achieved. These differences have become proportionately accentuated, as follows: per capita income in the South remains close to 2/3 of the national average and half of that for Northern Italy, with a gradually increasing loss in absolute terms.

It must also be emphasized that the contribution made by the nation as a whole to the achievement of the objective has been inadequate. In fact, considering the extent of commitment to special programs in comparison with total national resources, one realizes how little has been done with the fundamental socio-economic problem in our country. One particular statistic is significant: in the period 1951-73 special programs have absorbed less than 0.7% of national income for capital formation in the South.

2. Housing Policy

29. In the immediate post-war era, the need to repair damage to housing, to rebuild housing needed by hundreds of thousands of homeless people, to give work to the unemployed masses without resources, led to a favored policy of immediate rebuilding with the construction sector assigned a leading role in redevelopment. In effect, this sector was protected from international competition, at least at that time, and did not require expensive equipment to begin with, or particularly qualified entrepreneurs or labor, while at the same time it was able to respond to social needs which were strongly felt.

A reason for this choice, in many ways obligatory, is certainly the backward material and sociocultural conditions inherited from Fascism. It is a fact, for instance, that in Italy reconstruction was carried out without any precise program or direction, while in other European countries post-war reconstruction was used as an opportunity for establishing new and rational bases for the problems of urban and regional development. Thus, the self-propelling mechanisms of growth in land and housing values, and of indiscriminate urban expansion, were primed; the consequences are still being felt today.

In order to give maximum support to building activity, application of the 1942 urban planning law was overlooked. This law, in spite of its basic limitations, could have provided somewhat useful instruments for control of the urban pattern and settlement development. Among these was the principle disposition that allowed municipalities to expropriate areas for building at prices not including profits, in order to establish areas of public domain for directing urban expansion into areas judged to be the most appropriate, and exercising as well a stabilizing role with respect to the land market.

Rather special norms were approved which served the purpose of removing every obstacle to reconstruction and expansion of building activity. Financial assistance, fiscal incentives and loan support were given to private builders. The government's commitment to financing public housing was also organized in a narrow and partial manner. The problem of housing for disadvantaged social classes was confronted, with rare exceptions, without considering a comprehensive plan for urban development and in particular the need for expanded services.

Quantitatively speaking, direct public involvement has been relatively modest. Between 1951 and 1974, public investments in residential construction have barely reached 9-10% of total investments in that sector, with a maximum of 25-26% during the early period and a minimum of around 4% in recent years. Considering the development of both public and private investments, it is evident that the former have been essentially employed as countercyclical measures without taking into account the objective of a comprehensive and rational policy of housing.

30. In general, the building sector (and therefore residential construction) has developed as a « propped up » sector. There has been the marked concern on the part of the government to utilize the greatest amount of unemployed manpower and available resources possible in the sector, and to avoid in every way all changes in employment and investments (5).

In addition, urban policy, that is housing and infrastructure policy, has always been considered as secondary to policies of production, following the conviction that urban development in particular and civil construction in general, are effects of the development of productive activities. Within this framework there are successive attempts to stimulate public involvement again through various means, redistributing expenditures by building housing for « the poorest » (i.e., subsidized housing).

(5) The apparent willingness to sustain the construction sector « at any cost » has contributed to the slowing down of innovations by firms that would bring even the slightest risk, and is therefore partially responsible for the « backward » nature of the construction industry. At the time of the 1971 census, the number of enterprises operating in the sector was 98,000, of which 98.5% had less than 50 workers. Only 0.6% of enterprises employed more than 100 workers.

sing), and financing private construction of low-middle income housing (i.e., assisted housing).

The lack of autonomously defined objectives has led to a certain amount of fragmentation and disorder in public programs, regarding both their timing and their location with respect to urban settlements. Public housing programs, in fact, were established where available low-cost land happened to be located, in the most distant urban periphery and often at great distances from one another. The public sector sustained enormous expenditures to provide the new settlements with roads, electricity, water and sewerage. Thus, surrounding land increased enormously in value, often within only a few months.

Public housing programs therefore generally promoted uncontrollable land speculation. This was frequently rendered even more critical because of the maneuvering of landowners who, in the expectation of greater increases in price, left extensive reserves of buildable land undeveloped for long periods of time.

31. The progressive rise in land prices — fed by scandalous speculative activities — induced entrepreneurs to invest even greater amounts of resources in residential construction (taking them away from more productive investments). Production was obviously oriented towards speculative building capable of bringing in huge revenues as well as sizeable profits. This phenomenon was sustained by a demand which made housing a « runaway commodity », in spite of the persistence of more convenient and secure forms of investment.

It must be noted, however, that the demand for high-cost housing was sustained even by families without high incomes who were prepared to make any sacrifice to own their own house, as insurance against old age and an investment for their children. Thus in the conflict between public and private interests, large real estate and building owners almost naturally found themselves in close alliance with the myriad of homeowners (and aspirants), and anybody owning the tiniest piece of land, forming a solid social block that prevented any reform action in the field of building and urban planning that would have placed proper limits and controls on private initiatives.

Under these circumstances, the noted building boom began and developed; it was stimulated by easy and indiscriminate credit, fiscal incentives applied to practically all types of construction, and the possibility of making huge, lucrative revenues and thus auto-financing building activity.

The most obvious results of the boom may be synthesized as follows: 1) the production of a significant quantity of housing which nevertheless did not respond to the needs of the poorest people, neither qualitatively nor quantitatively, needs which have become even more pressing and dramatic, above all in the most densely populated areas; 2) disorganized expansion of cities and violation of artistic and landscape values, caused by the search for maximum exploitation of building areas and the utilization of particularly valuable land; 3) the creation of settlements without and adequate social infrastructure, public open spaces, or adequate area for the rapidly increased volume of private transportation; 4) the progressive increase in urban infrastructure costs which have become unsustainable, on the part of local administrations, required to extend public utilities and services into settlement zones chosen by the private sector, burdens which have been one of the principle causes of the critical level of indebtedness of these administrations.

3. Urban Land Policy. The proposals for reform

32. At the beginning of the 1960's, when industrial development in the country was being consolidated, and the most advanced productive sectors had reached satisfactory levels of competition at the international level and been definitively freed from subordination to the guaranteed accumulation of the private building sector, the contradiction was revealed between the speculative building sector and most advanced industrial sectors.

The need therefore arises for a more rational use of land. It is for this reason that, beginning in 1960, there is a rush of planning initiatives — specially in the North — and the 1942 planning law begins to be utilized systematically. Attempts are made to overcome some obvious inadequacies in the law by making as many liberal interpretations as possible.

However, not even the strict application of the urban planning laws permits the removal of the causes of disorder or the imbalances that dominate the construction sector, which are described in the preceding paragraphs. The urgency of initiating a policy of incisive and radical reforms thus begins to take hold, thanks also to the protests and initiatives of the sector in Italian society which is most aware of the evolution of the social and economic framework.

33. In particular, there is a strong emphasis on the need to:

— minimize the burdensome weight of private property which constitutes the principal cause of severe urban distortions, permitting easy earnings and at the same time slowing down any attempt at industrialization of building and improvement of the technological process;

— allow a different role for public initiative than the one played up until now (construction of neighborhoods strictly for the most disadvantaged social classes, entirely separate from the « bourgeois » neighborhoods, therefore causing increased social tensions). Reinforce the powers of public initiative and control for the purpose of creating new socially integrated settlements;

— eliminate the excessive congestion of buildings in new parts of the Italian city, characterized by lack of space for social infrastructure, public open space, and circulation needs.

These objectives were the basis for proposals that were followed by the enactment of an **urban reform** in the first half of the 1960's. This was substantially directed towards the guarantee of concrete and effective control over land use by means of new measures. However, the resistance of special interests managed to block the reform.

34. Instead, Law No. 167 was approved in 1962 « to allow for the acquisition of buildable land for public housing ». This is a sectorial law, inspired by a completely new conception of urban planning, which gives municipalities an effective role in directing urban development. Specifically, municipalities were authorized to obtain, by purchase or expropriation, ownership of vast areas to be then assigned to either public or private developers. These would build integrated neighborhoods with adequate service levels and infrastructure. The instruments provided by this law made possible a different model of urban expansion, essentially achieving the three previously mentioned objectives that had been behind the attempts at urban reform.

In spite of its positive and advanced content with respect to existing legislation, law 167 has only partially functioned as intended. Municipalities have on the one hand taken wide advantage of the possibility of regulating many areas with area-

wide plans, but on the other hand an operative stage has not followed these preliminaries, that is with acquisitions and project implementation. This is primarily because of the lack of suitable public financing for municipalities for the acquisition and servicing of new areas (partially facilitated by subsequent laws), and financing for public authorities and the private sector to build the settlements.

Rather, the freezing of vast areas has had the effect of increasing the value of buildable land outside plan limits with a consequent increment in real estate earnings.

Urban growth therefore continued to be determined by private interests, and in particular the landowners. The fundamental instrument utilized by them was **sub-division**, that is the dividing up of land into building lots. This involves the reservation of required spaces for collective needs, which of course burdens the exhausted finances of local authorities to cover expenditures for public utilities and services (school, transportation, water, electricity, etc.).

According to an investigation by the Ministry of Public Works in 1968, in only a fourth of Italian municipalities (little more than 2,000), 115,000 hectares, corresponding to over 18 million rooms, were authorized for subdivision. This amount would be sufficient in theory to meet the entire national housing need up to 1980.

The subdivided zones were in areas with the maximum concentration of housing (the industrial triangle of Milan-Turin-Genoa, the Venetian plains, the Rome and Naples areas, etc.) or areas most noted for their landscapes, and above all the coasts.

35. In July of 1966 in the city of Agrigento in Sicily, there was a huge landslide which was caused by enormous over-building. There were 8,500 rooms built in recent years within a minimum land area, behind the old populated center and violating all existing regulations. The « Agrigento Landslide » represents an important landmark in Italian urban affairs because it shook public opinion, which until then had paid little attention to the habitat problem, and led them to the enactment of remedial measures. The result was the « Bridging Act » of 1967 (« bridge » because it should have opened up the road towards a more comprehensive urban reform law).

This law, without confronting the structural problems of urban reform, brings into existence a whole series of norms intended to affect the elements that cause urban disorder. The norms will affect: 1) the lack of urban planning mechanisms, caused on the one hand by the interference of the private sector and on the other by weak and inefficient municipal government action; 2) the formation of urban planning mechanisms characterized by overestimation of needs, excessive densities, and a scarce and inadequate supply of public and social services; 3) the extensive and generalized abuse of existing regulations; 4) the use of subdivisions which have become the normal instruments for expansion of the city, as mentioned previously.

In accordance with these objectives, the Bridging Act contains a series of norms intended to stimulate the formation and approval of urban planning mechanisms, even by means of direct government intervention. They put forth a series of rigorous limitations and regulations to be observed within municipalities that do not have plans. They forbid any subdivision for building purposes in the absence of the aforementioned mechanisms. They insure rigorous management of historic centers and, finally, discourage illegal building and the violation of existing regulations, under penalty of strict sanctions.

However, the fundamental innovation of the Bridging Act regards the so-called urban « standards », that is the minimum area that every plan must invariably reserve for public use, and the minimum distances of buildings from street fronts (setback). It was therefore established that every Italian citizen has the right to a minimum of 18 m² of public open space, divided up as follows: 4.4 for way care center, nursery school and primary school; 2.0 for public services (cultural, social, administrative, religious, health, etc.); 2.5 for public parking; and 9.0 for open spaces, play areas and play fields.

With the passage of this law the premises for a new direction in Italian urban planning were set forth. But once again the implementation betrayed expectations, at least in part. Among other things, within a few months of its effective date, Italian urban planning was thrown into a critical situation with a judgement passed down by the Constitutional Court, which is the body charged with verifying the correspondence between laws and the Constitution of the Republic. The Court declared the urban planning law unconstitutional in part, referring to the section permitting master plans to regulate private property by zoning it for public services (schools, hospitals, parks) for an undetermined amount of time and without compensation to owners.

The so-called « stop-gap » provision was adopted in order to overcome at least temporarily the consequences of the declaration of unconstitutionality. It renewed the validity of planning provisions *ope legis* for a specific period of time which was extended several times until 1976.

This extension was in anticipation of a general reform in the system of landownership.

A legislative bill with this objective is now under consideration by Parliament. This bill centers on the separation of the right to build from property rights. In other words, the right to build no longer belongs to the property owner but to public authorities which cede it to private owners.

This solution is also supported by a wide range of political forces, and is considered ideal for overcoming the obstacle of unconstitutionality and at the same time modifying the present regime of property ownership effecting buildable land. In fact, the abovementioned judgement of the Constitutional Court considered the application of certain regulations affecting private property to be invalid, in particular with relation to the structure of property ownership affecting buildable land under present norms.

4. Land Use and Economic Planning Policy

37. The attempts to rationalize urban development and territorial policies in the '60's did not develop only in the form of planning and building legislation, but were extended to the search for a comprehensive institutional link between regional and economic policy, within the framework of **economic planning**.

The need for a « plan policy » which was able to promote and guide the nation's development had been often debated in the past. It is sufficient to note here the attempts of the Ministers Vanoni in 1954 and La Malfa in 1962, who were responsible for the first sketch plans. However, it is not until 1964 that various operative mechanisms for planning are set forth in concrete terms. Of particular importance, more for the opportunity they offered for development of the debate than for the results obtained, were the regional committees for economic planning. These were constituted in 1966 in expectation of the legally constituted regional governments. These Committees were responsible for elaborating **outlines for**

economic development and bases for a regional pattern in every region so that the two aspects of the problem would be closely linked with one another. At the national level, the plan should establish instead the general framework, and indicate general directions and the choices that should make up the comprehensive strategy of economic and regional development of the country. The economic development program for the five-year period 1966-70 was approved by means of a law in 1967.

Among the general goals of the program, there was the « elimination of the presently existing gaps in the provision of services that are of basic social interest » an « the elimination of differences between backward areas, with particular reference to the South, and developed areas ».

As far as regional patterns are concerned, it affirmed the need to direct public action towards the fundamental objective « of achieving a more balanced and ordered development process, both among the large geographical zones and within them, with particular attention given to urban agglomeration ».

38. An important document called « Project 80 » was completed by the Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning for the purpose of seeking a more precise commitment from political forces towards this system of choices. At the same time, it sought to provide a unified and more long-range frame of reference for the preparation of the second and third development programs. This document, published in 1969, also confronted the problems of the regional pattern with significant scientific rigor. It put forth the objective of achieving a comprehensive organization of national territory according to an alternative model which differed from the trend.⁽⁶⁾ Two years later, in 1971, the regional projections of « Project '80 » were made public. In this document the basic choices in regional policy were studied analytically and defined in significant detail.

(6) According to Project '80, existing trends lead to the projection that by 1980 about 37% of Italian population will be concentrated in eight « metropolitan areas » that occupy only 4% of the national territory. In the year 2000 population in the metropolitan areas will be 45% of the total. According to Project '80, metropolitan growth can not be stopped, but it can be opportunely corrected by adequate policies.

The fundamental purpose of the alternative model is to guarantee to every citizen the same opportunity for access to and utilization of basic « urban services ». This objective is sought both by reorganizing infrastructure systems and transport flows and by forming a complex of « metropolitan systems », each of which is based on the polycentric organization of a particular number of existing cities which taken together should total or exceed the minimum threshold of a million inhabitants.

The project provides for three kinds of metropolitan systems. The first type is made up of major existing metropolitan areas, and the objectives for public action are to be decentralization and dispersion. The second type is made up of systems of reequilibrium. These are urban systems which are near existing metropolitan areas and risk being attracted to them. For these systems, policies that reinforce opportunities for internal cohesion and weaken the attraction towards systems of the first type are foreseen. Finally, systems of the third type, defined as alternative systems, are established in areas which are located at greatest distances from high density areas, that is where the greatest emigration occurs (particularly interior areas and the South).

An adequate reorganization of these systems should facilitate the upset of tendencies towards exodus, with the condition that the alternative systems are assigned priority for and the maximum concentration of public actions, particularly in the productive and infrastructure sectors.

39. The results of planning were nevertheless unsatisfactory. This is partially due to a certain separation between the perspective line of action and the actual policies carried out within individual sectors. In part, it is also due to the general inade-

quacy of instruments for implementation available to the public sector, and particularly to the structure of planning.

In presenting the second five-years program, it was attempted to avoid the causes of obstruction of the first program, and to attain the goals that had been assigned to it. In particular, there was an attempt to transform planning from a statement of principles to a system of concrete decisions. The objectives of the second program were therefore specified as subjects of specific programmatic actions (full employment; elimination of socio-economic differences between the South and rest of the country; improvement of the standard of living from a social, environmental and cultural standpoint).

The central theme of the debate over the second program was the possibility and opportunity of once again attempting the formulation of a comprehensive response to the principal problems of the national economy with different methods and techniques. After a series of continuations in the validity of the document, the second program was essentially laid to one side.

40. The energy crisis of 1973 and following general economic crises have forced Italy to confront, sometimes with emergency measures, vital questions such as the maintenance of employment levels, containment of the deficit in foreign payments, and the restructuring and transformation of the productive apparatus. For these reasons, the debate over Project 80 and its results has been set aside; it represents planning which is substantially based on the assumption of sustained economic growth. And in recent years, the various political forces, worker and business organizations, and the cultural and educational world have become involved in detailed discussion about the perspectives for Italian society, as shown in the following pages. The discussion covers the significance and limits of a « new model of development » which should be a more or less radical departure from the growth model under which the country has developed previously. From this perspective, the role of national planning tends to reach a greater precision. The implementation or reforms necessary for the growth of Italian society cannot be delegated any more to a small number of « planners », but rather the active participation of citizens is required. In other words, the conviction that the problem of welfare cannot be separated from the problem of participation is affirmed.

5. New Institutional Levels

41. One important aspect of recent Italian history is the high level of mass mobilization organized, above all, around consumer and habitat problems, beginning in 1968-69. From 1969, for the first time demands for labor contract renewals include, besides salary and working condition demands, specific demands relating to life « outside the factory » - housing, schools, transportation, medical services, and social infrastructure. These are the years of protest. Public authorities are accused for the institutional inadequacies that block reform attempts. Among other things, the structure of the government is discussed. Its centralized organization does not respond to the new needs of society, to the growing and more critical demand of citizens to participate directly in decisionmaking and in the choices that regard collective aspects of lives.

Decentralization and democratization of the government are no longer able to be postponed when it comes to the management of the major services — housing, education, health, social services, communications, recreation, and culture. And in effect, two significant responses are made to this growing mass movement for

Institutional renovation — the establishment of regional levels of government, and a new and radical housing law.

42. Establishment of Regional Government. The Constitution of the Italian Republic, adopted in 1946, provides for three levels of government besides the central organs of government — regional, provincial and municipal. The regions, which did not form part of the previous administrative structure, were instituted only after a great deal of delay.

Only five regions were instituted immediately after the War — Sicily, Sardinia, Valle d'Aosta, Trentino/Alto Adige, and Friuli/Venice Giulia. These were governed by the so-called « special statute », which gave them a greater degree of autonomy. The other fifteen regions, under the « regular statute », were instituted in 1971 and the following year they took over the powers attributed to them and hitherto exercised by organs of the central government.

The Constitution provides direct powers to the regions in the field of urban planning, as well as other areas directly related to regional planning (« administrative districts in municipalities », « roads, water projects and public works of regional interest », « navigation and lake harbors », « agriculture and forestry », « management of the natural environment »).

With the institution of regular statute regions, a distinction was made between the powers of the region and central government. The latter, considering areas which directly concern it, remains primarily responsible for public works « of national interest » (expressways, highways, railroad construction, major ports, airports, etc.). The central government also is responsible for « directing and coordinating administrative activities of the regular statute regions so that they follow uniform requirements, also with respect to the objectives of the national economic program and the commitments deriving from international obligation ».

43. Today therefore, regions are the protagonists and primary responsible for **habitat** policy, and in this area they have been conspicuous. The greatest number of regional laws is for urban planning and regional land management, subjects which are often confronted with innovative criteria compared with previous years.

The most significant of these criteria are related to:

a) the dimension of plans. That is, the amount of buildable land and, therefore, of dwelling units that can be built. It is suggested that this be limited, in general to no more than 30% of the resident population, and result from a careful analysis or real needs related to projections of demographic creaseover a short range (5-10 years).

This is apparently done to avoid committing too much municipal land to development.

b) The setting aside of land for public use (the urban « standards ») which, based on the experience of recent years, are to be increased with respect to the provisions established by the government before regional governments began to function. Government standards, as mentioned before, already, establish a minimum of 18 m² for neighborhood services per person.

Many regions (Lombardy, Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany and Umbria) have significantly increased the minimum and have required the reservation of space for services at the urban and inter-municipal levels (regional parks, higher education, etc.).

c) The rigorous preservation of lands which have greatest landscape value, such as forests, coastlines, rivers and lakes, visual aspects of historic centers, archaeological zones, etc. For example, some southern regions (Lazio, Campania, Puglia

and Calabria) have established strips free of building along the sea coast, varying from 150 to 500 meters).

d) Inter-municipal coordination, at least with respect to provisions for new industrial zones and the location of services which are of interest at the inter-municipal level (Lombardy, Veneto, Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, and Umbria).

e) The definition of more appropriate instruments for control over land use. Many regions have modified the regime establishing levels of plans which is provided in the urban planning law of 1942 (regional coordinating plan, master plan, building plan, detailed district plan).

Varied situations have resulted. Some regions have abolished the master plan and the building plan, substituting the inter-municipal plan (more than one municipality, making up a homogenous area called « **comprensorio** »). Other regions have eliminated the building plan, requiring all municipalities, both large and small, to develop a comprehensive master plan. Finally, others have rather chosen to reinforce the contents of the building plan.

The newest idea — that of the inter-municipal or « **comprensorio** » plan — is related to the complex question of regional administrative reorganization. In Italy, many municipalities are of such a size that does not permit an autonomous program of development (6,094 of 9,056 municipalities have a population under 5,000 inhabitants). Other groups of municipalities have developed in such a way as to form a single urban structure among themselves that cannot be planned comprehensively. Finally, for the large municipalities there is the problem of decentralizing decisionmaking centers in the area of urban management. The **comprensorio** (the intermediate territorial unit) is one way of approaching the objective of rendering the administrative dimension congruent with the needs of policy planning.

44. The Housing Law of 1971. This law, first of all, reorganizes the planning and coordination of public intervention, eliminating the large number of authorities operating within this sector, and employing all government construction funds towards the most disadvantaged classes. The funds are given to the regions, which provide for their distribution among municipalities according to objective criteria.

With the restructuring of the Independent Public Housing Authorities (IACP), which now play a significant role in the implementation of public programs, the law provides the opportunity to undertake comprehensive projects and therefore new forms of settlement, in complete contrast to the uncoordinated and disjointed projects of the past. The norms covering the expropriation of property for public use are particularly important. They modify substantially norms which until 1971 were established by laws of the past century. Compensation is now measured according to the average value of agricultural land, multiplied by a variable coefficient which in no case is greater than five, and related to the location of the area (historic center, developed center, or areas beyond) and the demographic category of the municipality.

With this compensation, areas may be acquired for any public works (streets, railways, public installations, national parks, etc.).

To meet the needs of public housing, it is possible for municipalities to acquire about 60% of municipal lands destined for development, by means of an extensive application of the law. Another 20% of the development area may be expropriated to be serviced and then opened up to builders. Finally, other lands may be acquired in order to form a reserve of areas for industrial development.

Another aspect of the law regards private intervention in public lands. The question had been raised by preceding legislation, and now is taken up again and developed. This intervention is regulated by means of a contract which, besides guaranteeing the construction of the kind of housing needed to satisfy real market demand, avoids the repetition of speculation by controlling rentals and sales prices. 45. A good reform, therefore, the immediate application of which has nevertheless been stalled for a number of reasons.

In the first place, its enactment was not accompanied by a sufficient supply of financing to place on the market large supplies of public housing totally or partially assisted by government fund. One cannot also ignore the procedural complexity, which nevertheless was avoided by the passage of successive legislative provisions that reduced it considerably.

The law has also found itself in the middle of a serious crisis characterized by an increase in the cost of money, excessive rise in construction costs, and the drop in housing production, both in public and private sectors.

Still, recent provisions in which the government appropriated massive funds for financing construction have finally demonstrated the functional possibilities inherent in the 1971 norms.

The same private interests which initially sought to block the law have now abandoned their preconceptions and hostilities, partially as a consequence of the crisis in the building sector. They show complete support for the implementation of construction programs on public lands, as we shall see later, along with the subsequent contract controlling sales and rental prices of the building product.

CHAPTER THREE

PROSPECTS FOR AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL

1. The Economic Crisis; the end of the Process of Concentration and the Structural Bases for an Alternative Model

46. As demonstrated previously, the concentration of population and economic activities in a few areas of the country has been encouraged by the wasteful and uneconomical use of resources that has constituted an increasing debt for the entire community of the country.

Without a doubt there are natural resources such as water and land which are not adequately used, while, on the other hand, the value of agriculture is emphasized, both in order to meet the growing demand for agricultural products and invigorate the economic system which has come into a disadvantageous position due to the massive amount of imports, leading to the consequent deterioration in the balance of payments. The same can be said for the necessity of recuperating the loss in existing building stock which is made up of smaller centers and housing spread far apart. These elements of the country's cultural heritage are the products of centuries of history and work in the country's interior regions, in the mountains and in the hills. Conserving such a heritage can give an appreciable contribution to a new policy which would aim towards the re-discovery of other worthy values such as the appreciation and the protection of the nation's past.

A significantly irrational use of the country's resources has also occurred in the industrial sector, where public intervention has given privilege — especially, as was said before, in the South — to the basic industries, with a heavy capital investment, an extensive use of land, natural resources and energy, and with a low rate of employment.

47. Urbanization and the boom in the real estate market, ever since several years ago the two decisive factors in the « model of concentration », have been progressively mitigated by the economic crisis that has struck Italy and other industrialized nations. The difficulties and stagnation of the industrial apparatus in the Po Valley have stopped the greatest part of migration flows from the South. For some time now, the balance of migration in some provinces which have traditionally fed migration flows towards the North and foreign countries has become positive. That is to say, returning people are greater in numbers than those leaving. Naturally, this is not due to expanded local economic activities, but the decline in demand for labor in the migratory zones of Northern Italy and abroad.

The real estate market itself has not been able to approach the levels of the 1950's and 1960's for at least the last couple of years. This is because of the diminished demographic pressure on large urban areas, the high cost of construction which has progressively restrained demand, and the significant reduction in savings capacity and indebtedness of families. The arresting of migration phenomena and the crisis in the real estate market have definitely blocked almost entirely the process of concentration underway for twenty years. It would seem possible, within the context of an economic revival, to attempt alternative choices under the condition, however, of directly affecting the entire productive system: on this argument, no agreement has yet been reached on the political level, even if the risks inherent in such a situation are obvious to everyone. Thus, no one underestimates the dangers of re-establishing the traditional mechanisms of industrial concentration.

48. The economic crisis, which was developing for years but has suddenly become critical with the increase in petroleum prices, is now showing its full negative effects on the productive structure, employment, and the monetary and financial system. The analyses carried out agree on the structural nature of the crisis, and that it is not simply a short-term trend. They also agree on the subsequent need to profoundly change the development mechanism in effect over the last twenty years.

It is important to remember that this development mechanism was based on certain driving factors which have all declined, almost at the same time:

- an apparently unlimited availability of local and above all imported natural and energy resources at low prices;
- ample availability of manpower drawn from agricultural activities, at salary levels significantly below those of the most industrially advanced countries;
- a constant demand for export goods sustained by a continued expansion of consumption in the EEC and USA.

These incentives to development have declined for a series of concomitant reasons: depletion of domestic resources and increased cost of imported resources; drainage of the agricultural manpower reserve with a consequent rise in labor costs; decline in demand for export goods due to the poor competitive showing of our products and the slowdown of world exchange. This decline has continued to block the entire mechanism of expansion, and the need change it substantially appears ever more evident.

49. The debate over new directions in the political economy is very lively in Italy and the rest of the world.

In the first place, it places under discussion the traditional relationship between countries that produce and consume raw materials.

Secondly, there is the need for rational and programmed use of local resources. For Italy, this means physical space, agriculture, water and energy resources.

A permanent reduction in the average rate of development and thus a general tightening of the employment base appears also to be certain. Therefore new development sectors should be encouraged — specialized agriculture, social services, and industries with high levels of employment independent from foreign supply.

These situations taken together — growing scarcity of available resources on the world market and new employment policy — produce an objective push towards the upset of the traditional model. The direction is towards regional decentralization and diffusion of development with a revaluation of local microeconomies and activities related to natural resources.

50. Structural conditions have placed the « model of concentration » in a difficult position. These conditions, and the objective need for overcoming them, should not allow one to forget, however, the significant programmatic commitments needed to undertake a different path. Thus it may be useful to analyse the new political and cultural values that have emerged in these years of crisis, and the tendencies which have evolved in regional policy. These are related to the need for change and possible elements of an alternative model which may be indicated.

2. Emerging New Politico-cultural Values

(7) Per capita income in real terms increased from \$650 in 1950 to \$1,070 in 1960, and \$1,685 in 1970. Between 1955 and 1968, Italy had registered the highest increase in real gross income among all OECD countries (98.3%).

51. The decline in structural factors in Italian urban development has corresponded to the emergence of new politico-cultural values which attempt to reevaluate the problems of habitat in fundamentally new terms. In the first post-war period, when the major preoccupations of Italians were housing, food, and work — that is, simple survival rather than the « quality of life » — the problems of habitat were reduced to the need for a rapid reconstruction of cities devastated by the war. Thus automatic allegiance was given to the pre-war settlement system.

A substantial allegiance is also given to the new settlement model which was taking shape under the pressure of urbanization in the phase of economic expansion during the 1950's.

In large cities, the mirage of increasing welfare and consumer expansion, supported at that time by concrete evidence (7) placed the problems of habitat in a secondary position. This in spite of the degradation of the urban framework due to population growth, and the serious discontent among the new immigrants. The situation in fact provoked a peaceful allegiance to the new « metropolitan » way of life, no matter how alienating it was.

The historical myth of the great city developed in zones of out-migration along with the spreading of the mass media and imitative consumption. It then became rapidly transformed into a concrete objective for the young generations, obtainable by abandoning traditional activities and emigrating. In this period, a basic ideological adhesion to the system of economic growth and dominant settlements was apparent. Nobody underestimated the importance of certain unsolved problems such as, for example, the organization of health services, the school system, the critical level of unemployment, and depression in the Southern region. It was still held that these problems could be resolved at same time in the future, thanks to the growing dynamism and creativity in the country. At the political and cultural levels, opposition also was directed more at the goal of rationalization than modification of the mechanism.

52. The interruption of this homogeneity between urban and economic structural processes and the traditional ideological superstructure begins to develop around the beginning of the 1960's, when the system was still « pulling ».

The experience of new generations in a modern industrialized environment and difficult urban context had transformed the poor immigrant, the uneducated and unskilled worker, into a citizen who was becoming more aware of his own needs and rights.

Throughout the country, and particularly in developed metropolitan areas of the North, workers began to demand the slowing down of the work pace and improvement in environmental conditions. The tone of the protest was also elevated outside the factory to denounce the delay in reforms in various sectors of fundamental importance such as housing, health, education and public transportation.

Mass resentment became particularly acute, as people were forced to pay exorbitant rents in the deteriorated fringes of the cities.

At the same time, the effects of consumerist ideology created a diffuse sense of protest among the new urban classes in developed areas, and especially the growing student masses. This moved from conditions in the school to eventually involve the entire society.

At the same time, the modest and delayed results of the special programs in the South, frequently accompanied by undesirable secondary effects, brought about tensions among the southern population.

(8) In the period between 1951-1964, a constant rate of development occurs, from 5.1 to 5.7% increase in GNP. In the 1964-71 phase, it begins to decline from 5.7% to 4.8% yearly, and in successive years reaches zero until hitting negative figures in 1975 (-3.5%).

(9) One of the responses to these needs came after a long political debate with the creation of the Ministry for Cultural and Environmental Property. This new ministry has as its goal the furnishing of cultural services to all the country's human settlements. Its activities would, in that way, lead to an improvement in the quality of life for Italy's inhabitants. These activities would take place, in strict collaboration with other public administrations, especially with the recently created Regional Governments, as well as with the universities, the trade unions, and, in general, those public and private bodies active in the cultural field.

3. Evolving Trends In Urban Planning and Building Policy

In these same years, the first signs of a crisis in the productive mechanism emerged, and the rate of growth in national income began to waver. (8) It opened up a phase of active urban conflict which would show itself in more decisive form when the first symptoms of economic crisis are transformed into a clear process of recession and unemployment.

53. The convergence of factors contributing to structural crisis became more pronounced at the beginning of the 1970's with the calls for radical revision of the values that had formed the basis of the affluent society in the last twenty years. They produced the emergence of new cultural and political demands which tended to put forth new forms of organization and use of the physical environment and urban system. These demands arose within the context of a general vision of renewal of the social framework.

In the first place, the necessity for a new « quality of life » developed as opposed to the hedonistic philosophy of consumerism which, translated in territorial terms, meant a massive demand for goods and services — a better work and living environment, a more advanced school, health and transport system, cultural facilities such as museums, libraries, national parks, and recreational facilities. At the same time, defence of nature, and aesthetic and cultural values of the environment, finally went beyond the limits of a courageous and isolated vanguard and assumed a mass, political dimension.

The opportunity therefore emerged of viewing the territory in its global historical context; of viewing, in other words, the total environment, and not just the city, as a product of history.

A policy based on such premises must therefore aim at the protection and the valorization of what we may define as « the form of the territory » (9).

Secondly, the general tendency towards protest, participation and democratic control led to the formation of spontaneous organs of territorial management. These were organizations making demands related to housing, public open space, transportation, services and a closer connection between citizens and institutionalized power with regard to urban and regional management.

54. In spite of the delays and slowdowns suffered by the complex question of urban reform since the early 1960's, there is no doubt that legislation has been evolving in the direction of increasing public control over the development of settlements in regions, both central and peripheral, and especially in recent years. This is demonstrated by the laws which modify and integrate the 1942 urban planning law and the 1971 housing law (mentioned previously), as well as the establishment of regional governments. With the transfer of urban powers to the regions, new prospects for more direct participation and control over the organization of settlements have arisen.

55. On the other hand, the central question of Italian urban planning, which regards reform of the means of ownership of building land, has not yet been resolved. As mentioned previously, the government has recently submitted a law to Parliament which should finally get to the root of the problem. It is based on the separation of building rights (which are reserved to public authorities) from property rights.

The content of the proposed law, which is a result of a convergence by many political forces, is based on the following basic elements:

- requirement of a « lease » for all construction activity, by means of which the local authority gives the property owner permission to build in exchange for a financial contribution of a commitment to apply agreed upon rents and sales prices;
- carrying out of urban expansion only by means of multiyear programs which designate areas and zones for urban development, and the provision of services called for by planning standards. Thus, indiscriminate urban expansion should be avoided, concentrating resources and functional capabilities in specific portions of the region and exact time frames.

56. Directly related to the land reform law is the problem of reinforcing the power of public intervention in the private construction sector. The present structure of the construction market is profoundly different from the one of the past, as described previously. Today the consequences of overproduction and abnormal development of the construction sector in the 1950's and 1960's are being felt.

In fact, over the last few years the tendency for progressive concentration of the free market is obvious.

Except for particular restricted fields of investment (luxury dwellings and the like), there is no longer any convergence between supply and demand of housing, and there is no reason to believe that this situation will change.

Basically and rather simply, it may be said that today the free housing market no longer functions as it did in the past, except for marginal and statistically irrelevant cases. This is because the traditional driving forces of urban development are in a critical situation, and the cost of new dwellings is clearly prohibitive for the large majority of citizens.

Obviously, the first to be aware of this situation are the building firms, which express a clear propensity toward cooperation with the public sector, unlike the past.

Aside from the advantages of low-cost land expropriated and ceded by municipalities to the private sector, there are other specific incentives. The principal one is credit.

This situation tends primarily to value the entrepreneurial and technical abilities of the Italian construction industry, abilities which have been reaffirmed throughout the world, particularly when it comes to large engineering works. These abilities could be utilized as well in the residential construction sector, and more so than in the past.

57. Thus there is beginning to take shape a new physiognomy of the residential construction sector with the elimination of the traditional distinction between public and private intervention. This is tending towards the formation of a unique model for intervention, so-called « **contract building** ». Contract building is that which is carried out by the private sector on land ceded by the municipality, according to a zoning and settlement framework established by the same municipality, and applying rents and sales prices agreed to by local authority and private builder. Thus, construction activity is « moving out of the market ». It is no longer controlled by the laws of supply and demand, but is considered a basic service guaranteed by society to its citizens, utilizing the resources and abilities of private enterprise.

This reorganization of the sector is being attained quite naturally, for objective « economic » reasons, as the private sector foresees a definitive and irremediable crisis in traditional real estate speculation. As mentioned before, every attempt at reform and rationalization in the 1960's failed because of the decisive opposition of private interests who perceived a threat to ready revenues and profits.

Within the framework of the new orientation of building and urban planning policy, the question of Italian historic city centers is critical due to the extent of the phenomenon. Until the 1950's, historic centers were essentially a « cultural » question which was reserved to a particular small number of experts who discussed if, and how, to permit the insertion of modern architecture within the building framework inherited from the past. This did not exclude radical, and sometimes massive, interventions of urban and building transformation which were basically ignored by public opinion. These led to the expulsion of the inhabitant settled in the historical centers and the replacement of the old buildings with new ones designed for luxury housing or tertiary activities.

58. In recent years, however, the question of historic centers has undergone an important change. At least two reasons, closely related to one another, have allowed for this « qualitative leap ». On the one hand, there is the spreading resistance of organized groups of citizens to real estate operations that may result in their removal from neighborhoods they have always lived in. On the other hand, there is a reconsideration of the role that the historic center, and the existing building stock in general, can and does play in planning the development and transformation of the city. This is first of all a theoretical consideration, but at least in some cases it has become a political and administrative orientation. It has its origin in the fact, which has been cited several times in the preceding pages, that there exist enormous quantities of unoccupied and underoccupied dwellings in Italy. This has been defined as a « building waste » that cannot be allowed under the present conditions of the national economy.

The question has been raised whether it is necessary to continue building new dwelling units, or whether it is possible to recuperate and rehabilitate « used housing ».

Some local administrations have begun to deal with the problem concretely. We may note here the case of the city of Bologna, which is undoubtedly in the vanguard in this field, and the more complex situation in Venice.

In some large cities (particularly Turin, Milan and Rome) there is a dramatic housing shortage which has imposed the need for emergency measures such as the legal requisitioning of vacant dwellings. Aside from these emergency problems determined by particular situations, the basic problem is that costs sustained by making old dwellings habitable impose on the owner the need for rental increases which cannot be sustained by present inhabitants, who are almost always in a low-income category.

It is therefore indispensable that there be public intervention to in some way assume at least part of the costs. This may be done by paying part of the rent for the least advantages tenants (rent subsidy), or contributing towards payment of the owner's expenditures while imposing rent levels according to special agreements. In essence, this means the introduction of the previously described contract building into the historic urban centers, allowing for a renewal that at the same time permits their revitalization and socio-cultural conservation.

4. Formation of a Decentralized System of Regional Government. The new forms of participation

59. Since the early 1970's, a process of profound renewal of the system of land management has been underway. It is modifying in a radical way the relationships between central administration and regional and peripheral authorities, between big city administrations and neighborhoods. It is joining and reshaping dispersed territorial units.

Some of these transformations have corresponded to institutional arrangements — the regions, administrative decentralization in many large cities, mountain communities, and some intermunicipal « comprensori ». Others are still in the experimental phase — such as, for example, almost all of the intermunicipal « comprensori » or take the form of spontaneous self-management, especially at the fringes of the large urbanized areas.

The basis for this transformation of the system of land use powers is, on the one hand, the crisis of the pyramidal administrative structure and, on the other hand, the trend towards joining traditional territorial units when they are too fragmented, or breaking them up when too large, all according to principles of functionality and genuine participation.

60. The experiences of the Regions from their constitution until the present were previously dealt with. It should be emphasized here that the same Regions are now assuming the responsibility for a functional restructuring of participation within their territories. The traditional intermunicipal aggregations — the Provinces — basically served the functions of control and decentralization of the national administration. Often their boundaries reflect an ethnic and historical reality which is still alive, especially in regions with the strongest urban traditions. More frequently, however, urban development in provincial capitals, adjacent zones, or more physically advantaged areas (valley bottoms, plains, coasts, etc.) has upset this reality, and consequently their boundaries remain meaningless. Also, the removal of almost all powers of control and decentralized administrative functions from the Provinces to the Regions has reduced their role to a minimum, except where their territorial boundaries correspond with precise, if not institutionally defined, characteristics of regional functions and capacity for participation.

In general, intermunicipal aggregations which, as mentioned previously, now form part of the Regions' top priority land use strategy, follow significantly different criteria and dimensions in different areas of the country. They coincide, however, with two rather homogenous ends:

— to insure maximum functionality in the region by guaranteeing a high level of economic integration, interurban services, physical cohesion of the various urban centers, etc.

— to insure a genuine ability for participation by guaranteeing the possibility of democratic control of community life, and at the same time allowing for effective influence over decisions of the Regions and national society (owing to the demographic dimension, the extent of urban civilization and economic importance).

As previously mentioned, « Project 80 » considered the optimum size of these intermunicipal aggregations (called « metropolitan systems » in the document) to have a minimum threshold of one million inhabitants and maximum spatial limits defined by growth between 1960 and 1990. Present experience tends to significantly lower these dimensions although it has not been possible to define homogenous criteria, as mentioned above.

61. An analogous but contradictory development is occurring in large urban agglomerations with the creation of decentralized power structures, often spontaneously

but sometimes taking institutional forms. These develop with the purpose of obtaining instruments for making demands and fighting for housing, services and new employment; they also seek to create organisms for direct control over the management of land and public facilities and services.

62. The institutional aspect of the direction of public participation is administrative decentralization as elaborated in some large cities. This innovation began during the early 1960's in Bologna (1963) and Genoa (1965).

Then followed Rome in 1966, Milan and Naples in 1968, and Turin in 1969. There are also various other smaller cities in which decentralization is now a reality (Prato, Reggio Emilia, La Spezia, Modena, Rimini, Imola, Parma, Grosseto, etc.).

All of these urban and metropolitan territories have been subdivided into various smaller units. Rome has 20 with an average population of 150,000 each. There are 31 in Venice, each with several thousand inhabitants. Milan also has 20 zones within its municipal limits (which are much smaller than Rome's), each with an average of 80,000 persons.

Bologna has 18 of them with a population of 25,00 persons each.

Neighborhood councils have only consultative powers.

In practice, however, municipal councils appear to favor an extensive delegation of powers in various important sectors, such as local urban development, streets and transportation, schools, libraries, health and recreational services, and athletic and cultural services. In every case the neighborhood council is constantly consulted in such matters as planning at the neighborhood level, implementation of the financial programs of the administration, subdivisions or individual building permits, commercial licenses, and so forth.

5. Conclusions

63. Following the thread that ties together the various aspects which this report deals with, the unique aspects of the « Italian case » referred to in the introduction may be brought out clearly and synthesized:

— a very rapid structural and social evolution and a process of massive urbanization that have produced traumatic effects on the physical and urban framework, and squandered the already scarce land resources. They have also created a pattern characterized by a severe dichotomy between zones with very high concentrations of population and productive installations, and vast abandoned areas with preindustrial economic conditions;

— a set of land use policies aimed at limiting, rationalizing and in the ultimate instance, opposing the « concentration model »;

— the rise and consolidation of alternative perspectives of a structural nature, supported by a widening political and public opinion movement, which indicate the necessity of radically renovating the whole development model.

64. The fact that positive factors exist which may produce effects in the desired direction must not make us forget the existing danger that economic recovery may be based once again on the exploitation of traditional factors — such as those export-oriented productions which base their competitiveness on devaluation and low salaries.

If this tendency is ultimately strengthened, overcoming the crisis would be quite problematical. Every attempt at improving agricultural activities, promoting indus-

trial activities with high levels of manpower use, and rehabilitating habitat would be rendered useless by the « hidden debt » composed of increasing social costs which are absolutely incompatible with the limited possibilities of the country.

65. The key to a shift in the development model, as far as habitat policy is concerned, should be characterized by the absolute priority towards utilizing all available resources in a balanced way and eliminating the previously mentioned waste.

To this end there is wide agreement on the need to give priority to investment and to the necessary State interventions to boost agricultural output, re-inforce the fishing industry, increase livestock production, and strengthen all related activities: irrigation, forest management, recuperation of abandoned lands, and development of activities related to conservation, commercialization and industrial processing of agricultural products. In this way, minor urban centers would regain their functions, eliminating the waste involved in their abandonment and directing available resources for social investments towards their redevelopment. This would improve their building stock and supply of public facilities and services.

66. At the same time, industrial redevelopment should be based primarily on the development of small and medium-sized industries which are labor intensive, especially in the South. These should be spread throughout the country so as to contribute to the stabilization of the population and their integration with agricultural activities.

67. In large cities and regions of urban concentration, available resources should be aimed essentially at improving the « quality of life » and satisfying social needs which have accumulated after 20 years of tumultuous and unorganized growth.

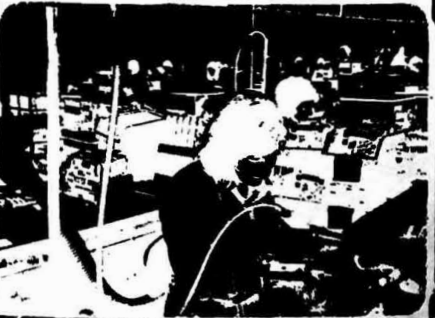
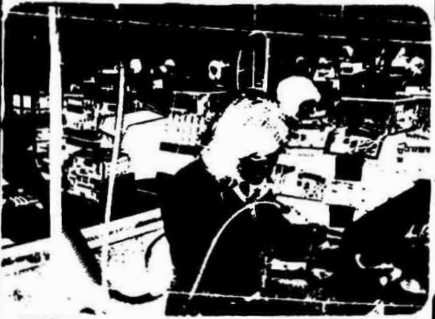
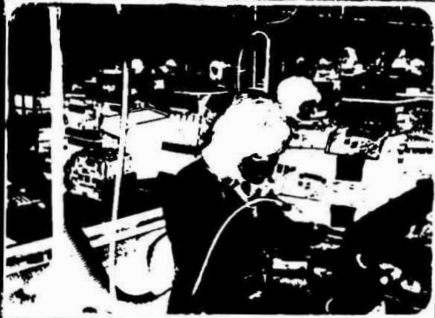
68. In this framework, the redevelopment of existing building stock and the historic centers, the creation of the necessary social service facilities, the increase in publically-owned space and areas dedicated to public use, and the reinforcement of the public transportation system should all be absolutely given privilege over the construction of new housing units and a costly infrastructure which would only increase the amount of private automobile traffic.

69. In the course of the introduction, the formation of a decentralized power structure was indicated as a positive factor in order to insure the realization of an alternative model. This process is now definitely under way; it seems therefore highly improbable for a new development momentum to occur on a distorted basis. Structural factors also exist which impose, in a way, a new and different development strategy capable of avoiding the occurrence of an economic recovery limited to a few privileged « productive islands ».

The positive, objective factors taken together nevertheless require a clear overall programmatic vision and efficient instruments which are able to weld together the great cultural and social forces that have been placed in motion, and are also able to translate political willingness into a definite plan of action.

AUDIOVISUAL PRESENTATIONS

FORD



ITALIAN AUDIO-VISUAL PRESENTATIONS

The three themes of the Italian Audio-Visual Presentations to be shown at Vancouver have been chosen on the basis of the subjects to be handled by the Italian delegation and after a lengthy and detailed study. The entire team which prepared Italy's participation in HABITAT was involved in this process.

This special means of communication has been skillfully used to explore the dominant themes of Italy's participation. In this way those particular elements of Italian experience which can be considered « demonstrative » are now made clear and evident. A profitable transmission of that experience to other countries can now take place.

The themes chosen for the Conference do not so much concern single Demonstrative Projects as they do the three main thrusts of Italy's recent experience as seen from the viewpoint of socio-economics and urban planning.

The Audio-Visual Presentations give a visual treatment to the evolutionary process our country's Habitat has undergone on national, regional and local levels.

In particular, they treat the gradual, progressive growth in the public consciousness of the social and political aspects of Italy's planning problems. The presentations give an idea of the rich experience the country has acquired in the field, from years past up until the present period. There is no doubt that this experience, expressed in its various forms, is extremely useful and suggestive for the non-Italian observer.

It is important to note that it is thus not the final « happy » result which is emphasized in the films, but, instead, the planning process itself. It is, in fact, this process which is at the root of all recent proposals regarding Italian Habitat.

Evolutionary Process: This is both the basic theme of the Italian National Report and of the three Audio-Visual Presentations. The accent is then laid on a factor regarding the recent past: that of land use and urban development. However, this does not

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mean that historical precedents are ignored, nor that the attempt to find a **modus vivendi** between a Habitat consistent with the country's formal and expressive tradition is glossed over.

These Presentations all share a methodological aspect which chronologically moves from an impartial analysis of the factors which, in the post-World-War-II period, caused deep modifications in the settlement structure during the industrial boom, to a point where several demonstration projects are illustrated. Some of the elements treated in this last section are the current cultural and technological tendencies present in the area of productive settlements; the preservation of both historical central cities and historical towns and villages; and, last but not least, the use of space on a territorial-wide basis.

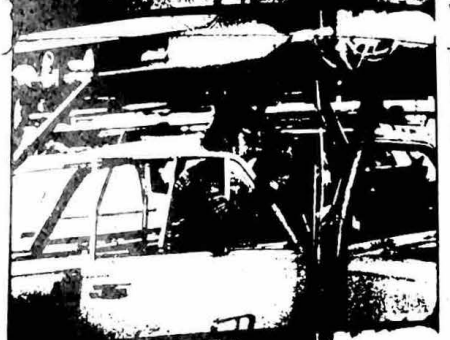
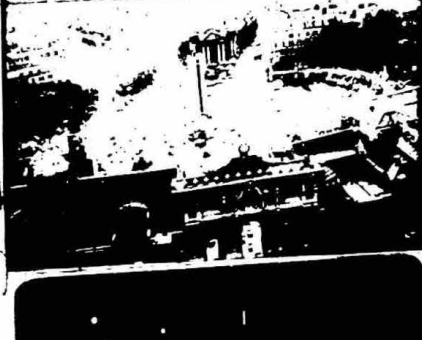
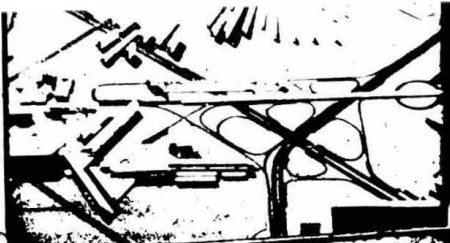
The themes of the three Presentations are strictly correlated and interdependent. This can be seen by the treatment in the first Presentation of the problem of reconciling the city/country-side conflict and the implantment of industrial installations in areas where there were none before. The second Presentation takes up the problem of housing and develops it in a double way: the problem of conserving the residential nature of the historic central city while at the same time dealing with the peripheral areas of large metropolitan conglomerates. The third Presentation completes the cycle by taking up the problem of free and open land use and the preservation of housing in the smaller towns and villages.


A novel aspect of Italy's three Presentations is the use of excerpts from some of the most important and well-known screen productions. In these films, Italian motion picture directors dealt with the development process the country has undergone and the problems it brought with it for Italian society. These excerpts are all included in the Presentations' analytic sections; in the demonstrative ones, a more technical and specific language is of course used.

In summary the titles of the three Presentations match their themes:

- 1) « Urbanization and Countryside »
- 2) « Housing in Metropolitan Areas »
- 3) « Housing in Towns and Villages »

The program which follows is but a brief summary of the contents of each Presentation. The films have





been co-produced by IN/ARCH and RAI-TV (Italian State Television Network). In order to put together the films, extensive use was made of material from both already broadcast TV programs and documentaries as-yet-unseen on Italian television. Besides this, a large amount of material was shot expressly for these Presentations and, as was stated above, several excerpts from Italian feature films are used to highlight the various themes.

Each film Presentation lasts approximately 25 minutes.

FILM No. 1. — « Urbanization and Countryside »

The problem of the relationship between city and countryside and between industry and agriculture as seen within the framework of the structural transformations which have taken place in Italy in the last twenty years; the phenomenon of internal migration on a mass scale and the modifications in the social structure brought about by it.

The process of industrial concentration which has beset the large cities of the « industrial triangle » and the phenomenon of congestion. Excerpt of a sequence from « Rocco and His Brothers » by the recently deceased Italian director, Luchino Visconti. The attempt to reverse the concentration process by the location of large petrochemical installations in previously-non-industrialized areas. Excerpt of a sequence from the « Red Desert » by Michelangelo Antonioni. The abandonment of the Sicilian countryside and the lack of agricultural balance makes difficult the process of industrial development. The alternative: the development of an electronics industry in the satellite cities surrounding Milan based on the « work-using » model; the decentralized location of a large foundry in the rice-fields near Vercelli; the Ottana plan and the second phase of the petrochemical industry which expands into the surrounding land area; the model for land use control proposed by the Province of Modena; the formation of model-farms in Sicily and the problem of their conforming size.

FILM No. 2. — « Housing in Metropolitan Areas »

The housing problem as seen complementarily from the point of view of the development of settlements

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and the development of the suburbs on the one hand, and the restoration and preservation of historical central cities on the other.

The theme is developed through the complex dimension of the large metropolitan scale.

Quantitative data and opinions on housing needs with reference to urban concentration and the phenomenon of urbanization.

Excerpts of a sequence from « Accattone » by Pier Paolo Pasolini.

The first responses given by public housing authorities; the subsequent tendency to build ever-larger integrated complexes and the crisis of self-sufficiency and politics of the neighborhood; the construction of the Vigne Nuove and Corviale complexes in Rome.

The attempt to establish a new relationship with the city; the over-all dimensions of the Forte Quezzi complex in Genua and the architectural dimensions of Monte Amiata al Gallaratese in Milan.

The relationship between urban planning and architecture by means of looking at the 1962 Rome Master Plan. The analysis of two proposals for developing the choices made in the Plan. The spontaneous growth of the « borgate » (shantytowns).

Inside the historic central cities, the problems of their preservation and redevelopment. The interpretation of the city by means of an excerpt from a sequence of « Roma » by Federico Fellini.

FILM No. 3. — « Housing in Towns and Villages »

The problem of saving historic centers of smaller towns. Excerpts of a sequence from « Vaghe Stelle dell'Orsa » by Luchino Visconti which serves as an interpretation of Volterra.

The housing problem as seen through the complementary points of view of new local settlements and the restoration of the historic centers of small towns and villages; opinions given on particular characteristics of the demand for housing with reference to the exodus from the countryside and the abandonment of minor historic centers.

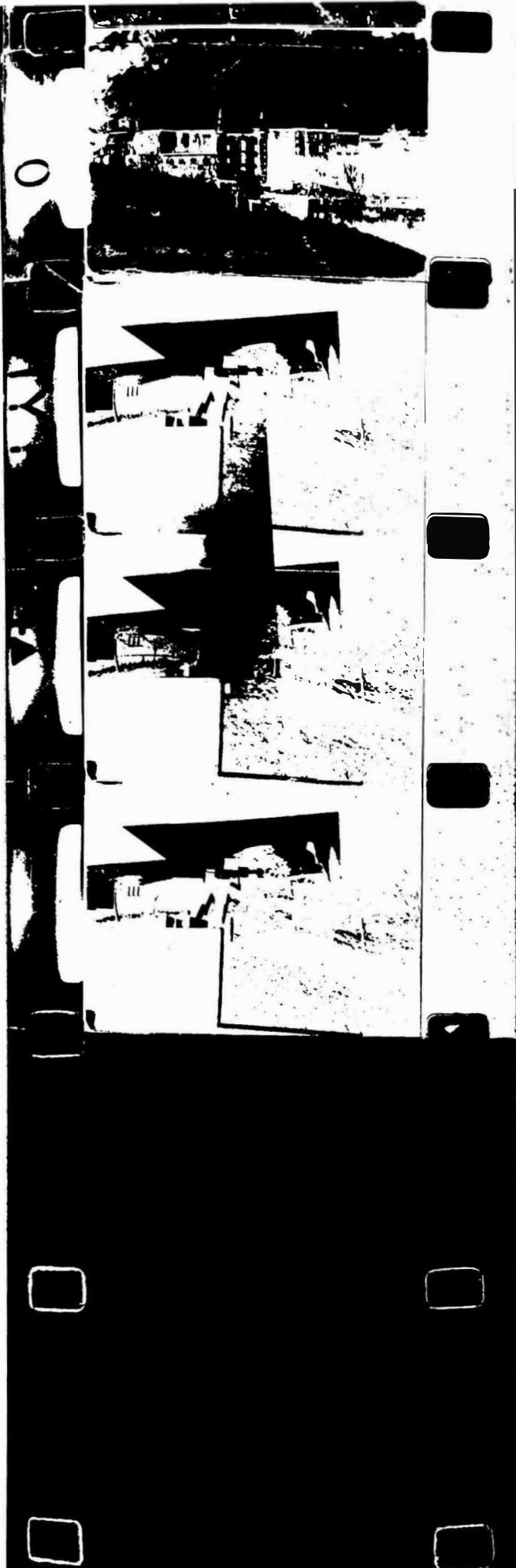
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State intervention following a natural calamity: the reconstruction of the historic center and the construction of a new neighborhood in Tuscania.

Inside of the historic center, the experience of Bologna and the most salient features of the work done there; the operation as seen from two points of view: methodological, with the classification of typologies and the methods used in restoration; political, with the description of the decision-making process through direct democratic participation. Three architectural proposals for Venice.

Projected preservation of Pesaro's historic central city; the construction of specialized residential units in Urbino.

STUDIES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Notes for a Declaration of Principles on Human Settlements

**Programme of international cooperation
proposed by the Ministry for Public Works**

NOTES FOR A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

Sergio Lenci

A Declaration of Principles on human settlements easily can start from a point of view that can be too peculiar to the western world culture:

"The point of view of wealthy people coping with problems of keeping their welfare condition as it is now through a theoretical effort to expand their welfare to the rest of the world".

In other words, the export of western development to the rest of the world".

But the increase of the world population and the consequent change in quantities of available resources per capita puts in crisis the yet discussed model based on continuous increase in individual private consumption.

Not to mention the negative effects that the development of industrial production stimulating private consumption and viceversa has demonstrated to have on the natural, urban and rural environment as well as on the social behaviour of both developed and developing countries.

Consequently, quality of life and quality of settlement need new definitions beyond the simple declaration of good intents up towards the illusion of expanding the western welfare.

The demographic growth, the urbanisation in progress, the abandon of minor towns and villages are often mentioned as problems which are threatening the quality of life. Although the observation is true, it doesn't seem sufficient to give the description of the present situation and the suggestion of particular actions.

The common observation that in the next quarter of century man must plan and build as much as now exists or the consideration that every citizen has to participate to the solution of his settlement as well as the redistribution of world resources, or the consideration that human settlements have to be seen as instrument rather than residual aspects of development, are all true and appropriate, but can be considered truisms if taken with no further specification. May be it is not enough to simply entrust the word "planning", with its sub-words: "priorities", "social welfare", "peoples participation", etc. These expressions have been used too much unsuccessfully

to be significant in general and in particular when in a Declaration of Principles.

When facing the enormous problems of urbanization, demographic growth, social degradation of urban areas, starving people, country sides abandon, pollution etc., besides suggesting merely to plan, a more critical attitude should be taken.

No Country, no Government would affirm that there is no need for planning, but after having agreed on such a statement, no progress can be claimed towards the definition of some principles from which choices for action can be derived.

A declaration of principles should enable people to realize who is doing wrong and in what particular field.

The Principles should not be too general in order not to lose their "raison d'être." On the other hand they cannot reflect all the infinite different situations in which human settlements have developed and will develop on the earth.

The opening of the declaration should list the following basic principles:

a) The biosphere is a common good of all humanity and nobody has the right to alter its equilibrium either with industrial activities or with uncontrolled exploitation of resources or delapidation of the natural environment for new settlements. The natural environment as well as the artificial, rural, urban and industrial ones, have to be protected in their values.

That means that the conservation of forest, rivers, lakes, as well as existing historical cities, towns and villages is mandatory for all countries. Its use in terms of correct correspondence between human needs and site possibilities has to be continuously checked.

Basically should be stated that all the cultures have the right of surviving and that no development is to be accepted if it can seriously jeopardize the survival of indigenous populations.

As regards the exploited mining regions where enormous digging works can change the natural environment, no one should have the right of leaving the desert after him.

Permissions to exploit mines and quarries should include the obligation to reforest and to reestablish environment which can permit human, animal, and vegetal life.

In case of the large strip mines never the total environment should be simultaneously spoiled (even if there are programmes of subsequent improvements.) The plans should always consider the needs of local populations and resident workers and the dangers of turning a large area even temporarily into a desert.

No child should grow up in a desolate area because of the occupation of his parents.

Temporary settlements for workers should never be characterized by unhuman conditions.

No man for no reason should live in precarious environmental conditions. Prisons, concentration camps and other institutions limiting the personal freedom wherever and whenever existing (and not to be discussed here) should provide the same standard of life required for normal settlements.

New settlements should not be located in areas naturally covered by forests.

Any indispensable destruction of trees should correspond to a considerable amount of new plantations.

b) The industrial production as well as resource exploitation have to respond to real needs of populations rather than to provoke consumption of goods.

To keep employment levels of developed and undeveloped countries or to keep actual standards of living or not to reduce some profits of anybody national or international company or State companies are not sufficient reasons to spoil the territory or to continue in producing mega-cities with its related insoluble problems.

The settlements, new and old, have not to be seen as a potential market for industrial production but it is the need of population that should affect quantity and quality of production.

c) The needs of population in general and those concerning human settlement in particular have to be continuously surveyed and compared with the possibilities.

bility of their satisfaction through the available technological means.

Never technology has to impose its constraints when not essential, nor fundamental needs have to remain unsatisfied because of impossibility of conversion of production programs.

The relation between settlement demands and technological response to it has to be a dynamic process opened to any variation and innovation. This process must be a substantial part of the public purpose of governments action and of economy.

d) The maximum of re-use and rehabilitation of existing urban structures, either old historic cities, towns, villages or recent cities developments (down-towns, peripheral parts of cities, suburbs, slums, etc.) as alternative to new developments has to be adopted in order to reduce the spoliation of natural and rural areas.

The trend toward the creation of megalopolis and the general urbanization of the yet urbanized metropolitan areas must be reduced with all the means which are consistent with individual rights to freedom of movement and of choice of employment and of place to live.

Quality of life in rural areas should equal the one in urban areas. In this respect not only a redistribution of facilities has to be considered but a balance of wages and quality of working conditions should be pursued.

A harmonious development of settlement in the world will not take place if there are differences in opportunities in different locations. National and international policies should evaluate the importance of this basic problem for the sake of future generations.

The enormous privileges in rights and standard of life of urban workers in comparison to the rural one is threatening our future not only in terms of megalopolitan concentrations but in terms of constant reduction of agricultural production in many countries and of absolute reduction of food resources per capita in the world.

e) Any new settlement has to be investigated for its consequences on the environment.

Choices on density of population as well as concentration of inhabitants as compared to public transportation means, availability of public facilities, are decisions which affect the whole environment.

These decisions have to reflect the public purpose, the population needs, the biosphere balance the technological possibilities.

f) The decision-making process on settlements and related knowledge on the environment and ecological balance should be part of the aim of education for children and adults.

The mass media and other media of communication available in various countries should be directed to a large extent to promote this knowledge and people's conscious participation to it.

g) The private companies profits as well as the state agencies interests in building new settlements or participating in any way to the production of parts or goods for it, have to be limited by exact programs and purposes which should eliminate any land speculation.

The only profit that can be considered legitimate is the profit connected with the value of the edifice.

Position values and the appeal that some urban locations can have, compared to the others, must be balanced through adequate policies oriented towards the equal distribution of facilities and infrastructures into the territory and through the public control on prices and equal opportunities for every citizen to live in appealing areas.

h) Popular participation in development of new settlements and maintenance of the existing ones or their transformation, have to be assured as one of the most important means to avoid abuses of power, speculation, exploitation.

This participation consists in a democratic autonomous organization of local administrations which have to be such to permit the personal involvement on current affairs of all citizens.

The administration of all expenditure relative to settlements has to be to the maximum extent a participative and public one.

Financing infrastructures and housing should be an operation controlled by the public authority not to transform it in a private profit or usury.

i) What is generally known as aesthetic value of a settlement needs a clearer definition.

It is of fundamental importance to call for a continuous improvement of the quality of the environment in terms of quality of the design of all its parts and its ensemble.

However the aesthetic value does not depend on monumental expression of buildings but on the quality of the pattern of settlers opportunities that a settlement can provide.

The good programming process for the urban design of every settlement and every urban renewal project involves studies and choices on quantity and quality of public facilities as well as private dwellings.

The way in which public spaces and structures are related to private spaces and homes is the quality of the settlement, its aesthetic value.

It means that the aesthetic value does not depend on decoration or money wasted on things which are not indispensable.

In addition to this definition of aesthetic value it has to be affirmed that the following list of characteristics is indispensable part of it:

1) Continuity of spaces and possibility of maximum movement of inhabitants (edifices have not to become social buffers);

2) Adequate supply of facilities and its physical conformation as participative institutions as opposed to closed institutions (e.g. schools, hospitals, shopping centers, prisons, asylums, sport installations, park amenities, town halls and offices administration buildings etc.)

3) The minimum of seclusion of private spaces and the minimum of fragmentation of land;

4) The maximum of variety in the built up environment as the only means, to realize the best interconnection between public facilities and private spaces, elements of the built up environment which are different and have to appear different.

5) In using repetitive systems of prefabrication of any kind never neglect to introduce the architectural invention, as above lined out, thus avoidign to transform a production line directly into a cityscape.

6) The maximum of reduction of celebrative official state art monumentality and the maximum effort stimulate the population to take care of the environment in a creative way;

7) Frequent contacts between planners, architects, on one side, and politicians, intellectuals, workers and local communities, on the other, in order to develop a dialectic process as starting point of the process of transformation of the environment.

8) Employment of young people in social service activities related both to the environment conservation and/a melioration and the social integration and participation. Social services as above to be considered as public investments and evaluated for their conveniences.

I. New directions for the U.N. cooperation system

1. In the preliminary meetings for the Habitat conference and from documents which have been distributed so far (the last dated 5th March 1976, A/CONF. 70/6) a fairly homogeneous line has emerged concerning future international action in the field of human settlements. It is based essentially on two programming options:

— unification of United Nations' organs at present operating in this field;

— concentration of international cooperation and technical assistance of regional organisms of the United Nations, both those dealing with the formation of territorial operators, research activity and the collection and exchange of information.

The same substantial agreement on these points can also be found in the two alternative proposals concerning the institutional modifications of the United Nations' system for the habitat sector.

2. In the light of these prospects, the traditional system of assistance and technical collaboration carried out by industrialized nations vis-à-vis developing countries — essentially based on the participation of specialized technicians, either isolated or in a team, international investment projects or the concession of a, generally limited, number of scholarships — should be completely reviewed, or at least integrated with new and more efficient instruments for cooperation.

3. The general lines of these modifications should correspond essentially to the need for a substantial increase in the transfer of resources (financial, material, ideas) between the countries with differing regions and especially between industrialized regions or countries and developing regions or countries; also the need to create a cooperation system which permanently involves the more developed countries in the upswing of developing regions or countries.

II. General lines for an integration of the cooperation system

4. In the preparatory documents of the Habitat Conference the framework of the aims and functions needed to pursue them can be drawn up in a scheme of the cooperation programme with the following items:

- a) formulation and application of the settlement policies;
- b) training of technicians;
- c) research into habitat and more generalized environmental problems;
- d) exchange of information;
- e) thrust mechanisms for human settlements;

These operations, taken as a whole, should be based on regional organs and coordination at a world level; a first attempt at estimating probable costs of the programme is made in the same documents.

5. It is clear that without giving a definitive institutional outline of the collaboration system, an enormous effort will be needed to get this programme under way and right from the start it is also clear that present available resources are not sufficient to ensure a rapid upswing. Thus, either an outstanding increase must be envisaged or else one must study a system for an improved use of resources at present employed in this field, but which return into the global flow of economic exchanges. This is not a question of directing resources from one field to another (as would occur in the case of an increase in international funds for cooperation) but a different technical and political qualification in the direction of international cooperation in investment rates already present in many ordinary economic operations. Basically this entails involving industrialized countries in cooperation projects through both the action of the states by breaking down the narrow limits of their technical assistance policy, as well as through economic operators, both public and private, and thus seriously affecting the present system of commercial penetration.

6. In a brief examination of the dual position of industrialized and developing countries, the cooperation programmes should basically tend towards:

— allowing developing countries to acquire analytic and programming techniques for problems concerning the environment and settlements experimented in highly developed countries; especially as regards industrialization processes, agricultural development, infrastructure and social service policy, construction of housing complexes, use of environmental resources, land administration and management;

— permitting industrialized countries to establish institutionalized exchange flow regarding technological and programming know-how, as well as processes and products concerning the habitat (building, infrastructures, industrialized plants, ecology, agricultural installations etc.).

7. Those parties interested in the financing, the definition and implementation of the cooperation programme may be the following as it regards industrialized countries:

a) a first group more concerned with general questions of political and economic relations with developing countries, such as central state administration and agencies for land planning and intervention;

b) a second group connected with the export of technologies, projecting and installation know-how, composed of research and programming organizations, financial and industrial operators;

c) a third group mainly dealing with scientific relations and cultural agreements composed of university departments, research centres, cultural associations.

8. These interested parties grouped together could be coordinated by an organ or a national agency dependent on one of the central administration bodies. The projects (such as specific territorial research, training for technicians, settlement policy etc.) could be assigned to this group and become part of the cooperation programme. The formation of these projects should be effected through the regional bodies of the developing countries and the world organization nominated in the U.N.O. system. Thus a triangular relationship would be established between developing regions, a world body and industrialized countries, with the aim of dealing with a specific problem and operating along the following lines:

- 1) developing countries refer the priority problems they intend to deal with (urban planning, development plans, training programmes etc;) to their own regional organ; the regional organ would examine the possibility of an autonomous solution to various problems within the framework of associate countries and transfer the requirement integration to world level
- 2) the world organ distributes available resources according to generalized criteria and programmes, and assigns projects to national agencies in industrialized countries (or to their regional organizations);
- 3) realization of the project ensured by a direct relationship between the national agency engaged and regional organisms or the country interested.

III. Italian experience and new needs for international cooperation

9. Italian experience in the field of habitat problems could take on particular interest in a system of international cooperation of the type described above, based on specific projects or permanent relationships between developing countries, the world organ and national agencies from the industrialized countries.

The reasons why Italy is particularly suited for this type of collaboration can be listed as follows:

— Italy is a "frontier" country among developed regions and developing areas (EEC and COMECON on one hand, the Middle East and Africa on the other);

— the long Italian experience, not entirely free from criticism, in solutions to development problems in several areas in the world, especially concerning industrialization, agricultural reform, use of tourist resources, physical and economic planning, land administration and management;

— the particular flow of international exchanges consolidated in the last few years with export from Italy of installation complexes (planning, construction and setting under way) in almost all production sectors and the implementation of several large multi-sectoral projects in the Middle East.

10. Projects assigned by world-level authorities to national agencies should be subject to the following treatment:

1) analysis of the reference terms of the project, compared to the most important Italian experiences for analogies they present with problems of the country concerned.

2) formation of a mixed work group experts comprising Italians and those from the country or region concerned, for the development of the first phase of the project, in other words analysis of Italian experience; Italy will have to assure the direct participation of the protagonists, themselves, of the experience taken as a model, such as local administrators, economic operators, planners etc.;

3) drawing up of a final report of the first phase which contains, over and beyond the critical evaluation of the case analysed, solutions proposed and their realization-specification of methodological and planning references to the problem presented by the country to be assisted; it should also suggest ways of amplifying and developing analyses begun which compare the two cases, and above all for experimenting programming in interested countries, intervention projecting and management techniques applied in the Italian experience under examination.

4) development of the project in the country assisted on the basis of new indications supplied by regional or local authorities of the developing areas.

In other words, all research work should have, where possible, its preparatory and analytical stage related to Italian experience and a second phase, more precisely planning, should be carried out in the developing countries. This proposal aims at going beyond the present practice of "technical aid to under-developed countries" by replacing it with a more "cooperative" one, with the creation of international and interdisciplinary research groups.

This would give all participants an operative research and planning experience and also confer on the programme a greater involvement of political, economic and cultural forces called upon to collaborate; this would then lead towards overcoming the narrow channels used in the present United Nations system, as shown in the preliminary documents to the Conference.

