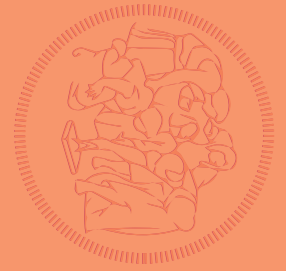


# CONTRATTO DI QUARTIERE II IN MAZZINI: ANALYSIS AND CRITIQUE OF THE EXPERIENCE



POLITECNICO

MILANO 1863

ARCHITECTURE URBAN PLANNING

CONSTRUCTION ENGINEERING

URBAN PLANNING AND POLICY DESIGN

Tutor Professor:

Massimo Bricocoli

Degree thesis of the student:

Filippo Bissi

582141

Academic year 2018-2019



# 1

## RESEARCH'S INTRODUCTION

The starting point of this research is an overview of the current phenomena that public housing patrimony is facing nowadays. The national levels, as well as the European one, started focusing part of their attention on public housing matter. This attention is currently characterized by different aspects, different comparing to the past. New concerns started rising, strictly correlated to new conditions that started to be born. Many aspects of change have risen, related to the society and its composition, regarding the economy and the change of its trend, and eventually related to the existing patrimony of public housing that governments collected along the last century. The following chapter is going to introduce the topic insighting the cited

matters and explaining the reasons of change.

## 1.1 Analysis of the contemporary aspects affecting public housing

### 1.1.1 The current European attention over social housing

In October 2016, the HABITAT III meeting was held in Quito, Ecuador, and the major focus of the occasion was on social cohesion and equity in the settlements, including inclusive cities, safer cities, urban culture and heritage, immigration and refugees. Housing Europe at the Habitat III conference stated that it is the right moment for governments to put social, cooperative and public housing back at the center of inclusive, smart and sustainable policies in our cities and regions.

*“Social housing helps people live in dignity and can maintain trust within and between communities”, said the President of Housing Europe, Marc Calon. “But new challenges such as declining government spending on housing and increasing demand for affordable homes put this model under heavy pressure. A renewed approach and commitment from policy makers is thus needed”. (Marc Calon, Quito, Ecuador; 17 October 2016)*

Both the UN Secretary General, Ban Ki Moon and the Executive Director of UN-Habitat and Secretary-General of Habitat III, Joan Clos underlined in their messages in light of the Global Conference on the New Urban Agenda the necessity for housing to be at the center of the future urban policies. Indeed, the Draft Habitat III Declaration underlines the key role of public, cooperative and social housing providers for the progressive realization of the right to adequate housing for all through the supply of a variety of adequate housing options while it expresses the commitment for the promotion of affordable and sustainable housing and housing finance.

### 1.1.2 Italian social housing's regimes

In 2008, the Ministry for Infrastructures' decree 3904 established a new definition of social housing. Public housing changed its name, which from “residential public building” (Edilizia Residenziale Pubblica, ERP) became “social residential building” (Edilizia Residenziale Sociale, ERS). The new term includes several meanings, namely traditional subsidized housing, as well as supported rental housing, including local experiments and partnerships with private actors. The possibility to

build services in the same housing complex was also integrated in the definition. The “new” social housing could be placed not only in specific areas, expropriated by municipalities (Law 167/1962), but also in public or private areas where mechanisms of adjustments with the private sector are taking place. It could be built together with different activities, according to the principle of mixture. The goal of ERS is to create rental dwellings with different rent prices designed to meet various housing needs. Social rental housing currently represents about the 4% of the national housing stock.

There are three main types of social housing (see table1):

- Subsidized housing (edilizia sovvenzionata), direct state provided housing, with costs covered totally by the state and state ownership of the houses built (public housing);
- Assisted housing (edilizia agevolata), support (mainly financial, traditionally in the form of interest subsidies on loans) for the construction of housing for rental and for owner-occupier housing, or grant of subsidized loans to private individuals.
- Agreed housing (edilizia convenzionata). Construction companies or cooperatives, operating in agreement with the Municipality realize the construction of the dwellings, both in private rather than public areas. The private operator supports the expropriation costs as well, and its goal is to sell the patrimony it built in the future.

The object in this thesis mainly refers to the first kind of social housing, which faces more severe problems and needs more intervention measures. In this sense, the social housing we are going to study could be called as “public housing” since the provider is the government.

The public sphere managing public housing is mainly represented by the former IACP<sup>1</sup>, created in the 1908 as a public body, now transformed into autonomous public agencies with different legal statutes. However, nowadays, in Lombardy this agency is called ALER<sup>2</sup> (Azienda Lombarda Edilizia Residenziale). It owns and manage public housing stock, and their activities target to low-income households.

---

1 The Istituto Autonomo Casa Popolari was constituted the 12th of August 1908. This institute had the goal to promote, realize and deal the public housing patrimony. The association was composed by different and autonomous branches at the municipal level. It was constituted thanks to the will of the member of the parliament Luigi Luzzatti and what passed the history as “Luzzatti Law”, law number 251 approved in 31st of May 1903, formally allowing the establishment of the institute.

2 The institute of public housing in Lombardy Region (Azienda Lombarda Edilizia Residenziale) has been named in this way thanks to the Regional Law number 13th of the 1996, which changed the statute of the previous existing IACP, which was standing for Istituto Autonomo Case Popolari. Aler is dealing with part of the public housing patrimony of Milan (also managed by the municipality).

	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Financial mechanisms</b>	<b>Provider</b>
<b>Subsidised housing (Edilizia sovvenzionata)</b>	Rental housing owned by the public sector. It is addressed to those with lower income	Subsidies cover between 60 and 100 % of the cost, and the rent is proportional to the income of the tenant. Rents in the public sector are very low, corresponding on average to 1/4 of market rents	Municipalities and public housing agencies
<b>Assisted housing (Edilizia agevolata)</b>	Housing provided both for rent and for sale and aimed at households on low to middle income	Subsidies for rental-assisted housing are between 20 and 60 % of the cost, and the rent is limited to the minimum price of the market or to 4.5 % of the construction cost. Assisted housing for sale is entitled to between 10 and 30 % subsidies, and the price of the dwelling may not be higher than that of subsidized housing	Mainly cooperatives
<b>Agreed housing (Edilizia convenzionata)</b>	Private housing provided for rent or for sale, whose transfer costs or rents are regulated by a specific agreement drawn up between the Municipality and the housing provider	Providers benefit by a discount on local tax for building authorization, and by a lease on the land for 99 years	Private and public providers: the most active ones are building firms and cooperatives

Municipalities own social rental dwellings, and in some cases they manage them directly. In terms of the size of the public sector, although over a million dwellings were built during the post war period, the public social rented sector never grew significantly, because large segments of the stock are continuously being sold off. Housing cooperatives and other private providers have been involved in the provision of social housing since 1978.

### 1.1.3 Local context's deficiencies

As for the social concern of housing policies, problems of poverty and exclusion have mixed up with a widespread problem of affordability, especially in urban areas

**Table 1**

3 types of social housing in Italy

*(Source: Table elaborated by the author based on the source Pittini and Laino, 2011)*

(Tosi, 1998). The general problems can be divided into the following aspects:

### 1.1.3.1 Inadequate availability of housing

The public housing stock in Milan is just 5% of all the total amount of dwellings, similar with the average percentage of Italy, which is 4%. (Pittini et al. 2015). This number is resolutely low, especially if compared with other countries, such as Netherlands (36%), Great Britain (22%), and France (20%), which shows a great difference with other neighbor countries.

However, under such a premise, Italy is still in a terrible process of social housing privatization. According to the table 2, from 1971 to 2011 the country's housing privatization rate continued rising, which means that the proportion of social housing in the total number of buildings has been declining. Most of this is due to economic reasons, that the government or relevant institutions were unable to afford the repairing cost for the social housing, and thus they put them into the market to reduce the financial pressure as well as gaining subsidies.

**Table 2**  
Occupied dwellings and tenure

Year	Home ownership	Home ownership %	Rented houses	Rented houses %	Total amount of dwellings
1971	7,766,566	50.8	7,534,861	49.2	15,301,427
1981	10,333,197	58.9	7,208,555	41.1	17,541,752
1991	13,419,121	68.0	6,316,792	32.0	19,735,913
2001	15,453,656	71.4	6,199,632	28.6	21,653,288
2011	17,491,642	72.5	6,643,535	27.5	24,135,177

(Source: ISTAT census of various years)

### 1.1.3.2 New families' composition and needs

After WWII, the classic model of Italian family changes from 4 to 5 people to smaller units consisting only 1 to 2 people, so more compact housing types as well as units have been needed in Italian housing stock. However, from the table 3 in the last few decades, the average number of rooms in residential buildings is still increasing in Italy. The smart housing units are still rare, in a state of urgency.

Compared to 2001, single-parent households, unmarried and non-conjugated couples, and the classical mononuclear family are growing significantly. Families with at least one foreign resident, especially one-person, are also greatly increased.

In Italy, family resources are coping with the problems of younger generations, while the public subsidies are helpful for elderly workers. The young population,

compared to the older one, is lacking in various sectors (housing, labor, salaries), and this condition is much more widespread than in the past years.

Years	Dwellings	Rooms	Average number of rooms/dwelling
1971	17,433,972	63,833,741	3.7
1981	21,937,223	88,617,874	4.0
1991	25,028,522	105,152,467	4.2
2001	27,291,993	111,197,834	4.1
2011	31,208,161	132,447,435	4.25

**Table 3**  
Growth of housing in Italy during the last decades

(Source: ISTAT, census of various years)

*1.1.3.3 New populations requiring aid*

According to the Italian National Bureau of Statistics (ISTAT), the number of immigrants living in Italy has been going up all the time. Seventeen years ago (in 2001) and twenty seven years ago (in 1991), the number of foreign immigrants were, respectively, 1,3 million and 350,000 (ISTAT, 1991 & 2001). In January 2011, it has reached 4,570,317, an increase of 7.9% (335,000 people) from the previous year. The immigration flow naturally exacerbated the housing market’s pressure.

*1.1.3.4 The effects of the crisis*

Due to the negative influence of the financial crisis in 2008, the Italian economy’s growth turned negative for the first time in many years, the national final consumption fell by 0.5%; household consumption fell by 0.9% (ISTAT, 2009). The employment market started deteriorating, and even those who had stable jobs in the private or public sectors were facing the threat of unemployment. In the economic crisis, one-third of working-age Italians faced a certain degree of economic loss or unemployment (ANSA, 2014). This means that not only low-income groups were risking their home ownership entering into the rental market, but also people who were belonging to the so-called “middle class”. To sum up, a large need to lease lower-cost houses started to rise, need that started rising meanwhile the supplies were declining.

In 2015, 60 % of families are looking for housing in the rental market (Censis and Nomisma 2017). Another sign of national housing distress is the incidence of housing costs on the income of families. According to Federcasa data (Federcasa, 2015), nearly 2 million people live in subsidized homes (most of them in northern Italy, 44%), and 650,000 households that meet the access criteria are waiting for



their homes. Households with annual income of less than 10,000 euros account for 34 per cent of the total housing subsidy families, and this figure is increasing due to a process of widespread poverty (Federcasa<sup>3</sup>, 2015).

In addition, to the recorded needs of these people, there is a “hidden” demand that is not insignificant and that is represented by those who cannot reach the official channels. This is the case of some of the foreign population, discouraged people who after various failed attempts stop applying; categories that due to their social-cultural and economic condition do not have the possibility of accessing institutional channels. As well as mentally disables, ex-convicts etc., and people who earn too much to match the allocation economic criteria and at the same time cannot afford a house in the private market (Cela, 2011).

Since the primary housing need of traditionally weak social groups is still not completely satisfied, a new additional demand is emerging, expressed by a diversified low-income population, such as the elderly, young couples, students, immigrants, temporary workers. So not only the marginalized segments of society are involved, but also large portion of the middle class, that has swiftly grown poor and it is looking for a housing affordable to their income levels; which does not allow the access even to the large surplus of 5.5 million unoccupied homes on the market.

## 1.2 Social housing’s condition in Italy

### 1.2.1 Structures’ deterioration

The physical decline includes the deterioration of the dwellings and the lack of maintenance of public spaces. Many dwellings were built many years ago, and show obvious signs of physical decay, like roof leaking, facade damage, etc. Besides, when those buildings were built, the thermal and energy efficiency performance levels were very low, and they cannot meet the modern requirement. As to the public space, many estates show problems like some roads damage, lack of subsidiary facilities (lights, dustbin etc.), public places in bad condition or even abandoned.

In Milan, most social housing are managed by ALER who are responsible for

---

<sup>3</sup> Federcasa was founded in 1996 as a transformation of the National Association of autonomous institutions for public housing (ANIACAP) established in 1950. The Federation associates 114 entities that, throughout Italy, have been building and managing social housing with public funds for almost a century, but also with own funds and with subsidized loans. These are autonomous institutes for public housing, bodies undergoing transformation and companies that manage a heritage of over 850 thousand housing intended for users with low or medium income.

the common maintenance, however, the funds are far from enough for the overall refurbishment, hence, the condition of those estates become worse gradually.

### 1.2.2 Social downturn

From the WWII to the mid-1970's is the golden age of social housing development, in order to meet the large demand of the working class, numerous social housing estates appeared in various cities of Europe, most located in the suburbs. However, with the economic downturn and the transformation of urban policy focus, these social housing estates away from the city center gradually turned into depression, some even became the breeding ground of crime. At present, the shabby social housing residential area is regarded as a crisis in many cities, manifested as mono-functional use, complicated social environment, mixture immigrants groups, social conflicts and all kinds of crimes.

### 1.2.3 Lack of an integrated welfare system

Housing policies have been relatively weak from a welfare viewpoint. On the one hand, the supply of social housing has been scarce and, on the other hand, social housing policies do not sufficiently target the needs of marginalized groups and groups in extreme poverty as well as being poorly integrated with general social welfare programs (Tosi, 2003). The poor have long been subject to assistance and regulative treatment, which did not perceive them as recipients of "homes" but of various forms of shelter and/or refuge (Longo, 2006). Recent years, in the process of localization of housing policy, the traditional regional differences also caused the imbalance of implementation efficiency.

### 1.2.4 Summaries

*From the supply aspect:*

The real estate market was growing until the financial crisis, which caused a rise in interest rates on mortgages and the debt load of the families started to worsen, so there is the stagnation of new construction; reduced stock due to privatization of social housing; physical/social problems caused by deterioration of social housing estates also obstructing people moving in.

*From the demand aspect:*

The increasing number of people who are in need of social housing/on waiting

list, vulnerable groups such as poor class, homeless, single mothers, foreigners and even some middle class or young students who cannot afford the market rent.

Complex housing demand due to changes in the social structure, such as the territorial imbalance between northern and southern Italy; demographic data are showing a scenario in which the central and northern parts of the country attract migrants from abroad and young people from the south.

Housing deprivation is becoming an issue for an extensive part of the population. Housing distress can be recognized in two main population categories. The first one includes the most vulnerable classes; those with a strong housing deprivation who cannot afford to live in a safe and decent place. They need emergency housing and rapid responses. On the other hand, there are people who are not in a deprived condition, as they have a salary or a pension, but are at risk of housing hardship, and the house can be considered a limitation. The population affected by this issue is considered a “grey” area of the housing need. They are able to pay an economic rent, but cannot afford to secure their housing condition.

*Proposals:*

Refurbishing the social housing estate to provide more available dwellings for the needed instead of demolishing or privatization. The regeneration of social housing estates can also act as an important factor in increasing the housing stocks besides building the new. Both newer social housing estates and the renovated ones need to be the current focuses.

### 1.3 Urban Regeneration: targets and players from the 50's until nowadays

Attempts to contain urban sprawl and to ensure the maximum beneficial use of land and real estate already within the urban area have dominated much of urban policy during the past century. From post-Second World War's reconstruction to the present-day model of partnership, power and responsibility for the discharge of the tasks of urban regeneration has changed hands in line with the broader conventions of social organization and the dominant forces of political life. The pattern of evolution of urban policy, together with the characteristics of each era of policy, is summarized in table 4.

The emphasis in the 1940's and 1950's was on reconstruction, replacement and the eradication of the physical problems of the past. Government-led, with enthusiastic support from local authorities and the private sector alike, the priorities of

<b>Policy Type</b>	<b>1950's Urban Recon-struction</b>	<b>1960's Urban Revitaliza-tion</b>	<b>1970's Urban Renewal</b>	<b>1980's Urban Redevelop-ment</b>	<b>1990's Urban Regenera-tion</b>
<b>Strategies</b>	Reconstruction and extension of older areas of towns and cities; often based on a 'master plan'; suburban growth	Continuation of 1950's theme-suburban and peripheral growth; some early attempts of rehabilitation	Focus on in- situ renewal and neighborhood schemes; still development at periphery	Many major schemes of development and redevelopment; flagship projects; out of town projects	Move towards a more comprehensi-ve form of policy and practice; more emphasis on integrated treatmen-ts
<b>Key Actors &amp; Stakeholders</b>	National and local government; private sector developers and contractors	Move towards a greater balance between public and private sectors	Growing role of private sector and decentralization in local government	Emphasis on private sector and special agencies; growth of partnerships	Partnership the dominant approach
<b>Spatial Level of Activity</b>	Emphasis on local and site levels	Regional level of activity emerged	Regional and local levels initially; later more local emphasis	In early 1980's focus on site; later emphasis on local level	Reintroduction of strategic perspecti-ve; growth of regional activity
<b>Economic Focus</b>	Public sector investment with some private sector involvement	Continuing from 1950's with growing influence of private investment	Resource constraints in public sector and growth of private investment	Private sector dominant with selective public funds	Greater balance between public, private and voluntary funding
<b>Social Content</b>	Improvement of housing and living standards	Social and welfare improvement	Community-based action and greater empowerment	Community self-help with very selective state support	Emphasis on the role of community
<b>Physical Emphasis</b>	Replacement of inner areas and peripheral development	Some continuation from 1950's with parallel rehabilita-tion of existing areas	More extensive renewal of older urban areas	Major schemes of replacement and new development; flagship schemes	More modest than 1980's; heritage and retention
<b>Environmental Approach</b>	Landscaping and some greening	Selective improvements	Environmental improvement with some innova-tions	Growth of concern for wider approach to environment	Introduction of broader idea of environmental sustainability

## Table 4

Table 4: Evolving definitions related to urban regeneration

*(Sources: Reorganized by Author; referring to Stohr (1989), Roberts (2000) and Lichfield (1992))*

slum clearance and reconstruction led to the embrace of high-rise housing and industrialized building techniques (Couch, 1990, p. 29). Urban renewal in Italy started to become an issue of national concern in Italy during the 1950's, and was initially seen in terms of recuperating ancient urban settlements and the historic centers of cities.

By the mid-1960's it was already apparent that many of the immediate post-war solutions had simply transferred the location and altered the manifestation of urban problems. Growing dissatisfaction with slum clearance and the resulting decanting of population to peripheral estates, together with a more participatory and decentralized approach to government, led to a series of adjustments to policy. In the urban policy field this shift in priorities resulted in an increased emphasis on improvement and renewal.

This discovery of the inner city, together with the first tentative steps towards the generation of urban policy, led to a major expansion of urban initiatives during the 1970's. Associated with the proliferation of initiatives in this period were a series of attempts to ensure greater co-ordination between the previously separate economic, social and physical strands of policy.

Most significantly, during the 1980's there was a move away from the idea that the central state should or could provide all of the resources required in order to support policy interventions. This new policy stance was matched by a greater emphasis on the role of partnership (Roberts and Sykes, 2000). One example of the new policy formulation of the 1990's, which is evident both in the general domain of politics and in urban policy, is the acceptance of the need to work in accord with the environmental objectives of sustainable development. Although not yet fully reflected in what we now define as urban regeneration, this is a final illustration of the way in which the inheritance of the past and the challenges of the present help to shape urban regeneration.

What is clear nowadays is that achieving urban regeneration requires far more than traditional land-use planning; it has to encompass a broader strategy of urban management which relates investment, physical intervention, social action and strategic planning to other associated policy fields (Roberts, Struthers and Sacks, 1993, p. 11).

Nowadays, the Social housing regeneration act as a crucial part of urban regeneration (political, physical, social, economic aspects):

- The regeneration of social housing is considered as recovery of common wealth and a positive public resource of the city.
- Social housing regeneration is a significant and representative part of ur-

ban regeneration, because it is closely related to the ordinary life of people. A city's regeneration process includes not only the open space, public facilities, public buildings and activities; also, from the quantitative point of view, residential building updates should be included in the primary consideration.

- The diversification (integration) of social housing regeneration determines the multidimensional of physical, social, economic and ecological aspects, which also reflects the multi-dimensional and complex characteristic of urban regeneration.
- As a result, of financial problems, multi-actors collaboration including government agencies, companies, and social groups have become key elements of the regeneration of the social housing in Milan.

## 1.4 Research's aim and goals

- What is the necessity to adopt an integrated regeneration project for social housing, which not only regards the physical refurbishment, but also the social improvement as well as the economic and environment regeneration aspects? Moreover, in which way do they influence each other (achieve mutual promotion)?

In order to answer this question, we need to do a policy review first to clarify the timeline of the Italian social housing regeneration policies and the regeneration policies of urban scale but related to social housing estates, and then focus on the analysis of the current policies and measures and their characteristics. After the comparison, the progresses and shortcomings of the contemporary mechanism are going to be summarized.

- How can the regeneration program create the condition of a fertile social tissue, based on employment and social integration?

After the literature review, we may expect some positive results of social housing regeneration, such as promoting social integration, enhancing the diversity of residents, providing more employment opportunities, reducing crime rates, reshaping community's identity and so on. However, the actual outcomes of the implementation can only be objective and fair with field visit, local interview and then present without bias; of course, should exist original predicaments being properly resolved or improved, still, there might be many lessons worth to learn.

- Does exist the mode of public-private partnership and civic engagement in the regeneration program? If so, how are they applied in the cases?

To illustrate this, we will first analysis a detail case study to know how the re-generation interventions are implemented in the social housing estate, and then specific summaries of partnership can be done.

- Which has been the requalification program's level of innovation, under the point of view of the use new technologies as a tool of involvement of local population and possible actors?

To understand if some innovative forms of involvement of the local community and the hypothetical actors of the requalification the study is going to insight the methods of involvement and aggregation. Within this approach and insight regarding the creation of new job opportunities is going to be made.

## 1.5 The layout of the research

This research is going to focus on the specific case of the public estates' refurbishment in the context of Milan. In order to deepen the topic the prerogative is to insight the history of social housing in Italy, starting from the early origins and passing through the development of the topic along the ages. Following the same description, based on public housing's history, the description is going to arrive until nowadays, describing the current characteristic and dynamics regarding the estates. Another aspect that is going to be insight in order to supply a sturdy base is the urban regeneration of the estates in the Italian context. All of the matters just mentioned are going to be analysed in the chapter number 2.

This is going to be the bases needed to move further in the next descriptive part of this work, which is the one reporting a requalification policy in the city of Milan. The policy analysed is called "Contratto di quartiere", or in English, "Contract of the neighbourhood". The history of the policy is going to be analysed from the national origins (chapter number 3) until the municipal implementation in the case of Mazzini area in Milan (chapter 4).

The argumentation is going to evidence eventually some positive and negative aspects of the selected case based on Milan. In order to discuss these aspects, another case study is going to be introduced based in the neighbourhood of Tor Sapienza in Rome. The case of Tor Sapienza is going to be worthwhile to describe how in the next future another program of such kind could be improved in some aspects (chapter 5).







# 2

## DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL ESTATES AND RELATED POLICIES IN THE ITALIAN CONTEXT

After the general introduction of the first chapter, this second one is going to go through specifically the Italian framework. Especially, to clearly tie up the topic, the goal is to explain a brief history of Italian public housing trend along the decades of the 20th century. In fact, along the decades of the last century public housing's policies changed focus, as well as operators in the sectors and responsible authorities. This chapter is going to analyze the main recognizable season of the history

of public housing, trying to give a fertile base of knowledge needed to move on the next phases of this work, which are strictly focalized on the present days.

## 2.1 Review of the historical social housing seasons in Italy

### 2.1.1 Origins of social housing for the working class (1900-1940)

History of social housing in European countries began more than a century ago. Although each country has different definition of “social housing”, the core of it is similar, which is the housing provided to those who needs them in the price lower the market. As much of Europe has “a common history of social housing with shared roots, a shared philosophy, and a large variety of experiences”, the social housing topic is quite popular around Europe. The word social housing is the key element of the “social welfare” policy that “marked the first stage of industrialization”. (Lévy-Vroelant, 2008)

“Since the industrial revolution, together with the traditional provision by private and speculative initiatives, industries and companies, as well as the State, became the direct providers of housing stock for workers, thus confirming the role of industrial production as a principle of economic, social and spatial organization. Public housing estates were conceived as answers to the relevant housing demand, as well as platforms for social inclusion, for urban integration and control of the working classes that migrated toward the city” (Bricocoli, 2010).

The first Italian law on social housing was declared in the early twentieth century (Law 251/1903). Proposed by the member of the parliament Luigi Luzzati, it was called the “Luzzati Law.” It creates intermediate entities, financial companies and cooperatives, which build dwellings to lease or sell to people in housing need. The resources of banks and mutual aid societies could finance these entities. IACP (Istituto Autonomo per le Case Popolari, Independent Institution for Tenement Building) was established in 1908 in almost all Italian cities. For many decades, these entities have been the main actors on the scene of social housing. The aim of the IACP was to provide housing to lower classes of the population. Luzzati’s idea was to give a house to families who could pay mortgages to financial companies and cooperatives; hence to the working class. The law was not intended for the most vulnerable part of the population. Hence, early in this century, the birth of social housing is not only for the needs of workers, but also for economic and political

needs. However, anyway, this kind of housing does constitute the main body of the social welfare system.

Social housing is related to the modern architecture movement as well, modernism and industrialization were accepted as guiding ideologies of the European countries in the same historical background, and social welfare policies were closely related.

### 2.1.2 Post-war reconstruction as an economic trigger (1945–1967)

After the World War II, the national goal was the country's reconstruction, and the real estate sector was chosen as a trigger for economic development. In this phase, subsidized housing was strengthened and specific categories of beneficiaries were identified (Minelli 2004), shifting housing policy's purpose from supporting workers (pre-war period) to economic recovery. This was achieved through Law 43 of 1949, which defined a national housing plan (called "Fanfani Plan," as the Minister of Labor who proposed it). The plan's goal was to increase employment by building social housing for workers (subsidized housing). Financial resources were provided by the national State and by a contribution from all workers (entrepreneurs and employees had a deduction on their income). The funds of the plan were managed by Istituto Nazionale delle Assicurazioni (INA, National Institute for Insurance); therefore, the housing program was called INA-Casa. This is a public housing project, located mostly in the outskirts of the metropolitan area, providing nearly 355,000 housing units for the public. Since then, a large number of immigrants moved from villages and small towns to large cities, urban suburbs began to be formed.

Law 167/1962: This law is important to mention since it was the new spatial planning tool for new social housing areas in the cities. This was the first planning law to create a relationship between public authorities, private actors and cooperatives to build new housing.

Law 60/1963: Other important law forecasting a housing program promoted by the State, thus replacing INA-Casa, called GESTione Casa Lavoratori (GESCAL), management of workers' housing. The funding system was the same as for INA-Casa: contribution from the State, employers and employees. The State's contribution was larger than in the former plan, since it invested the financial resources gained by selling the previously built subsidized houses. GESCAL was a ten-year plan, whose purposes were not only to build new social housing, but instead to construct infrastructures and services.

### 2.1.3 The housing protesting movements, the decentralization and the public-private partnerships (1967–1978)

During the 70's a declining trend started. The number of families kept growing but with fewer members than before (even a single member can be considered a family) and it has continued so until today. Families' needs started to differentiate thanks to changes in lifestyle (Boeri et al. 1993).

In the end of 1960's and during the 1970's unresolved issues affected the Italian scenario, bursting in protesting movements, violent tensions and terroristic attacks. Housing need was not solved (social housing neighborhoods were not sufficient for the housing demand), and in peripheral areas of cities the real estate sector created low quality housing, without services and parks. In particular, lower classes were expelled from cities' centers, which were left to the richest population. The most vulnerable people and the population who migrated from the countryside gathered in peripheral districts. Under these circumstances, self-organized initiatives bloomed; neighborhood committees were created in the social housing districts to fight for issues about services and infrastructures. These protesting movements were well organized and they proposed changes in the situation: occupation of free areas, spaces and rooms, auto-reductions of rents, promotion of cultural events and public debates. Housing has always been considered also by labor unions as a fundamental right to be provided to every citizen. A new national housing policy was demanded.

The housing reform was introduced in 1971 with Law number 865 organizing the public intervention in housing with a clear structure. The housing competences were entrusted from the State to the Regions (public authorities created in 1970). These have the duty to manage the locations and public investments for social housing. The national government plans the financing and the mechanism of fund distribution among the regions, adapting the financial resources to the various regional housing needs. Regarding expropriation, the law introduced the expropriation for public benefit: municipalities could obtain areas or buildings if they were planning of creating public services in those zones.

The economic value of this kind of expropriations was resolutely low, since they were assimilated to rural land (agricultural use) therefore these costs were feasible for the municipalities. In this way, municipalities could begin to control the land revenue's mechanisms. The law clearly states the separation between land property and real estate activity: the municipal master plan is stronger than the landowners' rights. Moreover, the entities who can build and manage social housing are control-

led: IACP is the appointed partner with municipalities and regions. This law was considered as a big achievement, since, for instance, the law allowed municipalities to seek partner in the private actors.

#### 2.1.4 From social housing production to its regeneration (1978–1990)

The new construction share of social housing estates in whole building construction has been declining from 8 percent at the beginning of the '80s to a less than 2 percent at the beginning of the '90s. At the end of the 1970's in Italy, two main national acts were promulgated:

- Law 392/1978 (Rent Act), which introduced a new form of regulation for the rental sector (not only for housing, but for all uses): the mechanism defined by the law was based on objective criteria related to the dwelling's features and rent prices were raised less than the market ones. Government involvement makes rents relatively reasonable.

And

- Law 457/1978, which launched the Ten-Year Public Housing Plan. The law defined the entities that managed the plan and their activities (financial management and resources, norms about mortgages, regulations about old buildings and neighborhoods' renewal).

The plan financed the social housing sector for ten years; in particular, financial resources were assigned not only to subsidized housing, but also to assisted and agreed housing. The focus on renewal became stronger in those years: public-private partnerships could be created to act on urban form and on buildings. The existing degraded buildings and neighborhoods were the objects of this policy, which focused only on the built environment, without any attention toward social and economic dimensions.

The decade of the 70's can be considered as a phase of regulation and attempts of equality: the central State tried to regulate the housing market, correcting alterations and pursuing redistribution. During the 80's, instead, these efforts were neglected and some of the laws and norms enforced in the previous years were cancelled. Both expropriation and fair rent regulations experienced some degree of repeal. In this decade, home ownership was promoted through specific norms and financial resources; at the same time, selling processes reduced the availability of subsidized housing. The rental market started shrinking and also the middle class was affected by housing problems. Low classes of the population, demanding social

housing, were in social distress.

### 2.1.5 Socio-economic changes and decaying estates' renewal programs (1990–2000)

Due to the changing of families and social structures, the influence of economic crisis and the pressure of immigrants, the housing demand have become highly fragmented in the last decades. Housing deprivation no longer concerns only traditional low-income families but new, numerous and heterogeneous population segments, which were not previously affected by this problem (Tosi, 2007). Moreover, the changes in post-Fordist societies and the impact of the globalization process, mainly related to labor market flexibility and to the widely feared risk of unemployment (Clapham, 2006) has given rise to new forms of social fragility and poverty, which has strong consequences for housing needs. In terms of subsidized housing, supply conditions have remained the same in the past twenty years. The number and features of dwellings are inadequate and rigid, quite unsuitable for the various housing needs. The most vulnerable people are, therefore, gathered in specific neighborhoods and parts of the cities. Most of the financial support for social housing is now focusing on rehabilitation and regeneration programs, so few buildings are being built and cannot actually improve the existing stocks.

In the 1990's, public investment in housing fell further and the limited public resources that had been allocated to this sector went to the so-called "integrated urban programs", which in Italy were leading the urban renewal and regeneration policies (Governa and Saccomani, 2004). After more than 50 years from the construction of the first buildings of social housing, it was clear that this real estate sector needed renewal and restructuring. The social housing neighborhoods became the symbol of decay and marginalization. In social housing neighborhoods, the grouping of various forms of social distress constitutes a multi-faceted issue. As a result, the European Union started issuing initiatives in the sake of neighborhoods' requalification (i.e. Urban), and these neighborhoods have become target of renewal and regeneration policies. The aim of the regeneration process was to tackle all dimensions of deprivation and distress. Economic and social revitalization entered the framework along with physical interventions. The key aspect of the integrated approach is multi-dimensional actions designed to achieve social inclusion, focusing on principles like integration, involvement of different actors, and capacity to make agreements among various entities.

### 2.1.6 After 2000: New actors' involvement for the sake of requalification

After 2008, the ongoing economic crisis profoundly reduced the social housing construction industry. Generally, urban development was interrupted: geographical isolation, industrial areas abandoned, and the value of public building in a loss.

New actors have become visible in the housing sector in this timeframe. The tertiary sector and ethical investors are often involved in providing housing services and taking care of vulnerable sectors of the population. It is part of a general trend of planning negotiation, which targets actors and aims at providing social services (Bricocoli and Coppola, 2011). Bank foundations are often replacing public actors in sustaining welfare policies. They finance social policies when there is no (or scarce) public resource. The ethical goals of these actors influence sectors, such as healthcare, social services, housing, environment, etc. In the last years, especially in Northern Italy, bank foundations have played a considerable role in integrating local housing initiatives, and have often been financing pilot projects and housing experiments.

The goal of Law 9/2007 is the development of a new housing policy for vulnerable population categories. A negotiating table was created involving ministries, regions, municipalities, Federcasa (IACP's organization), real estate associations and cooperatives. The goal was the design of a national housing plan to develop the new aims and orientations of regions, such as improvement of housing supply, fiscal proposals, measures for better cooperation to deal with housing deprivation, and calculation of financial resources. This negotiation was supposed to be used as a continuous meeting to discuss the national housing conditions. The law also introduced some norms on the suspension of eviction, the allocation of evicted population, and tax reductions for owners renting dwellings at fixed prices and new three-year regional plans for subsidized housing.

## 2.2 A new redistribution of tasks among the different institutional levels

As discussed in the paragraph 2.1, the institutions taking charge of social housing estates are always changing. Recent decades have witnessed the lack of a real national policy for urban renewal and the implementation of local actions. When compared with North European urban policy, the Italian model looks like a patchwork of initiatives and actors that have produced multiple forms of urban

actions in different sectors but lacking overall coordination (Padovani, 2000, in De Decker, 2003). In other words, we cannot say that Italy has an integrated plan of intervention to promote social inclusion profiting from the European experience. As Tosi and Padovani have pointed out, delays caused by local administrations are particularly evident and due to the lack of a true national policy able to develop an articulated strategy of intervention in the rundown urban areas.

The traditional picture is that the system of social housing policies provides for a division of responsibilities between central, regional and local government. Historically, central government played a major role. It worked through special institutes IACP (Institute for Social Housing), established in each province, to implement and manages public housing stock and regulates the rights and duties of tenants. From the 1970's onwards, the responsibilities of Regions and local authorities started to increase (Caruso, 2017).

The new picture is that over the last two decades there has been a progressive transfer of responsibility from central government to the Regions and local authorities. Regions have taken over planning functions concerning location, construction and control of action; functions aimed at allowing access to easy credit terms; greater powers over IACPs. Local authorities, instead, have taken over responsibility for allocation of social housing from IACPs, which controlled allocation for years. Central government maintained wide powers over general regulations and planning, particularly in the field of private rental and of allocation of social housing (Caruso, 2017). Later, the national parliament passed various laws, which completed the decentralization process. In the new system, responsibilities for public housing has been transferred to the Regions, who must now also administer finances, previously dealt with by a Regions-Government Committee.

The functions kept by the central government is the one of providing the general guideline, such as:

- the establishment of standard principles and objectives of social housing within the general context of social welfare policy objectives;
- the definition of minimum housing service and quality standards;
- the joint planning of housing programs in the national interest with Regions and local authorities;
- the collection and evaluation of statistics on housing conditions in the country;
- the definition of criteria designed to favor access to the rent market for poorer families and economic support for them.

The role of IACPs is uncertain, now that responsibility has been transferred to



Regions who have to decide the objectives of social housing as well as regulations for managing and funding it with regional laws. These laws will also decide the future of IACPs.

### 2.2.1 The strategy of decentralization for a more efficient administration of social housing

The European Union fosters competition among States to get funding, so the Italian public authorities needed to be faster and more efficient than in the past. Cooperation among municipalities, provinces, regions and ministries is compulsory to deal with the complex urban issue (i.e. principle of subsidiarity). Two main types of integrated urban programs were created:

Urban renewal and regeneration programs: initiatives introduced by Law 179/1992. The law promoted real estate renewal and urban regeneration. The financial resources for traditional housing policies were all relocated to integrated urban programs, ranging from subsidized housing to urban renewal and regeneration.

Programs studied to achieve local development: The focus is to improve economic sectors, fostering employment and industrial development. These programs are specific for Southern Italy.

In the 90's, a state supported housing program concentrated on major urban areas, trying to contrast urban decline by subsidizing the provision of rented dwelling. New estates were built not only for low-income people, but also for people unable to find an affordable rented flat or even a rented flat itself. In the last twenty years, in most of the European countries, there was a general decline in public investment, and a shift away from government regulation towards market mechanism. In particular in the control of the rented sector; a decentralization of government control, with direct involvement of (and partially a devolution to) local authorities; a shift from generic to specific subsidies, targeted to the groups with the weakest socio-economic position.

### 2.2.2 Regional responsibilities and competences

Housing problems are resolutely different according to areas; responsibilities for welfare and for housing are regional, and there is a high discretionary power for municipalities; local welfare system is very different, also for historical reasons, as for the extension of the protection they offer and the effectiveness of their action.

In 1998, the transfer of competences from the State to the Regions was comple-

ted (Legislative Decree 112/1998), according to the subsidiarity principle. A sort of duplicity of competences was established. The State kept residual competences (such as the definition of criteria, the National Observatory on housing condition, national financial resources, etc.), while the Regions could decide on:

- Regulation of subsidized housing allocation;
- Regulation of subsidized housing rents;
- Criteria of rent subsidies' supply;
- Planning of national and regional financial resources for housing;
- Definition of statutes and control mechanisms of public entities related to social housing;

The outcome is a national scenario composed by different regional situations. Each region has its own housing policy, with various levels of updates, and the housing entities (IACPs) were transformed by each region, modifying duties and changing name (it often changed to “territorial agency for housing”). They generally achieved more independence and executive capacities (Caruso, 2017).

### 2.2.3 Integrated actions to overcome the institutional fragmentation

Since the early 1990's Italy has seen a growing trend in institutional innovation and cooperation between public bodies that has generated experimentation in the regeneration process. Partnerships between public and private sectors have been developed in the welfare system in general as well as in the local requalification processes, which invested in specific urban areas (Ombuen, 2000).

As Padovani (2000, pp. 4-7, in De Decker 2003) shows, the propensity to try out innovative practices has been facilitated by the fact that, since the early 1990s, Italy has been characterized by institutional innovation and new practices of negotiated cooperation between public bodies.

As the large amount of legislation passed in the past decade shows, there is in Italy the lack of an integrated plan for interventions based on a clearly defined program. A further reason is the fragmentation of responsibility for intervention in urban areas among the various levels of government. As a rough guide, we can say that very schematically speaking, the responsibility as regards policies and interventions in cities and urban areas is divided up between at least three horizontal political-institutional levels: state, regions, local authorities (the latter subdivided into provincial and municipal). And then among numerous “vertical” sections on each of these levels, which it is not always possible to get to work together in a co-

ordinated and integrated fashion (Mingione, 2003).

### 2.3 Cross-sectorial cooperation in housing's regeneration

Urban regeneration policies in Italy have been traditionally characterized by fragmented, sectorial, non-coordinated and voluntary actions and, for a long time, mainly oriented towards improving housing conditions without paying attention to urban factors linked with social exclusion in the more deprived neighborhoods. Nevertheless, following the European example, the last two decades have witnessed a profound transformation in Italian urban policies in terms of more integrated actions and variety of interventions. The general improvement in housing and infrastructures in Italian cities has also determined the necessity to promote a territorially concentrated policy for tackling specific socio-residential problems in specific urban contexts.

In terms of regional policies, much effort has been focused on public and third sector rental supply, on the search for greater synergy among the public sector, the social/private sector, the credit system and entrepreneurs and on the search for a greater link between housing policies and social policies.

The certain critical point is that the need to involve different operators and resources means there must be a partnership and negotiation among the public, private and third sectors. In a broad sense, the social role of the state implies its capacity to interact with private and associative action. Innovation requires the identification of local subjects able to combine and manage different resources and create flexible supply suitable for the new complexity of demand. The search for a local subject is the difficult task undertaken by public and private players, and it is an opportunity too, being evaluated by the old and new players – IACP (Autonomous Public Housing Institute), cooperatives, associations – of social housing in their search for new roles and opportunities. The search for a role for – or the wager on – a third housing sector is gaining ground and is taking on an increasingly essential role.

Regions are responsible for defining requirements for accessing social housing, as well as rules for setting rents. In 1992, some special schemes were established in the framework of a social housing program. Such schemes, soon named “integrated programs” were initially aimed at the improvement of the overall housing quality. In fact, soon after the eighties the prevailing opinion was that dwelling shortage was definitely resolved, and that housing needs were to be confined to an issue of

affordability limited to the largest metropolitan areas. However, it was thought that they were no longer a problem of poverty, but an issue confined to some distinct, marginalized social groups. As such, broad housing schemes were no longer needed, while a number of local actions devoted to the renovation and change of limited areas were rather thought as more effective. (Tosi, 2003)

There is a need to develop strategic frameworks at the urban region level (Healey, 1997). This consensus is based on the premise that successful urban regeneration requires a strategically designed, locally based, multi-sector, multi-agency partnership approach.

Strategic planning is an important tool for enabling communities to identify advantages in relation to the external environment - local, regional, national and international. This emphasis on external factors allows the process to incorporate a wide range of organizations and individuals from the public, private, voluntary and community sectors. Clearly, the partnership approach is a critical element in adopting a strategic approach to urban regeneration.

### 2.3.1 National level

At the Ministry of public works, a general direction is in charge of Housing Affairs for the whole countries. The general director for Housing, former Housing Committee (CER: Comitato per l'edilizia residenziale), was appointed by the 1978 Construction Ten years Plan for establishing and coordinating a national program aimed to the construction of a consistent amount of new housing units, to the renovation and refurbishment of existing stock and to the experimentation of new housing programs.

However, the national level has lost most of its functions. The financial provision and planning responsibilities have been gradually devolved to the Regions, together with the functions concerning social housing. The devolution process has lasted more than a decade, and has been accomplished only recently in 1998. The main change occurred concerns the end of the special channel of funding exclusively devoted to housing, and of the central power role in redistributing the resources among the regions. They are not that effective. Apart from several modest measures, such as Law 21/2001 and several tax concessions for the construction of low-rent housing, the rent policies are those that implement the provisions of Law 431/1998.

The law eliminated residual limitations carried over from the previous rent regulation system and, at the same time, introduced a set of measures aimed at pur-

suing social objectives. It provides incentives for expanding the market and renting vacant space, as well as support in reducing costs. The tools involved are tax and contractual incentives to bring vacant space back onto the market, consisting of tax benefits for tenants and landlords who sign special landlord/tenant agreements. In addition, financial support for rent is provided for low-income families, a measure carried out in Italy on a national scale for the first time and, to this end, a special Social Fund for rent has been established.

The central levels maintain some powers over general regulation and planning, particularly in the field of social housing and in providing the legislative frame for private rental sector. The central government is responsible for macro-programming and co-financing projects through housing allowances, co-funding of urban renewal programs and programs to support social rental housing. The State should give Regions financial resources to accomplish their local competences, which consists in financing the sector.

### 2.3.2 Regional and municipal levels

Regions were assigned formal functions in the early Seventies, and later the full responsibility for housing. The State retained most of the financial resources until 1998, and the power to distribute them; the Regions had the responsibility to approve regulations and to establish the programs for housing construction and support. The regional government is responsible for determining the eligibility of access to social housing and the provision for rent.

Municipalities have become more and more concerned with housing. They have been given exclusive responsibility for the outcome of social housing policies and for the politically sensitive selection of applicants for social housing. In the past, this was the task of special independent bodies in charge of the design, building and maintenance of social housing (IACPs: Autonomous Institutes for Social housing). With the transfer of responsibilities to the regional/local level, IACPs have lost their special place and have been partially reorganized by regions.

The regional/municipal context has seen interesting initiatives over the last few years, reflecting the responsibilities gained with the aforementioned decentralization as well as the requirement to compensate for the shortcomings in national policies. Various regions and municipalities have taken steps to handle, at times with significant innovation, the structural complications inherent in the construction of new social housing:

- How to direct private resources to social uses;

- How to set up a robust non-profit sector;
- How to redefine the role of the local public body in this new context.

### 2.3.3 Non-governmental Organizations

There are three most significant types of NGOs:

- Housing co-operatives: there are two main national organizations to which local co-operatives are linked: Federabitazione and Lega delle Cooperative;
- NGOs working at local level in the area of housing poverty, housing for immigrants etc. An umbrella organization for municipalities and voluntary associations working with homeless people is Fiops (Federazione italiana delle organizzazioni per le persone senza dimora);
- Tenants associations: at national level, there are tenants associations, which are linked to the major national trade union organizations. The main ones are SICET (connected with the CISL) and SUNIA (connected with the CGIL). They have been operating for about thirty years. One independent association of a certain importance present in most regions is the Unione Inquilini (Tenants Union).

## 2.4 Unicity of Contratto di Quartiere among the other regeneration programs

The promotion of integrated programs for urban upgrading was proposed and implemented first by the administration of the CER (Housing Committee) and then by the “Direzione generale del Coordinamento Territoriale” (Territorial Co-ordination Department) of the Ministry of public works. Since 1992, six successive schemes have been implemented (see table 5):

- Programmi integrati di intervento (Integrated Programs);
- Programmi di recupero urbano (Urban Renewal Program) addressing the problems of rundown public housing estates;
- Programmi di riqualificazione urbana (Urban Upgrading Programme) addressing urban areas with problems of industrial closures and urban decay;
- Contratti di quartiere (Contratto di Quartiere) to cope with public housing estates with serious problems in terms of urban quality and social exclusion; (2700 billion lire of public funding. 123 proposals were presented, 83 selected at the regional evaluation level and 55 selected and financed at the central government level).

Name of the program	Time	Scale	Contents
<b>PII (Programmi integrati di intervento)</b>	1992	Municipal	The first Urban Complex. The purpose is to improve the physical conditions in historical sites, historic sites, abandoned or historic districts that have serious environmental problems.
<b>PRU (Programma di Recupero Urbano)</b>	1994	Regional	To help local governments in the form of legal requirements for real estate developers to increase the supply of public housing, the program can help a more balanced distribution of services and infrastructure, in order to improve the city's historical space environment and urban heritage type of building quality.
<b>PRIU (Programma di Riquilificazione Urbana)</b>	1994	Regional	Especially for the physical and functional improvement programs of the degraded community
<b>CdQ I&amp;II (Contratti di Quartiere)</b>	1997 (Phase I) 2002 (Phase II)	National	For the decline of the historical core area of urban material and social structure, through the local government to promote the environment, the service of the historical community transformation program, through a large number of housing mutual aid program to maintain social cohesion.
<b>PRUSST (Programma di Riquilificazione Urbana e di Sviluppo Sostenibile del Territorio)</b>	1998	Regional	To promote land consolidation at historic towns and at the regional level, to accommodate more diverse participants and resources in order to obtain public funds for use in the rehabilitation and maintenance of urban heritage.
<b>Programmi di recupero urbano e di sviluppo sostenibile</b>	1998	Regional	The construction and adaptation of networks' equipment able to promote and direct opportunities for sustainable development in economic, environmental and social terms, with regard to environmental protection, enhancement of the historical heritage, guaranteeing the increase in the well-being of the community.

**Table 5**

The six successful comprehensive implementations

*(Sources: Elaboration by the author)*

- Programma di Riquilificazione Urbana e di Sviluppo Sostenibile del Territorio (Urban Reclamation and Sustainable Development of the Territory)
- Programmi di recupero urbano e di sviluppo sostenibile (Urban Upgrading and Sustainable Development Programmes).

Among them, the unique characteristics of “Contratto di Quartiere” in all kinds of policy tools reflected in a few aspects. Firstly, it is the only scheme in Milan that involves cooperation of multiple government levels including the national, regional

and municipal government, in that case, some of the problems that are difficult to solve at the regional level can be settled through macro-integration.

Secondly, due to the large number of participants involved, the resources offered by multiple sectors are relatively more sufficient: “Contratto di Quartiere” in Milan becomes the only policy scheme that gets access to national financial support, as well as raising the largest amount of funding among all housing regeneration projects. Besides, the “Contratto di Quartiere” involves the communities of the most severe social situations of Milan, so it is the most complex and valuable for researching.

In addition, the plan is a specially targeted plan for the social housing of Milan besides PGT system (Piano di Governo del Territorio referred as PGT). Other programs, although involving social housing regeneration, but also involving other types of urban areas, such as industrial brown fields, abandoned areas, ancient sites and so on. “Contratto di Quartiere” is more accurate and professional in dealing with social housing problems.





# 3

## CONTRATTO DI QUARTIERE

Finally, the argumentation reached the “core” of the thesis regarding Contratto di quartiere. As this chapter is going to explain, the integrated nature of this policy is resolutely interesting and promising. In the following script, the history of the policy is going to be insight from its foreign origins, and its adaptation in different context, including the Italian one. In the specific, is going to be analyzed how the city of Milan had the opportunity to adopt this kind of policy in a few context of its territory. The description of this experience is going to highlight how the policy have been implemented in Milan contexts, and which have been the positive and negative nuenaces of this experiment.

## 3.1 Contratto di Quartiere I : roots of the program

### 3.1.1 The avant-gardist French experiment and its European promotion

Although “Contratto di Quartiere” is an Italian regeneration policy for social housing, it represents a typical regeneration type of multi-sector agreement and collaboration, which origins from France, and which has been the focus of EU attention and promoting.

In France, the integrated policies are called “area-based initiatives” and they were kick-started in the early 1980’s after a series of insurgences and conflicts in the peripheral public housing estates of the Paris and Lyons suburbs. Following the contract mechanism (linking national planning to local implementation through formal agreements) French initiatives drew heavily on a new application of the established state/department/commune network (Le Gales and Mawson, 1993).

In 1980’s, French government launched a set of policies targeting the problematic urban peripheries called “politique de la ville” and consisted of different programs and different phases. “Contrats de ville” (CDV) is one of the most important program which is an influential example that “represented an attempt, through negotiation, to formalize relationships within and between tiers of government” (Hall and Hickman, 2010)

Since then, due to the effective implementation of the “contract” type of regeneration, the European union began to summarize its experience and actively promote to other European countries (table number 7). The corresponding policies in other countries like Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and others have also been based on these characteristics despite of the different names, and these similar policies have mutual reference and learning from each other, so they can be summarized as the policy transfer of CDV (as shown in the table 6). The process of policy transfer also shows that this updated model is an effective strategy in activating declining neighborhoods. In each country, the regeneration policy basically absorbs and adopts the “bidding” and “contract” mechanism and the “integration” concept.

From the political aspect, Contratto di Quartiere is the most significant program supporting neighborhood policies in Italy (Balducci, 2000) which based on the new political reform context that enables the new partnerships among public and private, institutional and nongovernmental subjects (Bricocoli, 2004). Contratto di Quartieres were an experimental program as well, with the goal of funding

public housing areas to deal with the problem of urban, building and social decay, using the mechanism of nationwide tendering. They involved intervention on infrastructures and housing stock, and also on employment, occupational training, truancy and school dropout phenomena, assistance for the elderly and experimental housing (Balducci, 2002).

The scope of the contract of the neighborhood upon physical decay, is to tackle social segregation, enhance the environmental condition, foster job offers, thus stimulating the economy, increasing facilities and services etc. In the light of these fe-

**Table 6**  
The policy transfer of CDV in France

*(Sources: re-elaborated by the author following various sources)*

Country	Policy	Starting Year
France	Le Contrat de Ville (The City Contract)	1989
England	National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal	2001
Netherlands	Politique des grandes villes	1994
Italy	Contratti di quartiere I & II (Contratto di Quartiere)	1997&2002
Germany	Die Soziale Stadt (the Social City Programme)	1999
Denmark	Comité Urbain (Urban Community)	1994
Belgium	Politique des grandes ville & Contratto di Quartiere	1999&2002
Sweden	Programme de développement des quartiers (Development programme areas)	1994

atures, the specific content is demand by the local communities, depending on the specific problems of the different areas. The output can be regulations, for example, the design tools, environment plan, environment standards etc., and can be specific aspects too, such as revitalization of heritage, energy-saving buildings, assistance to elderly people, new jobs and services etc. (Biocca and Morini, 2008).

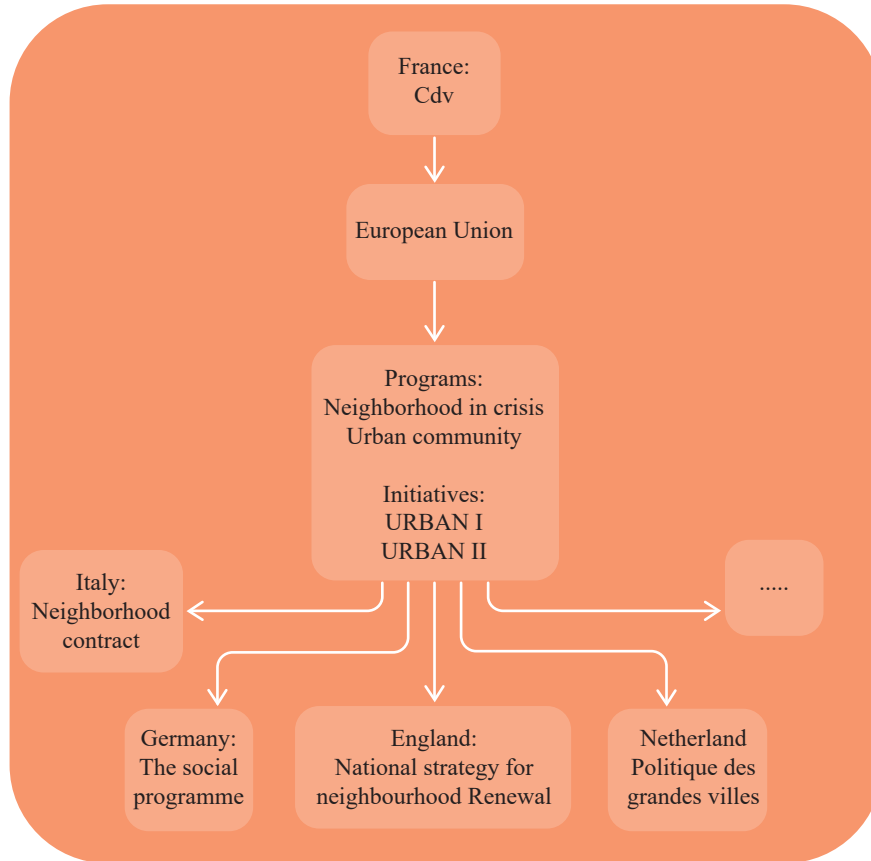
In the evolution of Italian Contratto di Quartieres, we can find that practices can be transferred from one spatial or political context to another. However the

policy transfer cannot happen easily, which needs the influence of the outside (the EU promotion) and the conditions inside (the political reforms).

**Table 7**

The policy transfer of CDV in France

(Source: Hall S., Hickman P., 2002)



### 3.1.2 First experiment of implementation in the Italian context

In 1997, the Ministry of Public Works together with the CER (Committee for Housing) invested the last funds of “Gescal” (Management of Houses for Wor-

<sup>1</sup> Gescal (acronym GESTione CAse per Lavoratori) was a fund for the construction and allocation of houses to workers. It was born from the transformation of the INA-Casa Plan and governed by the law February 14, 1963, n. 60 called “Liquidation of the building stock of the INA-Casa Management and establishment of a ten-year program of construction of housing for workers”. The principle of operation of Gescal was to build houses for workers with contributions from the workers themselves, from companies and in part from government funding.

Sometimes this first season of “Contratto di quartiere” is also called as “Contratto di quartiere I”. In fact, due to the successful results, as we will see briefly, another season of “Contratto di quartiere” has been developed, called in this case “Contratto di quartiere II”.

kers) in the competition for funding Urban Rehabilitation plans in social housing areas, called “Contratto di Quartiere”. Its target objects are the most problematic social housing estates. The Municipalities had the chance to pursue objectives of urban and social rehabilitation in selected areas, while they should develop new operative ways of intervention on the public housing estates, and produce some methods, standards and regulations, sharable all over the nation (Fianchini, 2012).

Priority criteria for allocating funding are identified in the socio-economic conditions of the municipality and the scope of intervention, in the urban-building, social, occupational quality of the program, in the presence and size of other funding for the various sectors and the quality of the experimental project.

The goal of “Contratto di Quartiere I” is to improve the overall quality of residence by means of creative interventions. Driven by this funding and renewal framework, municipalities have the opportunity to implement integrated and updated programs for the declining social housing areas in their own regions, including both physical and social aspects. At the same time, these municipalities need innovative approaches of intervention, to adhere to national regulations and standards such as “service quality”, “morphological quality”, “environmental quality” (including energy saving, lighting, heating, health and safety measures) and “quality system” (designed to reduce the risk of conflict in the process). In the first phase, fifty neighborhoods in total signed the regeneration “contract”, distributed in various parts of Italy, but Milan did not participate in this plan.

The previous information has been collected by some municipality’s files, which of course achieved a fair amount of success and positive experience. However, the proficiency of the municipality in the design process of the previous renewal experiences varies from each other. In the magazine “Territorio”, one of the main magazines collecting urban planning experiences and trend in Italy, the opinion is different. There we can read that:

*“The proofs of the previous renewal experiences are rather negative (...) here we specifically refer to the first cycle of Contratto di quartiere which involved the neighborhood Spaventa. Well, the municipality’s design proposal was poor of contents (...) and this is the case of Stadera and Ponte Lambro neighborhoods as well” (Territorio 77, p. 11)*

### 3.1.3 The rising need of a new renewal season

During the last decade, the issues of Milan’s periphery areas became a hot topic for the municipality’s agenda. Starting with the requalification of a few brown-fields

(amounting, in 1997, to 6.5 million of meter square) the municipality of Milan supported by the private investors had the choice to refurbish wide areas, such as Bicocca, Portello, Lambrate and Rogoredo, for a total amount of 1.35 billion of euro.

This interest by the municipality was rather tangible on a metropolitan scale, thus many discussion events has been organized and the propaganda of those transformations was spreading widely. Afterward huge projects have been realized in that season, but often they have been islands in problematic contexts. Is recognizable the difficulty to let these project benefit the surroundings but we have to admit that most of the time they are self-referential. After this season of programs and policies towards the outskirts, nowadays the city of Milan has many external neighborhoods, which are still problematic under a social and physical point of view.

Many are the problems in these neighborhoods that need to be solved: the normal missing maintenance of housing, the new housing, the restoration of the existing patrimony, the reorganization of the external spaces, and last but not least all the problems deriving from the social sphere. Thus if in one hand the program's aim is to tackle the neglect, in another one of the tool to reach it is reconcile the citizens with the territory.

Bearing this in mind we have to consider that now

*“... another problem in Milan is the housing demand. Young couples who cannot face the costs of a loan to buy an apartment, stranger students from our top education university who cannot bear the rent fees. Indeed, for this reason Gratosoglio is going to host a building accommodating young couples; and the same is for Mazzini neighborhood where a student house is rising.” (by Luciano Niero, Chief of ALER Milano, Comune di Milano, 2004, p.5)*

*“Thanks to the European policy Urban II and the financing call of the Lombardy region, Milan's municipality got the chance to win the financing for both the neighborhood it wanted to redevelop.” (by Guido Manca, Security and peripheries' assessor, Comune di Milano, 2004, p.3)*

Across the new millennium, the municipality got the chance to develop its will of suburban renewal applying to a national program. Indeed, the first experience of Contratto di quartiere happened in 1997, and following this policy, in 2002 has been proclaimed the national program of the Contratti di Quartiere II (DM n. 2522 del 27/12/2001 modified the 30/12/2002) by the Infrastructural and Transportation Ministry, under a great push carried out by many regions.

Thus, in the recent years the municipality of Milan grown tremendously its internal organization system; the participation of these two programs gave the choice to the administration to develop brand new capabilities under the cooperative point of view. The internal rationalization and optimization of its set-up layout brought the municipality to a higher standard of efficiency. This recent proficiency lead the municipality to better master the planning tools, even the most experimental ones, such as the Contratto di quartiere; this was a great self-acknowledgement by the municipality.

Furthermore, this new trend leads the municipality to join its strategic purpose with the renewal of the problematic neighborhoods. The new enterprise-based model applied by the municipality allowed it to have a better saving policy and a higher quality check of the accomplished results. Thanks to this new layout, the municipality had the chance to apply the regional call, and it assumed a leader role in the program's process.

In fact, Contratto di quartiere was a great opportunity for Lombardy Region, Milan's municipality and ALER (Azienda Lombarda Edilizia Residenziale Milano, the society in charge of Social Housing in Milan area) to cooperate together; they eventually can arrange the work with the same-shared goal of the neighborhoods. Thus, the purpose is to intervene in the ERP housing (Edilizia Residenziale Pubblica – Public Residential Housing) creating new infrastructural equipment, tackling the ethnic segregation fostering the integration and employment, helping the elderly being the 30% of the targeted neighborhood's population. All these goals had been thought to be developed with the public-private-partnership, and especially with the local population involvement.

## 3.2 Contratto di Quartiere II

### 3.2.1 The launch of Contratto di Quartiere II in Milan

Contratto di quartiere is a program targeting the public housing sector in Milan. Recently the public housing sector has been plagued by neglect, social decay and a deterioration of the local economy. Milanese population know very well the peripheries' conditions, and they are one of the most important topic in municipality's agenda. This condition is not the same in every estate hence some of them are facing worse conditions than other ones.

Thus, Contratto di quartiere is the program undertaken by the municipality

that tries to face and solve the issues of those areas afflicted by the worse conditions. The program is the result of a Regional call pointing exactly these fragile contexts of the city in Lombardy.

The municipality of Milan had the choice to participate the call and get the financing, which were going to be spent in the most critical neighborhood of the city, such as Gratosoglio, Mazzini, Molise-Calvairate, Ponte Lambro and San Siro. Contratto di quartiere, basically has the goal to operate under the following main aspects:

- Physical renewal of housing patrimony. This has been one of the main parameter of selection of those neighborhoods living the worse circumstances.
- Enhance the variety of functions and avoiding the residential one as the only present in the sites, trying to stimulate the existing and often weak function to grow.
- Foster the social inclusion and the employment of the local residents stimulating the interaction of these districts with the rest of the city, integrating the resources in and out of them. The concept is to foster the creation of special functions or activities giving the citizens the reason to reach the neighborhood generating through a cultural exchange.

Generally, Contratto di quartiere is a process of participation, and is not only a list of policies and actions, which are going to be actuated. This participative process is developed thanks to the main actors' and the population's participation that humbly meet and compare oneself to each other. The contact with the population is an important method to engender a trustful relationship, useful for a successful design process.

### 3.2.2 A regional call to renew neglected estates

The public regional call to participate the financing where set up in October 13th 2003 with four main requirements: increasing and enhancement of the public housing, renewal of the neglected neighborhoods, integration and concentration of policies and funds, methods of hierarchical cooperation and partnership. This was the right chance for the municipality to develop once again its interests.

The original expectations of this program were naturally high, since is the first time such a huge requalification program took place in Milan. This collaborative program would let many different public and private entities cooperate, with the common goal of a social renew, solving the squatting conditions, the unsafe feelings and so on. Hence, this was also the chance for the municipality to further



develop and stabilize its cooperative skills.

The municipality of Milan decided to participate to the call due to its deep interest on the topic, and this is witnessed by the public expenditures bared by the municipality and the creation of an ad hoc department for the outskirts and for the security inside its own organization structure. Thinking the call was a great opportunity for the public targets, the mayor of Milan and the chief of ALER immediately converged signing a cooperation agreement in October 24th 2003.

While Lombardy region was publishing the “National Program Contratti di Quartiere II” the peripheries department of the municipality and ALER were already starting to create their candidacy to the program. Teamwork has been set up, divided in two subset:

The first part of the group would have dealt with the political aspects and it was composed by the assessors of Security and Peripheries, the one of Development and Territory, the one of social services and the one of the public properties, within the chief of ALER. The group’s goal would be the selection of the needy neighborhood and the esteem of the funds needed. The second technical-based group led by the peripheries department and composed by many technical members of ALER and the municipality, with the goal to elaborate proposal and create networks.

The administration invited Politecnico di Milano’s Diap to cooperate in the process as well, with many other institutions too that had been co-working with the team-works. Thus, the first step was to identify which was the most dramatic neighborhood under the social and economic point of view, and how they could have react to the enhancement program. Especially the assessment wanted to evaluate how those framework’s features could fit in the regional requirements, like:

- Enhancement and increment of the amount of public housing (ERP)
- Enhancement of the efficiency of the neighborhoods, even changing some functions
- Adjustment or increment of the amount of services integrating them with the city
- Renovation of the buildings and the living condition
- Promotion of the inhabitants’ involvement

It is clear that the entire requirement given by the region were a huge task to undertake, difficult to achieve with the economic and managerial limits. This was clear to the municipality too, but according to that, it adjust it-self, trying to exploit all the possibilities until the limits.

Though, merging these criteria with the previous priorities’ agenda and the political requests of that period five contexts came up as the result: Mazzini, Mo-

lise-Calvairate, Ponte Lambro, San Siro and Gratosoglio, all of them visible in the following image 1. For each of these contexts the technical commission prepared a feasibility study with all the specific projects and the esteem of the costs, which in total amounted 245 million euro. The 13th of April 2004 all the documents have been eventually delivered to the Lombardy Region.



Image 1

The five “Contracts of the neighborhood” and their location

(Source: <https://iosonosuper.com/associazione/laboratorio-di-quartiere-gratosoglio>)

### 3.2.3 Milan's victory

The months later the Region and the Ministry of the Infrastructures and the Transportation had assess all the proposals valuating them with scores and creating a ranking; the 28th October 2004 the Ministry of Infrastructures and Transport published the list of the financeable projects (decree n.394 signed by the vice Ministry). All of the five proposals from Milan have been accepted with a final total subsidization of 140 million of euro. This massive amount of fund are, using the worlds of Architect Daniela Farioli (from the municipality of Milan) –at least the fifty percent of the overall available assets of Lombardy Region-.

Afterward the administrative phase started with the stipulation of agreements among the municipality and ALER, which were deeper defining the cooperative relation between the two main actors. Moreover, this phase continued with the creation of many institutions inside and outside the municipality aimed at the program's governance, in order to have a correct and efficient management of it during the following phases of actualization and realization. After the agreement among Ministry of the Infrastructures and the Transport, Lombardy Region and the mu-

nicipality of Milan formally started the actualization phase. It was 31st of March 2005.

During the actualization phase the municipality had 180 days to better specify all the precondition of exposed in the regional call. The Region at this point required a deeper level of the interventions' details, with all the specific actions and projects and a clearer definition of the finances and the actors involved. This is the first moment these new networks of different institutions started to operate as apparatus, with the duty to carry out the entire social and physical project. Simultaneously, a clarification of the needs of each of the five neighborhoods had been carried out in order to verify the priority of each of them. In order to do so, many have been the public meeting with the representative parts of the population and the district councils; the creation of "Laboratories" led by qualified profiles open to the population guaranteed a clear explanation of the whole program to the inhabitants.

Thus, following the participative approach, the municipality aimed to promote the territory of Milan. Hence, the municipality had to deal in one side with the technical term, and in the other one simplifying all the procedure's details to let them be accessible by the population.

Properly during this phase some issues emerged, especially the temporal one. The whole apparatus assembled by the different profiles involved, realized the amount of time was too brief to finish the works. Thereby, the municipality had been compelled to ask the region a term's extension with a view to accomplish the regional requirements. However, the extension had been deny due to an equality principle with the other national cases, since everyone were supposed to have the same availability of time. Due to this delay, the municipality had to postpone the end of the listening activities, which would have taken place during the realization phase.

In 27th of September 2005, the municipality of Milan delivered to the Region the detailed and final proposal of the five neighborhoods. Additionally, within the final proposal it disclosed the member of each neighborhood's committee. The subsequent actions were mostly having the goal to establish coalitions among different entities, such as experts of many different sectors, and to deeper define the rules of the agreements among the region, the municipality and the ministry of infrastructures and transportation.

### 3.2.4 The double nature of the program: the social and physical targets of requalification

As discussed in chapter 3.1, the three main features of the Contratto di Quartiere mode are the following: a top-down and co-funding approach; the integrated action and area-based regeneration approach; the “integrated” dimension. This last integrated dimension can be understood in two aspects:

- First is the unified and standard contract framework of all the five neighborhoods, including the problem definition, physical intervention and social intervention. The physical or social parts are connected with its problems but also have some part in common: the requalification of buildings, infrastructures, providing social services etc.
- The second meaning is the “integrated” refer to some special project facing certain items which involves inter-sector or inter-institutions, for example, the “Pact of Local security” which is an agreement that facilitates the joint action of different security departments from regional, city, and zones. This kind of projects have been developed and shared in several neighborhoods.

#### 3.2.4.1 Specific issues plaguing each context

	San Siro	Mazzini	Molise-Calvaire	Ponte Lambro	Gratosoglio
<b>Similar problems</b>	Poor maintenance of the social housings; Aging society; Immigrants				
<b>Unique problems</b>	People with severe mental illness	High density of buildings; Frequency of crimes	Value of historical heritage; People disabled or with mental illness	Frequency of crimes	Frequency of crimes

**Table 8**

The dilemmas facing by the five neighborhoods

(Source: the Lombardia Regional documents, Regione Lombardia, 2004)

All these five neighborhoods are plagued by highly complex issues, which sometimes are similar in the different contexts (see table 8). For this reason, the intervention should involve variety of objectives, resources, and stakeholders.

**Table 9**

Overview of the forecasted physical interventions

(Source: the Lombardia Regional documents, Regione Lombardia, 2004)

**3.2.4.2 The forecasted physical interventions**

The regeneration of residential buildings covers the renovation of the rundown units and increases some new units in the open space. The renovation of the old buildings takes new ecologic methods, according to the Lombardy region's requirement of energy saving, these technology methods can be installation of solar panels,

	Housing		Public spaces	
	Renovation units	Increase units	Infrastructures	Buildings' services and activity space
<b>S. Siro</b>	966	40	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Video surveillance system</li> <li>2) New central heating system</li> <li>3) New underground parkings</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Recovery of the elderlies' center</li> <li>2) Accomodation of Selinunte square and Arethusa boulevard</li> <li>3) Adaptation of the nursery</li> <li>4) Creation of mini apartments for the elderlies</li> <li>5) The municipal market in Selinunte square</li> </ul>
<b>Mazzini</b>	404	57	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Redevelopment of Ferrara square, and few road works</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) New municipal market</li> <li>2) Redevelopment former industrial building with cultural functions</li> <li>3) Therapeutic garden for elderly people</li> </ul>
<b>Molise</b>	686	39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Upgrading of road infrastructures</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Multi-purpose center for elderlies</li> <li>2) New offices of the municipality</li> <li>3) Space for cultural activities and youth</li> <li>4) Laboratory, for participatory planning, meeting, aggregation</li> </ul>
<b>Ponte Lambro</b>	379	29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Upgrading of road infrastructures</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Upgrading of the civic center and municipal market</li> <li>2) Upgrading kindergarten and nursery</li> <li>3) New spaces for "incubators" of young companies</li> </ul>
<b>Gratosoglio</b>	1341	70	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Redevelopment of few road trunks</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Restructuring nursery</li> <li>2) Maintenance of non-residential spaces</li> </ul>

ventilated walls and wall units, and the application of home automation systems.

The upgrading of public space includes the renovation of infrastructures (road, municipal systems) as well as some services, which can be the activity center, market, nursery etc. according to the needs of the neighborhood. An initial chart with all the physical intervention is reported below in table number 9.

**Table 10**

Overview of the forecasted social actions

*(Source: the Lombardia Regional documents, Regione Lombardia, 2004)*

	Services			Employment	Security
	For elderlies	For families and youths	For special populations		
<b>S. Siro</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Network of support through listening moments</li> <li>2) management of mini apartments</li> <li>3) Social porter</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Sport as a tool of participation</li> <li>2) Promote reading culture</li> <li>3) Network of local associations</li> <li>4) Social doormen</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Projects for mental health</li> </ul>		
<b>Mazzini</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Employment for old people</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Projects against school leaving</li> <li>2) Service aimed at children and their parents</li> <li>3) Social doormen</li> </ul>			Pact of local security
<b>Molise</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Services to children and their families</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Support for housing access and mental illness</li> </ul>		
<b>Ponte Lambro</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Creating spaces for conducting various activities base on integration</li> </ul>		Monzino cardiology institute that aims to promote employment growth	Pact of local security
<b>Gratosoglio</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Caretaking of old people</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Participatory planning</li> <li>2) Activation of workshops</li> <li>3) Laboratory of childhood</li> <li>4) Children playground</li> <li>5) Social doormen</li> </ul>			Pact of local security

### 3.2.4.3 *The social action foreseen*

The measures of the social interventions can be divided into four parts: services, measures for improving employment, enhancing security and stimulating economy. Some projects are adopted by all the five neighborhoods, like providing or incrementing services for the youth and families, creating sport yards, libraries, activity centers etc. However, other issues are focus on the neighborhood's own problems, for example, in the neighborhoods which have the problems of crime (Mazzini, Ponte Lambro and Gratosoglio) will join the “Pact of local urban security” (Patto locale di sicurezza urbana). The “Pact of local urban security” aiming at solving the problems related to security in neighborhoods; some special care services are developed in San Siro and Molise, which have large number of special disease inhabitants.

### 3.2.4.4 *Summaries*

For the five bid-winning communities, both the physical and social regenerations follow a relatively uniform framework that includes services for vulnerable groups. In addition, different neighborhoods have localized responses to different problems depending on their respective locations, such as projects in some neighborhoods are specifically for people with disabilities, or for psychiatric patients.

On some common issues, a unified collaborative project is implemented at the municipality level, which can share some financial or technical resources, such as the social doormen's program (Portierato sociale) and the Pact of local urban security (Patto locali per la sicurezza urbana). Shared regional resources could be a more smart and efficiency methods to solve local problems and guarantee the quality of renovations.

## 3.3 The management of Contratto di Quartiere II in Milan

### 3.3.1 Participation and involvement as leading principles

We are going to analyze now some guidelines identified by the Leading Committee in 2005. In particular, these are some organizational and managerial criticalities needing to be better considered by the entities involved.

Due to the different subjects engaged and the plurality of the finances involved,

the municipality must have filled the directing role of the whole program. This was once again an opportunity for the administration to strengthen the cooperative approach, to enhance the capability to co-work with several institutions and stakeholders. Moreover, the municipality was in charge to develop the program with the involvement of the territory, its population and its associations, generating a participative designing process. The citizens' participation was not only a consultative process, but also an active intervention in the transformation.

The municipality, then, was invited to organize participative moments also at the national and international level, comparing its work with other complex economic and social programs such as Contratto di Quartiere. The original idea of the municipality was to accomplish the goal through the spread of the program, in order to get the visibility of a wider audience.

However, the economic development of the targeted neighborhood was a crucial point of the whole project, especially regarding the economic activities existent in Contratti di Quartiere's sites. The economic activities could be seen as the "engine" of a neighborhood, as much they are present and working as much the neighborhood is flourishing.

The cooperation of ALER, chamber of commerce, artisans' association and Assolombarda (association of all the industrialists from Lombardy) was going to be the crucial protection to maintain the existent commercial activities and develop new enterprises. The goal was to individuate the leading and strongest sectors per each the site, and to develop a strong networks able to cooperate mutually among subjects, guaranteeing a constant grow.

The safety and legality is another key factor that need to be primary considered. These aspects are often guaranteed by local associations and the churches spread on the territory. Due to their crucial role in the neighborhood, the municipality had to recognize and foster their cooperation in order to achieve safeness and legality.

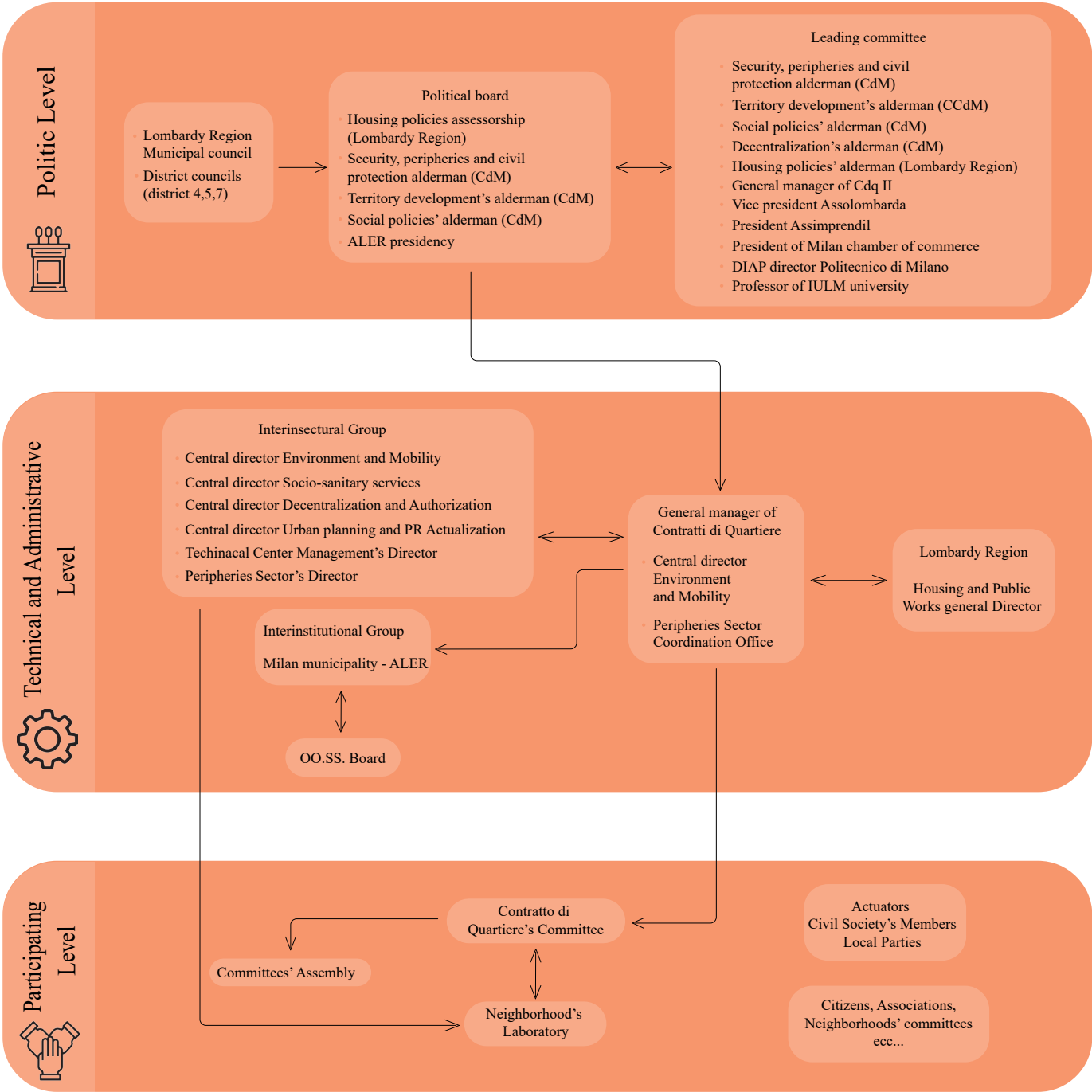
### 3.3.2 The public sector's management of the program

Due to the complexity and the heterogeneity of the matters involved in the Contratti di Quartiere II, also the pertaining institution come from different sectors. Concerning this, the very first goal of the municipality was to build a strong leadership, able in a second time to accomplish all the goals of the program. The strategy is the one of the project management: however, if in the first phase the management has been rather elementary, during the actualization phase it shifted to a more detailed and structured framework. The municipality in this sense was

Table 11  
Contratto di quartiere's management  
chart

(Source: "Un contratto per la città : i contratti di quartiere II a Milano", Cella, 2006). Translated and elaborated by author)





aware about its limits to merge the single/plural cooperation, and for this reason pinpointed the most suitable organisms to involve.

Hence, according to the guidelines given by the Region all the participants to the call had to propose a few profile accompanying the program's process. Especially the required ones were:

- The responsible of Contratto di quartiere: the intermediary between the Region and the municipality, responsible for the correct development of the project abiding by the timetable, and being the supervisor and coordinator of it.
- The Contratto di Quartiere's committee responsible to check the efficacy of the action and their proper realization.

Following the autonomy principle for the public authorities prescribed by the law, the Region provided a sample of the organization format just as an example for the municipalities in order to create their own structure of the program's management. This organism had to be composed by a political level, a technical and administrative level and a local level promoting the participation in order to better achieve the design as the realization phase.

In the chart number 11, there are some abbreviations such as "Cdm", which stands for Comune di Milano, which translated means the municipality of Milan, and "CdQ", which stands for Contratto di Quartiere.

The political level was composed of the representatives of the institutional organisms. In order to better achieve the decisions, beside the political board has been set a leading committee composed by other profiles, such as the sociologic one, the economic one, the planning and the communication ones.

Moreover, the technical and administrative level was composed by those profiles that were going to design and realize the actions and the projects such as the requalification one. All of these organisms were led by the general manager of Contratti di Quartiere, who had been elected by the municipal council and was responsible for the development of the five projects. The general manager was strictly linked with the cross-sectoral group, made of administration's department involved in the public works and in the design of actions enhancing the social point of view. The inter-institutional group worked according to the agreement between ALER and the municipality, and had a checking function in the design and the finances matters. The labor union's board (OO.SS Board) was the consultative board discussing the participation with the inhabitants, in order to realize the interventions in the residential settlements.

Furthermore, all the organisms were responsible for the local participation, the

population's involvement, their communications, compose the participation level, which had a checking function of the actions' efficiency as well.

The Contratto di Quartiere's committee and the neighborhood's laboratory were singular for each of the five projects; both of them were composed by experts of the field and it was the place where the real participation with the local population takes place, contributing to the organization and the realization of the projects.

### 3.3.3 The reference point for social initiatives: the “laboratory” for the neighborhood

The word laboratory remind us the artist's atelier, where the artist's art is materialized in operas, or the artisan and their effort producing typical local items. Thus, the laboratory is the place of design, synthesis and effort. Therefore, the laboratory is the place to listen and experiment, the place allowing the confrontation of the people. This is the meeting place the inhabitants wanted, the place they can express their opinion, let their voice be worth and evolved by others.

The neighborhood laboratories formally started operating in May 2005. These were the chance for the citizens to participate to the public sphere, is the place to enhance the social network and to strengthen the social bonds. This attempt is significantly important since often most of the population keep being withdrawn, avoiding the social aggregation. Not infrequently was the participation of the laboratories to public and private call for social purposes, as we are going to analyze ensuing. However, the main laboratory's purpose is to create a strong social network, dynamic and mutually faithful, among people and between associations. For this reason in all the five sites of Contratto di Quartiere, the idea was to place the Laboratory in a strategical point of the neighborhood, a central spot, visible and welcoming everybody.

The creation of network was developed considering the existing association and social realities present in the territory and trying to develop a mutual approach and cooperation. Therefore, another goal was the establishment of “informal networks”, the one among the local people, among the groups always present in the meeting point streets of each neighborhood.

The neighborhood laboratory was previously composed by four or five professional profiles for each of the five sites, composed generally by an architect, a psychologist, a philosopher and a social scientist. Another function of the Laboratories was to explain the local population which ones were the physical interventions, trying to solve the conflicts. Hence, the Laboratory was covering a wide

range of social tasks, such as to accomplish a participatory planning, as to help the inhabitants even for little bureaucratic chores, such as enroll the children in the school. The participatory planning's initial goal was to invite the inhabitants in a series of meetings and express their ideas and opinion for the projects, and which were their expectations. Unfortunately, in a few cases, the time schedule set by the Region was quite harsh and this matter partly has been neglected (as we saw in the paragraph 3.2.2). Due to this particular predicament, some opinion has been listen only during the operative phase of the project, and some interventions has been changed accordingly. Architect Daniela Farioli working in the municipality, told that one of these moments was when the citizens has been involved expressing their idea for the future of Ferrara square's market which dramatically stuck as is going to analyzed downstream.

The initiative of the Neighborhood Laboratory, through all these actions is decisively a great attempt by the municipality to reconcile the local population. As previously has been said, the neighborhood prospective is clearly high, but the social problem are deep. It seems like there is a decoupling among the local inhabitants, which are not generally sharing a belonging feeling, a sense of social cohesion. In this sense, the Laboratories for the neighborhoods played a central role to reconcile the local population, to reboot the engine of the district.

### 3.3.4 The dynamics of cooperation

Due to the amount of organizations involved in the program one of our main concern was to understand in a deeper way the cooperation methods. As we previously explained this program was a sort of vanguard experience for the municipality of Milan. Thus the goal of this paragraph is to make clear which were the dynamics characterizing this multi-actor's process.

In order to do so we have first to distinguish two kind of cooperation. The first one took place in an institutional environment, it stand behind the territory, and it took place among the offices of the numerous subject involved. The second kind of cooperation is the one evolved by the Laboratorio di Quartiere (Neighborhood Laboratory) within the territory, though the local association and groups. This second one is formally the actualization of the so-called Piano di Accompagnamento (Accompany Plan). Let us begin to explain how the institutional collaboration grew.

From a higher point of view, the main partnership is among Lombardy Region and the Ministry of Infrastructures and Transportation. Any change would occur in any of the five Contratto di Quartiere, would be decided by a decisional com-

mittee formed by them. Moreover, the municipality is still cooperating with them, but not with such a close bond alike the one they have between them. From the other side, the strong bond the municipality has is the one with ALER, and this is witnessed by the very first beginning of the regional call, when the two institutions already signed a cooperation contract.

Nevertheless, if the relation between ALER and the municipality was robust and healthy in 2005, when the first agreement has been signed, with the same goals and interest, afterwards it started slowly to blur. One of the main factor contributing was the change of the municipal committee in one hand and ALER's board of director. Therefore, in some periods the Region played a filter role among the two, and in some others, like during ALER's recent financial collapse, it started to act in behalf of ALER. Naturally, this situation entailed a worsening of the ALER's and municipality's relation, which in turn implied a slowing down of the decision and the tangible actions.

However, the ALER's financial crash caused a sever redrafting of the interventions plan. In fact, the interventions were founded by a resources' mix coming from the main financial providers, as we previously analyzed. As soon as ALER's resources missed, a need of financial and interventional adjustment started to be urgent.

Let us move to analyze the second kind of cooperation, the one based on the territory. This second form of cooperation is basically realized within the set-up of neighborhood's laboratory. As the previous paragraph explains, the neighborhood contract is the social-side of Contratto di Quartiere, the one where the approach with the local population takes place and the social actions are satisfy. Normally this implies the basement cooperation, the one with the population and with the associations.

The case of Mazzini in this sense generated a worthy result, and the involved subject continued to behave with a cooperative mindset even when the Contratto di Quartiere's operators dissipated. This positive outcome is due also by the confident and professional approach of the various association present in Mazzini. Among the five laboratories, Mazzini's one developed a resolutely strong network which is still existing. As the Architect Monica Righetti said: "it has been a successful laboratory".

### 3.3.5 The numbers of Contratto di Quartiere II

As we can see from the previous chart the Mazzini comparing to the other sites had a higher average amount of flats and inhabitants as well, but the amount of

flat that were going to be refurbished were rather less than the other sites. This aspect allows a limited research that could be better handle in this research proposal. However, the amount of moving families was still high comparing to the other sites, meaning that a wide part of the program was going to involve the existent flats, though the program focused more on the housing and social policies rather than the physical transformation.

**Table 12**

Contratto di quartiere's detailed actions

(Source: "Un contratto per la città : i contratti di quartiere II a Milano", Cella, 2006). Translated and elaborated by author)

	Gratosoglio	Mazzini	Molise-Calvairate	Ponte Lambro	San Siro	Totali
<b>Dimensional data</b>						
<b>Inhabitants per site of each Contratto di Quartiere</b>	4.919	4.844	4.683		10.878	26.454
<b>Amount of ERP flats per site</b>	2.091	2.000	2.487	482	4.647	11.707
<b>Amount of ERP flats involved in the program</b>	1.341	404	1.498	372	1.261	4.876
<b>Intervention typology</b>						
<b>Extraordinary mantainance</b>	1.341	133		220	1.163	2.857
<b>New built</b>	78					
<b>Restoration</b>		271	647	152	58	1.128
<b>Ordinary roofs restoration</b>			197			197
<b>Ordinary facades restoration</b>			654			654
<b>Crawl spaces' recovery</b>			39			39
<b>Building substitutions</b>					40	40
<b>Households mobility</b>						
<b>Number of households moving</b>	0	243	647	35	135	1.060
<b>Abusive squatting</b>						
<b>Amount of flat illigally occupied</b>	43	72	169	31	434	749
<b>Amount of occupied flat involved in the program</b>	24	19	18	26	184	271
<b>Housing increasement</b>						
<b>Amount of new flats</b>	78	57	25	43	6	209

Another interesting data is the amount of flats illegally occupied, which is the third highest one. Nevertheless, the amount of flats which were going to be included in the program were a limited amount, having though a better opportunity to see the result after the designing process. At last the new built flat were going to be a consistent number, fifty-seven in total, being one of the sites with the highest amount of new edification.

Neighborhoods	Total amount (Euro)	Regional financing (Euro)	Milan's municipality (Euro)	ALER (Euro)	Others (Euro)
Gratosoglio	45.047.000	35.244.000 (78%)	1.108.000 (2%)	7.737.000 (17%)	958.000 (2%)
Mazzini	50.886.000	21.489.000 (42%)	5.538.000 (10%)	17.972.000 (35%)	5.887.000 (11%)
Molise Calvairate	60.692.000	34.286.000 (56%)	6.671.000 (10 %)	11.615.000 (19%)	8.040.000 (13%)
Ponte Lambro	31.178.000	19.589.000 (62%)	9.402.000 (30%)	2.176.000 (6%)	11.000 (0,03%)
San Siro	45.421.000	27.244.000 (59%)	3.263.000 (7%)	8.387.000 (18%)	6.527.000 (14%)
Total amount	233.224.000	137.852.000 (59%)	26.062.000 (11%)	47.887.000 (20%)	21.423.000 (9%)

**Table 13**

The financier and finances of the projects

*(Source: “Un contratto per la città : i contratti di quartiere II a Milano”, Cella, 2006). Translated and elaborated by author)*

It is now important to make a few consideration regarding the “financier and finances of the projects” chart. As we can see from the scheme above the main financier for each of the area is Lombardy Region, which is financing in the average the 50% of the total cost of each operation. Moreover we can see a sort of combination of finances offered by the Municipality and ALER; the overall share of them together is roughly always the same, however there are context where the Municipality allocates less resources than others, exactly those ones where ALER allocates more resources, and vice versa. Another interesting fact is the rather high amount of funds earmarked by the “others”, which often earmarked an amount of funds resolutely close to the one of the administration.

The amount of funding received by the Mazzini community is quite high in the Contratto di Quartiere funds for all the five neighborhoods. It got the second highest amount of funds after Molise-Calvairate, but hosting only the half of the regeneration flats of San Siro neighborhood. Moreover, if we take into account the Gratosoglio community, we can see that the “ERP unit involved in the process” is almost three times; the number of dwellings that require routine maintenance is nearly ten times, so:

Why in Mazzini there have been allocated such a huge amount of money with an extremely low number of physical interventions? Because is very social?

We can conclude that the Mazzini community’s priority concern is the rege-

neration process of social housing, rather than the number of social housing units involved. Due to the complexity of the maintenance process, the need for a lot of family relocation, which also takes a lot of money, the funding for Mazzini is undoubtedly more. The number of families living in buildings involved in a maintenance is huge. Thus, this factor together with the deep and invasive restoration urgency of a few buildings justify the budget. Indeed, in order to accomplish this renewals had been design a huge “mobility plan”, which is the strategy to temporary move the households somewhere else during the renewal. The mobility plan is remarkably expensive, since for each family there is a specific and long regulatory iter, with a plan of accompanying, including the identification of a new provisional solution suitable for each household’s needs. Analyzing *The financier and finances of the projects’* chart another question rises as it follows:

	ERP (Euro)	Infrastructural works (Euro)	Social actions (Euro)	Total (Euro)
<b>Gratosoglio</b>	39.197.000 (87%)	3.848.000 (8%)	2.002.000 (4%)	45.047.000
<b>Mazzini</b>	35.410.000 (69%)	9.772.000 (19%)	1.704.000 (3%)	50.886.000
<b>Molise Calvaireate</b>	39.589.000 (65%)	18.471.000 (30%)	2.632.000 (4%)	60.692.000
<b>Ponte Lambro</b>	20.356.000 (65%)	9.521.000 (30%)	1.301.000 (4%)	31.178.000
<b>San Siro</b>	25.363.000 (55%)	18.667.000 (41%)	1.390.000 (3%)	45.421.000
<b>Total amount</b>	163.915.000 (70%)	60.279.000 (25%)	9.030.000 (3%)	233.224.000

Who are the “others” in the financing chart? Because their funds are resolutely high!

In light of these matters, we can easily notice two important aspects. The first one is the figure of the Municipality as a leader funds’ management process, and this is witnessed by the dynamic presence of funds of an actor instead of another for each site. The second follows this way of thinking as well, but just an argument regarding the Municipality and ALER. Moreover, in this case, though, we can see how the resources have been allocated in a dynamic way, and this is a synonym of an efficient and strong agreement between this two actors.

In this sense, the case of Mazzini is the most emblematic among the all sites involved in the project. As we saw in the chart, the Regional earmarked funds are the lowest among all the sites, however the gap is covered by the highest amount of funds allocated by ALER among the all sites.

The expenditure chart highlights how generally a huge part of the resources

**Table 14**  
Expenditure of the resources

*(Source: “Un contratto per la città : i contratti di quartiere II a Milano”, Cella, 2006). Translated and elaborated by author)*



was allocated to housing. Above all the sites, Mazzini and Gratosoglio allocated respectively the 87% and 69% of the resources in housing, and these are the two neighborhoods having the highest percentage of allocation for this matter. The difference among this two is rather small, especially if we consider the planned 78 new buildings for the neighborhood of Gratosoglio. Furthermore, the expenditure allocated for the infrastructural works are quite low comparing to the other sites, like San Siro for instance, plagued by a physical decline of the public urban spaces. At last, the social expenditures generally are settled around the three percent in all the sites.





4

## THE SELECTED SITE: CONTRATTO DI QUARTIERE IN MAZZINI NEIGH- BOURHOOD

Among the five identified contexts, here in this work has been chosen Mazzini as the case for a deeper analysis. The reasons standing behind this choice regard the estate's period of construction which gift it a specific high quality low-rise architecture, as well as the integration of the site with the overall urban system. Other reason is the specific taste of the author of this script, who is charmed by the tales of its grandparents, of the memories of the city of Milan, with its differences betwe-

en the center and the periphery, between the costumes and uses of the firsts of the century and the one of nowadays. Thus, this chapter is going through a deep analysis of Contratto di quartiere's development in Mazzini's context and its state of development and implementation.



Image 2

Overview of Milan's main transportation network and the context's location

(Source: Bozzuto P., Infussi F., 2011)

## 4.1 Mazzini's urban framework

Mazzini neighborhood is located in the Municipality number 4 of the city of Milan, near the border of the Municipality number 5, about 3.5 km from Duomo Square. Mazzini is mainly a public housing estate settled on the southeast axis of

the city and attached to the extreme limits of the southeastern urban tissue after which the green fields of the Southern Agricultural Park start craning into the land. Despite its peripheral reputation, the neighborhood is inserted efficiently in the overall urban body of the city. In fact, the location is efficiently connected to the city center, thanks to a dense network of bus lines crossing it and to the line 3 of the subway, which's path crosses the area as well, connecting it with the outer district of San Donato and the city core. Besides, there are also other convenient transportation potentials, such as the nearby train stations Milano Rogoredo and the entrance of the Eastern orbital road. The station of Rogoredo is crossed daily by a great amount of national trains often stopping here, including the "passante" line that is the urban railway of Milan. The entrance of the Eastern orbital road guarantees the area an efficient connection with the junction with the motorway number 4 (A4 Turin-Venice) and the motorway number 1 (A1 Milan-Naples).

Originally called Quartiere Regina Elena, Mazzini neighborhood along the decades assumed many names, such as Gamboloita and Corvett, while nowadays it is generally called Corvetto. The neighborhood was built between 1925 and 1929, following a big general project designed by architect Giovanni Broglio, formally governed by the city plan designed by Angelo Pavia and Giovanni Masera (adopted in 1909). The institute of public housing of that time (IACP) built it in order to give a house to part of the laboring class and part of the middle class. Nowadays the whole neighborhood's urban tissue can be seen as a residential and an industrial layout: the residential part is composed by the layout of the 20's with a few addition of the second part of the 20th century; while the industrial settlements built along the whole last century are located in the south of the site. The industrial urban fabric is generally known as Gamboloita area. Each of the building periods realized different built typologies, thus the whole settlement presents different features, which led to a variety of dwelling typologies. Nowadays this layout led to a multiplicity of populations living and working here. The area is one among the widest estate of social houses built in Milan in those years and is articulated in four big trapezoidal blocks with similar features and height.

Mazzini district itself is part of Corvetto and it is delimited by Via Polesine and Via Comacchio in the north side, Via Ravenna on the west side, Via dei Cinquecento on the south side and Piazzale Rosa and Viale Martini on the east side. The estate consists of many apartment buildings, five schools, one kindergarten, and some important equipment such as the library, the pool and two churches with parishes. Moreover, the neighborhood is equipped with all the main services to the dwellers, commercial facilities and green areas. Thus, it is mainly residential with



some shops in the ground floor of the buildings. All the apartments, within the limits just exposed, are property of the institute of public housing ALER, which rents them out to private individuals or to social associations cooperating with them and managing them.

Nowadays the population is mostly composed elderly and foreigners, especially from Magreb, in fact, according to the census of 2002 the 15% of the resident population is foreigner. However, this data joins the neighborhood users and the residents together. This fact is witnessed by the kind of services available in the districts, such as the ones offered by Polo Ferrara to the elderly, the foreigners-led

### Image 3

Mazzini settlement in 1928

*(Source: <https://vecchiamilano.wordpress.com/2010/08/05/corvetto-e-dintorni/>)*

Image 4

Piazzale Gabriele Rosa during the 30's.

(Source: [www.skyscrapercity.com](http://www.skyscrapercity.com))



Image 5

Viale Lucania 1955ca.

(Source: "Corvetto... Nei ricordi e nel cuore!" facebook group)



activities such as Islamic butchers and the international call centers. Other services are targeting the foreigners, such as the Italian language and computer classes held by the middle school in Polesine street and CeDim in Mincio street. An observation of the weekly street market's costumers definitely confirms this trend, and the contrast among the old generation and the foreigners generates often a sense of unsafe by the most fragile class of the population.

The quarter is hosting services both at the local and metropolitan scale: the offices of the District's Committee, the police station, the Quattordicesima theatre, and Arci association. In Ferrara square is settled Polo Ferrara, an important cultural and exchange hub for the area, mostly targeting the old people but organizing activities for the young as well.

Ultimately, negative and positive aspects characterize the area. Recently it has been plagued by the phenomenon of squatting, it is overcrowded and stigmatized, housing resources are getting old and neglected. Besides, there are many phenomena of unregulated activities and illegal happenings, causing a sense of fear among the most fragile part of the population such as the elderlies. The moderate presence of socio-sanitary facilities and the weakness of the inner connections are a course for the area too.

Nevertheless, the neighborhood has a great potential due to some of its glaring features. Hence, the architectural quality of it is definitely interesting, legacy of the classical 20th century Milanese architecture. The scale is resolutely commensurate



Image 6

Corvetto square in the mid 50's

(Source: "Corvetto... Nei ricordi e nel cuore!" facebook group)



since the proportion of built and unbuilt volumes enhances the quality of the settlement. It has human scale size, and it is well inserted in the urban context seamlessly linked without barriers. The social potential is high since there are many profiles involved in social activities, giving great potential of the place. The current multicultural feature of the district is a strength point to if dealt with the proper approach.

## 4.2 Previous requalification programs targeting Mazzini's estate

Along this work, the argumentation already introduced the fact that between 1998 and 2008, the City of Milan, Aler Milano and the Lombardy Region launched numerous public intervention programs (see image 7). These projects and policies, which have invested a considerable part of the Milanese public estate, can be distinguished for some internal specifics, in the sense that there are many differences in the nature of the interventions. In one hand, some interventions could influence the social dynamics in certain context while in the other some programs could enhance the physical condition of them, impacting the living condition of the inhabitants. In the case of Mazzini both the physical and the social goal has been set as goals of the requalification policy

There are also plenty of interventions, which along the decades targeted Mazzini neighborhood, and through an analysis, they could be divided into four different categories:

The first kind of intervention is the “integrated” Contratto di Quartiere II, which is related to urban redevelopment: through several instruments, many districts have been invested in comprehensive working processes, including renovation of dwellings and houses, the redesign of public space and infrastructures, social participation and so on so forth.

A second modality concerns more specific programs such as Housing Emergency program I and II, where a special attention is paid to the recovery of existing assets through a “capital optimization” operation.

A third type of intervention regards the improvement of living's quality and the development of new living's forms in the neighborhoods. In this direction, policies of various kinds have been activated, not only under a social point of view, but regarding the physical urban quality too, with particular emphasis on security issues (Security Achievements, Social Cohesion Projects, Social Security Projects).

A fourth modality of action concerns the extension of neighborhoods to new populations and new uses attempting to counteract their mono functionality and the lack of social differentiation. Some initial steps in this direction have been

made, forecasting the introduction of new inhabitants and the experimentation of different forms of aggregation (Restoration of Assets through the realization of University Residences or Temporary Residents).



Image 7

The whole Milan's requalification programs on the its estates. Evidenced in red Mazzini neighborhood.

(Source: Bozzuto P., Infussi F., 2011)

Among all these projects, Contratto di Quartiere II is the most “integrated” one: it does not only consist of multiple regeneration dimensions (physical, social, environment and so on), but also plays a leading role to cooperate with other actions with more specific targets (such as Social Security Projects) trying to built a

framework for comprehensive paradigm of social housing regeneration.

Of course, in Mazzini there are a lot of localized problems, for example, the problem of security is quite serious and this is enhanced by the dense urban tissue of the neighborhood (which in general respects the compact tissue classic of central Milanese areas) affecting evidently the quality of life. Thus, the interventions aiming at security problems and beautifying the physical conditions were numerous for Contratto di Quartiere II. This program was meant to be a systematic guideline to organize all the subordinate policies with a principle of subsidiarity.

To sum up all the municipality-led programs and initiatives that have been focusing in Mazzini neighborhood along the year are chronologically listed below:

- Five squares for Milan in 1999 (5 piazze per Milano);
- Contract of the neighborhood in 2003 (Contratto di quartiere II);
- Residential emergency in 2003 (Emergenza abitativa);
- Social caretaking in 2003 (Portierato sociale);
- Temporary lease in 2004 (Locazione temporanea);
- Local pacts for security in 2004 (Patti locali sicurezza);
- Residential emergency II in 2004 (Emergenza abitativa II);
- University residences in 2005 (Residenze universitarie);
- Social cohesion in 2006 (Coesione sociale).

### 4.3 Previous programs' interventions in act

The foreseen actions of Contratto di quartiere need to be seen as they are inserted in some other projects belonging to previous season of redevelopment for the neighborhood. In fact not all of the specific action foresaw by the previous paragraph's list are already concluded. Thus, we start listing the projects under development, moving later on to the ones planned by Contratto di Quartiere.

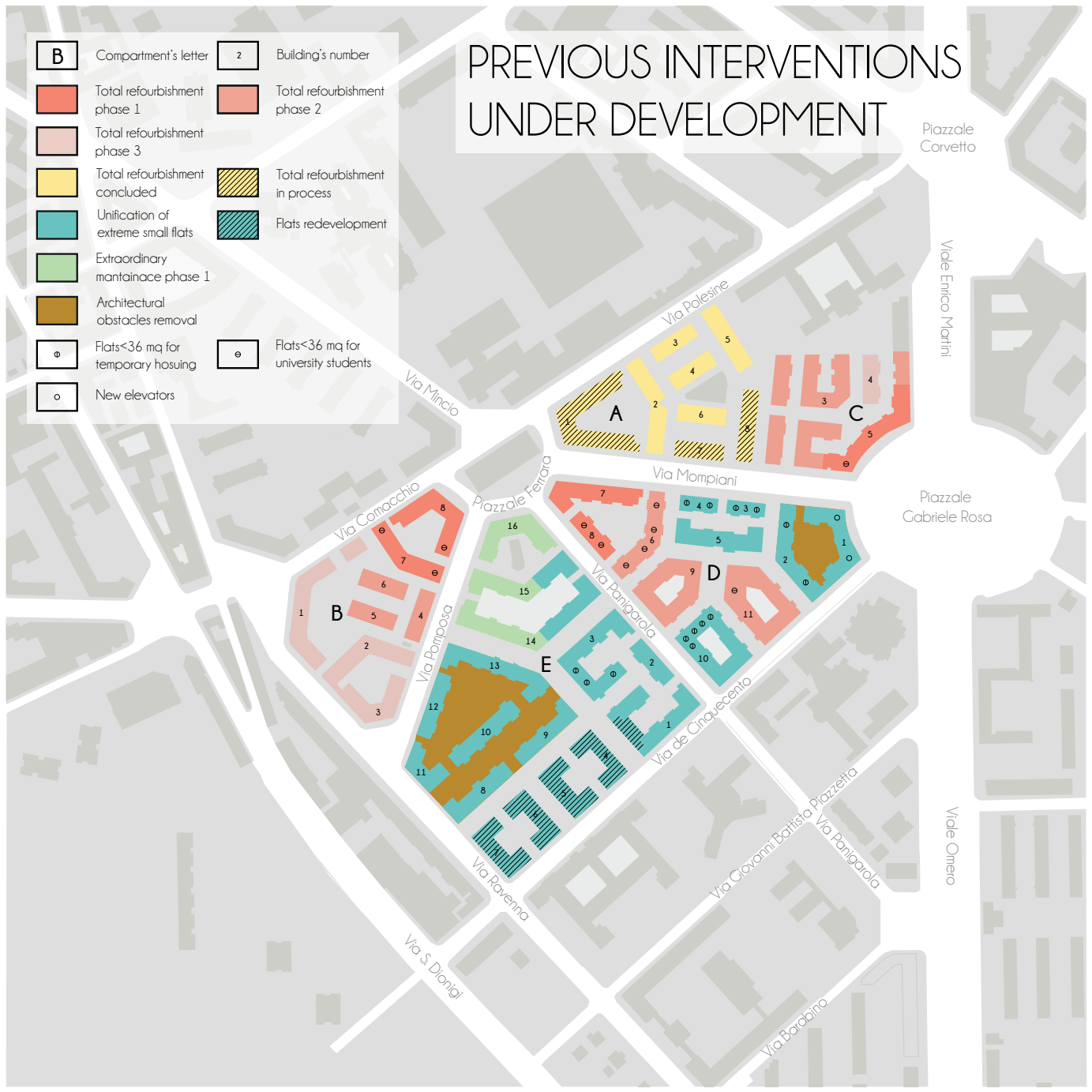
The current developing processes (may be cooperated with other regeneration programs) consists in:

- The total restoration for the buildings 1, 2, 5, 6 and 8 in the compartment A
- The recovery of the moderate lease's (canone moderato) crawl spaces in buildings 1,6,7, 16 and 20 in the compartment E; buildings 10 and 12 in the compartment D
- Extraordinary maintenance for the buildings 1,2,3, 6 and 8 in the compartment E; building 10 in the compartment D.

The interventions planned by the Contratto di Quartiere are mostly addressing the housing patrimony and the infrastructural one (keeping in mind the analysis

# PREVIOUS INTERVENTIONS UNDER DEVELOPMENT

<b>B</b>	Compartment's letter	2	Building's number
	Total refurbishment phase 1		Total refurbishment phase 2
	Total refurbishment phase 3		Total refurbishment concluded
	Total refurbishment concluded		Total refurbishment in process
	Unification of extreme small flats		Flats redevelopment
	Extraordinary maintainace phase 1		
	Architectural obstacles removal		
	Flats <36 mq for temporary housing		Flats <36 mq for university students
	New elevators		



## Image 8

The previous interventions in Mazzini under development at the beginning of Contratto di quartiere

*(Source: "Un contratto per la città : i contratti di quartiere II a Milano", Cella, 2006). Translated and elaborated by author)*

previously done about the expenditure modalities). Involving the housing patrimony, the interventions are divided as follows: housing regeneration, recovery of the crawl spaces, extraordinary maintenance, and the elimination of the architectural obstacles. All the actions that soon are going to be explained are available in image 8.

For housing regeneration is meant to be the total refurbishment of the buildings, with new technical equipment, redistribution of the housing units according to the legal standards, installation of elevators, restoration of the facades, the roofs, the gates, rearrangement of the cellars. These interventions are going to be operated in:

- Building 8 and 7 in the compartment B
- Building 5 in the compartment C
- Buildings 8 and 7 compartment D
- Buildings 14 and 15 compartment E

The recovery of the crawl spaces is going to be carried out in:

- Building 7 and 8 compartment B
- Building 8 compartment D

The extraordinary maintenance is going to involve:

- Building 2, 4, 14, 15 and 16 compartment E

The architectural obstacles are going to be removed only in the building number 1 compartment D. This intervention is going to dull differences in height, to renew the courts' paving, currently crumbled and bumpy, and install all the facilities needed by the elderlies.

Moreover, the infrastructural works foreseen are:

- The new asset for Ferrara Square, pedestrianization of it with a new paving, the enlargement of the sidewalks and a control of the cars allowed passing through it. Furthermore, Pomposa street is going to be linked with Panigrola street and this with Mompiani street.
- The requalification of the industrial premise, settling in new social functions.

# CONTRATTO DI QUARTIERE'S EXPECTED INTERVENTIONS

-  Contratto di quartiere's limits
-  Infrastructural elements for Cdq
-  Buildings interested by interventions
-  Street works

## ERP

- 1a Renovation buildings 7-8 (comp.B)
- 1b Renovation crawl spaces buildings 7-8 (comp.B)
- 1c Renovation building 5 (comp.C)
- 1d Renovation buildings 8-7 (comp.D)
- 1e Renovation crawl spaces buildings 8 (comp.D)
- 1f Extraordinary maintenance buildings 14-15-16 (comp.E)
- 1g Renovation of 16 flats buildings 14-15(comp.E)
- 1h Architectural obstacles removal building 1

## INFRASTRUCTURAL WORKS

- 2a Requalification Ferrara square Polesine street
- 2b Requalification of Oglio street warehouse
- 2c Street works in Pomposa, Mompiani and Parigarola street
- 2d ERS' internal requalification for services
- 2e New garden in Cinquecento street

## NON FINANCED WORKS

- 3a New student dorm

## SOCIAL ACTIONS

- 4a Social doorman



## Image 9

### Contratto di quartiere's expected intervention

(Source: "Un contratto per la città : i contratti di quartiere II a Milano", Cella, 2006). Translated and elaborated by author)

- The restriction of the traffic in Pomposa, Mompiani and Panigarola streets.
- Requalification of the service spaces in the inner parts of the buildings and the ground floor with services. The project is going to create a museum dedicated to the architect Broglio as well.
- Creation of a park in Cinquecento street.
- Creation of a university dorm with 219 sleeping spots.
- The market in Ferrara square is going to be moved in the ground floor of the university dorm, substituting it with a new underground parking.
- Creation of 70 new flats constructing a floor above the buildings 14 and 15 in the compartment D, and in the crawl spaces of the buildings 14,15 and 16 in the compartment E, and the building 7 in the compartment D and the building 5 compartment C.

Apart from the physical projects, Contratto di Quartiere also guarantees a social support in the sake of developing the project, in order to involve the inhabitants in concretization of the project. Hence, the goal is to make each step of Contratto di Quartiere clear, letting the population be aware of the works' progress, listening their opinion and taking them in consideration, in a participatory design process. The purpose is to promote the social integration, to increase the employment rate and to facilitate the creation of new connections and networks among the citizens.

In order to better distinguish the physical actions and the social one, the project provides the "social security deal" which consist in a few meeting's boards:

- The teenagers' board consist in much kind of events, from hip-hop events, to playing ones, as well as listening and orientation occasions, and orientation for teenager avoiding to drop the school or having antisocial behaviors.
- The foreigners' board has the goal to stimulate the association among foreigners in the neighborhood, with a communicative strategic plan, and events to enhance the involvement of them and their participation, organization of laboratories, creation of multicultural dialog among foreigners from different ethnic groups and moments to solve conflicts.
- Families' board: meeting with children and parents to orientate the both of the parts and street counselling.



### Image 10

Kids coming back home from the afternoon games in Gabriele Rosa's square

*(Credits: the author)*



### Image 11

Cinquecento street's condition in spring 2018

*(Credits: the author)*



## Image 12

Clear sign of tension in the neighborhood (The graffiti reports: Assign flats!)

*(Credits: the author)*



## 4.4 The actions of regeneration for Mazzini

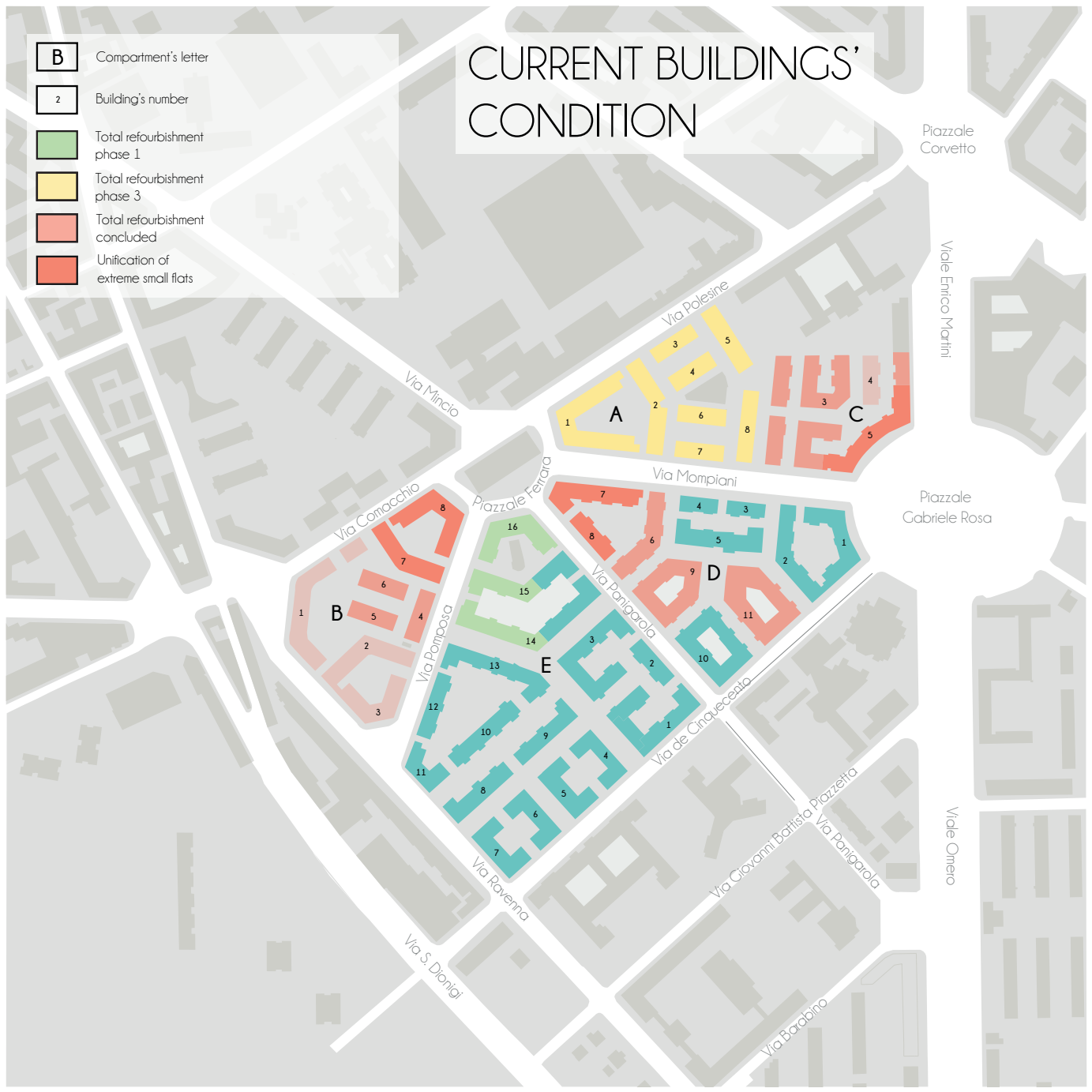
As we discussed in the paragraph number 3.3.4 the sudden lack of Aler's financial resources undermined somehow partly the program and some of the action forecasted, both on the social and on the physical side. Thus, the lack of finances acutely changed the realization of the projects. However, in the last ten years many factors contributed to cripple the program. Hence, many project has been discarded, many others changed, and many building that were supposed to be restore did not even start to be renew, and some others started freezing there shortly.

In this compromised circumstance sometimes the funds that were supposed to be addressed to a project, has been shifted to accomplish the final stage of another one started but stuck, according to the regional office interview with Arch. Giuseppina Tola.

Anyhow, there are still many projects under development and others in different degree of suspension of the works. It is difficult though, give a clear evaluation about whether the program reached a satisfying development stage, but we can simply make a picture summary (see figure 10) to show how is the social housing condition now in Mazzini according to the physical appearance. Then we start to make more deep analysis with the part, which Contratto di Quartiere is focusing on.

# CURRENT BUILDINGS' CONDITION

- B** Compartment's letter
- 2 Building's number
- Total refurbishment phase 1
- Total refurbishment phase 3
- Total refurbishment concluded
- Unification of extreme small flats



## Image 13

Current buildings' condition

*(Elaboration of the author)*

# BUILDINGS IN GOOD CONDITIONS

A1



E2



A2



E14



A3



E16



# BUILDINGS IN NORMAL CONDITIONS

D1



D4



E6



# BUILDINGS IN BAD CONDITIONS

B4



E1



E3



# BUILDINGS IN SERIOUSLY COMPROMISED CONDITIONS

---

C4



D9



---

C5



D10



---

D11



C3



# CONTRATTO DI QUARTIERE INTERVENTIONS' STATUS



## Image 14

Contratto di quartiere interventions' status

*(Elaboration of the author)*

### 4.4.1 The physical interventions

The physical interventions of Contratto di Quartiere includes two parts: Re-qualification of ERP assets and the regeneration for infrastructure and Services Facilities. Below, table 16 have shows the detail operations and its corresponding outcomes.

From the image above we can glimpse that a fair part of the intended actions are not finished yet. Some of them started but are currently stuck, others never started. For example, some actions aiming at inner yards cleaning and open space regeneration did not start. Moreover, space promotion for business activities and different social composition users were not completed either. The requalification's actions in the sake of valorisation or increment of buildings' value and asset were accomplished quite well. However not all of the buildings that were supposed to be restore eventually have been restored.

What is worth to mention is that within the all projects already exposed he student house was a sort of flagship project to revise the image of the neighborhood. The concept was to inject a great amount of new young inhabitants in a neighborhood plagued by seniority. This operation was strictly linked to the one of Ferrara square's market, since the design proposal forecasted the replacement of the market at dorm's ground level, substituting it with a parking hence the consequent requalification of the square. Everything started to decline when the firm responsible for the implementation of both the interventions failed. The realization of this project was financed by Aler (approximately 30% of the resources) and by the Ministry of Education University and Research (Miur approximately 70% of the funds), but when Aler crashed financially everything stuck. The goal was at that point to reallocate other Contratto di Quartiere's funds for the student house but it was not possible to finance it completely.

At this point, the municipality started elaborating a secondary plan, such as convert part of the building in temporary housing (with the severe concern that this would have increase the social load of Mazzini), benefitting the Miur's funds for the student housing. Currently there is another agreement going on among the Region, the Municipality and Politecnico di Milano, in order to finish and complete the student house. Together they participate to a new Miur's call expiring in May 2017.

**Axes of intervention**

**Actions (projects)**

**Implementation outcomes**

Valorization and increase the asset

Valorization:  
 A Renovation: via Comacchio 4 (buildings B7 and B8), via dei Panigarola 1 (buildings D7 and D8), Via Mompiani 4 (building A7, scale A), Piazza G. Rosa 9 (building C5 scale A, B, F) and 11 (building C5 scale A, E);  
 B Extraordinary maintenance with partial restructuring necessary for the insertion of new elevators: Via dei Panigarola 2 (building E16 and building E15, scale E), via Pomposa 8 (part of the buildings E14, E15 to complete the parts already restructured);  
 Increase:  
 New flats less than 36 square meters for students: Via Comacchio 4 (buildings B7 and B8), Via dei Panigarola 1 (buildings D6 and D8), Piazza G. Rosa 9 (building C5)

See the details in image 14

Developing innovative constructive solutions

A Removal of architectural barriers: via Pomposa 2 and 4, via Ravenna 5, Via dei Cinquecento 4, Via Mompiani 10;  
 B Installation of elevators in Gabriele Rosa square number 7 (building D1);  
 C Prepare for improved savings energy in relation to the replacement of thermal plants;  
 D Intervention on building structures according to the principles and criteria of a careful restoration of the modern methods;  
 E Adoption of a modern security control system in the construction sites.

A For outcomes of A also see image 14.  
 B Started but not finished. In some of the old buildings were put new elevators although the physical condition is quite poor.  
 C Not start. For the field checking emerged how the new thermal methods are absent.  
 D-E Not known.

Improving housing and settlement's quality

Reduction of common spaces:  
 A Redesign of the courts and residential areas  
 B Management of common spaces and services defined and maintained by the inhabitants  
 C Redevelopment of the connecting places between living spaces and spaces common openings to the courtyards, outdoor spaces

A-B Started but not finished. Some are renovated well but others remains neglected.  
 C Not start. The redesign of the connection is absent in the estate. The residents look like isolated from each other; almost no active public use and communication in outdoor open space.

Increase urban context's functionality

Space for Business Activities:  
 Some of the spaces on the ground floor and in the basement of the Aler property's owned buildings are expected to be dedicated to business or associative activities for people already active in the district who currently do not have enough space  
  
 Different social composition users:  
 A New availability of moderate rented homes, obtained through transformation into the living conditions of the attic floors;  
 B Accommodation of temporary housing;  
 C Inserting, in certain stairs of buildings to be restored, some accommodation for students

Not start. Once checked some of the Aler assets near P.za Ferrara and their ground floor are not efficiently utilized. Only several bars and retailing stores are still living. There is no evidence of opening of new businesses thanks to this strategy.  
  
 A-B Not known.  
 C Not start. Poor functional diversification and weak social mix of the neighborhood, there is still need for new inhabitants.



**Table 15**

Requalification of Erp's assets status of development

*(Source: elaboration of the author based on site visits and multimedia materials)*

Number	Forecasted intervention	Status
1A	Renovation buildings B7-B8 (comp.B)	Finished
1B	Renovation crawl spaces buildings B7-B8 (comp. B)	Started but not finished
1C	Renovation building C5 (comp. C)	Not start
1D	Renovation crawl spaces buildings	Finished
1E	Renovation crawl spaces buildings D8 (comp. D)	Finished
1F	Extraordinary maintenance buildings E14-E15-E16 (comp.E)	Finished
1G	Renovation of 16 flats buildings E14-E15 (comp. E)	Finished
1H	Architectural obstacles removal building 1	Not start
2A	Requalification Ferrara square Polesine street	Not start
2B	Requalification of Oglio street warehouse (Now Arci)	Finished
2C	Street works in Pomposa Mompiani and Parigarola street	Finished
2D	ERS' internal requalification for services	Not start
2E	New garden in Cinquecento street	Finished
2F	Removal of architectural barriers	Started but not finished
3A	New student dorm (with the ground floor being new market place for P.za. Ferrara)	Started but not finished

**Table 16**

Deep analysis of each Contratto di quartiere's actions status of development (the alphanumeric code on the left is referred to image number 9 and 14)

*(Source: elaboration of the author based on site visits and multimedia materials)*

**Axes of intervention**

**Actions (projects)**

**Implementation outcomes**

Infrastructure and Urban Scale Services:

- A Upgrading the headquarters of the Circolo Arci Corvetto
- B Making a garden for Alzheimer's patients
- C Realization of a new building for public services and add student accommodation

- A Finished. The arrangement for elderly is brand new and satisfactory. These kind of activities here are undertaken regularly.
- B Finished.
- C Started but not finished.

Infrastructure and services at the neighborhood scale:

- A Upgrading of Piazza Ferrara: pavement and pedestrianization of the square, limitation of the passage for cars to the connection between Pomposa Street and the Panigarola Street and between the Panigarola and Via Mompiani, the redevelopment of the ground to enhance the relationship between open spaces and surrounding buildings, interventions on the fronts of commercial activities facing the square for greater recognition and consistency;
- B Demolition of the communal market from the center of Piazza Ferrara and new placement at the foot of the building that will be realized in the municipal property area bordering the square near Polo Ferrara;
- C Requalification via Polesine: road shrinkage, extension of the sidewalks towards the elementary school, redistribution of the parking spaces (consistent with the provisions of the Local Security Act);
- D Overall redevelopment via Mompiani: creation of a restricted traffic zone (zone 30) through signage and realization of elevations of the road plan in the area of connection with the square, new trees, reorganization of the parking spaces;
- E Redevelopment of the Panigarola: creation of a restricted traffic zone (zone 30) through signage and realization of elevations of the road plan in the connection area with the square, reorganization of the parking spaces;
- F Rearrangement of via Pomposa: creation of restricted traffic zone (zone 30) through signposting and realization of elevations of the road plan in the connection section with the square, reorganization of the parking spaces;
- G Upgrading of area Polo Ferrara's pertinences equipped with greenery and definition of the connection to via Oglio to Arci Corvetto headquarter;
- H Video surveillance: installation of a video surveillance system in Via Mompiani, Via Omero, via Ravenna, Piazzale Ferrara at Via Polesine and Via Panigarola

- A Started but not finished. For the renewal of the three streets, it was finished quite well; However, P.za Ferrara is still characterized by hard a landscape design without enough green spaces for commercial activities and relaxing.
- B Not start. With most of the probability the fail is due to the lack of funds generated by Aler/Iter.
- C Finished.
- D Finished.
- E Finished.
- F Finished.
- G Finished.
- H Finished.

## Table 17

Assessment of each infrastructures and service facilities' original forecasted project, and their grade of implementation

(Source: elaboration of the author based on site visits and multimedia materials)

### 4.4.2 The role of Mazzini neighbourhood's laboratory

As previously analyzed in the history of the estate's requalification programs for the city of Milan, lately, in the last decades, another goal of the municipality is the improvement of the social condition in the targeted contexts. As deeply analyzed in paragraph 3.3.3. a pivotal role to accomplish the social goals was given to the Laboratory of the neighborhood (Laboratorio di quartiere, Ldq), which was supposed to be a point of reference for the local inhabitants of the neighborhood. Ldq was supposed to undertake various initiatives and activities, being led by a specialized staff. However, regarding Ldq there is an incongruity between what is reported in the official documents about the overall program, the involved members of the public administration's opinion, and the inhabitants' opinion.

Indeed, what emerged from the literature and government representatives' interviews is the central concern regarding location of the Laboratory, which should have settled in a strategic and central spot for the neighborhood. In the case of Mazzini, the laboratory was in the middle of one of the blocks (specifically between Mompiani and Polesine streets between buildings A1 and A2) and this position influenced both the users and the activities' features. The location is evidently central, however under a perception point of view is hidden and not visible from the street. Is accessible only getting into the compartment A's court, between buildings A1 and A2 and the entrance is slightly lower than the street level.

To better understand the overall perception of regarding the Laboratory of the neighborhood, by the representatives, the local inhabitants and workers, is worthy to pass through a few shreds of interviews collected during explorative activities for this work. Afterward each of the social initiative is going to be deeply analyzed assessing each's own level of accomplishment.

*“The outcome of the laboratory in Mazzini was resolutely positive, and was one of the best among the five Laboratories widespread in the city. In fact, the associations involved were deeply engaged, participating actively to the activities. Zone's four council, Nocetum, La comunità di Sant'egidio, Recup association, Casa della pace and La banca del tempo are just a few of the most active ones, which thanks to the Laboratory are still cooperating together. An interesting aspect is that all of these associations are casually strictly located within the Contratto di Quartiere's borders. Again, the “social doorman” was a successful initiative with positive results”. (Extracted by the interview with Arc. Patrizia Di Girolamo from the municipality)*

Moreover, the architect Di Girolamo specified how the “informal networks’

establishment” among the local people had a positive effect, such as the creation of groups of inhabitants, sharing a hobbies or skills with the rest of the population. One of them is the tailors’ group, which founded the “popular tailors group” that is not a proper shop, but is an association teaching how to sew and fix clothes. Another group is called “The neighborhood is our home” and works cleaning the area’s spaces, and giving also a signal to the rest of the inhabitants. Again, the group called “differently employed” is formed by those subjects expelled by the work market, which are trying to accomplish something worthy for the whole community.

*“A proof of the strength of the formal and informal network is the event happened Saturday 27th of May 2017. In that date, one of the market’s wall has been colored by a giant graffiti result of the project carried out by the local schools. Each student has been required to make a drawing with the common topic of “the dream” - (Image 12) - and now the wall is a patchwork of all of them”. (Extracted by the interview with Arc. Patrizia Di Girolamo from the municipality)*



According to Di Girolamo the difficulties to accomplish this project (bureaucratic, such as authorizations, and economical) are the proper evidence of the network’s strength, which final goal was not the graffiti itself, but the participation of the local dwellers.

According to her, another happening explaining the good work of the Labo-

### Image 15

The market “patchwork” wall, in Ferrara square

*(Credits: the author)*

*The next page on the left*

### Table 18

Analysis of each project related to the goal of “social development and employment growth”, and their grade of implementation pt. 1

*(Source: elaboration of the author based on site visits and multimedia materials)*

ratory is the application to the Cariplo financing call, for a social project called “Community’s equipe”. This call saw the partnership of the municipality with Bicocca University, in order to accomplish the program of integration of the local population, which would have taken place in the neighborhood’s courts.

However, during the interviews with the local residents and the associations, the scenario just described by the public authorities changed, since the final addressees of Contratto di Quartiere policy had a different point of view. In fact, roughly all of them have never heard about Cdq nor Ldq. Moreover, all the people share the idea that although the basic security problems have been eased the living environment of this area has not been improved that much: it just remains the same, or worsen in some aspect and bettered in others. Naturally, we have to keep in mind that the interviews’ shreds are just a reference point, a glimpse of the reality, because they might not correspond completely to the reality. Moreover, some citizens could be more active than other ones maybe completely antisocial and introverted. It is evident though that as in the representatives’ interview, the reader should mediate with the reported witnesses.

Thus to explain the shared opinions by the inhabitants we can pass through the following interviews:

*Spaces such as LDQ are not advertised enough, they are not validated. The real problem of this district is the meeting between citizens, now belonging to different nationalities and ethnicities. Often they do not integrate. When I was a kid, there were many rules, for instance the courtyards, could be used only by children under the age of 12. In the evening, we use to take a few steps in the street to stroll, especially in the summer. Now part of the receptions (where the doorman of the building stays) are closed and the doormen left. At least before, they were guaranteeing a form of control and safe in the area.*

*(By an old gentleman we met just beside the LDQ of Mazzini, reported in Appendix D)*

*I went to the meetings organized at the LDQ at the beginning, because I was talking about the market and its new project. It was my interest to go according to my business based on this butcher activity. However, I believe that there are so many words and a few facts, because I can testify that here is always the same thing in time.*

*(By the butcher in Ferrara market, reported in Appendix D)*

*The next page on the right*

### Table 19

Analysis of each project related to the goal of “social development and employment growth”, and their grade of implementation pt. 2

*(Source: elaboration of the author based on site visits and multimedia materials)*

**Axes of intervention**

**Actions (projects)**

**Implementation outcomes**

Participation of the inhabitants

Social Accompanying Project:

- A Animation and communication, public meetings about neighborhood transformations;
- B Participatory design: definition of thematic boards dealing with some parts of the project such as: redesigning the open spaces of the connecting area between Piazza Ferrara and via Oglio, the definition of new activities and services that can be hosted in the free spaces of the Aler patrimony, the redevelopment of residential areas, the direct management of the inhabitants of some services to the person;
- C Accompaniment to the upgrading of housing: continuation of the board on housing conditions for the definition of a plan for the mobility of the inhabitants in the phase of intervention on real estate

- A Existed.
- B Existed. The open space and it is greatly used by local families especially the kids and their parents.
- C Existed. There is a large amount of regeneration fund to help for the mobility of local residents according to chapter 4.3.4.

Development of social integration services and local security

Shares of service to the person :

- A Project of involvement of foreign and Italian mothers in nursery, baby-sitting and animation activities (beneficiaries and subjects active in the management of the service), provided for in the local security pact,
- B Anti-social prevention protocols in pre-adolescent age, project against school dispersion-integrated prevention project, provided for in the local security pact;
- C The assignment of a new social security guard,
- D Making a garden for Alzheimer's patients inside the facility residential for the elderly in via dei Cinquecento,
- E Occupational therapy laboratory;
- F Courtyard animation aimed at children in the relationship with the elderly population through the active involvement of the elderly; provided for in the local security pact;
- G Activation of interventions aimed at the integration of the cultural dimension (social, economic, ethnic and religious status) in the local security plan
- H Animation and information actions designed to compose a new sense of belonging to the sites, starting from the respect of shared rules provided for in the local security plan

- A-B-C-E-F-G-H: Not known. Several times the laboratory of Mazzini neighborhood is not open (even in the scheduled opening times) and not replying to any form of communication.
- D Finished. At the Regional office they said completely naturally that it is a RSA "Residenza sanitaria assistenziale", standing for assistenzial sanitary resident, meaning basically elderly house. They said it has been conceived as a green area for the elderly house. It is not a public green.

**Axes of intervention**

**Actions (projects)**

**Implementation outcomes**

Shares for employment:

- A The creation of a neighborhood association between the Ferrara Square dealers and the converging routes for the promotion of activities and interventions for the promotion of Piazza Ferrara
- B Development of business-oriented training activities for Italian and foreign citizens (courses on company law, sectorial upgrading, vocational retraining);
- C Forms of technical assistance for participation in tenders for the strengthening of existing companies or the emergence of new businesses;
- D Promotion of tax breaks (microcredit) at the institutes of loans that lend loans to entrepreneurs who decide to set up their own business in the neighborhood or to modify / expand their existing business;
- E Technical assistance activities for adapting and setting up business premises;
- F Initiatives to support business activities within ERP assets during the period of building upgrading;
- G The creation of a business gateway that provides information and promotion on facilitated financing opportunities

A Not start. According to the interviews with some of the Ferrara market dealers, they said almost everything stays the same for a decade and their business did not get much better, just staid the same condition.

B-C-D-E-F-G: Not known.

Local Security Pact:

- A Installation of alarm and lighting systems for commercial establishments, Polo Ferrara and schools, among the beneficiaries should include cooperatives and associations;
- B Development of an information / education pathway aimed at school reality that takes into account the security theme in its broader definition (road, health, risk behaviors, building security and civil protection);
- C Creating a Security Services Center with the aim of providing space and time for listening to victims of crime and marginality as well as a social and criminal mediation service;
- D Activities of animation and information in the courts of the Aler estate (against abusive phenomena) in order to convey and spread the sense and the possibility of restoring and respecting certain rules of civil coexistence

Not known.

*As for what you said about social-doorman program, I wanted to tell you that almost all the compounds has taken the doormen away now. At least before, they gave some security. However, for the rest I do not know any of the other actions you have mentioned about CDQ except that I have seen that they are renovating some building. Anyway, it is okay here.*

*(By an old gentleman met at the corner café of Ferrara square, reported in Appendix D)*

*In recent years, the interest regarding the neighborhood has increased but commercial things are not improved; Maybe, in this street highly frequented and busy there are less problems, but in the least frequented roads everyone know that everything happens! (meaning drugs and crime)*

*(By a shop owner of international products, reported in Appendix D)*

*We saw in the basement they do some activities, like painting and other initiatives, but there have never been interaction out of their door, for the rest of the things about CDQ we do not know anything and we do not know what it is. This is the first time we hear it, so if I try to tell you something about it I would probably be wrong.*

*(By an ambulance operator of neighborhood clinic just beside LDQ of Mazzini, reported in Appendix D)*

*We are not only in Milan and we try to open up as much as possible to the neighborhood while we work, even though we do not know CDQ and we would like to be more involved. We really have no clue of what CDQ and LDQ are. Maybe the requirement that the municipality asks us, to be open to the territory, is the “put in practice” of CDQ’ s goal. However, it sounds weird to us that the municipality would not mention us about CDQ thus letting us indirectly work for it goals.*

*(By Luigi Regalia from the elderly house on via Dei Cinquecento, reported in Appendix C)*

As we observed from above visibility of Cdq by the inhabitants and the ones running businesses in the area is not exactly coinciding with the actors promoting it. Another aspect to be consider is the high tax of insecurity that is plaguing the neighborhood. This is proved by what occurred in the same period when all the above interviews were collected, between July and August 2017, as reported below.



*In Via Bessarione - Corvetto area in Milan - where a man put a fire on the street burning a car and a motorcycle that were in the park. Just in Via Bessarione, late Thursday morning, a Moroccan citizen had been killed in a handcuff, accused of burning a bar in Panigarola Street , a few hundred meters from there.*

*(Source Milanotoday 2017/08/04: <http://forlanini.milanotoday.it/rogoredo/incendio-via-bessarione.html>)*

To sum up, the official sources keep saying that the LDQ of Mazzini and the social interventions conducted by them have been worthy and that LDQ output are still developing positively. The social interventions outcomes have been all recorded in table 19, so actually, a wide part of the program is not kept in pace: some of the updates were stopped, and some changes were made. The reason may consists of many aspects: first of all, the funds are not enough for the LDQ so their focus on the social intervention are hard to keep; secondly, there might be a deviation between what the local residents want and what the associations planned, so this kind of actions are hard to move on.

On the other hand, it is difficult to predict the problems in the future implementation process in the development of the program. Therefore, there is a great need of keeping all the bureaucrats and associations having an effective collaboration, rather than leaving the things alone. However is important now to pass through each municipality's expected interventions under a social point of view evaluating each's grade of implementation. Everything is reported in the tables 18 and 19.

#### 4.4.3 Cooperation at different levels

Contratto di quartiere was one of the last important choices the municipality of Milan had to define an integrated work, not only cooperating with external bodies, but also designing an inner cooperative pattern within its own department. A plurality of municipality's sectors were involved at different levels, from the technical and operative one, to the administrative or the political one, thus designing an univocal process for the program was rather a difficult task.

There is no doubt that the success of some interventions of Mazzini neighborhood's regeneration lies on the good cooperation of different sectors, that is, as chapter 4.3 says, the politic level, the technical and administrative level, and the participating level, the brief organization is shown in table 20.

We can see that in the regeneration process of Mazzini neighborhood, all kinds of resources are distributed into participants at all levels. The number of partici-

	<b>Regional scale</b>	<b>Municipality scale</b>	<b>ALER</b>	<b>Local scale</b>
<b>The politic level</b>	Housing policies division	Security, peripheries and civil protection alderman Territory development's alderman Social policies' alderman Decentralization's alderman	ALER presidency	Advisors from different universities and researching associations
<b>Technical and administrative level</b>	Housing and public works general director	Central director environment and mobility Central director socio-sanitary services Central director decentralization and authorization Central director urban planning and PR actualization Peripheries sector's director Technical center management's director	Office for Contratto di Quartiere in ALER	OO.SS.Board
<b>Participatory level</b>				Committees' assembly Neighborhood laboratory Associations Polo Ferrara; ARCI Corvetto; Associazione Angela Giorgetti; AGA 14; Sindacato Pensionati Italiani; CeDim; Scuola media di via Polesine; Centro Psico Sociale; ..... Local parties Citizens

pants, the level of diversification are very high, of which the high-level participants such as government and other public institutions enjoy more political, legal and economic resources. However, it is obvious that instead, most of the participation sector of neighborhood level is not profitable social organizations, and they do not invest in any actions but only provide knowledge or services to CDQ program.

## Table 20

### Different levels and actors' tasks

(Source: *Un contratto per la città : i contratti di quartiere II a Milano*, Cella, 2006. Translated and elaborated by author)

Under the “integrated” instruction of CDQ, multiple sectors divide the work and cooperate well in some of the high complex tasks, which is impossible without the variety participation.

On the other side, indeed, there are some actions that are stuck or never started. In fact, within this experience we can state, using the words of architect Monica Righetti from the municipality,

*“the township did not develop an integrated path among sectors in order to reach a unique goal, a sort of cooperation model to reiterate in the future. The size of Milan need to be consider in this analysis, linked to the amount of municipality’s divisions involved, and the various political opinions across all the levels, but especially at the leading board’s one. With this, we do not want to state that the sectors did not cooperate mutually at all”. (Extracted from the interview with architect Righetti from the municipality)*

Talking about the reasons, the positive things are generally the ones that worked and vice versa. The crisis of 2008 has been and harsh period for the building sector, thus naturally this in turn generated a shortage of availability of resources for the single subcontracting firms. This means that some of the project just interrupted. Aler’s crisis is an example to observe how if one of the main actors’ finances start missing all the pyramid of the involved subjects might collapse.

If the time of accomplishment delates too much it becomes difficult to conclude the project. Generally because the people who is responsible for specific task might change. Though linking all what has been done in the past with the present is resolutely difficult. This change of people dealing with it can happen at all the levels from the technical to the institutional. At the institutional and highest level, such as the one of the Ministry, the change of individual charges might reflect to the overall CDQ multi-institutional layout.

## 4.5 Summary of the experience in Mazzini’s context

Here it is worthy to make a note which in general about the success of the municipality of Milan, getting accepted all the five sites and gaining at least the fifty percent of the total Regional assets. Using the words of architect Daniela Farioli from the municipality (colleague of architect Monica Righetti):

*“this is also a political choice employed by Lombardy Region, which was aware too about the capabilities and the strength of Milan’s municipality, especially in*

*such a blooming period, comparing to the potential of other smaller municipalities". (Extracted from the interview with architect Righetti from the municipality)*

This for sure could be seen as a “municipal success” or a “political success” and this is undeniable. However, the overall and final goal of Contratto di Quartiere policy is not the one of evidencing which authority or how many entities got financed, this is just a prerogative to accomplish the final objective of the project. In fact, the real goal of it, as we saw along this script other times, is the physical and social rehabilitation of the chosen neighborhoods (in this case Mazzini) and the effective evidence of the change the neighborhood could have implemented thanks to the program. Thus at this point is worthy to pass through a few aspects characterizing Contratto di quartiere’s nature in order to verify which have been the positive and negative output of it, which have been the obstacles that could have slow down the whole process.

#### 4.5.1 The regeneration content

In the aspect of the regeneration content, “Contratto di Quartiere” program of Mazzini definitely embodies the characteristics of integration, and the specific projects deal with various problems of the neighborhood (physical, social and environmental, etc.). Overall, it has played a significant role in the local redevelopment. In practice, however, some projects deviate from the original planning or cease to be implemented for a variety of reasons. A deep analysis about the physical implementation of the forecasted action has been already conducted in paragraph 4.4.1., specifically in table number 16 (Requalification of Erp’s assets), table number 17 (Deep analysis of each Contratto di quartiere’s actions status of development) and table number 18 (Assessment of each infrastructures and service facilities’ original forecasted project, and their grade of implementation). The analysis evidences how the physical interventions, such as some buildings requalification and some infrastructural works have been accomplished in some cases, and did not start in some others. In the light of this matter, it is important to highlight that the neighborhood’s condition now, under a physical point of view has been increased, but there is still a huge amount of housing that is not up to standards. It would be superficial to state that Cdq’s intervention did not change the physical conditions at all. This image number 10 (current buildings’ condition) reported in paragraph 4.4. summarizes efficaciously the current condition, since it has been elaborated through specific visits in the neighborhood.

There are many reasons behind the non-accomplishment phenomenon. Some

are related to lack of funds, some others linked to problems with management and mechanism of construction, and some others are unpredictable with local conditions, indicating that there is a need in the project development phase to better investigate local needs. However, in the implementation process, the program has a certain degree of flexibility, according to a certain procedure to change the original program or supplementary program, which to some extent make up for its program development deficiencies.

However we can consider in the case of Mazzini how the financial deficiencies have been resolutely significant to the program's outputs, thus how this aspect influenced the regeneration of the physical and social point of view. Hence is worthy now to make a focus that highlight how the financial condition effected and changed the program's accomplishment.

#### 4.5.2 The financial restriction

According to chapter 4.3.5., the regeneration funding for Mazzini neighborhood is quite huge and among them, the sources from the regional scale account for the most. However, in the light of the available finances of Cdq, if we observe the outcomes of it, we may notice there is a discrepancy. The financial crisis is the answer to this discrepancy, which has been a profound shock for all the sectors in a global level. However, in this case there is too much reliance on public funds, lack of flexibility and diversified financing initials. In the case of insufficient funds (such as a crisis or other financial shortcomings), it is always difficult to raise new funds, so many of the on-going regeneration programs stuck.

Naturally, it is undeniable that the crisis occurred all in a sudden, and it is difficult to operate expecting every time a crisis. Thus, the main problem under the financial point of view was the sudden lack of funds by Aler, which during the financial crisis was going through difficulties because of its financial shortcomings. This financial lack linked to the absence of flexibility and diversified financial initials had a hard and lethal impact on the overall program. We could make a metaphor of the program with a pyramid, where the basement of it are the main actors such as Aler, the municipality and the region. It is clear that without a certain (financial) flexibility to earthquakes (financial crisis) when one of the main supportive pillars default, the overall structure collapse. This is basically what happened in Mazzini's case, since the other main institutions could not cover the with their finances the unexpected and sudden lack of finances of another main partner institution, or anyway it was not programmed a b plan in order to obviate the problem (lack of

financial flexibility).

### 4.5.3 The social impact

According to the results of the interviews collected in the target-territory, the physical and social environment has been partially improved. The Cdq in its genesis can be considered as an important driving force of a good neighborhood redevelopment. Definitely could be seen as such in a healthy development condition of it, when problems are not occurring, but unfortunately, this is not the case of Mazzini. Unfortunately as evidenced right before, the lack of finances joint to the lack of flexibility undermined the overall future of the program.

The financial lack is the base of some evidences that naturally undermined the ambitious program. As deeply analyzed in paragraph 4.4.2. and specifically in tables number 18 and 19 (Analysis of each project related to the goal of “social development and employment growth”, and their grade of implementation), not all the forecasted actions have been successfully achieved. For instance, some of the most relevant local associations and institutions have not been even informed about the Cdq actions and have not been encouraged to participate in. A huge amount of citizens did not know anything about the foreseen actions of Cdq, neither about the neighborhood laboratory. Social improvement is not enough only by the government intervention, so the cooperation between local associations and cultural service groups is the key factor in expanding the social influence and rebuilding the neighborhood identity. Moreover, the involvement of the local citizens to contribute to the common program and participate is crucial and fundamental. The municipality can be the promotor of the program, the guide for associations and citizens. It is clear that if a lack of funds occurs in this mediating moment, the whole program can easily fail.

Hence, what Cdq of Mazzini did under a social point of view, unfortunately is very limited for the social redevelopment. It would be wrong to state that what has been done is equal to zero, because any input inserted in any territory has its impact with a variable dimension. However, it is also clear that the overall program would have worked healthily only reaching the goals the program was set to reach, the 100%, but this did not happen.

## 4.6 Note about the municipality’s approach

In the previous paragraph, we already highlighted which have been the main

problems that contributed negatively to the accomplishment of Cdq program under the physical and social point of view. However, what this paragraph wants to deal about regards the municipality approach in the accomplishment of the social goals abstracting it from the financial shortcoming that occurred. It is hard to make such an exercise, however here we want to reflect about the municipality's strategy assessing it in its nature, abstracting for a moment the financial issues, forgetting about that.

As known, the municipality was the main actor designing the social strategy to rehab and reinforce the social tissue of the neighborhood. The strategy took shape into actions, initiatives, sub-policies and choices. These actions foresaw the establishment of the neighborhood laboratory, the creation of a network of associations, the realization of a social-doormen program, and all the other initiative listed and deeply analyzed in the previous part of this work. However, as we saw many of the actions forecasted by Contratto di quartiere have not been accomplished. In this part, there is the need to analyze the specific choices of the municipality and their effectivity on the territory.

#### 4.6.1 Was the municipality strategy worthy?

In the tables 18 and 19 (Analysis of each project related to the goal of “social development and employment growth”, and their grade of implementation) in paragraph 4.4.2 we reported how one of the axes of municipality's intervention was the social development and the employment growth. This strategy foresaw a long list of actions in order to improve the social development and to foster the local living conditions. Except for those actions implying the participations of the inhabitants, almost all the others have never been realized and none of the interviewed active subjects knows about their existence. Even if we look this story from far is weird how some active citizens, the ones living in the neighborhood, the ones running business there and the head of the biggest elderly house settled in Mazzini neighborhood do not even know what Contratto di quartiere was. Now, without getting into the specific actions, it is extremely strange that the municipality was not able even to connect with the local population, within the drastic shakeup it wanted to prompt to the neighborhood.

The laboratory of the neighborhood was supposed to be the cornerstone of most of the social activities, from the initiative of the “occupational therapy laboratory” to the one of “animation and information actions designed to compose a new sense of belonging”. This place was supposed to be a reference point for the citizenship

of the neighborhood. Instead, none in the neighborhood know about its existence, about what the initiative it promotes and where the laboratory is located.

Another bizarre fact is that the head of “Casa per Coniugi”, Luigi Regalia, which is the biggest elderly house in the neighborhood hosting 450 patients and 350 operators, did not even know about what Contratto di quartiere was. This structure is located in Panigarola street number 14 and it is completely included within the borders of Contratto di quartiere. Just mentioning the interview we had in the end of July 2017 (reported in the complete version in the appendix C) he said:

*“Again, we are telling you that we do not know what Contratto di quartiere and Laboratory of the neighborhood are, we absolutely have not any idea. Maybe the opening to the territory that the municipality is requiring us is properly a declination of this program, however it sounds weird to our ears not knowing what is that.”*

#### 4.6.2 Program’s crucial deficiencies

The strategies foreseen by the municipality are surely good and appreciable, and all the initiatives those strategies involved. As well we have to keep in mind that some of the physical interventions have been achieved, increasing the estate quality and the living condition of the local inhabitants. This in turn changed also the social condition of part of the population. Moreover, also some of the foreseen social activities have been accomplished.

However as we saw an important amount of the social actions, have not been accomplished. From this experience, we can notice how the municipality was not able to accomplish a resolutely basic and primary aspect, thus promote Contratto di quartiere until all the community of the neighborhood would have known it. It seems a paradox that a neighborhood and its community is undertaking such a pervasive physical and social long-term program, and the community itself, the human patrimony of the intervention, thus the most important matter of the chore is properly the one who totally does not know anything about that (this was prior the crisis).

Is impressive as well, how the municipality did not consider the possible contribution of huge and wise actors settled in the territory, bearing the organizational and social expenses of all the initiatives it was planning to do. This case is referred to the absence of clear cooperation with the elderly house Casa coniugi, which, as a paradox, is creating a network with other associations itself as with Sant’Egidio volunteers. It is clear that if one of the municipality’s goal is to foster the local



network and another non-consulted subject (Casa coniugi) is doing the same, there is something wrong and waste of money.

In the author point of view, Contratto di quartiere experience lacked giving more weight to some initiatives than to others. All of the ones that were planned to be accomplished are resolutely important and deserving. However, it was missing a priority order of them. For instance, one of the main concern in the author's opinion is the development of a fertile environment for job opportunities' development. The municipality should foster forms encouraging employment as the base to activate the social requalification of the neighborhood. In this case, the creation of such an environment has a priority role.

This experience witnesses how is clear that the administration is plagued by difficulties of inter-department self-organization. It seems like its structural layout is still shaped on ancient needs and old-fashioned way of administration; this layout obstacles the promotion of more innovative and integrated programs updated with the modernity of current times. The needs of current times changed, the spinoffs and policies wants to adapt to modernity, but the public sector's structure does not allow doing that.

This structure has been an obstacle to the integrated policy of Contratto di quartiere, and is probably an obstacle as well in the imagination of newer solutions, even more innovative and projected to the future. As said all the initiative set out by the municipality were worthy and appreciable, however not enough innovative. We live in an era where the new technologies and the communications methods are evolving increasingly fast. Any actions in the civil society having success consider this as a preeminent matter, otherwise risking the fail. Any policy promoted by the public hand has to adapt to this matter with an updated approach to be successful, and Contratto di quartiere did not do so. We can consider this last aspect as another deficiency that undermined this program.





# 5

## A CASE STUDY FROM ELSEWHERE. THE SELF-ORGANIZATIONAL NETWORK OF TOR SAPIENZA

As has been analyzed in the last chapter, Mazzini experience evidenced how the outputs of Contratto di quartiere requalification program are both positive and negative, in the light of the considered reasons. Anyway, here what is interesting is to make one more step forward, analyzing another case in order to find out the similarities and understand which could be the approaches that could be adopted in Mazzini's context. The general goal of this experiment, thus, is to discover inte-

resting matters, that if would had been applied to Mazzini's case could had changed the outcome of it.

Hence, the chapter is introducing the recent history of a peripheral neighborhood of the capital called Tor Sapienza, which presents many similar characteristic with Mazzini neighborhood. The argumentation along this chapter is using Tor Sapienza as a case study, a point to reflect about what could be different in Mazzini's case, thus, what could have change the destiny of Contratto di quartiere's program.

The structure of the chapter is leading the reader through an introduction of the reason behind the choice of this context, its brief history with a focus on the previous requalification programs, ending with an explanation of how some matters could be considered in the next requalification programs.

## 5.1 Mazzini and Tor Sapienza: the parallelism between the two contexts

During the insight about of Contratto di quartiere's program in Mazzini, a huge amount of material has been consulted and many opinions has been heard, from the ones involved in the promotion and the realization of the program, to the ones "subjected" at it. However, also other contexts has been studied along the analysis of this multi-character material. What emerged is that the neighborhood requalification is a long process, taking a wide slot of time to be visible and tangible in the reality. Moreover, these programs are using a massive amount of resources, as we saw for instance in the case of Mazzini equal to 50.886.000 euro. In the light of the analysis of how Mazzini requalification has been implemented, we can state that almost all the physical housing refurbishment has been completed, with a problem with those stuck buildings and the market-dormitory estate operation stuck too (a deep analysis of all of the physical actions in paragraph 4.4.1.).

However, in the previous part has been evidenced how under the social point of view not all of the forecasted actions have been implemented, instead many have been discarded (a deep analysis of all of the social actions in paragraph 4.4.2.). However, one of the social actions that has been successfully accomplished is the creation of a network between some of the association settled in the districts. In fact, during the program's development the network has been reinforced and widened. Anyway, the overall social side of the program, basically did not satisfy its initial aim, losing the already small resources devolved to this matter (of the total 50.886.000 €, 35.410.000 € were planned to be used social housing, 9.772.000 € for infrastructural works, and only 1.704.000 € for the social actions). What need to be

clear under the writer's point of view is that the social actions' budget is too small to accomplish all the actions exposed in the program, because it is confined to the 3% of the total operation's budget. However is still a pity such a loss of public resources.

At this point, we are slowly connecting to the Tor Sapienza's case that shares some aspects with Mazzini, and differs from it with others. What contributed negatively in this predicament are the municipality's deficiencies, to try to be innovative and updated with the current times and the use of new technologies, as happened. The case of Tor Sapienza in this chapter is going to highlight instead the possibility of adaptation of new forms of communication in order to gather easier more forces in the territory. In both of the cases seems like the municipality's approach belongs to an old-fashioned era, since everyone is aware about the speed of society's change in current times (however in the case of Tor Sapienza the municipality seems nonexistent). Other fundamental lacking aspect in Mazzini, is a clear layout of the program based on the development of employment opportunities. Regarding this matter, the case of Tor Sapienza will show how "work" assumes a central role into the neighborhood requalification. Actually, the action foresaw by the municipality of Milan regarding the topic are resolutely appreciable, and these are the ones following:

- Development of business-oriented training activities for Italian and foreign citizens (courses on company law, sectorial upgrading, vocational retraining)
- Forms of technical assistance for participation in tenders for the strengthening of existing companies or the emergence of new businesses;
- Promotion of tax breaks (microcredit) at the institutes of loans that lend loans to entrepreneurs who decide to set up their own business in the neighborhood or to modify/expand their existing business;
- Technical assistance activities for adapting and setting up business premises;
- Initiatives to support business activities within ERP assets during the period of building upgrading;

However, the problem is that the budget to accomplish such an employment program was completely unfitting the goal. Moreover, none heard anything about that in the neighborhood and these worthy and crucial initiatives have not been accomplished. A healthy working environment is one of the most important aspect in the social redevelopment of an area, and these actions for sure create this kind of environment. This is the condition giving the people the evidence they could change their life, strive for a better situation, and this is going to change in turn many

other neighborhood's issues linked to the local users, developing for instance a civic belonging feeling. Developing the working opportunity has spill-off on the overall neighborhood, both from a physical and a social point of view. Thus creating job opportunity is can contribute to the urban requalification.

These two aspects, thus, first, having an innovative approach, and second, basing the intervention on development of a working tissue, is what has been tried to be accomplished in Tor Sapienza, and as a coincidence is what, for a reason or another, missed in Mazzini's case. The following chapter is going to deeper explain these aspects.

## 5.2 Brief history of Tor Sapienza neighborhood

Tor Sapienza is the eighth area of Rome in the Agro Romano, and is part of the City Hall Roma V (former City Hall Rome VII) of Rome Capital. The district is located in the eastern area of the municipality, close to the Grande Raccordo Anulare (the orbital road surrounding the city) which includes it completely, between Via Prenestina and the urban stretch of the A24 motorway. The territory is ideally divided into four quadrants, separated by a cross from north to south by the homonymous Via di Tor Sapienza and from west to east by Via Collatina.

The history of the neighborhood started in the XIII century, when between the via Collatina and the via Prenestina a square brick tower was built, with travertine



Image 16

The location of Tor Sapienza

(Source: internazionale.it)

and crenellated jambs. In the following century, the historic Boccamazzi family built the Bucchamatiis farmhouse there. This was later sold to the Santo Spirito Hospital. On 15th August 1457 it was, therefore, purchased by Cardinal Domenico Pantagati called Capranica, who entrusted it to the Perugian students of the College of San Girolamo. These renamed him in “Sapienza Nuova”. From this the tower of the farmhouse was renamed “Tor Sapienza”.

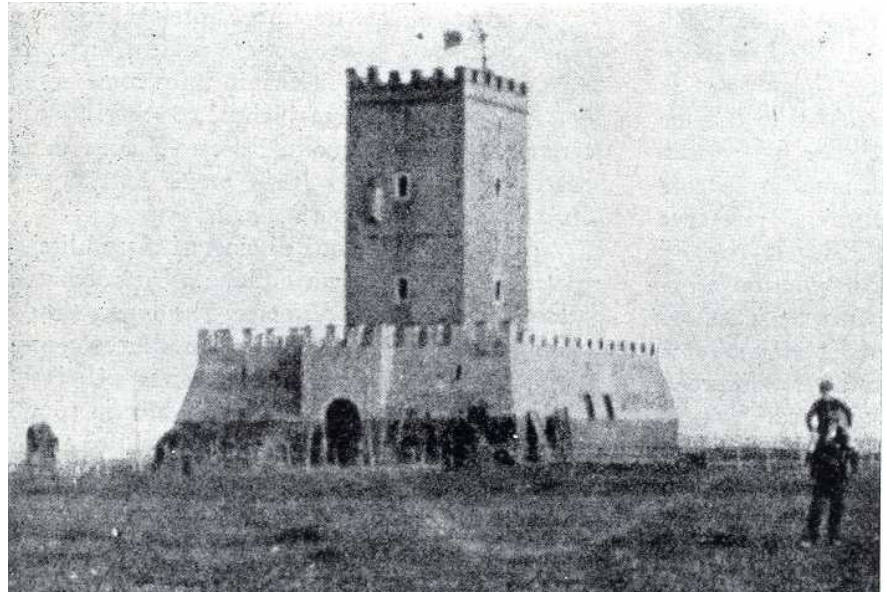
The current urban nucleus was formed in the twenties, by an anti-fascist railway worker Michele Testa originally from Molise region. He created the “Cooperative Tor Sapienza of Agro Romano”, acquired 35 hectares of land from the dukes Salviati and from the Lancelotti princes and obtained in January 1922 a loan of 800,000 lire for the construction of the first 25 villas, then another hundred. Testa was punished by the state society of the railways for his socialist struggle, so he was transferred to Cervara (current Tor Sapienza) because it was a malarial zone.

On 20th of May 1923, the village of Tor Sapienza was inaugurated, regularly built and equipped with a school, a pharmacy and a medical line. During the Second World War, the German army used the tower as a munitions depot. At the time of the retreat, the ammunition deposit was set off and this caused the total collapse of the central high tower. This explosion also caused the inability of numerous tunnels that were located below and around the tower. At the end of the nineties the new owner of the tower, under the supervision of the Academy of Fine Arts, carried out

### Image 17

The tower of Tor Sapienza before being destroyed by the German Army

(Source: <https://www.archeologiacondivisa.it/node/7311>)



## Image 18

Historical remains of the tower

(Credits: the author)



a profound restructuring of the outer walls of the tower bringing it back to its original splendor. The renovation involved the total elimination of square battlements at the top of the walls.

The neighborhood for years found its fortune in the industries located in the area such as Peroni (image 18), where many Italian immigrants, mostly from Molise and Abruzzo regions, were working on. As reported in the interview to Alfredo Di Fante (reported in the appendix E), head of the Neighborhood's Agency of Tor Sapienza, at that time the population was composed by middle-high income families. However, the neighborhood experienced a fast growth of its population when in the 70's was built Morandi Housing Complex currently counting 1238 inhabitants, which is about the 10% of the current Tor Sapienza's population.

The decline of the neighborhood and the issues started rising with the unemployment subsequent to the industrial delocalization of the 90's. In the same period was authorized here by the municipality:

*“the first nomads’ settlement in via Salviati, actually with good quality standards. This settlement was completely legal, however not having carried out checks, and having placed the settlement on the border between the fifth and fourth municipalities, created some problems. (...) In addition to the first, there is a second factor of territorial issue since there is a community of political refugees squatting inside of a former factory, formally illegal. Finally, there is another nomads’ settlement that is neighboring the one of via Salviati that is in contrast with the first one for ethnic reasons. As last there are three Sprar centers (Italian acronym for: system of protection for asylum se-*



## Image 19

The ancient Peroni beer factory

(Credits: the author)



*ekers and refugees), and with this disproportionate ratio of inhabitants and non-EU citizens or nomad citizens, the matter became intolerable and hence the issues started arising". (From the interview of 27th of April 2018 with Alfredo Di Fante, Appendix E).*

This particular demographic condition led to some tension moments on Monday 11th and Tuesday 12th of November 2014, when a good part of the inhabitants of Morandi Housing Complex (that in total counts 1.600 inhabitants and is just an esteem due to the squats) started a demonstration complaining about the refugee center and the unbalanced ratio between immigrants and locals. The demonstrations more than once got violent and required the intervention of the police. The press reaction has been aggressive and the audience impact has been even worse, depicting Tor Sapienza as a sort of peripheral ghetto, and not proportionating the news to the actual demonstration size, triggered by an estimated 10% of the neighborhood's population.

### 5.3 A previous requalification experience in Tor Sapienza: the Re-Block project

Tor Sapienza and Mazzini are sharing a few characteristic that could be mentioned: the non-central location of the estate, the presence of social and physical problems plaguing them, at last the existence of previous requalification programs that tried to cope the local problems. However, the two context are not the same: Tor Sapienza's origins, as said, are different and more recent, thus, also the social tissue is dissimilar; the two context are located in two different regions, with a "dif-

ferent” political approach. In fact, as will emerge from the roman case thanks to the opinion of active subjects operating in the context, in Tor Sapienza the public hand is disregarding the neighborhood.

In order to explain better which are the issues of Tor Sapienza, here is reported an interesting past’s attempt of requalification of the neighborhood. In fact, Re-Block, which is the name of this recent requalification’s attempt, is going to be a “vehicle”, a “tool” to understand better the context, having also the opportunity to get to know this program.

Re-Block is the acronym of REviving high-rise Blocks for cohesive and green neighborhoods . The territorial problems faced by RE-Block involve the promotion of an efficient and effective regeneration of high-density urban settlements or neighborhoods, making them more attractive and improving their environmental quality through the activation of an integrated urban approach. A tailor-made ap-



Image 20

Morandi housing complex

(Source: <https://medium.com/@annalisacamilli/non-e-una-guerra-tra-poveri-c356a08e9675>)

proach to combat urban poverty, poor housing quality, lack of services. The project also pays particular attention to environmental aspects. Re-Block was financed through the program promoted by the European Commission called URBACT, and started between the end of 2012 and the first months of 2013.

### 5.3.1 The genesis of the Re-Block project in Rome

The University of Tor Vergata was the project actor/partner who allowed the implementation of the participatory process in the area of the Morandi housing complex in Tor Sapienza. The University has identified and coordinated the active forces on the territory, which already had previous experiences of shared participation concerning the choices to undertake at the district level, but which had to be coordinated within a process oriented towards strategic and structured objectives through a shared methodology. The general goal was to break the isolation of Morandi housing complex.

Morandi housing complex can be considered a central element in the area of Tor Sapienza, one of the “suburban” districts of Rome, located in the fifth municipality. Morandi is placed in an urban context of buildings constructed for about 60% between 1919 and 1960 and 8.5% in the 1970s (period of construction of the Complex).

The economy is essentially linked to small commercial distribution, increasingly reduced to crafts and, recently, to food self-promotion and recycling. However, both the Complex and the whole neighborhood are assisting a demographic decrement of (-6.5%), an increasingly higher tax of population ageing and a spontaneous influx of non-EU migrants (about 4-5% of the present population).

The Re-Block project in Rome was an initiative promoted by the University of Tor Vergata. Specifically, the Department of Educational Sciences and Technologies has taken up the theme of urban regeneration of high-density social housing districts, has found in the partnership of this project URBACT II valid interlocutors, and has begun to raise awareness and involve local actors responsible for urban and territorial planning. The first meetings held on the territory managed to bring the attention of the institutions to the project. The actors were involved in the URBACT path, and a Local Support Group (Gruppo di Supporto Locale) was able to be activated in a short time. All this happened at a time of political crisis both national, regional, municipal and municipal, between the end of 2012 and the first months of 2013.



### Image 21

Neglected passage through the central spine

*(Credits: the author)*

## Image 20

The housing ribbon and its central spaces currently squatted

*(Credits: the author)*

### 5.3.2 The project teams and the creation of the URBACT Local Support Group

Participation at the local level is a key component of the URBACT II methodology aimed at defining an approach to renew material and immaterial aspects, defining a network of actors taking choices for the territory. In order to reach an effective impact of network activities on local policies, URBACT projects are based on the creation of:

- a. URBACT Local Support Groups (Gruppi di Supporto Locale), which help to bring together the main local territorial (public and private) actors: this network of actors, through the coordination of local technicians (urban planners, architects, economists, anthropologists and other professionals competent in urban planning and territorial aspects),

Which realizes:

- b. The Local Action Plan (il Piano d'Azione Locale) of the district or the urban area to be requalified/regenerated. The University of Tor Vergata, Rome, coordinates the technical and scientific support.

The project is coordinated at local level by an URBACT Thematic Expert validated by EU (Dr. Eng. Pietro Elisei from the University Tor Vergata) supported by the scientific coordination carried out by Professor Maria Prezioso (University Tor Vergata). The local action group is coordinated by Dr. Riccardo Troisi (economist and expert in the ecological and social reconversion of local economy systems), with the technical assistance of Dr. Adriana Goni Mazzitelli (anthropologist - PhD in Urban Policies, and expert in participatory and intercultural). Dr. Eng. Angela D'Orazio (researcher in territorial development policies, University of Tor Vergata) was dealing with the communication.

Many actors have been involved in the Local Action Group (Gruppo di Azione Locale) in order to implement a decision-making process that respects the different needs in the neighborhood. Among these, some stakeholders have given continuity and substance to the URBACT process:

Agenzia di Quartiere Tor Sapienza, Associazione Antropos, Associazione L'Abbraccio, Centro Culturale Morandi, Centro Anziani Morandi, Gruppo locale riqualificazione Centro Carni, Laboratorio Urbano Reset Riconversione Ecologica, Cooperativa Capodarco Agricoltura, Rete Operatori Nazionali dell' Usato, Comitato Colli Aniene, Occhio del Riciclone, Gruppo di Acquisto Solidale Biologico, Centro Culturale Michele Testa, Amici del Cinema, Associazione Minoranza e Cittadinanza, Centro Orientamento al Lavoro Teresa Gullace - Dipartimento Forma-

zione Lavoro di Roma Capitale. Moreover, the president of the fifth municipality Giammarco Palmieri has joined the project and the fifth municipality's environmental councilor Giulia Pietroletti actively participated in the meetings. Within this group Agenzia di quartiere represents and is composed by 23 association and among them many are non-profit association.

Since the beginning the coordinators of the project applied an inclusive approach regarding all the involved authorities, and, moreover, cooperating with the local municipality, the municipality of the city of Rome, Lazio Region and the ministry of infrastructures and transportation.

### 5.3.3 Swot analysis Morandi-Tor Sapienza: internal and external factors emerged

All along the reading of the following swot analysis, the reader is invited to recall and keep in mind Mazzini's strengths and weakness, some of them are resolutely similar.

#### 1. Strength points (useful for achieving objectives)

- a. Population and local stakeholders active, and with visions, for the territory and for the Morandi-Tor Sapienza Area;
- b. Local institutions available and collaborative in the sake of the project;
- c. Sensitivity to the activation of innovative productive activities in the field of environmental sustainability (short agricultural chain, reuse and recycling chain, and activities related to renewable energy);
- d. In Tor Sapienza area there are several abandoned public spaces, untreated and inaccessible green areas;
- e. Disused industrial areas with potential for functional reconversion (brown-field).

#### 2. Weakness points (harmful to achieving the objectives)

##### Structural level (Morandi):

- a. geographical isolation;
- b. location from the main commercial and public services and dependence on Tor Sapienza;
- c. lack in the amount of road and pedestrian connections with the neighborhood;

#### Functional level (Morandi):

- a. poor maintenance of court areas, gardens and central spine;
- b. lack of adequate cleaning;
- c. lack of transportation;
- d. location from the center of Tor Sapienza
- e. absence of essential services such as first aid, police station, etc;
- f. lack of redevelopment interventions.

#### Social level:

- a. lack of aggregation poles and public cultural and recreational centers for young people and adults;
- b. high level of unemployment and early school leaving;
- c. deficiency of training centers for young people;
- d. lack of coordinated operational units with adequate economic resources for the redevelopment and social regeneration of the area;
- e. concentration of medium-low socio-economic groups;
- f. presence of a thriving prostitution and drug market nearby;
- g. presence of two gypsies settlements in conditions of degradation in the area
- h. general negative perception of the place thus self-ghettoization of residents.

### **3. Opportunities (useful for the achievement of the objectives)**

- a. area with a productive vocation but with prospect of intense economic and real estate reconversion;
- b. node of access to the railway network;
- c. strong demand for redevelopment of the residential fabric;
- d. presence of abandoned spaces to be recovered for social aggregation activities or for the productive urban tissue;
- e. presence of productive experiences that have started urban agriculture projects in green spaces / farmhouses / abandoned but with potential agricultural production;
- f. the new programming of the 2014-2020 Structural Funds
- g. the establishment of the metropolitan-area

### **4. Threats (harmful to the achievement of the objectives)**

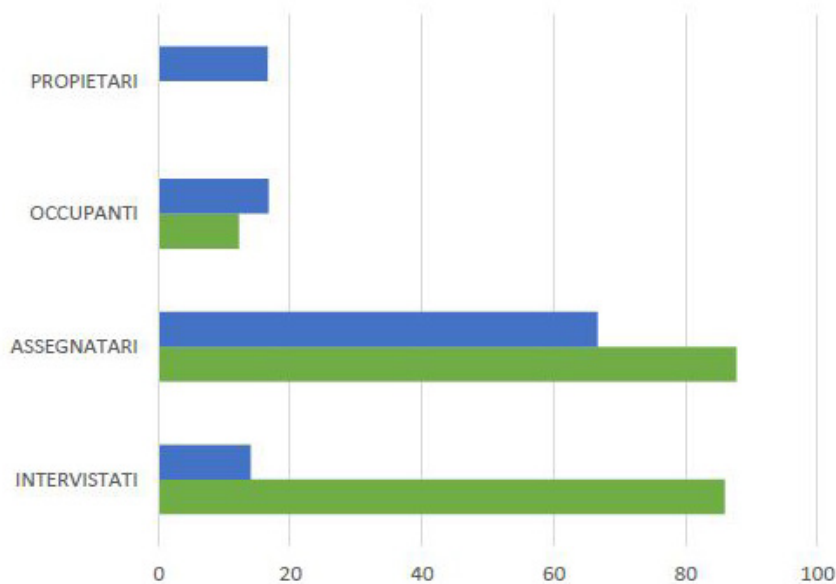
- a. coexistence of economic and social problems that affect an area such as Morandi housing complex;

- b. difficulty to intervene on the set of problems present in the area;
- c. disregard of expectations and consequent loss of confidence in the institutions;
- d. the period of economic crisis does not favor the start of new production activities;
- e. lack of professional training spaces;
- f. lack of effective connection infrastructures, underutilization of existing ones / train Station, exchange parking lots.

### 5.3.4 Data and impressions from the Morandi settlement complex

The University of Tor Vergata promoted in December 2013 a detailed survey of the district, in the occasion offered by the Re-Block project. This questionnaire allowed the project's coordination group to have a thorough screening of the situa-

**% INTERVISTATI NELLE AREE STUDIO MORANDI E TOR SAPIENZA:  
TIPOLOGIA DI POSSESSO DELL' ALLOGGIO**



**Image 22**

Interviewed inhabitants and typology of ownership. December 2013

*(Source: Re-Block URBACT MORANDI-DE CHI-RICO-VITTORINI)*



tion. The questionnaire is designed for the Morandi Housing Complex's inhabitants and it is structured in 4 sections, for a total of 30 questions.

- The general section (containing information on the person interviewed and his knowledge of the Re-Block project);
- The urban section/cohesion section (containing questions concerning the relationship with the suburbs in which they live, and with the central urban core of the city of Rome; satisfaction, dissatisfaction and problems encountered in one's neighborhood; quality of public transport);
- The social section (containing questions concerning the inhabitants' ability to create cohesion and collaboration among themselves, through the activation of shared initiatives);
- The economic section (containing questions regarding the work, income and Europe 2020 indicators of the respondents, in order to obtain an estimate on the employment/unemployment and poverty risk).

In Morandi Housing Complex, there are about 512 families and 1238 residents, and the sample obtained is equal to 49 families interviewed, equivalent to 24.5%. Among this sample, 43 are families resident in Morandi lodgings as assignees (equivalent to 87.8%), while 6 families are resident in Morandi as squatters (equivalent to 12.2%).

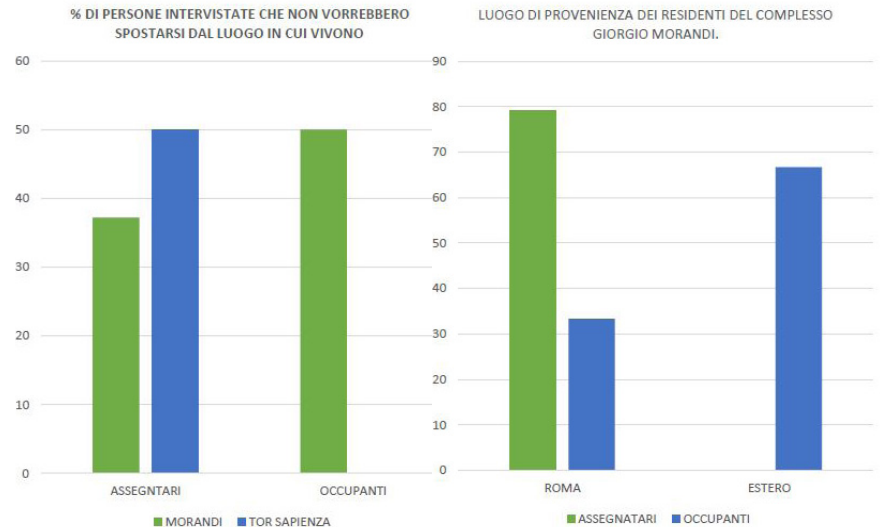
The attachment, although minimal, to the neighborhood can be seen in 37.2% of the residents of Morandi Housing Complex, who do not want to move from this

### Images 23 and 24

On the left: Percentage of people who would not like to move somewhere else.

On the right: Origins of Morandi Housing Complex's inhabitants. December 2013.

(Source: Re-Block URBACT MORANDI-DE CHI-RICO-VITTORINI)



place even if they had the chance; this motivation is due not only to the appreciation of the neighborhood, but also to the affections that over time have been built on the spot. A more marked attachment comes instead from the occupiers and residents of Tor Sapienza.

The residual percentage, on the other hand, shows that most of the Morandi residents would like to move if there would be the possibility, and this is due to various reasons that are all due to the problems occurring in the residential area. 19.3% of those who responded negatively, would move due to lack of services and associative aggregation spaces for adults, and 12.9% for lack of aggregative spaces for children; 16.1% would leave because the neighborhood is generally neglected. However, should be also noted that 9.7% would shift due to problems related to public transport and lack of future prospects for a better life. According to the assignees of Morandi, the biggest problem is represented by the presence of too many foreigners in the area, which make the place less livable, bringing delinquency and dirt. 6% are specifically concerned with the presence of gypsies, which in their opinion contribute to increasing the level of dirt in the neighborhood going to rummage in garbage bins. Secondly, the most widespread problem is the lack of facades maintenance, and the phenomenon of the occupation of the “central spine” in which commercial activities once arose. Always referring to the opinions obtained during the interview, the incivility of the people can also be measured by the disinterest of the occupants of wanting to contribute to the condominium’s expenses of electricity, water and gas bills.

### 5.3.5 The participative process and design field

The participative process pointed out three design areas to intervene.

#### A. First: Regeneration of Morandi Housing Complex

The group especially focused on the internal and external public spaces of the Complex, and the adaptation of it to the standard of reduction of energetic consumptions, overviewed by Ater but never accomplished.

#### B. Second: public spaces’ regeneration

Goal that is supposed to be reached through two actions. First the requalification of the Vittorini school currently rotten, having effects on the Morandi Housing Complex, through the realization of the “House of the neighborhood” in it, thus a space supporting many initiatives being a reference point for the inhabitants. Second, the relocation of the current existing market, using the current building of it to develop a center able to foster the local economy.

### C. Third: proposals for the local economy targeting the social inclusion

Promotion of the recycle chain for certain materials involving the unemployed part of the population, creating the basis to generate agricultural initiatives involving the local economy, creating a center of sustain for the local small enterprises.

All the projects elaborated within these three thematic areas are all widely shared by the local actors, they are designed and thought in order to accomplish a specific goal. All the actions are going to be taken are agreed and validated by the authorities responsible for the local governance and the international experts of Urbact. Wide importance has given to the local consensus about the choices and an acknowledgement of resource's limits, such as financial and human.

**Table 21**

The forecasted projects for Morandi housing block

(Source: *Re-Block URBACT MORANDI-DE CHI-RICO-VITTORINI*)

Design field	Individuated project	Project's number
<b>Renewal of Morandi Housing Complex</b>	Renewal of the whole housing complex	1
	Renewal of the central commercial spine, settling residences and services	2
	Retrofitting of the housing units	3
<b>Public space's regeneration</b>	Vittorini school renewal for social and cultural activities	4
	New use of the current market for social and economic porpoise, targeting the young aggregation	5
<b>Local economy targeting social inclusion</b>	Promote garbage recycle, handicraft sector, involve the informal garbage picker	6
	Promote urban agriculture with the social groups of the neighborhood	7
	Promote social aggregation through the theme of multiculturalism, strengthening the cultural centers Morandi and Michele Testa	8
	Creation of a center fostering the young employment, with orienting services, and entrepreneurs sustain, in the sake of economic development	9
	Consultancy service for the local sustainable development	10

In conclusion, the tools identified at European Union level to support experiences such as those based on the URBACT methodology, id est the Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) and the CLLD (Community Led Local Development), do not exist at this time in Lazio region, however they have been already experi-

mented in Italy.

However, bearing in mind these premises, the solution, at this point, lies in treading the path of integration promoted from below, in other words, if the superordinate levels failed to provide a clear governance framework for operating integrated strategies, the same practices can become a laboratory on how to operate the integration. Operate starting from the questions that come from the local level, in this case from the neighborhood scale, the systematization of the different funds that could, once applied according to the defined strategy from the Local Action Plan, create the synergies necessary to regenerate the Morandi-Tor Sapienza area.

In general, identified projects can find funding in the following programs/policies:

- Urban Agenda (Intermediate Organization Funds Metropolitan Area)
- National funds for urban areas
- ATER funds
- ERDF (European regional development funds)
- ESF (European social funds)
- Other funds and EU programs
- Private investments

## 5.4 The self-organization approach implemented in Tor Sapienza: “The great bet”

In the previous paragraph, we analyzed the case of Re-block in order to “get into” the neighborhood of Tor Sapienza with its history and dynamics. However, here the argumentation is going through what has been called as “The great bet”, an attempt to establish a program of “neighborhood-therapy” undertaken by the local society with a bottom-up approach due to the absence of the institutional efforts. The paragraph is going to analyze how this “therapy” takes the shape of actions able to change the future of the neighborhood, and how this significant approach is considering the most urgent matters to implement in the neglected district of Tor Sapienza. Even though “The great bet” has a different nature of Contratto di quartiere (is a younger program and is promoted by the local society) it is worthy to observe the implementation of it and to compare it with Mazzini’s case.

### 5.4.1 Bottom-up pushes of Tor Sapienza

The project is going to be analyzed here is not the classic requalification pro-

gram promoted by the municipality financed by a European successful call (such as Re-Block) or a national competition for public funds (such as Contratto di Quartiere). Thus is not an initiative coming from the public sector, either is a program coming from the private sector leaning on the public support. Thus is not that sort of programs commonly reported in architecture books, planning and social magazines, typically present in centers of discipline's diffusion such as universities, ateliers, studios and fairs. Is something different, is an experiment that the author retain worthy to report here, and let it know to the public. This requalification experiment in the neighborhood of Tor Sapienza starts from the press sector.

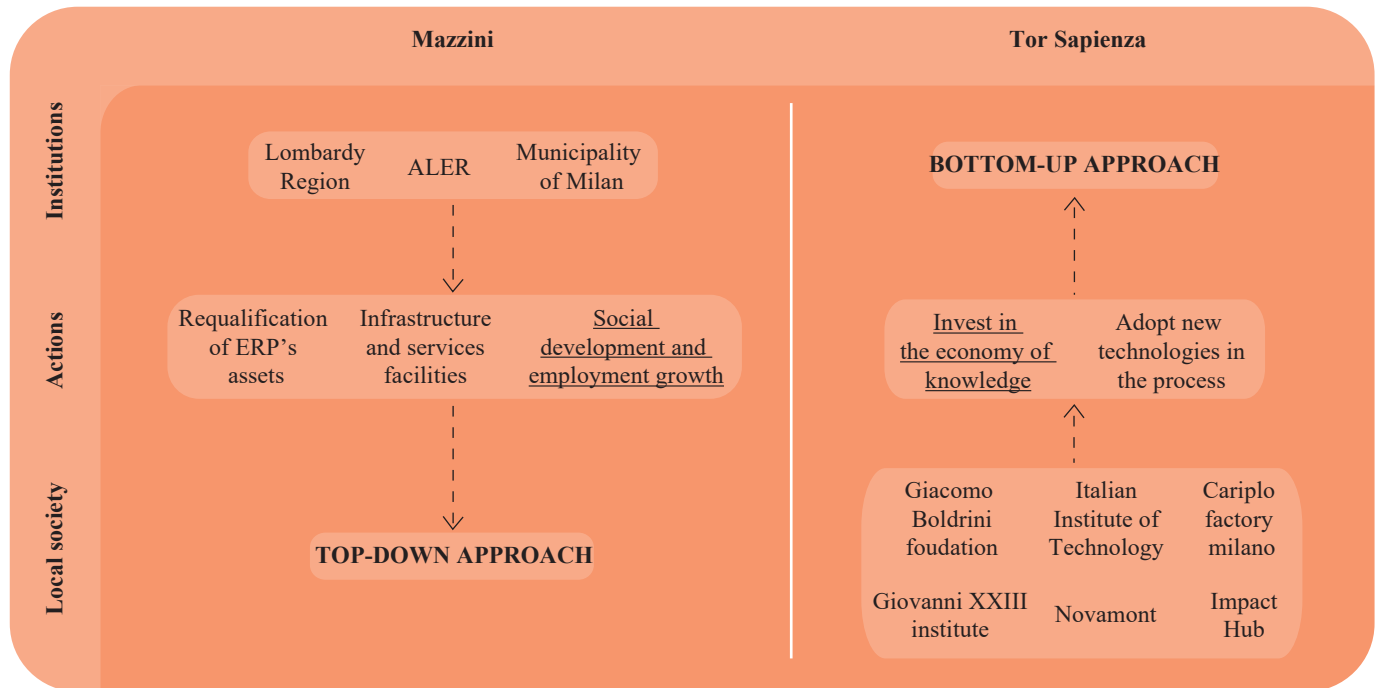
Before the introduction of the experiment, the reader should be aware that, this script is not claiming the total translation of it in the Milanese context, but, instead, to observe which are the praising practices that could have been implemented in Mazzini, and could be adopted in the future.

Michele Buono is a journalist that has been cooperating with Rai and national newscasts since 1977, who along his career focused his investigation in different fields regarding the relationships between the civil society and the public sphere. Using the press tools he envisioned a requalification of Tor Sapienza neighborho-

**Table 22**

Different direction of the approaches in the two contexts

*(Source: Elaboration of the author)*



od based on a self-organization approach of the forces and the resources already present in the territory. This experiment tried to put in place a system of those resources, and this attempt, which is also an investigative report, is entitled “The great bet” , and it has been broadcasted in the national television the 15th May 2017.

As a starting point there is the acknowledgement in Tor Sapienza, as in many other context, there is a clear push from the bottom. If in the past days, the society in some peripheral context was less active, probably due to a more widespread and minute political delegation and wealthier living condition, now the situation changed. Nowadays is more and more common self-representative forms giving shape to the phenomenon of associationism. The local society is currently more available to contribute changing the actual condition, in the limits every member of it has.

In Tor Sapienza the associatios, cooperatives and informal groups started to gather, discussing about the most primary needs and trying to propose them to the local authority. In Tor Sapienza, the absence of the public realm started developing pushes from below. The local society started organizing itself in the limits of their economic and institutional potential.

Hence, aware of the local availability of a support the experiment started in order to understand if it was possible to contribute positively to a plagued territory, without necessarily passing through the public sphere.

#### 5.4.2 The economy of knowledge based network

The overall experiment is based on the economy of knowledge, work and new forms of aggregation. Starting from this matter, many others are going to be involved, but this is the key of the whole “Great bet”.

The idea of the journalist is to set a network based on a local school of Tor Sapienza, the chemical-technical institute Giovanni XIII and its active headmaster Arturo Marcello Allega. Hence, the school has been planned to be the cornerstone of the experiment, and the base principle is the development of economy of knowledge through use of new technologies. The concept to keep in mind here is that, if a local society with exetreme limits in its economic and human resources chos es two aspects to develop over many others that could be implemented as well, it means that these two aspects are the ones more urgent and important.

The idea is to create a network of interested actors that could contribute-in and gain-from the network itself. The economy of knowledge, thus, is developed by the connections, with different private realities of the national scenario. The first and pivotal connection established in the experiment, is the one between the school

## Image 25

The entrance of the chemical-technical institute Giovanni XXIII

*(Credits: the author)*



and Novamont, a leader chemical Italian firm in the bioplastic sector. After this bond has been established, Novamont showed the interest to transfer part of its production/research institute in the neighborhood of Tor Sapienza. By doing this, the school would have the interest to arrange practice activities for its students in Novamont branch, while Novamont would gain assigning tasks to the students that are appropriated to their preparations and skills.

However to better skill the student also another partner has been involved, the Italian Institute of Technology, who would contribute in the students' training, having in change the possibility to enlarge its researches thanks to the student's practice. So far is clear how this unconventional experiment is resolutely interesting since, starting from the economy of knowledge, it opens other two main fundamental aspects:

- The output of the connection between these three actors would produce bioplastic, a kind of plastic that could be adopted for plenty of uses and it derives only from bio waste.
- As a future output in the long run, creates job, working opportunities, and this is properly what a dilapidated neighborhood needs. Increasing job not only relaunches the economy because behind it there is also a matter of culture.

However, an experiment limited to these prerogative could end up offering some employing opportunity, which is still resolutely appreciable. Nevertheless, it is important, as any other territorial context, to create the conditions to let entre-

preneurial initiatives to develop, letting them generate spin-offs on other sectors. In order to generate this environment, also other actors has been involved in the experiment such as Giacomo Brodolini foundation, a non-profit private foundation engaged in the definition, application, evaluation and dissemination of policies at all levels of government. The Brodolini Foundation promotes social dialogue and the exchange of knowledge between the academic communities, policy makers, institutions, civil society and the private sector.

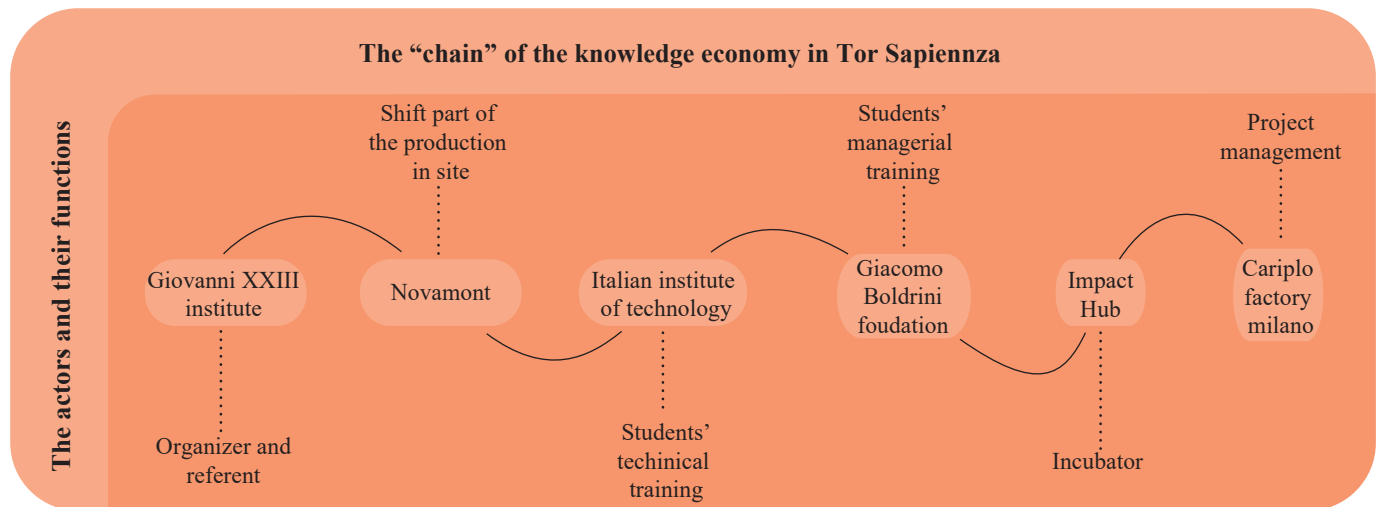
The contribution of the foundation is the one of managerial training of the student in order to let them have the basis to develop their ideas in the fields of bioplastic once they received the formation straddling between school, research center and production hub. At last, in order to create a fertile environment to let students' ideas become forms of entrepreneurship has been involved in "The great bet" Impact Hub, an incubator of ideas, projects or a startup with a high social and environmental impact.

The last actor of this group is Cariplo Facotry Milan. Cariplo Factory intends to create a dynamic, innovation-oriented ecosystem, which finds its trigger "in the encounter and contamination of knowledge" between traditional large companies, hi-tech, social, cultural, incubators and accelerators, universities and research centers, schools and training institutions, informal education environments, investors, professionals. Is though the perfect place and time for this company in the sake of the requalification of the neighborhood. Its role in the process would be the management of the projects.

**Table 23**

The "chain" of different actors, and each one's role

*(Source: author's elaboration)*





What these actors are going to generate is a sort of “chain”, where each of them has a role, a “win-win” system where at the center there are the students who are going to be the future leaders of the society.

The first meeting has been held the 27 of June 2017. All the actors gathered in the spaces offered by the the chemical-technical institute Giovanni XIII and its headmaster Arturo Marcello Allega. All of the actors seated around a table trying to figure out how to involve the youths inside a mechanism of formation-work-entrepreneurship. What has been called in this paragraph to summarize “the economy of knowledge”. The whole report of the meeting in the the chemical-technical institute, as well as the explanation of the overall goals of the network’s creation is reported in appendix H.

In conclusion, as explained in the case of Tor Sapienza the creation of a fertile work environment, has been the focus point of the experience. This involved the preparation of good circumstances before the entrance of the subject in the work market, during his/her permanence in it, and after through form of freelancing. The case of Mazzini elaborated a strategy to create fertile working condition too, but, instead, it was not the main priority of the social actions.

### 5.4.3 The use of new technologies to foster requalification

In the context of Tor Sapienza, specifically in the development of “The great bet” there are a few points emerging regarding the use of the new technologies. As shown in the last paragraph a few actors would have find convenient moving in the neighborhood with a branch research/productive center. This has not been accomplished simply thinking about the new edification, instead, in order to fulfill a wider goal of refurbishment and use of the abandoned productive urban tissue, the idea has been to settle those branches into unused production structures. This will of reuse opened another interesting possibility to widen the original actors’ network. In fact, it has been the occasion to involve the engineering faculty of La Sapienza university of Rome, which is developing, with the lead of Professor Carlo Cellamare together with the Canadian Statistics Institute (Statcan), a smart technology allowing any citizen to contribute in mapping urban phenomena. The technology fosters the citizens to pin urban happenings in an application’s map, where the administrator is able to collect and analyze data. Thus, the research of the right buildings to settle those scientific centers has been a good test bench for the application, which is still under an improvement process.

Now, regardless the application, this kind of approach is widely based on con-

nection, new form of communication, and an innovative modus operandi. The communication has been the basic tool that let “The great bet” be feasible. As emerged in the interview with the journalist (appendix F) other actors joined the network after the investigation report has been broadcasted in the national television. From the interview, again, emerged another important aspect the communicative tool allowed to accomplish. This is the change of the common ideal of the people, the prejudice of a huge part of the population against the neighborhood. In fact, the common imaginary depict this district as a place where any action could be ruinous, thus is “senseless” operate there because is just a “none land”. This general prejudice of the people from other side of the city, or even the whole country (especially due to the tension of November 2014 against the Sprar), actually has been generated by the same tool, exactly the communication in this case by television. This matter witnesses, in the good and in the bad side of it, how powerful is the tool of communication, spreading minutely in its own ray of action and being able to change people’s mind.

At this point is properly the ray of action of communication that become the focus, since, in the television case, this does not correspond to geographic borders, such as city borders, provincial or regional ones. So far, the argumentation only considered the television as the “vehicle” to transmit information, however nowadays the technology is evolving “vehicles” that are more and more performing and accessible to everyone. The smartphone, now widely diffused, internet and the circulation of different kind of apps, the social networks, changed radically the communicative speed and methods. It is clear that the inappropriate use of these technologies might have ultra-negative effects, as outstanding results with a correct use of them. Moreover, these sort of results are even exponentially substantial with these new technologies, characterized by a ray of action a way wider comparing to their predecessors.



# 6

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Mazzini and Tor Sapeinza are two cases that together showed the possibility to rise a few matters of discussion. However, is important to keep in mind that under many point of views the two context are still pretty far to each other. The following chapter is trying to sum up and tide up what has been previously analyzed in the last chapter, trying to understand the conclusions emerging from the comparison. The argumentation is eventually ending with the hypothesis of implementation in Mazzini of what emerged as positive in the case of Tor Sapienza.

## 6.1 Mazzini and Tor Sapienza: approach of the municipality in the two contexts

What happened in Tor Sapienza is extremely interesting to analyze if the case of Mazzini, its outputs' pros and cons are always kept in mind. However, between the two cases there is a difference that needs to be clarified. In the case of Tor Sapienza, as explained in both of the interviews with Alfredino Di Fante (reported in the appendix E), the municipal contribution has been completely inexistent long the last 2 decades. In this context, the tasks undertaken by the municipality relegate to some standards intervention in the neighborhood, always using his words "sometimes badly done as well". Thus, there is no interest, will or commitment by the administration to implement or consider initiatives coming from the associated civil society. The situation is such dramatic that even when the Tor Sapienza won the project Reblock (2013-2014) the administration approach was such negligent that "often was necessary to explain to the public administration where to find European funds step-by-step, because they were not able to. This is because, even if the cost of this operation was for the most part usable by European funds, public administrators were not aware of it, they were not interested and did not want to take on a commitment that went beyond their "traditional responsibilities". The pushes from below facing an absent ceiling are witnessed by the appendix G, as well (Risultati programmatici) which clearly shows how the local associations and committee provide clear and explained material regarding Reblock to the municipality. This is just an exemplifying document.

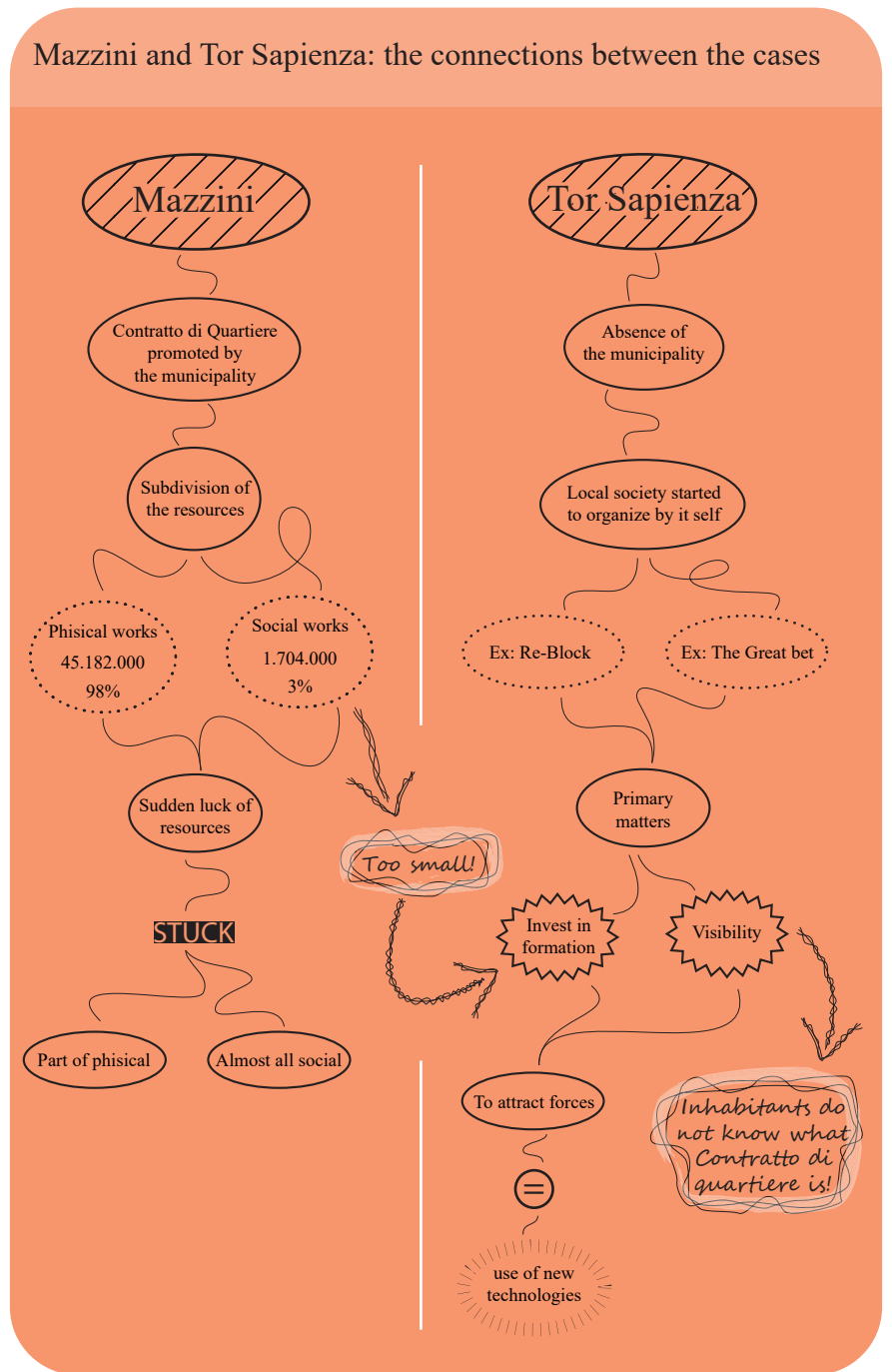
Thus, coming back to Mazzini, in this context the municipality has not been absent at all. Those that could be considered as negative outputs generated in Mazzini's case are the result, as already mentioned, of a financial crisis and an outmoded approach, and both of these factors undermined the original hypothesis that eventually did not concretized as expected.

However, in the initiative that is going to be presented, which was born in the context of Tor Sapienza, the municipality has not been considered as the center of the project, however only a partner. Assumed the difficulty to cooperate with the public realm, the local society organized itself in order to accomplish some aims. The goal to generate a network of local and national actors able to develop formation and job opportunities; of course the municipality would have contribute positively to it, however also due to the previous experiences, it did not have the classic weight of this sort of project. In this sense, a self-organization approach.

Table 24

Mazzini and Tor Sapienza: the connection between the two cases

(Source: Elaboration of the author)



## 6.2 Working in formation for the neighborhood's requalification

The case of Tor Sapienza, as explained, is based on the development of a fertile process to insert the youths in the employment network, developing a support in order to create entrepreneurial opportunities. This is one of the main points the experiment of Tor Sapienza is based on, or probably the main one. The idea of the promoters is based on the fact that there is no requalification without the creation of working opportunity, without the creation of a working culture. From the promoters point of view, the first point in a neighborhood requalification is the injection of formation, strictly linked to the goal of employment. Employment meaning though, salaries, expenses, revenues, and so on.

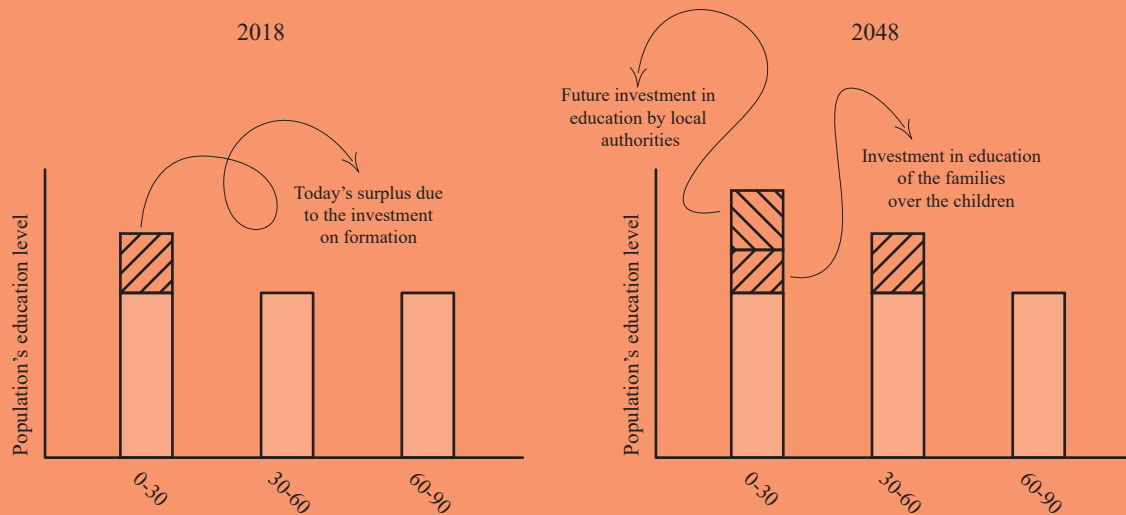
A requalification made like thins is firstly creating the working culture and opportunity, and is impacting the local economy as well. In the author point of view, this is a resolutely pivotal matter in the requalification as well. In the case of Mazzini's requalification, the creation of working opportunities was one of the actions among the social ones. However, it did not assume a primary importance. It was one among other actions in the social strategies of the program, and it is visible in

**Table 25**

Hypothesis of the future effects over a current investment in the economy of knowledge

*(Source: author's elaboration)*

Illustrative chart\* explaining the possible future effects of investing today in the economy of knowledge



\* The chart is not based on existing data, its function is to explain the possible future changes in the education's level of the population.

table 14 (Analysis of each project related to the goal of “social development and employment growth”, and their grade of implementation) in paragraph 4.4.2.

In the case of Tor Sapienza, instead, among the other social actions could be implemented, the priority is give properly to this matter, formation-work. The implementation of this kind of approach is resolutely smart, since it ensure future investments of the families in the education of their children too. If we sum these investment that are going to be made, and the future investment given by an institutional system solidly based on education, the process is going to be exponential (Table 25)

### 6.3 The new frontier of communication in the sake of neighborhood requalification

In the previous sub-paragraph has been introduced the argumentation about the use of the new technologies in the roman case of Tor Sapienza (as a sort of experiment) in the sake of requalification of the neighborhood. Specifically the last sub-paragraph introduces the importance of new technologies’ consideration, as a tool, or a “vehicle” to accomplish urban positive evidences. In order to better clarify the topic, has been introduced the concept of “ray of action” of the new form of communications, thus the new technologies.

Once the strength of the new communication methods is shared and evident, the argumentation can follow in the next paragraph, which is again a path, a motivated discussion that is going to introduce the possible application of these technologies in the neighborhood requalification, which could be the field of application of them.

#### 6.3.1 Governing the new communicative forms to change the prejudice

The new communication forms granted by the current technologies, clearly have a “ray of action” a way wider than the last decade’s forms of information-sharing. However, other aspect non-least important is the speed of development of new platforms of communication, which is exponentially higher as the time passes. While the process of development of new communicative methods was slower in the past, and the society use to take more time to adjust to them, now the process is increasingly faster, and the society is taking less and less time to adapt to them.

At this point, one might ask: which is the importance to clarify here this new

form of information's transmission? Well, if we start from the shared premise that sometimes how we depict things is influenced by the general opinion of it instead of our personal experience, it is resolutely important. Concretely this matter is explained by the answer of Alfredino Di Fante (reported in appendix E) to the query about the reliability of the social media reporting about Tor Sapienza:

*“They are often taking a small sections of the territory of the neighborhood proposing a totalizing vision to the listener, an all-encompassing vision of degradation, when in reality it is not so. This is the ancient and frequent mistake of the media. Of course, some problems occurred, but this does not mean it involved all the population, in all Tor Sapienza's territorial parts.”*

Eventually this simply explains how communicative methods are often faulty, “corrupted” by plenty of reasons, thus misleading for the great majority of the audience who cannot experience the matter him/herself. At last completely convincing and persuasive.

Nonetheless, so far the analysis passed through the negative side effects of the new technologies in the field of communication. What would happen in the opposite direction, if the prompted vision correspond to the reality? According to what happen using these tools inappropriately, the result would desirably be positive. It could instill trust and confidence in the already misdirected people, the one avoid hanging out in a place just because they have a wrong vision of it. It goes without saying that the positive spill-off to change such a mass-thought might influence other sectors of the neighborhood, such as the business activities, the living conditions and so on.

At last, ignoring the consideration of these new trends, already deeply inside everyone's daily life, is superficial it risks to influence negatively the whole requalification project, being deleterious. Coming back to the main focus of this work, in the case of Mazzini, such an approach have not been implemented. Communication methods which are going beyond the classic ones (phone calls, emails, personal meetings) have not been considered at all.

### 6.3.2 Mastering technologies: possible new forms of aggregation

Furthermore, mastering new forms of communications and new technologies contributes in the sake of aggregation, in a wide meaning of the word. In one hand aggregating the operators and actors (as it happened in Tor Sapienza), while in the



other aggregating the local inhabitants.

Starting with the first, as happened in the case of “The great bet”, the visibility of the requalification initiative could be larger, arriving to more people thus allowing the network of the hypothetical interested actors to grow. It is evident that such a contribution is not trivial and it is obvious that implementing such an approach would enlarge the network a way more than what the municipality did with its classic communicative methods.

The second aggregative possibility involves the inner community of the neighborhood. We could imagine the use of communicative platforms for a social purpose, for instance envisioning a system where the elderly people are helped to take home their grocery by young volunteers (or even youths getting some social services in change provided by the platform itself), with a system of availability, shifts and mutual exchanges. The platform could be worthy to publish short-long term job-opportunities, it could provide a form of inner market of second hand items. It could advertise and foster the organization of public meetings, festivities, and could simplify the access to the bureaucratic chores.

This kind of technology could help the municipality, as the administrator of it (in the proper informatics meaning of the word), to collect the issues of the neighborhood, to analyze data and communicate with the local population. At the other side, is evident how the implementation of this kind of approach would foster the local community, strengthening itself, reconciling itself, letting each inhabitants feel part of a community, thus developing a sense of pride.

### 6.3.3 Society and representative apparatus: two different paces of evolution

It is relevant to clarify the concept concerning the speed of evolution of the society and its representative forms. All along the history, the evolution of the society and the one of the governance did not go at the same pace. Sometime the society evolved faster than its governance, however sometimes the public sector has been proactive, anticipating possible issues. This argumentation of course needs to distinguish and consider the different fields the two parties had to “compete for” along the history. Other aspect is the pace of general evolution of the two together, exponentially faster comparing, for instance, with the last century. Is thus responsibility of the representative apparatus to observe and adapt to this change.

Observing the evolvement of a few factors that in this work are considered seems that for them the society has been faster than the representative apparatus.

As analyzed for the case of Tor Sapienza, for instance, the pushes coming from behind, from the local community are not embraced by the municipality with a corresponding force (are even ignored). This is an example of a society faster than the governance. Considering the case of Mazzini instead, the goals and objectives might have been the most appreciable ones, but still bog down by an outmoded layout (ignorance of new communicative methods) and the financial crisis. Mazzini's requalification program, at first did not consider the skyrocketing development of communication methods, in a second moment did not use this as an opportunity, as a tool to facilitate its path to reach the goals.

This study does not want to have presumption and the arrogance to judge how Mazzini's program has been undertaken under the new technologies' implementation, for a few reasons. Instead, the porpoise of the paragraph is to let the reader reflect about this matter. In fact, these new ways of communication's span are not corresponding anymore to any administrative, geographical or bureaucratic subdivision. Thus, considering again what said about the two parties' pace of development, this might be a resolutely tough topic to be treated by the representative apparatus, since envisioning a new administrative or geographical subdivision that considers (or even correspond) the communicative networks, is something big, something that someone could think is mad. Moreover, someone might say:

*"In this sense I want to tell you the layout of the public administration sometimes seem to belong to the 19th century" (Extracted from the interview with Michele Buono at the appendix F)*

Anyway, a process taking an unimaginable slot of time. Moreover, another and easier reason is the financial crisis that occurred in the middle of the program, undermining part of it with any possible alternative.

## 6.4 Hypothesis of implementation of the model in Mazzini's context

### *An important premise: the crisis effects*

If we want to make the exercise imagining the implementation of such an approach in the case of Mazzini, first we have to make a premise that needs to be deeply shared. In fact, unfortunately, as previously analyzed, this case have been undermined by a deep crisis, obstructing the complete development of the program as foresaw by the actors involved. The crisis embraced most of the economy's sectors,

it seriously damaged many firms, companies, public institutions and freelances' activities. The overall reduction of the available finances of all those entities had negative spill-offs, enhancing exacerbating negatively the harsh economic condition.

Along this script many times has been accused the crisis as the cause of those uncompleted requalification's actions in Mazzini (such as a few stuck buildings' requalification), this is a truth that needs to be ascertained. Hence, imagining which could have be the future of Mazzini thanks to the implementation of this approach cannot disregard and forget the crisis event. In this sense, we could imagine that if the public sphere would have undertaken such an approach, this could have be ruinous or stuck and incomplete too. However, instead of thinking how the adoption of this approach could have change the past, it is more interesting to reflect about the implementation of such an approach in the immediate future.

### *Which could be the scope of the implementation of this kind of technology*

Implementing a new technology of communication, such as an application for smartphone would be resolutely worthy for the functioning of the overall program. As mentioned before the development of such a technology would create the channel of communication between the inhabitants and the actors involved in the requalification program, allowing it to contribute to the neighborhood requalification. Is worthy here to envision all the possible methods of use of the technology, all the data the technology could collect and the possible exploitation of it:

- Profile of the user: the profile would allow the municipality to collect more updated data on the population's composition, age, education, etc. Moreover, it would help to collect data regarding the flat of each citizen.
- The neighborhood laboratory: a section could be dedicated to the neighborhood laboratory's programs, with all the service it provides and all the initiative it undertake (courses, meetings, activities).
- The inhabitants' opinion: the applicative could allow the user to communicate with the competent institution (Aler, the municipality), some issues or just describe her/his feelings living in the neighborhood. The competent institution could collect all of the information according to their grade of gravity, operating accordingly in the future. The difficult management of the squatted flats would be easier if the citizen signals it.
- Public events: the technology could be a tool to widespread in the community news regarding meetings related to inner neighborhood's policies/choices or just leisure gatherings. The notice of a public meeting done as

such, could be faster, reach a wider public, thus more efficient.

- Enlarge the network: new actors, such as associations, entrepreneurs, organization or public institutions, could contribute in the sake of the neighborhood requalification (as in the case of Tor Sapienza previously analyzed).
- Job opportunities: a system posting job offers and search could be implemented, for instance expecting the possibility to upload the citizen's curriculum vitae, letting it match with the appropriated job opportunities (short-long term). Implementing this kind of service would allow to find or to offer a job faster than the classic door-to-door personal communication, faster than hanging paper posts on the shops' showcases. An example to take as a reference could be LinkedIn's network.
- Social services: the applicative could foresee services of assistance for elderlies to take home their groceries, find caregivers, withdraw of post's packages (since the reception are often closed), find babysitters, buy and sell second hand items in a small section of it.

Many others could be the uses and options of such a technology and its use could be positive for many points of view. The benefit the platform would provide to everyone is clear, thus this in turn would have a positive output for everyone. Each citizen would gain from this kind of application, and each entity or authority involved. Thus, first, there is an individual benefit, however the individual benefit of everyone would reflect in the overall community, creating a positive spiral. It is evident as well that the visibility of the whole program would be higher, hence another positive aspect would be the advertisement potentiality of such a technology, allowing to reach more actors and generating a dense network, that could contribute in the requalification.

Spreading the image of an innovative neighborhood would tear down the wrong common ideals regarding the district. The public opinion, as previously analyzed in the case of Tor Sapienza, is often proposing an image of these peripheries that is excessively negative, hardly highlighting the positive aspects of them. In the collective imaginary some of these marginal neighborhood are a way worse than in reality; the adoption of such a technology would change this collective imaginary allowing the neighborhood to fade away its stigma. In fact the stigma is often coming from outside, but sometimes also from the citizens living in the neighborhood themselves; instead the new technology could "educate" the single inhabitant, developing a sense of community and pride. Could encourage each inhabitant to participate and aggregate within the community, in turn, letting them change their

mind.

### *Why properly the use of a technological communication method*

As right before analyzed the practical potentials this sort of technology would have is rather clear. However, there are also a few reasons that could confirm the validity of its implementation.

Adopting a “tool” able to spread information about the neighborhood in a more efficient way is resolutely powerful in terms of changing the common ideal. Once is ascertained how the stigma reside into people’s mind and how stigma influences severely some parts of the city, the key factor is to work on changing people’s mind, changing the common ideal. The way to change it is spreading economy of knowledge, which could be diffused with different “tools” and in different way. What this script envision is the diffusion through the “tool” of an interactive platform, such as an application. The power of spreading the economy of knowledge has been deepen in this work in the case of “The great bet” in Tor Sapienza. In fact, in that case, the journalist Michele Buono using the communicative “tool” of the television, propagated the real image of the neighborhood, impacting the society through the economy of knowledge. This method, allowed actually to change the general (superficial) common ideal of the neighborhood as a place worse than it is in the reality. Hence, according to what has been learnt in the roman case, another communicative “tool” able to spread information could be implemented. Such as an application. It is easily imaginable the effect of eradicating the stigma on Mazzini neighborhood.

Other important matter the communicative support is able to develop is a dense network. Again using as an example the case of Tor Sapienza is properly the use of the “tool” that permitted some involved actors to get to know the case, discovering to be interested. Without the “vehicle” of the television those actors would have to visit the local associations’ websites to get to know the program of requalification. This is rather impossible. The same kind of reasoning could be made in terms of network of citizens, thus the community.

Moreover, the creation of such an information support has another potential, the one to continue its “life” into the future. Naturally, the municipality should sustain the costs of administrating it in the future, however, the greatest part of administrating it is made by the citizens themselves; they would daily use it, updating it, and providing data to the municipality. Thus, the benefit the municipality would get from it is higher than its costs of administration. Even considered the

initial costs of creation of such an applicative, is lower than the output it generates in the community. Hence, the future ratio between benefits and costs is going to be positive.

# Bibliography

1. ALER, “Stato di’avanzamento del Programma e sintesi della relazione sull’andamento della Progettazione Partecipata”, Documento di candidatura, Milano. 2006
2. Al-Najjar N I, Casadesus-Masanell R. Trust and discretion in agency contracts[M]. Division of Research, Harvard Business School, 2001.
3. Alterman, R., Dilemmas about cross-national transferability of neighborhood regeneration programs. In: Alterman, R., Cars, G. (ed), Neighborhood regeneration: An international evaluation. Mansell, New York, 1991.
4. Balducci A., Le nuove politiche della governance urbana. Territorio, 2000.
5. Balducci, A., Apprendere da Urban: verso nuove politiche urbane, in G. Pasqui, E. Valsecchi (eds.) Il Programma Urban e l’innovazione delle politiche urbane. Apprendere dall’esperienza: pratiche, riflessioni, suggerimenti, FrancoAngeli/ Diap, Milano. 2002.
6. Barbanente A, Tedesco C. The european urban initiative: multi-level learning processes between successes and failures. Comunicació presentada a la conferència d’EURA: Urban and Spatial European Policies. Torí, 2002: 18-20.
7. Bifulco L., Bricocoli M., Organizing urban space. Tools, processes and public action, Ashgate, 2010.
8. Biocca L., Morini, A. The Italian cities’neighborhood contracts: highlights from the second strand of tenders. ENHR Conference, Dublin, Ireland, 6-9 July. 2008.
9. Brenner N, Theodore N. Cities and the geographies of “actually existing neoliberalism”. Antipode, 2002, 34(3): 349-379.
10. Bricocoli M., Coppola A., Nuove politiche e progetti abitativi a Milano, paper per la Conferenza Espanet, Milano, 2011
11. Bricocoli M., Working on change: Institutions, organisations and the development of neighborhood policies in Northern Italy. CASEASEF/ Alliance Asia-Europe Annual Workshop Series 2003/2004, 2004
12. Calvaresi C, Cossa L. A Neighborhood Laboratory for the Regeneration of Marginalised Suburb in Milan: Towards the Creation of a Trading Zone// Urban Planning as a Trading Zone. Springer Netherlands, 2013: 95-109.

13. Carmon N. Three generations of urban renewal policies: analysis and policy implications. *Geoforum*, 1999, 30(2): 145-158.
14. Caruso N., Policies and practices in Italian welfare housing. Turin, up to the current neo-liberal approach and social innovation practices, Routledge, 2017
15. Caselli D, Maranghi E. Facilitation Companies in Participative Urban Regeneration Programs in Italy: Technology of neoliberalism governmentality? An explorative research in two Italian Cities, RC21 conference 2013, Berlin, Session 29: participation between consensus and contestation. 2013
16. Cela M C. Social Housing Policies in Milan: Changing Contexts and the Challenge for Integration. *Urban Governance in Europe*, 2011, 2: 153.
17. Cella M. Un contratto per la città: I Contratti di Quartiere II a Milano. Comune di Milano, Milano, 2006: 10-3.
18. Censis, Nomisma. *L'abitare dei nuovi italiani*, 2017
19. Clapham A, Human rights obligations of non-state actors in conflict situations, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006
20. Comune di Milano, "Programma nazionale Contratti di Quartiere II – Quartiere Gratosoglio" .Documento di candidatura, Milano. 2004
21. De Decker P., Vranken J., Beaumont J., Van Nieuwenhuyze I., On the origins of urban development programmes in nine European countries, Garant, Antwerp, 2003
22. Dente B. *Understanding Policy Decisions [M]*. Springer Verlag, 2013.
23. Fianchini M. The meteor of the Neighborhood Contracts through the case of the San Siro district in Milan. *TECHNE: Journal of Technology for Architecture & Environment*, 2012, 4.
24. Foot J. *Milan since the miracle: City, culture and identity*. Berg, 2001.
25. Gelli F, Tedesco C. Governments and Modes of Governance in the US and European Cities. The Change in Urban Policies', paper presented at the EURA (European Urban Research Association) Conference 'Area-Based Initiatives in Contemporary Urban Policy', Copenhagen, 17-19 May. 2001.
26. Goni Mazzitelli A., *Vincere il confine*. Tor Sapienza, nuove generazioni rom e nuove politiche urbane a Roma nella costruzione della città inclusiva e interculturale del futuro, Aracne, 2015.
27. Gosta E A. *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1990.
28. Governa F, Saccomani S. From urban renewal to local development. New conceptions and governance practices in the Italian peripheries. *Planning*



Theory & Practice, 2004, 5(3): 327-348.

29. Governa F. Competitiveness and cohesion: urban government and governance's strains of Italian cities. *Analise Social*, 2010, 45(197): 663-683.
30. Hall S, Hickman P. Neighborhood renewal and urban policy: A comparison of new approaches in England and France. *Regional Studies*, 2002, 36(6): 691-696.
31. Healey P, Collaborative planning: shaping places in fragmented societies, Macmillan press, London, 1997
32. Jacquier C. The European Union and the Urban Dimension. <http://www.eukn.org/dsresource?objectid=328306&type=org> (2012)
33. Jacquier C. Voyage dans dix quartiers européens en crise. Editions L'Harmattan, 1991.
34. Jencks C. The language of post-modern architecture. New York: Rizzoli, 1977.
35. Kazepov Y, Carbone D. Che cos'è il welfarestate. Carocci, 2007.
36. Kempen R, Murie A, Tosics I, et al Regenerating large housing estates in Europe: a guide to better practice. Zeist: AD Druk bv, 2006.
37. LABORATORIO CITTÀ PUBBLICA, Città pubbliche. Linee guida per la riqualificazione urbana (Public Cities. Guidelines for Urban Renewal), eds. P. Di Biagi, E. Marchigiani, Milano: Bruno Mondadori. 2009
38. Le Galès P, Mawson J. Management innovations in urban policy: lessons from France. Local Government Management Board, 1993
39. Le Galès P. Urban governance in Europe: What is governed?. *The New Blackwell Companion to the City*, 2011: 747-758.
40. Lévy-Vroelant C, Reinprecht C, Wassenberg F. 'Learning from history: Changes and Path dependency in the social housing sector in Austria, France and the Netherlands (1889-2008)'. *Social housing in Europe II. A review of policies and outcomes*, 2008: 31-46.
41. Logan, J. R., & Molotch, H. L., *Urban fortunes: The political economy of place*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. 1987.
42. Markantonatou M. The ideal-typical transition from Fordism to post-Fordism: A neopositivist problem setting. *European Research Studies Journal*, 2007, 10(1-2).
43. Mezzetti P, Mugnano S., Zajczyk F. Large housing estates in Italy: overview of developments and problems in Milan. Utrecht University. Faculty of Geosciences. Urban and Regional Research Centre, 2003.
44. Miller, J.M. *New Life for Cities Around the World: International Handbo-*

ok on Urban Renewal. Books International, 1959.

45. Mingione E., Nuvolati G., Urban development programmes in Italy. National institutional innovation and European programmes in *On the Origins of Urban Development Programmes in Nine European Countries*, Garant, Antwerp, 2003: 101-117.
46. Minelli A. R., *La politica per la casa*. Mulino, Bologna, 2004
47. Ombuen S., Ricci M., Segnalini O., *I programmi complessi*, Il Sole 24 Ore, Milano, 2000
48. Priemus H, Metselaar G. *Urban renewal policy in a European perspective: An international comparative analysis*. Delft: Delft University Press, 1992.
49. Pittini A, *Edilizia sociale nell'Unione Europea/Social Housing in the European Union*, Techne, 2011, Vol.4, pp.21-34
50. Regione Lombardia, "Programma nazionale Contratti di Quartiere II ", Documento di candidatura, Lombardia. 2004.
51. Riboldazzi R. *Modern Urban open spaces and contemporary regeneration-the Milan case and the Lombard experience*. [https://www.google.com.hk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCgQFjA-A&url=http%3a%2f%2fwww%2eplenum%2enet%2fmodern-urban-open-spaces&ei=TrcqU6fSMLG4iAfQ\\_IHwCw&usg=AF](https://www.google.com.hk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCgQFjA-A&url=http%3a%2f%2fwww%2eplenum%2enet%2fmodern-urban-open-spaces&ei=TrcqU6fSMLG4iAfQ_IHwCw&usg=AF)
52. Roberts P, Skyes U. *Urban regeneration: a handbook*, Sage, London, 2000
53. Savini F. *The endowment of community participation: institutional settings in two urban regeneration projects*. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2011, 35(5): 949- 968.
54. Smith N. *New globalism, new urbanism: gentrification as global urban strategy*. *Antipode*, 2002, 34(3): 427-450
55. Stewart M, Lane C. *Area based initiatives and urban policy*//Area Based Initiatives and Contemporary Urban Policy Conference, European Urban Research Association, Copenhagen. 2001.
56. Stone, C. N. *Urban regime and the capacity to govern: A political economy approach*. *Journal of Urban Affairs*,1993, 15(1), 1-28.
57. Struthers T, Roberts P. W, Sacks J, *Managing the Metropolis: Metropolitan Renaissance: New Life for Old City Regions*, 1993
58. Tosi A, Cremaschi M. *Housing policies in Italy. Reports of the Impact project*. The Interdisciplinary Centre for Comparative Research in the Social Sciences (ICCR). Online: <http://www.iccr-international.org/impact/workplan.html>, 2003.
59. Zajczyk F, Mugnano S, Mezzetti P, et al. *Large housing estates in Italy: po-*

licies and practices. Utrecht University, 2005.



# Appendixes part I: The case of Mazzini

## Appendix A: interview with Arc. Raffaella Arcamone (ALER)

### 1. *Within the authority you represent which was your specific task?*

The architect Arcamone has been working with ALER since 2001 and over the years, she has been the director of the work and responsible for the proceedings as well. She currently runs the latter for three projects all in Mazzini. Her specific assignment was the Operations Director for the restructuring of two interventions planned by Cdq, namely via Panigarola number 1 (building 8 compartment B) and via Mompiani number 4 (building 7 compartment B).

### 2. *How the cooperation has been shaped among different institutions?*

She has mainly dealt with the operational part of the program. Those who are more involved in multi-institutional cooperation are those who have dealt with the mobility plan (mobility of residents in temporary housing, in order to restructure the buildings they were occupying). At ALER there was an office devoted to this purpose, called “sociality office”. The above-mentioned buildings of Via Panigarola number 1 and Via Mompiani number 4 temporarily accommodated the residents of other buildings under refurbishment.

With regard to Arcamone’s relationship with other institutions, this has been limited to the reporting of expenses. At the end of each semester, thus at the end of November and end of June, the architect regularly sends all receipts of payments made and all administrative acts that have occurred in the previous period (start of work, work conclusion, etc.). Subsequently the municipality sends all material to the Region for funding.

The municipality is a kind of controller in this dynamism, which also makes its interest, satisfying that slice of population that needs a social housing. In fact, all the disturbed ALER belongs to the municipality of Milan.

The history of Cdq has been very troubled. Initially these interventions had to be funded by the Region and by ALER, but the ALER crisis was really profound,

so most of the interventions have been remodeled and other projects have been scrapped. What was running instead was often modified and adapted to fit within the available regional's budgets (which usually finances up to 80% of the interventions). Each remodeling, every change that was made to the initial projects, has been approved by each of these bodies, than discussed and approved at ministerial level. This is the case, for example, for those interventions where subtleties were being upgraded.

### 3. *How did ALER's crisis occurred and why?*

Multiples are the factors that have led to this situation and often they can be seen as chained, and they often return one to another in the description of the others.

- First of all, we must certainly consider the 2008 crisis that affected all sectors of the global economy.
- There has been some error in evaluating when the Istituto Autonomo Case Popolare (the previous institution managing the public housing patrimony) has become, in implementation of the Law of Lombardy Region no. 13 of 1996, a real company acquiring the name of ALER (standing for Lombardy Residential Building Company. ALER believed it could survive alone; acting as a real estate company that is buying and selling, would be a side business connected to the management of social housing. This did not work on the one hand because the building heritage that it belongs pours into a profound degradation and therefore the restructuring and management costs were too high. In addition, in the year 2000, a large amount of funding was introduced that led the company to open up mortgages, but all the Cdq and Pru procedures proved to be a big problem. In fact, the mobility plans were a huge problem because the cost of resettling a new home for each family to move in is unsustainable.
- The complications arise when the mobility plan began to slow down, as construction companies delayed in completing the work; this has created great problems for ALER because the funding that was due to it was taken away due to delays. This has triggered a negative spiral even with regard to mortgages. –
- Another key factor to understand this crisis is the insolvency. In fact, about 50% of tenants did not even pay the minimum they had to pay.

The architect confessed me that due to this harsh financial condition, between

2012 and 2015 there were companies who worked for interventions under their responsibility that they did not receive payments from ALER, and that it still struggles to extinguish its debts with them. To change the company's fate, it defined a three-year plan, where every goal was minimized. The municipality and the region have greatly helped the company to resume. It should be borne in mind, however, that ALER is a waste company, since if you restructure an apartment with all its building envelope costs 40 to 60 thousand euros and the tenant living there pays 20 euros a month, could this be sustainable?

4. *Which were the peculiarity of Mazzini compared to the other Cdqs under a multi-institutional point of view?*

As for the ways of reporting money to the municipality, Mazzini was the least complex. In fact, there was no need for ALER to send the receipt of every single paid and early payment of his pocket, so that municipal funding would arrive. Problems arise when ALER has created a single current account for all of its expenses regardless their nature. When there were cold emergencies, for example, ALER paid for these funds, but later did not have more money to pay for construction companies (except for the fact that even for this matter many were the insolvent ones).

5. *Which ones under an operative point of view?*

There have been no major operational differences compared to other Cdq's sites, the architect Arcamones's references have always been architect Patrizia Digirolamo from the municipality (with her colleagues architect Daniela Farioli and architect Monica Righetti) and architects Giuseppina Tola and Giuseppe Barletta to the Lombardy region. What has changed is in the reporting methods again, as ALER itself has asked the region to finance it on more accounts, one for each business. For example, the Cdq now has its own account and the Region requires a little control over the already existing communal one, which take place in September and March through a report.

6. *Which has been the positive and negative sides of the cooperation?*

Often, this concatenation that sees the region at the top level, followed by the municipality, and finally by ALER often generates slow and shrinking mechanisms. Of course, this happens also because everyone makes his political interest as well, and often the municipality creates complications only because politically deployed

differently from Region and ALER.

7. *Why Mazzini received such a higher amount of finance comparing to others Cdq's sites?*

Surely because it is a very populous neighborhood, very old, and to focus funding on a very degraded reality. Another reason is that, before the start of the Cdq there were already studies on the reactivation of some spaces of it and this also contributed. In addition, the layout of the spaces in the accommodations was such that they had to be restructured (such as the bathroom and shower aligned along the facades of the buildings).

8. *Which were the expenditure's priorities?*

Buildings were the priority, but also the windows, doors. The windows that have been installed now are new generation ones but also of poor quality materials. These are now creating an unusual problem since while with the previous windows, air swirled anywhere, with these air it does not pass, so the mold is created in the rooms.

9. *Since another renewal project was already active in Mazzini at that time, was it difficult to merge it with Cdq, under the operative and cooperative point of view?*

It was not an issue at the operational level, but instead socially challenging, since if the tenants are happy at first that their building is going to be renovated, they change their mind when they realize that they have to be moved temporally somewhere else.

10. *Do you think that, among social and physical actions, Cdq reached its goals?*

The goals Cdq set itself were not achieved. Some construction work was done at the end. It is very difficult to pinpoint where the issue is, to define whether companies are not ready to support this type of programs, or whether it is the public administration that has no competence to undertake them. Often it seems that there are not enough tools to handle the matter in a reasonable time. Mazzini was certainly not the flagship of Cdq.

11. *Thus if you should pinpoint the flagship one which one would you chose?*



The Pru Stadera was a virtuous intervention surely. In fact, even though in this case the times have widened, and with the constraints of the superintendence we have had to change the interventions, what has been achieved is certainly a good example. Although not yet fully finished, Pru Stadera is a high-quality neighborhood in terms of construction.

*12. Do you think Cdq has promoted the social cohesion, a multicultural attitude, reducing the criminality?*

Mazzini has deep social problems, drug trafficking, criminality and abusive occupations. It is not a dangerous neighborhood in itself, but the most delicate social bands do not feel comfortable. Of course, we can not say that there is social cohesion in the neighborhood. Rather, what is presented is a phenomenon opposed to cohesion, that is, social groups coexisting and ignoring to each other, especially when it comes to foreigners. The younger generations paradoxically are the ones who probably accept less the foreigners, especially the band from twenty to forty years, are struggling to accept new ethnicities and religions. It is for this reason that the social plan, in a future experience, must have a different approach and importance.

*13. How does ALER deal with squatters?*

In flagrant illegal occupation ALER has inspectors who can go and convince the abusers to go out. Sometimes this practice is also carried out with the police, but both at specific that time have no right to evict the tenants. Quite often, this practice concludes positively and tenants leave the house. Otherwise, if they resist they are identified, and by ALER begins an eviction process that has a specific legal procedure, which in a time varying from six months to two years leads to eviction. This practice has huge costs as it needs police, ambulance, social services, veterinarians and blacksmiths. Quite often in the neighborhood of Mazzini this process does not end easily, since there are tenants threatening suicide, there are those who resist the strenuous and so on.

The most striking case occurred on August 19, 2015, when in Comacchio No. 4 (building 7 compartment B) 56 apartments were cleared in a maxi eviction of 180 people. That day, there were 300 police officers and the eviction took place at 6 am.

*14. Did any change of the projects occurred during its implementation due to problems emerged during it?*

The major change was the remodeling of some buildings. In Via Comacchio 4 (building 7 compartment B) the crawl spaces' redesign has been scrapped, in Piazzale Gabriele Rosa number 11 (building 5 compartment C) the whole renovation of the building was discarded as well, also because the study for the renovation of the building was long and tenants refused to leave during the renovation. This led to the creation of a new project where there were no elevators, that is to say that the renovation could be done with tenants inside the building. Eventually, when it became clear that the funds were not enough, the project was scrapped in order to fund and complete others stuck.

Even the university residence and the market has been interrupted (they were a single operation of replacement of the market), but now specifically the Politecnico di Milano will complete the works.

Previously in Panigarola 2 (building 16 compartment E), via Panigarola 4 (building 15 compartment E) and in via Pomposa 8 (building 14 compartment E) the crawl spaces' project and the attics at the top floors' project were scrapped. They would actually have added 2 floors to the facility with huge costs for Erp apartments that do not generate a high rent once they have been made.

*15. Currently which problems in facing Mazzini?*

Of course, there is still a lot to be done if we look the built patrimony, as the neighborhood has been restored to a very small extent.

The delinquency at Mazzini is palpable and it is necessary to intervene in order to tackle and eradicate it. It would be necessary to reactivate public spaces not simply by putting cameras, but rather by making people use open space and not letting them close behind their homes behind an armored doors. If the open spaces, such as the courtyards and the streets, would be used by people, this would create an atmosphere in which the little criminal and the aggressor would not feel comfortable and would move away. This speech is strictly related to the roads' commerce offer, as there are only Islamic butchers, wellness centers, oriental supermarkets and a horrible and huge betting room that should be absolutely forbidden by the city of Milan. In such a fragile neighborhood, this is one of the places where people ruin their lives.

*16. Do you think would be worthy to repeat this kind policy?*

This kind of experience needs to be repeated, especially if you are talking about a city of regional importance like Milan. What should be implemented is the par-

ticipation of the other sectors of the municipality of Milan, as is happening now in the upgrading of Lorenteggio. So, it is not possible that only one department, such as the one managed by Digirolamo architect, will deal with this matter, as it has been for the social re-accompaniment plans in the case of Mazzini.

Even though social reintegration societies try to do their best to get results, they do not have authority, they involve the social component superficially, through meetings and parties. However, we can admit that in this case the plan completely failed. In fact, the social component of Mazzini is extremely complex, where there are disabled, ex-inmates, drug addicts, and therefore the re-accompaniment plan must have a much more deep and complex nature. So if you repeat such an experience one of the fundamental aspects would be the social one. Therefore, real ad hoc workshops with various experts would be necessary, within representatives of the municipality and of ALER, who have autonomy and authority in the management of initiatives. This is the prerogative to achieve the goals.

*17. Would you change anything if you could in what has been done?*

From an operational point of view, often the best choices were not made. Very often, the solution for the upgrading of the buildings was emptying its internal structure and rebuilt it inside its external casing. This led to the destruction of beautiful ancient flooring from the beginning of the last century, however this is just one example. Often the solid wood fixtures that were there for one hundred years were replaced with new-generation fixtures but with poor materials and poor quality. Instead, it would have been possible to start a more careful, more detailed restructuring, with small items being restructured, in order to maintain the original taste of that type of building. This kind of intervention would also allow them to be cheaper. Unfortunately, was not ALER to decide, and anyway there were no forces that pushed towards the type of invasive intervention that was made instead of the most delicate one. It is just the whole Italian construction system that is set this way. This industry has always been the leading one in this country, and it created this kind of practice.

*18. How can you imagine Mazzini in the next future? How in a distant one?*

We should avoid this neighborhood to run down slowly. With the arrival of the student's dorm something could change, both from the social point of view and from the point of view of the commercial offer related to it.

19. *Restoring surely is a positive practice. Nevertheless, which are the current alternatives to fulfil the housing needs?*

Often, the problem is that people inside social housing never go away. Of course, there are many elderly and many disabled who need to be protected and helped, but there are some tenants of these residences that occupy them for couple of dozens. There are tenants who have inherited these homes from the generation of their parents or their grandparents, since leaving the social housing regime must have a pretty high income which correspond to 60,000 euros (defined by the Lombardy Region).

This situation is not fair and somethings need to be changed, as help for the needy must be a temporary aid since the state cannot help a citizen throughout his life but can help him stabilizing him for a while, allowing him to become an independent person. Now, the contract is of the type “four-plus-four years” So it is essential that there is a way in the future to free those units that are inhabited by those who no longer need it to free space for those who are in the waiting list. Another hypothesis would be to allow private individuals to rent their homes with guarantees provided by the state. Anyway, another issue are the studio-apartments that were often seen as too small accommodation but in some situations they have dimensions that would fit in with the request.

## Appendix B: Interview with Arc. Giuseppe Barletta and Giuseppina Tola (Lombrady Region)

### 1. *Which authority do you represent in Cdq?*

They represent the Region, “direzione casa” department, the department that has been always dealing with Contratto di Quartiere. There has never been any shifting in the department dealing with it inside of the region. They started representing the region during the 2014 when the operative phase was already started since long time.

### 2. *How the cooperation has been shaped among different institutions?*

Many boards shape the cooperation. There is the board between the Region and Transportation Infrastructure’s ministry. This board when it meet has the task to verify how the Contratto di Quartiere is going.

Afterwards there are technical boards that time-to-time, according to the things that need to be verified the gather together. For instance the construction process and modifications of it. These boards gather and define the specific detail of the projects.

The agreement among every one of the three institution (Aler, Lombardy Region and the Municipality of Milan) is difficult, because it need to be modified according to the need of all the three parts.

Shifting a bit the topic has been given a few information about the cooperation at the start of Contratti di quartiere (even though the interviewed underlined the fact that as above specified he was not in charge yet). During the period of the call, the municipality already were starting to set in the Neighborhood Laboratory in order to offer a more complete application to the call.

### 3. *Which were the peculiarity of Mazzini under a multi-institutional cooperation’s point of view?*

This peculiarity is the same for the all sites of Contratto di Quartiere, since the authorities are the same (Region, Municipality and Aler) with the same employees in those entities working on it. A sort of network dealing with undistinction with all of the sites. This unless some comitati di quartiere have been stronger and active than others, but the interviewer at that time did not know about this matter.

4. *Which from the operative point of view?*

Only one institution has realized not all the project, generally Aler realized some of them and the municipality. The Region is only the tramite between the Ministry and Municipality and Aler. Of course, it is also a financing institution. Thus Region keep in account all the expenses for Contratto di Quartiere, and filter all the change the Municipality wants to do, giving them to the assessment of the Ministry.

There is not a specific peculiarity. Nevertheless, generally two divides the cases: the project that started with a clear project and implementation project, and availability of resources too; instead, those one that stuck in the middle due to a lack of resources of one of the involved institutions. In the second case, the problems are still reflecting in the implementation of Contratto di Quartiere.

5. *Which were the positive and negative outcomes of cooperation?*

The positive things are generally the ones that worked and vice versa. The crisis of 2008 has been and harsh period for the building sector, thus naturally this in turn gave a shortage of availability of finances for the single subcontract firms. This means that some of the project just interrupted. For instance Aler's crisis.

If the time of accomplishment dilates, too much it becomes difficult to conclude a project. Generally because the people who is responsible for specific task might change. Though linking all what has been done in the past with the present is resolutely difficult. This change of people dealing with it can happen at all the levels from the technical to the institutional. At the institutional and highest level, such as the one of the Ministry, the change of representative might be reflected to all the Contratti di quartiere multi institution's program.

6. *The 27th of September 2005, the municipality of Milan delivered to the Region the detailed and final proposal of the five neighborhoods. Additionally, within the final proposal it disclosed the member of each neighborhood's committee. Who were the members of the committees?*

The technicians of the Region and the ones of the Municipality composed these groups.

7. *Which were your tasks?*

The both of them were not employed by the region yet at that time. Anyway, now Barletta is the referent for Contratti di quartiere for the city of Milan. He fol-

lows the state “work in progress” of the projects.

8. *Who are the “others” in the financing chart? Couse their funds are high!*

In Mazzini the only private contribute has been done by Circolo Arci, but it has been such small and autoreferenziale that is not influencing that much the general resources of the projects. Furthermore, the private is very fast accomplishing the projects, thus comparing to the general resources mobility during the time there are such fast that is difficult to notice them.

9. *In which regime of ERS can we classify Mazzini? (Edilizia sovvenzionata) (Edilizia agevolata) (Edilizia convenzionata)? How does the welfare system subsidizing the rental fees today?*

Mazzini is completely sovvenzionata. Part of the Region and part of the Ministry, for the infrastructures generally had to be 50% each. After the crisis of Aler, the budget schedule changed so the remaining institution had to cover all the expenses.

10. *Which were the expenditure's priorities?*

There is not a specific order of priority, this works according to the availability of resources and when each project starts (with the hope it can be concluded in the scheduled timing).

11. *Since another renewal project was already active in Mazzini at that time, was it difficult to merge it with Cdq, under the operative and cooperative point of view?*

In Mazzini there has been a huge number of different subsidizations, such as Piano Casa (one of the Piano Casa's project did not even start), Contratto di Quartiere.

When Aler failed there has been a technical board “Cabina di regia” among the municipality, the region and Aler itself. Having clear all the forecasted interventions of Contratto di Quartiere, this board started assessing the financial condition of each intervention under the financial point of view. There were project there were already accomplished, others just at mid-way, and others did not start yet. The board's goal was to move the resources available from the project that did not start yet to the ones mid-way in order to finish at least them.

Anyway, to better explain the form different sources of financing, Contratto di

Quartiere was financing the refurbishment of the buildings in its inner and external parts, not for instance the crawl spaces. The crawl spaces has been financed by “Accordo quadro per lo sviluppo territoriale” ’s program, a Regional program financing only in this case incremental interventions thus the increment of the number of dwellings. This give an idea of the sum of all the financing programs coming from different institutions.

Another example is Gabriele Rosa Square’s building involved in Contratto di Quartiere. They are currently untouched and their original condition. The Contratto di Quartiere is going to refurbish all the external parts of the building and the roofs, while the inner requalification of the apartments is going to be financed by Pnea “Piano nazionale di edilizia abitativa”, which stands for National plan for living buildings. It has been approved in 16th July 2009, the total available resources are 800 millions of euro, and it targets the residential disadvantages, thus young couples, students, low-income families and elderlies.

Regarding this matter, we need to consider the important fact that the inner and the outer refurbishment must be done at the same time for two reasons. The first is that from a structural point of view is undesirable to renovate the flats of buildings with old and damaged structures, because this would influence the inner parts of the flats as well. The second to renovate there is the need of a mobility plan and this means a great financial and operative effort (and need of other empty buildings to fit the housing needs of the targeted families).

(Gabriele Rosa square building: 42 apartments are vacant and has been sealed with concrete, by Aler, in order to do not get occupied again. There is a reason for the fact that they are sealed. When Aler’s contract with the tenants expire, it does not renew the flats. It seal the flats waiting the moment when the program start to renew the whole building).

The existence of different kind of financing sources is the normality in this kind of projects.

The building seven and eight in the compartment B has been rebooted has been unblocked, from the institutional and financial point of view and they are currently looking good (even though they are stuck). However, the building seven was completely occupied abusively. Under an institutional point of view, the evacuation of the building has been allowed by the prefecture because there was already a firm ready to build, as well as the necessary finances. The fact that the firm was ready to build the day after the evacuation did not leave the building empty avoiding it to be occupied again.



12. *Were there any changes during the operative phase due to issues emerged during the program's process?*

There have been many changes, especially under the financial point of view due to the failure of the involved firms, and thus in turn under an institutional one.

There have been others not strictly related to the program. Such as the foreca-  
sted renovation of the crawl spaces in building, five compartment D in Gabriele  
Rosa square. The crawl spaces, which were supposed to be finance by the Aqst pro-  
gram (explained above) has not been accomplished because it has been discovered  
that the structure of the building was too neglected to implement it.

13. *Do you think the implementation of Cdq has promoted social mixture and social cohesion? Does it decrease the criminal in the neighborhood?*

The biggest part of all contratti di quartiere in Milan has been accomplished,  
and in Mazzini as well. This has been accomplished because the evolution of the  
programs generated some positive economic initiatives.

14. *Which were the building society which were supposed to build the student house and the market?*

It is called Iter and it is a cooperative (Iter - Cooperativa Ravennate Interventi  
sul Territ) è specializzata in montaggio ponteggi, noleggio piattaforme aeree e gru,  
noleggio bagni chimici, nuove costruzioni, consulenza ambientale, restauro edifici  
storici, noleggio furgoni per traslochi, noleggio autoscale, consolidamento struttu-  
rale, ecc). Iter stopped to work due to a financial problem of Aler (which I guess was  
not paying Iter to his work), and due to this stop Iter start declining until it failed.  
Now the relation with Aler reached an agreement (concordato).

15. *Were the meeting helpful to hear the inhabitants and associations' voices? How relevant was their voices in the debate?*

According to how the Contratto di Quartiere was working and active in the  
neighborhood. Thus, the amount of meetings and event was also influenced by how  
active the Laboratorio di Quartiere was in each different site.

16. *The market and the student housing case.*

They have been managed to be “the same” intervention. The accomplishment

path was the same, it was a single program. Since the the dorm is stuck also the market is stuck, since there is the original market. (New the new market supposed to be at the first floor of the dorm, with a consequent renewal of the Ferrara square).

17. *Was the role of the associations resolutely crucial to achieve social actions?*

The region has not been focusing in the social action. However, the nature of the program is properly both social and physical. Aler and the Municipality are more focused on the social actions, while region is more focused on the technical and institutional sides of the project.

18. *Did any outsider participate to the debate or only local residents and associations?*

The region does not know very well this matter.

19. *Did Cdq influence the surrounding positively?*

The region does not know very well this matter. We have to consider anyway that there is a metro stop in the area and that it is resolutely connected to the rest of the city under a transportation point of view as well as the pattern of the urban tissue (especially if we compare to other sites of Contratto di Quartiere such as Gratosoglio). However, one of the negative point of the neighborhood is the present of a high percentage of “Canone Sociale” flats, and this means social disadvantage (so old people, disadvantaged people...). One of the idea was to bring a different kind of population inside the neighborhood to solve the public security problem. This actually was the goal of the student dorm, to promote a virtuous social mix. Moreover, Barletta thinks that the new social class (such as the student) have to be like the 80% of the total population in order to solve the neighborhood program, otherwise it is a kind of worthless program.

20. *Do you see an improvement of Mazzini’s reputation after the Cdq at the local and urban scale?*

It has been found out that there are rented flat in San Siro site on air bnb. The feedback from the costumer was definitely satisfied. The flats rented out in air bnb were belonging to Aler and were given to low-income families, thus this practice is not legal at all. The foreigner tenants who rented the flats in San Siro were impress by the fact that this neighborhood is cosmopolite. In fact, we have to consider that

we tend to assign this neighborhood a bad image of dreariness and criminality. However, the people coming for the first time might appreciate the cosmopolitan feature as well as the architecture, which in many cases is surely beautiful.

21. *Currently which problems is facing Mazzini? (considering what has been asked about the works' interruption)*

The expectation for Mazzini now is that the dorm program restart again, because it is strictly linked to the market project. Furthermore, this operation is also linked to the rest of the neighborhood. This would be feasible especially using the resource of Miur (explained in the interview with the municipality). Currently the dorm and the market are not financed for sure.

22. *Keeping in mind what has been done, which kind of demands is the most urgent for Mazzini inhabitants (e.g. infrastructure? /lack of social housing for people in the waiting list? /unsuitable unit size for families? privatization of social housing... etc.)*

When Aler starts a contract with a tenant, it respects the minimum legal standard of square metres per person. Then if a family grows takes time to allocate it in a new dwelling. However, the intervention had forecasted also the join of some flats because the minimum legal amount of square metres per person was different in the past. This two temporal aspect can bring the public housing to be overcrowded. The inhabitants are still the best voice to hear to understand the neighborhood. The need is only the one to renew the last neglected buildings.

23. *How can you imagine Mazzini in the next future? How in a distant one?*

None.

24. *La ristrutturazione è certamente una pratica lodevole. Ciò nonostante, attualmente quali sono le soluzioni da attuare per dare casa ai bisognosi?*

The Region said they would not do something else: the participation worked as well as the social aspect. Even though there are little things left to accomplish (He said the here the dorm do not belong to the Contratto di Quartiere but only the market at the ground floor...?), and even if the program lasted ten years, it has been implemented. This reasoning in all the sites of Contratto di Quartiere. The program has been working excellently. It is easier to focus on what has not been

done rather than the opposite. Before the program the Contratto di Quartiere the unemployed rate and uneducated rate was resolutely higher. As well as the rate of elderly alone. This goal has been reached properly for the double nature (physical/social) of the program.

However, this is a point of view of the region, which has not been dealing with the social side of it. If shortcoming under the social point of view happened then in the next future, this is the aspect to increment. Moreover, there are also other associations, which do not deserve to be marginalized and put aside. For instance the architects association could be involved giving some ideas and, why not capitals as well.

*25. Renew the buildings is surely an appreciable practice. However, currently is there a way to overcome the housing need in Milan?*

To avoid the illegal occupation of the buildings and get rid of the current illegal occupation trend. It seems also that there is a huge housing patrimony belonging to associations, cooperatives, and of non-sold empty flats. However, we should find the way to match the need of the needy and the need of the owners. For instance some policy to subsidize the owners to rent out with a fixed fare, letting them be facilitated by other sides. Another example could be to foster with some incentives the owners to put their property in the market. There are many policy techniques, which could be done, but often are not undertaken.

Focus about the project 2e: The park Alzheimer park.

At the Region they said completely naturally that it is a RSA "Residenza sanitaria assistenziale", standing for assistance sanitary resident, meaning elderly house. They said it has been conceived as a green area for the elderly house. It is not a public green.

## Appendix C: interview with Luigi Regalia (Casa Per Coniugi elderly house)

The interview started introducing my colleague and me, with an explanation of this research's aim.

### 1. *With which regime the guests are hosted in this facility?*

There are two kinds of regimes, the residential one and the semi-residential one. Under the residential regime there are 450 guests living here, while under the semi-residential just 50. Those fifty guests are picked up at their place in the morning, and carried home in the evening. The municipality of Milan assign us the 70 per cent of the guests, paying the expenses of their permanence here. All of these guests brought by the Municipality are Milan's citizens, and the municipality bring them here following a priority and proximity order. The rest 30 per cent of the guests are private individuals who access the facility making an application (usually the family of the guest support the expenses of the permanence). The municipality of Milan pays the permanence's expenses of that 70 per cent of the guests, and it is the owner of the facility as well. The sanitary expenses, instead, are supported by the region. The workers here are totally 350, thus the facility is resolutely big and important. It is definitely a real sanitary safeguard for the neighborhood.

In 2005, the municipality decided to create "the health's home", thus dividing it partly in RSA (Residenza Sanitaria Assistenziale) and partly in ambulatories. The ambulatories' spaces has been extracted from the spaces of the previous RSA, which was bigger before. Eight doctors are in the ambulatories, and the leading idea of the project was to bring the doctors closer to the population.

### 2. *Is your facility inserted in the neighborhood's network?*

We have very good relationship with some schools, the Sant'Egidio Community and the parish. As an example, often Sant'Egidio volunteers come here to take elderly and take them to the mass. This dynamics generate exchange among the different generations.

### 3. *Did the network always exists or it started growing during the last decade?*

Since I started working here in 2013, it have been always existing. The society running the facility, the one I am working for, applied the public call to the ma-

agement of the facility in 2009. At that time, one of the request was a wide opening to the territory. The society clearly highlighted this matter in the application. Afterwards the municipality started launching other calls for other facilities such as the one of Mecenate and the one of Famagosta. The municipality's goal was to join them un a unique management undertaken by the private. This is a clear witness of the municipality's will to assign all the sector's management to the private.

4. *With the neighborhood contract's development did you enhance your facility, did you increase your activities and projects for the neighborhood?*

Please, explain us what is the neighborhood contract.

5. *The interview continued with the explanation of the neighborhood contract nature.*

Our facility was not subjected to a refurbishment program (the responsibility for the ordinary refurbishment is our, while the responsibility for the extraordinary refurbishment is a responsibility of the municipality). Regarding the social door-men's program it is still existing, and often the doormen come here as well. We also know some of the elderlies' in-house-giver, since we meet them when we go to pick them up in the morning together with Sant'Egidio volunteers (here we can see the positivity of the "health's home" settled in the neighborhood). At last the "Alzheimer's garden" has been created, however we did not know it was linked to the neighborhood contract. We asked the municipality to open the barriers and the gate of our facility, letting it become the pivot of the neighborhood. However, they did not listen us yet. We are aware that this option would need a specific management, since here the vandalism is a common practice. Nevertheless, we never assisted any vandalism act here, probably because the people see this as an assistance place.

6. *Did the municipality involved you in the consulting phase of the neighborhood contract?*

I am here from 2009.

7. *It is sad to know that the head of such an important facility is not informed deeply about the neighborhood contract (the expression clearly implied that is not his fault).*

I am not from Milan, however, I try to open the structure as much as I can

toward the neighborhood. Even though I do not know very well the neighborhood I would like to know it better and to open my facility even more to the city. This is properly what we are trying to do with the RSA facility of Adriano neighborhood, where we are looking for more visibility and consideration by the municipality in order to let our opinion have a heavier weight.

If I do not know anything about the neighborhood contract, the matter is to understand if the new employee of the municipality who replaced the previous ones, know about the neighborhood contract. I would like to know if Ms. Fabris from the housing sector and Mr. Cattaneo responsible for RSA know about it. We have to admit that sometimes the municipality asks us absurd stuff; when it transformed part of this building in ambulatories, it asked us the building's plans. I only work here what should I know about the building's plan? Furthermore, the building has been built by the municipality, it should own this documents!

I repeat that I do not have any idea about the contract of the neighborhood and the laboratory of the neighborhood. Maybe the opening to the territory the municipality is asking is properly a declination of this program. However, it looks strange I do not know anything about it.





## Appendix D: Interviews with the local population

Premise: the following interviews followed a sort of fixed list of question. However, sometimes the list of question is not reported chronologically or in the same order. The reason of this scattered order, is to leave the interviewed subject free in his speech, avoiding interruption in the argumentation.

Matter of fact: right aside the laboratory of the neighborhood (in the inner court of Mompiani street) there is an elderlies' club. Among all the elderlies quickly interviewed in the club, none of them knew about the neighborhood contract existence neither its nature. Only an aged woman knew about "a laboratory where some creative activities were undertaken", however she did not know the name neither any detail about it. She was referring probably to the laboratory of the neighborhood located just aside the club.

### Interview to an aged man in the elderlies' club in the court of Mompiani street

#### 1. *Is it a long time since you are living here?*

Yeah, it is a long time I am living here. In the past, living here was a pride and an honor. I was living in the only private building existing in the neighborhood since I was ten. I was born and raised here, but I did not have the luck to live in one of these buildings that were considered as high quality buildings, even though in was an estate (he was referring precisely to the buildings involved in the neighborhood contract's refurbishment program).

#### 2. *Right here, down this slope, there should be a space called "the laboratory of the neighborhood". Do you know anything about the activities undertaken inside of it?*

Actually, I saw some movements, but I really cannot say what is that. Spaces like the one you are telling me are not advertised enough and they are not valorized. The real problem here is the meeting between citizens. In fact nowadays the population is composed by different nationalities and ethnicity. These groups often are not interested to integrate to each other.

#### 3. *Just a small amount of people know about the neighborhood contract, do you know the reason about it?*

Because all of this sort of initiatives are not valorized, advertised enough, this is a pity!

4. *How is the level of security of the neighborhood?*

Here is a total disaster. We should come here with a fishing net and take them as fishes. Criminals here are like fishes in the sea.

5. *How was the life here in the past?*

When I was a teenager there were many rules, the courts could only be used by under twelve years-old-kids. In the evening was common to stroll along the streets especially in summer time. Now part of the receptions closed, even that sort of control vanished.

6. *What about the commercial activities and their business?*

The commercial activities are closing. Because the population is changing, in turn the needs as well as the offer. In my opinion, this change occurred too quickly. What does it mean integration? Because often the initial goals of some policies and some social actions are admirable, but the results equal to zero.

7. *What is happening to Ferrara square's buildings, are they stuck?*

Yes, they are stuck since 3 or 4 years. Instead of finishing before the stuck buildings (the ones that have been robbed of doors and windows) they started refurbishing via Comacchio's building.

8. *How was the square before the contract of neighborhood?*

I can tell you about less recent times. For instance, where is now standing the stuck dormitory there was an industry of agricultural machines like trucks and tractors. It was called Motomeccanica. Behind the factory, there was a grass field with the WWII's ruins. In this grass fields the kinds were playing and the factory was testing its trucks. After the grass field, looking toward the city-center, there was nothing. Nothing until the current railway yard of Porta Romana after which the city started to crane. This was a sort of suburban village.

## The butcher

### 1. *How is here to run a business like yours?*

It is okay, not good and not bad. We pay the rent, we pay the taxes. Is like this since the day I started 20 years ago.

### 2. *I am here to ask you a few questions about the contract of the neighborhood..*

Initially I went to the meetings held in the laboratory of the neighborhood. I use to go since one of the matters was properly the market where I have my shop and its relocation project. However, I think there were many good worlds and just a few facts, because I can witness you that here everything keep being the same, as always.

### 3. *Did the crime reduced in the last years?*

Why? Is this a dangerous neighborhood? I mean, of course there is a bit of drug trafficking, but this is normal like any other place. I have never had any big issue, however I do not see, I do not hear, I do not talk.

### 4. *Why many shops here in the market are closed?*

It depends. A few of them were not able to support the rent anymore, other had health issues, others are giving up and going to work to the supermarket. However, is difficult to know, when a shop closes the owner does not come to me explaining me the clear reason of its closure. I would not do it either!

### 5. *Why do the buildings on Ferrara square are stuck?*

I only know because the funds are over, however I do not know the specific dynamics.

## Old gentleman at the bar

### 1. *Did the neighborhood contract had positive effects on the neighborhood?*

What is the contract of the neighborhood?

2. *Explanation of the contract of the neighborhood.*

Regarding the social doormen now there are almost none. At least the doormen use to give a slight sense of security. Except for this, I do not know any action you mentioned regarding the contract of the neighborhood. The only thing I saw is that they are restoring a few buildings. However, life is good here.

3. *Does crime exist here?*

No, absolutely not, however I do not know what is going on during the night because I am old and sick thus I do not go out in night time.

4. *How long have you been living here?*

I have been living here for twenty years, and I saw this neighborhood changing. Before there was no foreigner, even though, nowadays they do not create problems (the old gentleman looked tired and left saying goodbye).

## **International shop's owner**

1. *Did you see any improvement in the light of the neighborhood contract?*

What is the neighborhood contract?

2. *Explanation of the neighborhood contract.*

Under I few aspects, in my point of view it got worse, for instance in the last years the drug trafficking increased. Maybe in the most frequented streets is less visible, like this one, but in the least busy ones everything happens!

3. *Do you know if the refurbishment of Ferrara square's buildings is stuck?*

No, they are not stuck, the refurbishment is still undergoing (in relation with the opinion of the aged man in the elderlies' club). A friend of mine, from the same country I come from, even asked me to go there and visit him because he was working there.

4. *Did the business got better in the last years?*

More or less everything is the same, but there are not big differences.

**Ambulance operators (right beside the laboratory of the neighborhood there is a small ambulatory, below the elderly's club)**

1. *Do you know anything about the contract of the neighborhood and the laboratory of the neighborhood?*

No, we do not. What are they?

2. *Explanation of the contract of the neighborhood and the laboratory of the neighborhood.*

We saw in that space (referred to the space of the laboratory of the neighborhood), they are doing some activities such as painting and so on, but we never had any interaction. Except for this we do not know anything about the contract of the neighborhood. Is the first time I hear this world, thus if I would try to tell you something about it I would probably make a mistake (the operators did not look like available to answer other questions).



# Appendixes part II: The case of Tor Sapienza

## Appendix E: interview with Alfredino Di Fante (Agenzia di quartiere)

First interview: 27th of April 2018, call-interview with Alfredino di Fante and Romilda Salvati, heads of the Agency of the neighborhood of Tor Sapienza

### 1. *Which are the Agency of the neighborhood's tasks?*

The agency's function is to make networking between the various associations in the territory belonging to various typology (cultural sports, social) with a level of formality different from case to case. There is a really wide range of types of reality that the Agency connects. The agency's role is to represent them all together, although each of them has an autonomous status. In fact, the promotion of each of these associations towards citizenship is often done jointly.

### 2. *Which are the political beliefs of the Agency?*

The agency does not align with any political ideal. It dialogued with all administrations regardless of their political ideal, but considering them as institutions. The fact that the Agency was apolitical was strongly desired in 2004 at its birth, and it always acted carefully in order to do not take any political positions, avoiding to make choices that could place the Agency politically, even if someone have tried. We have supported or shared politicians or political associations but only and exclusively in terms of issues concerning the territory and the district, regardless of their political beliefs. Even the associations that we put in a network, when we work together, are compelled to do not reveal their political ideal in any way. They are obliged to do not expose any symbol, neither party's logos nor symbols that in the common imaginary recall to political ideals.

### 3. *How does the Agency finance itself?*

It is sustained by a participation fee of 50 euros per year, that each association is invited to devolve. However, it all depends on the type of association. The contribution is variable based on the available resources of each association and other internal characteristic, for instance, some of them are informal groups (groups of young people, local team supporters). Often the merchants association, in charge of advertising during the events, contributes financially.

#### *4. Can we briefly talk about the recent history of Tor Sapienza and the origins of the issues?*

Tor Sapienza until the 80's was considered such as a luxury suburban neighborhood, with a flourishing economy. The first groups of people arrived here were mainly from Abruzzo and the Marche. They arrived as artisans, afterwards getting employed by the developing small and medium industries. When those industries increased their size those former artisans got specialized, hence contributing in developing a stable labor market. The classic inhabitant of Tor Sapienza enjoys a medium-high social economic status, but the situation has been changing with subsequent events.

At first, we need to mention the excessive concentration by the municipality of problematic factors on the territory of the neighborhood, and in this case we refer to the nomads settlements. The first nomads' settlement was implemented in the 90's in via Salviati, actually with good quality standards. This settlement was completely legal, however not having carried out checks, and having placed the settlement on the border between the fifth and fourth municipalities, created some problems. In fact, the settlement socially insists on the district of Tor Sapienza (fifth town hall) but institutionally on the fourth town hall. This was a political choice. In addition to the first, there is a second factor of territorial issue since there is a community of political refugees squatting inside of a former factory, formally illegally. Finally, there is another nomads' settlement that is neighboring the one of via Salviati that is in contrast with the first one for ethnic reasons.

In addition there are three Sprar centers (Italian acronym for: system of protection for asylum seekers and refugees), and with this disproportionate ratio of inhabitants and non-EU citizens or nomad citizens, the matter became intolerable and hence the issues started arising. This was the first activity of the administration. Subsequently, since Tor Sapienza was not desirable from an electoral point of view, there were not many positive initiatives since it would not have had much response from an electoral point of view. This situation led to the current situation.



5. *The press is depicting Tor Sapienza as a dilapidated neighborhood. How would you describe this district?*

The situation is not at all the one described by the social media and the press, which tends to emphasize only the negative aspects or events. All of the information transmitted from the media to the population were very far from reality. They are often taking a small sections of the territory of the neighborhood proposing a totalizing vision to the listener, an all-encompassing vision of degradation, when in reality it is not so. This is the ancient and frequent mistake of the media. Of course, some problems occurred, but this does not mean it involved all the population, in all Tor Sapienza's territorial parts.

The issue I would like to start with is the revolt of a part of the district's citizenship against the Sprar institute, occurred in November 2014. This story for instance does not tell the story of an entire neighborhood, but only of a part of it. The strength of the news, however, makes the distracted listener believe that reality is exactly as described in a totalizing way. Those who are "insurgents" were mostly inhabitants of the Morandi housing complex.

Morandi housing complex has about 1,600 inhabitants out of a total of 18 thousands inhabitants of Tor Sapienza district. Moreover, within the complex, there are some associations (a cultural association, the Antropos Onlus association, and an evangelical church) and they are very active, thus our Agency actively collaborates with them. Also with regard to nomad citizens, the Agency is part of a network called the Roma Est Territorial Network, which has grouped around thirty associations, and has organized various initiatives with political representatives both at municipal and municipal level. The issue of the nomad citizens has also been included in various programs, such as for example Urbact, because we believe that from ideas there is then the need to pass through initiatives.

6. *Can we focus on the Urbact program?*

Urbact through an analysis of the situation, once it made the necessary considerations, came to the conclusion that are summed up in the Development Program, which basically is a Local Action Program. To be suitable for European directives, there were representatives of the district or so-called stakeholders (our 23 associations plus others), then the scientific subject that is the University of Tor Vergata, represented by Professor Prezioso, and as a third subject the municipality. The municipality should have made a declaration of commitment with all the funds from which it would have drawn, in order to be able to commit these resources in

this planning. Although there were all the prerogatives required by Europe and the necessary subjects, the municipality of Rome was missing. This was a severe pity, despite the initial declarations of interest of the administration, and the assessments from Brussels that valued the project of Tor Sapienza as the best along with that of Malaga (since they were 10 throughout Europe), the project has not undertaken due to the municipality's negligence fault. In fact, then this was not signed.

*7. Which have been the interventions of the public sphere along these years in the neighborhood?*

Firstly, as already mentioned the administration along the years, has gathered here too many elements of high social risk. Subsequently, they experienced the roman season of "Contracts of the neighborhood", which were four in total and one of them in Tor Sapienza. The total funds for this series of programs were 2 million of euro (four billions of liras since there were the old currency at the time). However, being the project "dropped from above" without the slightest consultation with the local realities, even this occasion has had vain results. At the time, the minister of public works was Antonio Dipietro, and a bit for his position, a bit being a former student of Tor Sapienza, was able to unlock these amounts. The project started without having the opportunity to consult local subjects, only able to contribute in small part at the organizational level. Yet it was clear that there were obvious errors in the project, but it was too late because the funds had left and you could not make any variations during construction. The project itself can also be positive but if it is located in a context not able to value it or even penalizes it, this becomes a harmful intervention.

On the other hand, the compensatory charges for high-speed train network, which is currently crossing the territory of Tor Sapienza that were amounting to 2,400,000 euros, were supposed to be used for the road network. The project foresaw the construction of a road parallel to Via Tor Sapienza (axis of main road and commercial development of the district), which would have had positive feedback on the territory. Yet these funds were ultimately destined for the metro line C, and therefore the territory has not benefited. This is the municipality at Tor Sapienza, and this is the last example of its absence and negligence.

*8. In the light of the heterogeneity of the citizenships of the neighborhood's populations, which is the situation of the multicultural integration of Tor Sapeinza?*

Sàrsan program has been a very positive integration experience, and integration

is still one of the main themes of our activities. On the fifth and sixth of May this year (2018) there will be an event that will have as its purpose the integration of the neighborhood's population. In this type of events are called citizens of Metropolis (the former factory of Fiorucci currently inhabited by citizens of various origins and nationalities, from North African to South American but also), and are continuously involved in initiatives. These can be various kinds, from cleaning green areas to events dedicated to children, to painting and other events.

9. *The experience of Report, developed by Michele Buono, did have any positive impact or it only was self-referential?*

I believe any input inserted into the territory, any intervention or action, generates an outputs. The connection of the Agency with Itis Giovanni XXIII which is the school we have been cooperating with, was an example of positive externality of this experience, because before there was not a deep connection between the institute and the other territorial realities. Furthermore, our connection with the universities has been strengthened by this experience and it has generated a sort of scientific committee too. Now we are continually in contact with these institutions, and we are undertaking various initiatives and projects with Itis Giovanni XXIII. For example, we are now transferring a library of a certain value from the center of Rome to Tor Sapienza, since being this a neighborhood near many university institutes, the library is necessary. The library is equipped with the best standards of modern libraries, such as the study room, the thinking room, web stations and so on. Being this a very large and complex project needs time to highlight the results.

However, we are establishing a purpose association, within the scientific committee that was originated from Report's experiment, which is continually monitored by Michele Buono, with whom we are in continuous contact. This initiative involves various subjects, some are those presented in Report's press report, others have taken a step back (for instance Novamont, Italian Institute of Technology), and still others have succeeded successively. Despite having stepped back these subjects contributed to the cause thanks to meetings that were useful. Other crowdfunding subjects have been involved, as well as subjects of other realities such as the Italian space agency. For example, one of the specialization course of Itis Giovanni XXIII is following the research project of Professor Paolo Di Nardo, who is doing research at the University of Tor Vergata to study the production of organic materials in order to reconstruct the skin and human organs. On this line has already been developed by Professor Cellamare of the University La Sapienza of Rome,

the technology called Statcan, an application that soon is going to be available and usable on the territory.

Therefore, the collaborations continue to be strong and there are always new ones, and these are also aimed at restarting at Tor Sapienza a clean industry production, that could be inserted in all those productive plants that have been abandoned. Nowadays is difficult to see in Tor Sapienza the concretization of all these initiatives, since it takes time to see something “touchable” and evident to the majority of the inhabitants. However, certainly a very important method and approach has been implemented, the development of a stable network that can only improve along the years. Now the status quo of the scientific committee will be formalized, and what we hope is that this matter finally attracts the attention of the institutional and administrative spheres.

*10. Thus, the public sector was not always present. It have always been part of your primary partnerships, right?*

Absolutely, the municipality has been always involved, and is continually required. Regardless of any choice or initiative, the conditio sine qua non is going through the administration for any small matter or initiative we undertake. For the rest, the administration is completely absent, not at all directed towards the territory and the spontaneous forms of association with which it could collaborate, generating more fluid and effective processes. However, often when speaking with the administration it seems to speak a foreign language: concepts now commonly shared and known as networking, startups, spin-offs, and so on, are completely unknown from the administration. Often they are even not aware about the meaning of these concepts, they consider them out of the common practice and modus operandi that still belongs to past times. In the one hand, the administration has a problem of obsolescence of strategies and methods of work, which are never updated, and this keeps the administration stuck with its ancient modus operandi in an evolving world. Another question is the one of the immobility and laziness of the administration that, perhaps for a purely cultural matter, carries out the minimum necessary that is required (sometimes not even that). What is missing is a spirit of ambition that is rejected by a static vision for years, which is not renewed over time, without, for example, proposing new initiatives updated with the modern time's approaches.

## Second interview: Thursday 17th of May, Caffetteria Visconti, Tor Sapienza

*1. At the last interview, we left talking about the involvement of the administration in the initiatives that are born in the neighborhood. However, what are the hardships of Tor Sapienza today, and what are the options to solve them?*

The insurrection against the Sprar (Italian acronym for: system of protection for asylum seekers and refugees) has issued an image of Tor Sapienza, both nationally and globally, which is far from reality. The neighborhood of Tor Sapienza counts between 15 and 17 thousand inhabitants. If you consider that 10 percent of the population is the one that arose, it is evident that started circulating a wrong image of the entire neighborhood. The books of history witness that Tor Sapienza was a welcoming place as early as 1450; the Tower of Tor Sapienza was donated by Cardinal Pantagalli of the San Girolamo Institute of Perugia, which has now become a university, and housed at that time the student that were moving from Perugia to here. These students spent seven or eight days traveling across the country where there was brigandage, disease and risks to come across with, before getting here. Thus, it was already home of foreigners; the first church in the Roman countryside was built here.

Tor Sapienza certainly has some inconveniences due to the nefarious question and personality of all the administrators who have gone through the Roman Capitoline administrations, regardless of the political colors, which have concentrated in Tor Sapienza in particular, but also elsewhere, situations that if well managed do not create great problems, but that if managed badly generate strong contrasts. In fact in the neighborhood there is the center for political refugees, two places of housing occupations, two other Sprar, two nomads settlements, one legal and one tolerated (a third that was abusive was evicted), and this creates explosive situations. With the authorized nomad camp we interact, there are internal forms of representation that allow us to have a certain level of inclusion and integration. We can have a dialog. The tolerated one, however, does not allow us to have a dialogue, also because it is in opposition to that authorized for ethnic reasons.

The problem is when the news transmitted by the press have ambiguous nuances. There are always those who are interested in amplifying the resonance of a certain news based on the political meaning, claiming to give an image different from the reality, and they often generates scandalous cases. However, this matter impacts

on the life of the neighborhood, and on the citizens, who on the one hand live the discredit of their neighborhood in the eyes of others. On the other hand, there is a part of population especially the non-educated on, believing in what the media means offer. This part of the population hardly consider other points of view from which to observe the question. Hence, in the light of this situation the pre-eminent question is to look for ways of making inclusion, and of course these are neither simple nor quick.

## *2. How does the Agency of the neighborhood (Agnazia di Quartiere) face the problems?*

In the 15 years of the agency's life, we understood the need to start with the young generations, since they are an investment for the future. Then we need to invite adults and let them be aware of certain social aspects such as inclusion, giving them the time needed for this change. With this approach, it is possible to obtain results that positively influence the good life of everyone. In light of this the citizenship here is often present, it is active, and this is proved by the strong phenomenon of association that characterizes Tor Sapienza. Just consider the Agency of the neighborhood itself!

However, the neighborhood agency is not the district committee, because the two entities are legally different. The Committee tends to solve the structural and administrative problems of the district itself, and takes care of the inconvenience of the neighborhood. It refers exclusively to it. The Agency, instead, represents 23 associations, with the strength that is given by them, and sets different objectives. It claim to create a reality that goes to impact the problems not only under the profile of the complaint (as does the Committee then communicates them to the higher levels to solve them), but rather the Agency, given the problem, has the will and the prerogative to find possible solutions. The solutions that are sought must be adequate and appropriate naturally. All this needs programming: when a problem is found, its entity is analyzed, we begin to look for solutions. During this second process, the scientific subject enters the field, the universities, and on the basis of the pre-eminent problematic one seeks the appropriate and most suitable scientific contribution for the solution. In addition to this, the Agency seeks similar issues, even not the same but similar, and try to find how in other cases the society faced the problem, having a different range of success. The approach is to check the good practices that have been already taken as case studies to get results.

3. *Which could be considered as a good example of the Neighborhood agency on the territory of Tor Sapienza?*

Definitely the Reblock project. Among his projects, Urbact in 2013 included Reblock which indicates the regeneration of living spaces of a certain size, such as those social settlements of the 70's and 80's, such as Zen neighborhood in Palermo and Corviale in Rome; and the Morandi complex of Tor Sapienza as well. Since the contact with the scientific subject and the bund was sturdy, Reblock can be considered as a worthy experience. In Reblock program, there were ten European cities to participate with different problems and characteristics. Being together with the other realities, sharing our experiences and problems we were able to set out the best results. A contamination of ideas that has generated virtuous effects. Reblock was also a fundamental experience in establishing relationships with the scientific subject, and in that case that happened through Espon.

Espon is a European inter-university network that also borders on a global level. The mission of Espon 2020 is to continue the consolidation of a European Territorial Observatory Network and increase the supply and use of pan-European, comparable, systematic and reliable territorial evidence policies. The aim of the Espon 2020 Cooperation Program, is to support the strengthening of the effectiveness of the European Cohesion Policy and other sector policies and programs, under European Structural Investments (ESI). Another goal is the national and regional territorial development policies through the production, dissemination and promotion of territorial evidence able to cover the entire territory of the 28 EU Member States, and the 4 Partner States of Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.

Espon Acquires data of all kinds (climatic, settlement, social, demographic trends, etc.) so that the interpolation of data of different nature allows to program in the best possible ways, then to create wise policies, based on the knowledge offered by this service. With this good planning strategy there is no risk that the operations undertaken will become obsolete in a time when the cost-benefit ratio is losing. This happens in many European countries, which adopt Espon for quality programming. This programming methodology in Italy is almost totally missing (except Emilia Romagna), mainly because of Italian politics, and often politicians, because they are lazy and unambitious.

4. *How did the experience Reblock continued?*

The project of regeneration of Tor Sapienza was defined by the European community as “the best urban regeneration project, together with the one of Malaga”.

however it was not successful. This due to the negligence of the public sector. In fact, often was necessary to explain to the public administration where to find European funds step-by-step, because they were not able to. This is because, even if the cost of this operation was for the most part usable by European funds, public administrators were not aware of it, they were not interested and did not want to take on a commitment that went beyond their traditional responsibilities. Thus, the operation would have charged the Roman municipality of extremely low expenditure, because of the availability of the European resources.

Rome has an immense urban area, the problem of suburbs is directly proportional to its size, and everyone knows that it is precisely in the suburbs where “people” live, not in the center. It is in the periphery that the administrative political organ must intervene by administering. This absurd situation creates figures such as the parliamentary committees on the outskirts, who personally visit the Roman, Neapolitan and Milanese suburbs, and that in our case have been accompanied within the nomads’ settlement, eventually without taking any initiative able to impact positively the territory. In this case politics failed dramatically, because in the end in the best of cases (ironically speaking), the administrator’s goal is the political interest, but in some other cases unfortunately also personal (when in reality should be the interest of citizens). Often, citizens are used by the party interests of administrators, who at 99% of cases have a political, and sometimes even personal advantages. This is a sick approach promising concrete actions, but eventually not keeping the promise, not giving a positive contribute on the territory. This approach is done just to be able to demonstrate the citizens there is the interest to intervene, but eventually nothing changes. The municipality is completely absent in this neighborhood, it is absurd.

5. *Which have been the position of the Agency of the neighborhood to contrast the absence of the public sector?*

We must understand how to oppose this reality. Thus, and how to do so? What we have tried to do within our limits is to eliminate the insane subject. Reblock, for example, needed three subjects: citizens (participatory project, because nobody as the citizen has awareness of the problems and virtues of the territories), the scientific subject (expert who can solve the problems highlighted by citizens) and finally the subject administrator (who has the economies and the power to issue planning and planning policies for this type of operation). Well, this is just the part that was missing (and that is still missing completely now) and that there is a need



to be replaced.

Is it replaceable? We do not know yet. In fact, in the case of Reblock the only alternative was to replace the absence of public finances with private donations, of subjects interested in the cause, so that we could start and plan a path that in various aspects went to improve the situation. Naturally, these types of operations are complex, there is no need to invent, but you can get ideas and learn from elsewhere, as happened here in Tor Sapienza. We must certainly act with an integrated approach, whatever the problem is within the neighborhood, since it produces an output that is not strictly connected to it. In fact, since this problem is placed in an “unhealthy” system it naturally falls into many other issues. So the output generated will be influenced by other factors. This is why it was said that the approach must be integrated, so that the latter considers different types of factors. Subsequently we need to intervene in a participatory manner, so that there is the widest spectrum of competent subjects to intervene on the question under consideration. Furthermore, this must be sustainable, from the point of view of the territory, thus admitting only interventions that do not deplete the territory but which, on the contrary, enhance it.

With these principles and with the availability of data it is possible to make good planning. Many experts would add countless aspects to this simplistic synthesis that has now become the approach. However, in the light of this we need to network and cooperate all these elements and these subjects, in order to obtain results.

#### *6. Did the municipality get involved in the experience experimented by Michele Buono in Tor Sapienza?*

Although Michele Buono’s experimentation was based on a network that was practically exclusively private, even in that case, the public entity tried to get involved through multiple invitations that would have naturally facilitated and speeded up the whole process. Yet the municipality is “deaf” and is “fugitive”, just think that the Agency has written numerous times to the entire city hall to the whole junta and its president, receiving few answers. When the Agency has managed to get a meeting from the administration to expound the project in an exclusive way, the boardroom where it should have held the meeting was closed and we found ourselves “closed out”. At 8 in the evening, it was me (Alfredino di Fate) my collaborator (Romilda Salvati) and an Oxford researcher, all of us outside the municipal offices. Naturally, this is a negligence that demonstrates the approach of the public admi-

nistration.

With Michele Buono's Report project we are still working, with natural pauses, as each of the subjects has their own work, and without the presence of all the subjects we cannot progress much. But it is going ahead with the obvious problems given by subjects that the closer they are to the public, the more they then disappear at a later time; subjects not specifically political, but subjects that stand on the contribution of the public very often. Even if in good faith these subjects declare themselves interested in contributing, they often find themselves without the fund given by the public body and are forced to "back down". We are still making small steps, even with foreign subjects such as the Canadian Institute of Statistics, for the construction of a database of under-utilized infrastructures and buildings called StatCan, a project led by Professor Cellamare. Just to mention, the *Giovani XXIII* institute was involved in this project too, where fourth year students were involved in the project, so that in the following years they could make this technology known in other schools and citizens. This can result in many other types of initiatives and ideas such as work school alternation (*alternanza scuola lavoro*).

One of the objectives of the Neighborhood Agency is to create an aggregated social fabric that may tomorrow have a greater bargaining power towards administrators, for example if an experience such as Reblock was proposed. Another fundamental aspect is the knowledge and awareness that together we can do things that otherwise could not be done. Thanks to the project Report we have a close relationship with the agency of Italian Community Organizing, which is helping us in this direction, in creating an aggregated social fabric, open and aware of its strength (the same day in the evening there would be a meeting on citizenship, with the theme "be open with the other"). The aim is to make citizens aware of new realities, to make them understand their importance, to try to be more aware of their own possibilities for deciding on the life of the neighborhood. This takes note in various types of initiatives often also recreational as another meeting recently organized in Tor Sapienza called "Together we win".

*7. Can we affirm there is an ongoing process of change? What would you expect for the future?*

The progress exists, and takes place in small and constant steps. The absence of the public hand, our limited physical, economic and administrative resources allow us to act slowly. Moreover, like all urban areas, an obvious change of a district, in the eyes of non-experts people, requires a fairly wide period of time. In the exper-

ts' eyes is different, because I can guarantee that there are steps forward in terms of initiatives, in relations between different realities, progress in the cooperation between subjects, which is a sure springboard for a change that is evident "in the eyes of everyone".

We do not believe in political miracles and promises unless justified by the foundation of obvious feasibility, because experience teaches us that punctually all these promises are never kept. We keep on going on with our project with all the difficulties sometimes we find and we overpass. We carry on this whole process day by day, it is still early, again for evident results. Surely, there are interests and attentions from more or less important production groups that are evaluating the possibility of making their contribution, on the territory. We would like to transform the initiative of Michele Buono into something real, we do not want to set limits just because an idea is ambitious. Although the result that might be achieved is not comparable to the ambition itself, surely there will be steps forward that will serve for the future, a basis for posterity, so that they can start from a point already started.

However, often we come across people looking prepared in the imaginary, who are as they say now "2.0", but then take choices that we could never have expected that could be implemented by subjects of this type. Network culture, team culture or simply good manners are often lacking. We do not presume to be protagonists in processes of change that have long times, but to get involved. This is the way the Agency was founded 12 years ago. The goal is to solve or find solutions to problems and problems in the team, in groups, regardless of political ideals, but aimed at the strategy to solve "that" problem identified. Often the alignment with a political ideal prevails over the operation, on generating something virtuous. We must also instill in the citizens a transversal political conscience that aims at solving the problems and not only the political alignment.



## Appendix F: Interview with Michele Buono Rai's journalist of Report

Michele Buono is a journalist of Rai's program report. Along his career, he has deepened the relationship between public administration and society in different levels and different contexts. The interview has been undertaken in 26th of June 2018.

### *1. How did the networking has been structured in the case of Tor Sapienza neighborhood?*

The actors in this case simply aggregated each other through new ways of aggregation. These new ways move further to the traditional associationism, which of course still is useful. However, a few of these association do not have a proactive role, instead they are a bit static. A few involuntarily to defend their position, do not work to go forward a traditional approach: eventually they do not contribute with big difference to the system. Often few of them only tackle a single problem and I even argued with them. If we make the example of those one only treating issues related to the gipsy ethnic groups, if the nomads settlements would disappear the association dealing with this issue would disappear too. I asked a nomad guy if he would join an integration program based on work opportunities, opening maybe a company, a Vat number, and he answered positively. I could see the delegates of these association who were hostile to me. In fact, if (always using the nomads example) a nomad person would establish a company or a firm, integrating him somehow in the society, the association would disappear. Thus, the role of some association tends to be bounded to the goal of keeping the situation how it is, since these association "get money, we can state it clearly".

In Tor Sapienza the pivotal element of associationism is the school, in the specific the headmaster of the technical chemical institute Giovanni XXIII called Arturo Marcello Allega. Around his profile a few actors and subjects started joining. That context's actors have been particularly interested by the "community organizing", which I showed them in the way is undertaken in Baltimora. Thus, I introduced in the environment a journalist of the Radical radio who lived in the States working as a community organizer, who was founding an association of community organizing to spread the practice in Italy. This aspect also contributed to strength the network of the different actors.

This process of network's creation has been generated from below, from the

people, because a representative need was rising. Talking about the first republic, once upon a time, on the territory were settled the sections of the parties, in a period when the parties were organized differently. In the bad and the good side of the matter, this kind of representation was able to penetrate the territories and the society in a detailed and minute way. Nowadays is not like this anymore. Nowadays the maximum you can get is the representation of the most structured parties. However, also in this case the directors of these parties' local branches are reluctant in front of someone proposing to do something innovative, something that have never been done before with the classic approach. They approached me like this when I showed them the opinion of Jakub Adamowicz, spokesperson of the European commission. Even though Mr. Adamowicz appreciated it. However, regardless the opinion of some association, the assessment I got from the spokesperson has been resolutely motivating for the people of Tor Sapienza, conveying a sense of trust and feasibility.

2. *How your experiment reformed the common ideal, with which effects? How did this change influenced the context?*

To answer this question, first we need to do a premise. In fact, the people are often brought by the information industry in the wrong path. The information agenda, leading the people in the wrong path, is made mostly by the gossip, the complaint, the accusation, not rising a healthy principle of information. Too less work the society does in order to educate the public opinion, which is an important "leg" of the democracy. This means render a fair frame of whatever information, and equip the population with the right "toolbox" in order to orient their selves in specific dynamics. Is comprehensible that the middle-citizen delegate the information credibility to the promoter, most of the time the standard citizen only assumes the information without really deepening its reliability. Once the citizens own this "toolbox" as in the case of "The great bet", than a process starts in the single citizens who want to know more, and especially contribute and do something.

The process started in Tor Sapienza with this approach, many actors, each of them contributing in a different way. Once the process started up, also the faculty of engineering of La Sapienza University joined the group of actors. In fact, where undertake the activities and how arrange this program in the territory was a dilemma. The matter was to understand in which estate undertake the program. Afterwards, the department of engineering of La Sapienza started cooperating with the statistic institute of Canada (StatCan) also with active subjects of Tor Sapienza.

In fact, there is a delegate of the institute in Roma now and the first phase of the program is currently starting.

To do all of this, was sufficient the creation of a frame based on shared goals, concrete aims ignoring ideological claim that often end up in slogans or in the mutual offence. This is a social contract where there is none loosing, as in the Sates people do there is the definition of a system “win-win” where none of the actors is succumbing. This is what happened in Tor Sapienza with a few natural pauses. However, meanwhile an external attention started growing. An example is the one of Maurizio Maraghi from Atellani, which is a incubator and developer of technological startups which subsequently are brought on Kickstarter platform. Maurizio Maraghi stimulated by what he saw in the investigative report came to Rome to see what happened. From this matter is possible to understand what such a process is able to involve. Eventually adopting such an approach is able to tear down the concept of periphery changing the common ideal in something different and positive.

### *3. The started process is remarkable, and its translation in Ivory Coast witness its value...*

If we analyze what started from that investigative-report seems impossible. The continuation in the Ivory Coast is unbelievable and is still ongoing, Roberto Cingolani, scientific director of the Italian Institute of Technology in Genoa is going to undertake a mission in September in the Ivory Coast. The goal is to establish an agreement between the two governs and sign it, in order to let some emissary technicians of the Ivory Coast’s govern in order to supply them the right formation allowing them to operate in certain contexts. Afterwards, the Institute is going to supply advices in order to establish a research center and a factory of organic plastics in place, and around it is going to develop a whole spill-off.

### *4. Is it possible to imagine this kind of approach in the “real world”?*

Of course, this is possible but the pivotal matter is knowledge. Is properly going to Africa in Abidjan (Ivory Coast) that I made this consideration, looking at a huge number of Italian young architects and engineering going to work there. Many of these young men made the opposite path of the one much people daily do crossing the Mediterranean and risking their life. The difference reside is the economy of knowledge. It is important to consider as well about the opportunity of growth and the social inclusion.

The networks that are currently establishing are the ones related to commu-

nication and connection. If once upon the time the nations' destiny was made by geography, nowadays this is in the hand of connection. In Nairobi, Kenya, where I have been undertaking other press reports, the Silicon Savannah has been created along the lines of Silicon Valley and savanna, and is quickly becoming a technological hub in contact with the big world capitals. These networks constitute continents that are not on the geographic maps yet, however, as a matter of fact they exist! Thus, the Silicon Savannah compared to Kenya, as Mazzini compared to Milan or as Tor Sapienza compared to Rome are inserted in a layout based on the same features. This means only to be able to look forward the classic outmoded and nineteenth-century frame.

5. *Can we consider the requalification approach of the public administration slightly obsolete?*

Surely is like you said. There are a few interesting studies of Democratic Party's senator regarding the fact. He is Walter Tocci and he has been vice mayor of Rome and properly in the light of his administrator function highlighted the problem. These kind of studies exist in the international scenario since the issue is real. The argumentation here could get wider because is properly the nations' layout that becomes inappropriate. Starting from the network's economies, we can highlight how the relationships between the nations cross the borders. In this sense, I want to tell you the layout of the public administration sometimes seems to belong to the 19th century. However, these new continents are networks drawn by huge areas, macro areas, it is enough to think about your personal experience as an international student and mine as a journalist, which brought us out of the national borders. This means there is the generation of "aggregations", aggregations of macro areas, with specific vacations. In an inadequate layout, there is the risk that some areas could be subjugated, squeezed. Indeed, is interesting to understand new forms of aggregation and representation better suiting modern times.

6. *Do you think that the administration structure at the municipal level is a limit for the development of these new ways of connection?*

The administrative layout is still based on a setting that is already old. Before the time-passing process was slower and characterized by less pushes from below. If we take as an example the district government of Tor Sapienza and the Campidoglio (Municipal level) the mutual distance between the two institutions is resolutely



wide. We should think about the creation of the city-region, with an administration layout such as the one of Berlin with its own administrative autonomy. Within this autonomous statute, afterwards the different district governments should have their share of financial autonomy. There is the need of administrative forms and policies adequate (if we think about it also the European union is unsuitable since it should be a federal state). Thus, the dominion of the European Union is the European council that is only the sum of the European nations. It is clear that Europe nor being a federal authority, though a unique political subject, it is evident there are nations that are more important than other ones. The problem reside in the layout: in a system made such as this one based on the unanimity, it is enough a single contrary vote to allow the disapproval.

The problem regards the citizens' information and their formation. When within some vote of the European council there are troublesome matters for big ones, these big ones convince the small ones to make their interests. The issue is that people do not know that, thus useless debates are often risen. None explains how it would be otherwise (for instance with a federalist layout). The citizen delegate the politician or the information these tasks, however if these two do not give the citizen the right overview he gets misled. In fact, in the people's imaginary the statute of the European Union and the one of the US are not that distant. Everything reduces to a banal sloganeering.

Is the public system that is inadequate that needs to me adjusted. Matters never proceed with the same speed, the society often evolves faster than who governs it. In the past, we use to make revolutions to change things. Each time the system needs to readjust. The difference is that in the past the time was longer, now the history's time got quicker and quicker, because is properly the technology to run fast changing things. It is enough thinking the relationship between me, Tor Sapienza, you and Europe: twenty years ago such kind of relationship would have been impossible, you could have not even imagine it. Before the adaptation time to new technologies were incredibly slow, like decades and decades. Nowadays in less than five years, there are new turns, the society runs and get used to it, however the institutions are "the ones we know". Becoming such as bothering embankment.



## Appendix G: The document “Risultati programmatici”.

*In the following document, the attention must be posed in the proactive role of the local groups, explaining the territory's need to the municipality, especially in the captions “Al Municipio/ Amm. Centrale”. This is just a piece of the document witnessing the pushes from the bottom toward the absent administration. The document is original, thus has not been changed in its part, except fitting it in this research's layout*

**Verbale/Risultati generali e obiettivi programmatici territoriali  
emersi dal lavoro tematico partecipato svolto nel mese di febbraio in Tor  
Sapienza  
a cura del  
Comitato di Quartiere di Tor Sapienza, Comitato Morandi-Cremona,  
Agenzia di Quartiere Tor Sapienza Marzo 2014.**

**PREMESSA:** L' esigenza ritenuta prioritaria dai partecipanti si riferisce alla creazione di un centro aggregativo (“casa del quartiere”) in cui svolgere anche attività educative ed informative con particolare riguardo alla legalità ed alla cultura.

**METODO:** Le due linee ideali seguite durante tutti i lavori sono state:

- 1) L'oggetto in questione sono le “periferie” intese come qualsiasi contesto scisso dalla vita della città, in alcuni casi fuori dalla vivibilità e dalla cultura del bello e della partecipazione consapevole ai movimenti in avanti della metropoli.
- 2) La metodologia fortemente tenuta presente è quella programmatica, integrata, sostenibile, partecipata del progetto URBACT, in particolare l'attuale URBACT III e le sue linee guida conformi agli obiettivi Europa 2020.

**1. Campo Rom Via Salviati: situazione nota pressoché in tutti i suoi aspetti, che divideremo in:**

**1.1 Emergenza abitativa, necessità di integrazione abitativa e lavorativa sostenibile, alternativa a interventi di assistenzialismo reiterato e non risolutivo, non pianificato, estremamente costoso rispetto a programmi di superamento definitivo.**

- Necessità di un censimento accurato delle persone e dei beni finalizzato a escludere i non aventi diritto dai progetti per fasce deboli.
- Pianificazione di alternative abitative definitive quali: beni sequestrati, edilizia popolare, autorecupero strutture abbandonate, assistenza per l'accesso al mutuo qualora la situazione patrimoniale lo permetta. Possibilità dell'accesso alla

graduatoria per edilizia popolare da ritenersi per la maggior parte dei presenti subordinata alla precedenza della popolazione “italiana” o comunque non agevolata con punteggi “speciali”. Preso atto dell’alta percentuale di cittadini italiani presenti nei/campi resta un punto interrogativo su come e se, in base a quali motivazioni, diversificare e subordinare i diritti della popolazione rom. Giunta a tale punto di stallo l’assemblea si esprime ribadendo comunque la propria contrarietà a vedere agevolata la categoria in questione.

- Contributo della famiglia collocata in altra situazione abitativa al mantenimento della stessa in termini economici, il che determina l’ovvia necessità di provvedere a massimizzare le possibilità di impiego. Rinviamo per questo genere di questioni a programmi come URBACT Roma-NeT Project, all’esempio della Regione Emilia Romagna, alle eccellenti politiche di superamento spagnolo, tedesco, francese.

Al Municipio/ Amm. Centrale: Demandiamo ovviamente all’amministrazione locale e centrale lo studio dei fattori complessivi da includere nell’attuazione di tali piani, sottolineando semplicemente la nostra convinzione a procedere verso risoluzioni definitive e non esose fasi intermedie, consigliando vivamente di porsi in linea con le strategie e gli indirizzi europei già efficacemente operativi indicati in “Appendice” alla fine di questo documento.

## **1.2 Scolarizzazione e coinvolgimento nel tessuto sociale esterno al campo al fine di garantire l’inserimento della popolazione rom e sinti in un contesto di legalità e responsabilità condivisa verso il territorio.**

- Estensione e utilizzo di metodologie sperimentate: ci riferiamo ai successi ottenuti all’interno del Metropoliz che, prescindendo dalla sua situazione ai limiti del legale, è fattivamente un esempio cardine di integrazione riuscita e drastico innalzamento del profitto scolastico e della partecipazione attiva ad azioni di coesione sul territorio.

- Proposta di procedere alla totale o parziale autonomia economico-organizzativa dei municipi con la possibilità di affidare mansioni di pubblica utilità a disoccupati.

## **1.3 Fenomeno di combustione di materiali e inquinamento ambientale.**

I cittadini e le loro rappresentanze presenti si propongono comunque di avviare se non completare tre atti nei prossimi tre o quattro mesi, consapevoli della necessità

del coinvolgere l'Istituzione locale/capitolina come partner primo:

- Richiedere nuovamente analisi di acqua, aria e suolo e ottenerle dall'Arpa al fine di avere dati aggiornati con cui proseguire;
- Portare nuovamente la questione all'attenzione del Parlamento Europeo

## **2. Economia locale**

### **2.1. Occupazione giovanile e non solo.**

- Riorganizzazione delle risorse di formazione e di economia territorial

### **2.2 Valorizzazione dell'arte e degli spazi culturali condivisi al fine di ricucire il tessuto sociale di un quartiere ridotto a dormitorio per una fetta maggioritaria della popolazione.**

Proposta di individuazione e riutilizzo collettivo in tempi celeri di beni in disuso e a rischio di occupazione; assegnazione a enti e associazioni sulla base di progetti validi più rapida e sistematica; tentativo di elaborare un modello di utilizzo a tempo determinato delle proprietà private che corrono lo stesso rischio, tramite accordi con le istituzioni di prossimità e/o direttamente con gli operatori sul territorio..

3. Economia circolare come risorsa e possibilità inclusiva della popolazione rom e sinti e disoccupata; valorizzazione delle risorse locali.

- Adeguamento delle norme da parte dei Parlamenti come da indicazione europea per facilitare il passaggio alla green economy e all'economia circolare dei rifiuti. Attuazione delle buone pratiche europee, previa creazione di spazi legislativi suddetti, sui territori, in particolare quelli maggiormente soggetti a fenomeni di rovistaggio e varie forme di traffico e smaltimento illecito di rifiuti.

Al Municipio/ Amm. Centrale si richiede il supporto e l'autorizzazione a portare esperienze di economia circolare nel Centro Arti e Mestieri di cui al par. 2.1 non appena il Parlamento Italiano si muova in tal senso.



## Appendix H: First meeting of all actors in Tor Sapienza

*The document witnesses how all the actors in Tor Sapienza started a series of meetings in order to establish a program of requalification of the neighborhood based on the economy of knowledge. The document is original, thus has not been changed in its part, except fitting it in this research's layout*

Il giorno 9 febbraio 2018 nella Presidenza dell'ITIS Giovanni XXIII si è riunito un gruppo di lavoro “dedicato” del Progetto Report per discutere sulla strategia di ricerca e produzione avviata dalla simulazione della trasmissione del 15 marzo 2017. L'occasione è stata promossa da Michele Buono il quale ha organizzato, presso la nostra scuola, l'incontro con Maurizio Maranghi, imprenditore di valore, per indagare sulle reali possibilità di creare una “forma di produzione” locale. Il Dott. Maurizio Maranghi si è presentato con tre eccellenti collaboratori del suo staff, dopo aver visitato Colorobbia, per una collaborazione avviata da tempo su un depuratore d'aria indoor.

Il gruppo è così costituito:

1. il A. M. Allega, dirigente scolastico
2. il Prof. Paolo di Nardo, Università di Tor Vergata e Direttore del CIMER (Centro interdipartimentale di medicina rigenerativa)
3. il Prof. Rodolfo Guzzi, Direttore del CTS del consorzio Space Italy e Vice-direttore di Eurotech
4. il Sig. Alfredino Di Fante, Segretario generale dell'Agenzia di Quartiere (Tor Sapienza)
5. il Dott. Dario Carrera, titolare di Impact Hub
6. il Dott. Fabio Martino, vicepresidente CRF (Cooperativa di Ricerca Finalizzata)
7. il Dott. Uranio Mazzanti (Presidente CRF)
8. il Dott. Maurizio Maranghi ed il suo staff

La seduta si è svolta con la presentazione dei partecipanti e dei prodotti di nicchia delle loro sperimentazioni.

**Rodolfo Guzzi** e la scuola. Si è parlato della “fascia di Arrhenius” riscaldante proposta dalla scuola, quale elemento integrato della “maglietta smart” (supportata da sensori IoT). La “fascia di Arrhenius” ha vinto due premi di Roma Makers come

prodotto di un processo didattico avviato in un FabLab. A tale proposito Rodolfo Guzzi, portatore di interesse per la 'maglietta smart', sviluppata con un suo gruppo, ha avuto l'idea di una maglietta integrata smart che includesse la fascia. Ora ci si sta lavorando per una progettazione integrata ottimizzata.

**Paolo di Nardo** e la scuola. Il Prof. Di Nardo è il titolare di un laboratorio altamente innovativo sull'ingegneria dei tessuti e nel corso delle ricerche con i suoi collaboratori (tra i quali annovera diverse imprese oltre che i costituenti del CIMER – Centro Interdipartimentale per la medicina rigenerativa, che dirige) hanno messo a punto diversi prodotti prototipali come, ad esempio, le spugnette ialuroniche o i cerotti salva-ferite che rigenerano rapidamente i tessuti grazie ad una speciale proteina e così tanto altro fino alla rigenerazione vera e propria dei tessuti partendo da scaffold polimerali per le colture cellulari. Su quest'ultimo, rivoluzionaria ed intrigante, processo è stata coinvolta la scuola che con i suoi studenti lavora insieme ai Dipartimenti dell'Università per la generazione degli scaffold e per la sequenza della sua trasformazione in tessuto organico.

**Uranio Mazzanti** e la scuola. Il Dott. Mazzanti ha presentato il suo acquario depurante. Il Dott. Mazzanti è portatore di diversi brevetti e con diversi di essi ha dato vita (in periodi diversi) a diversi processi di ricerca e studio nella scuola in una stretta collaborazione con gli studenti ed i docenti. L'acquario è quello che oggi gode di un prototipo funzionante e testato con un set di misure molto rigorose, inoltre è sostenuto da una azienda del settore, la West Systems <https://www.west-systems.eu/it/> che ha rilevato una quota del brevetto. E' un sistema semplice ma allo stesso tempo ricco di una interessante componentistica e foriero di interessanti sviluppi di mercato. L'acquario è stato realizzato con la collaborazione di studenti, ex studenti, docenti ed è oggetto di studio per le sue evoluzioni sia nella direzione degli acquari educativi, sia nella direzione dei fotobioreattori.

**Il Dott. Maurizio Maranghi.** Il Dott. Maranghi ha interagito con tutti loro molto incuriosito ed esprimendo la sua soddisfazione per l'ambiente dinamico e altamente recettivo. E' intervenuto con molto interesse su ogni proposta indagando e proponendo linee di possibili sviluppi, soprattutto, alla ricerca degli interlocutori di settore più idonei ad una fattiva collaborazione e interessati ad eventuali finanziamenti. Ci ha proposto di costituire un gruppo per la comunicazione, che sarebbe oggetto di una formazione continua del suo staff, provvisto del supporto tecnico e professionale, al fine di considerare come volano degli interessi e dei finanziamenti la piattaforma kickstarter. Inoltre, ha proposto di fissare un nuovo incontro nel quale avrebbe provveduto alla presenza di altri protagonisti dell'innovazione tecnica e di mercato, del crowdfunding e fundraising, e portatori di altre forme di



investimento, per l'avvio di collaborazioni concrete e produttive. Infine, si è sentito stimolato a proporre la possibile messa in campo di suoi prodotti accantonati nel tempo e forse, per l'occasione, giunti al momento giusto per essere considerati in una nuova operazione di marketing. Abbiamo anche analizzato e discusso il possibile coinvolgimento di Novamont, Bio-on e Colorobbia.

**Il Dott. Dario Carrera e Alfredino Di Fante.** Entrambi hanno mostrato molto interesse alle proposte di lavoro e di innovazione produttiva e di mercato. Entrambi hanno ricordato l'importanza che ogni forma di processo sia compatibile con gli interessi ed i bisogni territoriali, anzi che nasca nel territorio con la partecipazione delle componenti cittadine. La West Systems ad esempio ha rilevato una sede in zona Tiburtina e sarebbe una eccellente candidata per intervenire sul nostro territorio individuando e sostenendo processi di crescita produttivi (o, anche, di ricerca e di studio) o di gestione dell'indotto produttivo. Loro sarebbero entrambi pronti e disponibili a sostenere la logistica e la formazione di start up dedicate e la loro interazione con il territorio.

Si ricorda inoltre che le seguenti altre iniziative, avviate con la speciale collaborazione di Report e di Michele Buono, sono giunte a diverse fasi di avanzamento: la collaborazione con Diego Galli sul Community Organizing e la collaborazione con il Dipartimento di Ingegneria Urbanistica dell'Università La Sapienza, diretto da Carlo Cellammare, sull'app canadese per il monitoraggio delle aree e degli edifici dismessi e abbandonati delle aree periferiche metropolitane (incluse quelle di Tor Sapienza). Entrambe le iniziative sono svolte in collaborazione con la scuola che è principale protagonista con i suoi docenti e con i suoi studenti nell'avanzamento dei lavori. La scuola ha costituito un gruppo di lavoro per il Community Organizing e si interfaccia con Galli ed il territorio, avviando nel contempo il sistema relazionale innovativo anche sul versante scuola-genitori degli studenti, quindi scuola-famiglie, e un gruppo di lavoro (docenti e studenti) per il monitoraggio urbanistico con La Sapienza.

Nell'autunno scorso abbiamo anche provato un tentativo con Eppela su una raccolta fondi ma i risultati non sono stati confortanti. Stiamo ora provvedendo ad un'altra esperienza dello stesso tipo con Fastweb. Cercheremo di capire comunque con Eppela perché l'iniziativa non ha funzionato per avviarne un'altra. E' da notare, inoltre, che pur con un fallimento alle spalle, Eppela ha dato vita ad una serie di echi che hanno portato aziende commerciali e produttive a chiedere della scuola e delle sue attività relativamente ai suoi prodotti e ai suoi eventuali brevetti. Ritengo che l'esperienza Eppela sia stata molto utile e foriera di diversi suggerimenti per il

futuro.

Il Dott. Maurizio Maranghi ha chiesto di organizzare un nuovo incontro.

Il Dirigente scolastico  
Arturo Marcello Allega



