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GOVERNING LOCAL WELFARE AT THE URBAN EDGES

Issues, challenges and perspectives: an investigation in Italy

PhD Candidate, XXXII Cycle
Lorenzo De Vidovich

Tutor: Professor Massimo Bricocoli (Politecnico di Milano)
Supervisor: Professor Alessandro Balducci (Politecnico di Milano)
Co-supervisor: Professor Roger Keil (York University)

PhD in Urban Planning, Design and Policy
PhD Programme coordinator: Professor Luca Gaeta



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Tutor

Professor Massimo Bricocoli (Politecnico di Milano)

Supervisor

Professor Alessandro Balducci (Politecnico di Milano)

Co-supervisor

Professor Roger Keil (York University)

Referees:

Professor Valeria Fedeli (Politecnico di Milano)

Professor Yuri Kazepov (University of Vienna)

Professor Carlo Cellamare (University of Rome “La Sapienza”)

Jury members:

Professor Paola Pucci (Politecnico di Milano)

Professor Yuri Kazepov (University of Vienna)

Professor Marcela Brugnach (BC3, Basque Climate Change Center)

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I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work and has not been submitted before to any institution for assessment purposes. All sources and aids used have been indicated as such. All texts either quoted directly or paraphrased have been indicated by in-text citations. Full bibliographic details are given in the reference list, subdivided per chapters.

Abstract

Over the last years, in Europe and not only, suburbanization has gradually turned into a key topic of analysis, whereas welfare has faced a significant retrenchment, finding a reconfiguration into the local scale of provision. Combined in a such way, these two statements few tell us, and they look separated from one another, without any relation. This dissertation builds the analytical and research interplays between these two topics. In so doing, this thesis addresses the governance and the planning of local welfare services in the areas located at the urban edges, by also observing land patterns and infrastructural provision. The analysis faces the uneven socio-spatial polarizations that are currently emerging in the constantly changing urban areas, through an identification of the issues at stake as far as the governance of welfare and services is concerned. The research bridges a gap among the unevenness of the (sub)urban growth and the provision of local welfare services, according to its contemporary changes, the disposal of public provision, the raising role of third sector and private actors, and its unequal spatial distribution across the constellation of towns located around an urban core. In this respect, referring to a wide literature on “suburban governance”, the suburban is therefore a perspective, an analytical lens, rather than an analytical concept when assumed referring to the Italian settlements at the urban edges. Such analytical perspective enables to study a specific policy field: the welfare and its development on the local scale with a particular focus on the suburban scale.

The thesis aims at responding to the following research questions: what are the main issues, the further challenges and perspectives for governance of welfare at the urban edges embedded within metropolitan areas? What kind of governance meets and responds to the need of welfare services in an uneven constellation of towns at the urban edges? What suburban ways of living take place and how to cope with them in terms of welfare provision? Indications are provided from the outcomes of three case-studies, selected to investigate on three specific areas located within the metropolitan areas of Rome, Milan and Naples. According to these premises, after an introduction the present the thesis structure and contents’, the dissertation is divided into two parts. The first part is organized in three theoretical chapters: first, it deals with suburban governance, second, it grounds the reflection on the Italian debate about urban transformations, in order to legitimize the inadequateness of “suburb” as a concept to observe the Italian context, and third, it analyses welfare provision on the local scale. The second part is dedicated to the empirical findings from the three case-studies, followed by a discussion of such threefold investigation.

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List of abbreviations

AEC	Assistant for Education and Culture
ASL	Local Health Authority
ASST	<i>Azienda Socio-Sanitaria Territoriale</i> [Socio-Health Territorial Authority, in Lombardy]
ATECO	classification of economic activities by ISTAT
ATO	Optimal Territorial Ambit
ATS	<i>Azienda Tutela Salute</i> [Health Protection Authority in Lombardy]
BreBeMi	A35 Italian national highway, Brescia-Bergamo-Milan
CBD	Core Business District
CEC	Commission of the European Community
DESA	Department of Economic and Social Affairs of UN
DICOTER	<i>Direzione Generale per il Coordinamento Territoriale</i> [General Direction of Territory]
EAV	<i>Ente Autonomo Volturno</i> [Volturno Public Transport Institution]
EC	European Commission
EEA	European Economic Area (EC – Joint Research Centre)
ESDP	European Spatial Development Perspective
FNPS	<i>Fondo Nazionale per le Politiche Sociali</i> [National Fund for Social Policies]
GaWC	Globalization and World Cities ranking
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GRA	<i>Grande Raccordo Anulare</i> [Ring-Highway of Rome]
GTA	Greater Toronto Area
IACP	<i>Istituto Autonomo Case Popolari</i> [Autonomous Institute for Public Housing]
INA	<i>Istituto Nazionale delle Assicurazioni</i> [National Institute of Insurance]
ISEE	Indicators of socio-economic conditions
ISTAT	Italian Institute of Statistics
LAU	Local Administrative Unit
LIVEAS	Standard Livings of Well-being envisioned by Law 328/2000
LSE	London School of Economics
LWS	Local Welfare System
M.O.S.T.	Migration Over the Satellite Town (of Pioltello)
MCRI	Major Collective Research Initiative (with reference to “Global Suburbanisms”)
NEET	Not in Education, Employment or Training
NTA	<i>Norme Tecniche di Attuazione</i> [Technical Rules of Implementation]
NUP	New Urban Politics
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PF	Palombaro Felciare
PGTU	General Plan of Urban Traffic
PIM	<i>Piano Intercomunale Milanese</i> [Inter-Municipal Plan of Milanese area]
PPP	public-private partnership
PRG	<i>Piano Regolatore Generale</i> [Government Plan of Territory]
PRIN	<i>Progetti di Rilevante Interesse Nazionale</i> [Projects with Relevant National Interest]
PTPG	<i>Piano Territoriale della Provincia di Roma</i> [Territorial Masterplan for the Province of Rome]

PUA	<i>Piano Urbanistico Attuativo</i> [Implementation Masterplan]
PUC	<i>Piano Urbanistico Comunale</i> [Municipal Urban Masterplan]
REI	<i>Reddito di Inclusione</i> [Income of Inclusion]
SEA	Strategic Environmental Assessment [<i>VAS</i>]
SIA	<i>Sostegno per l'Inclusione Attiva</i> [Support for the Active Inclusion]
SL	Local System
TAV	<i>Treno Alta Velocità</i> [Italian hi-speed railways]
TEEM	<i>Tangenziale Est Esterna</i> [External Eastern highway]
UN	United Nations
WWII	World War II

Abstract

This introduction of the whole manuscript provides a “tool-kit” to navigate in the reading. For such reason, it shall not be seen as a comprehensive theoretical introduction of the main issues. Rather, it serves as a collection of the key information the reader is ought to know before grounding into the research. The starting point of this “chapter zero” illustrates the research aims and questions, between suburban and local welfare issues. Second, the chapter points out a key subdivision: on the one hand, it introduces the suburban as a perspective guiding the whole research framework and development, rather than an interpretative notion for specific geographical settlements; on the other hand, it frames welfare as the policy topic investigated. Third, the chapter presents the research methods and the rationale behind the selection of case studies, selected from the Italian context. Fourth, it deploys the main outcomes and the structure of the thesis, divided in two parts.

0.1 Research aims and questions

In his seminal book *The Culture of Cities* (1938), Lewis Mumford wondered whether the city would disappear or the whole globe would become fully urban, which would ultimately be another way to vanish. Later, in 1950s, Kingsley Davis noticed that urbanization was widespread (Davis, 1955). In 1970, the pioneering “urban revolution” of Henri Lefebvre (1970) paved the way for a new understanding of the urban society. Nowadays, UN-Habitat forecasts inform us, almost like a mantra, that by 2050 seventy percent of world population will live in cities. Therefore, many decades after Mumford’s statement, it may be argued that city is far from disappearing, and our planet experienced a worldwide urbanization process that is still ongoing, although John Friedmann introduced his famed the *Prospect of Cities* (2002) arguing that the city is dead, it had become a metaphor, and refer to a broader sense to “the urban” is preferable. In a rapidly changing “urban world”, social and spatial transformations have found a reasonable attention, not only as objects of academic studies, but also as real existing outcomes of the continuous urbanization process that characterized the 20th century.

From the viewpoint of social changes, particularly in Western Countries but not only, the systems of social protection, of the provision and delivery of basic well-being services, have significantly changed, in view of the retrenchment of the “Welfare State” built in the Second post-war period (see Alber, 1983; Esping-Andersen, 1999). Literally, since 1970s we entered into a “different welfare” (de Leonardis, 1998), that altered and modified in the public provision of basic services, and where inequalities have constantly emerged over the years.

From the standpoint of spatial transformations in an urbanized world, cities have expanded mostly at their outskirts through a process commonly known as “sprawl”, which has increasingly revealed more complexities beyond the spatial expansion. As a consequence, a significative attention has been dedicated to better grasp the features of the contemporary urban world, by focusing on the aspects raised from the diversities of the “suburban development”, to such an extent that a handbook, *The Routledge Companion to the Suburbs* (Hanlon & Vicino, 2018), has been recently released to collect the most comprehensive examinations available to date.

In the present dissertation, these two strands intertwine towards the investigation of – largely intended – welfare in suburbs. With reference to the Italian case, an intriguing analytical interaction may be built between the debate on suburbs and an inquiry in the transformations of welfare into a local rearrangement of service provision. The goal of the thesis is to study and analyze the presence and forms of local welfare in view of the most recent sub-urbanization processes, taking into account the Italian

contexts of three specific metropolitan areas. In particular, the research deals with the governance and planning of local welfare services in municipalities located at the edges of a big city, by investigating three different contexts settled within the largest and most populated Italian urban areas, or rather, metropolitan areas. The aim is to broaden the understanding of the relationship between the increasingly studied processes of sub-urbanization and the governance of welfare and social services designed and delivered to ensure the well-being of inhabitants, and the infrastructures to provide them (schools, health centres, places of social and civil services, etc.). Local welfare represents the key topic addressed through an inquiry that grounds its reflection on those specific areas globally known as suburbs. Welfare governance, policies and programmes developed on local scale are addressed in view of the changes that globally altered welfare as a whole during the last four decades [see section 0.3]. Suburbs, instead, are the drivers of an inspiring perspective, built upon the most recent debates on sub-urbanization. Such approach places its analytical core in what stands “at the very edges of the urban”, in geographical terms on the one hand (i.e. in the means of distance and influence from the cores of the urban, or in other words, in terms of centre-periphery duality) and in terms of a less explored field of studies until few decades ago on the other hand, also for what concern welfare transformations [see section 0.2]. To study these synergies and frictions in welfare provision at the urban edges, the research questions that I plan to investigate can be presented as follows, opening from a very wide level:

- How are welfare services organized at the urban edges?
- How should we address local welfare in view of the new urban question, or even, in a suburban planet (Keil, 2017)?
- What governance of local welfare takes place at the urban edges to tackle the increasing socio-spatial inequalities?

In a more narrowed perspective, the analytical interplay raises a number of aspects to be considered in the research, where governance is a pivotal issue, but other elements play fundamental roles. Land transformations and the forms of the built environment are diversified at the urban edges, especially in Italy. Moreover, processes of sub-urbanization in history have not been particularly homogeneous, as they occurred at different times and scales. Therefore, the understanding of welfare provision may find consistent differences between an observation of the urban and of the sub-urban. Infrastructural development is also a foundational element shaping landscapes at the urban edges and fueling the growth of the whole urban area as a whole. In such perspective, a body of narrowed research questions shall be introduced:

- What is the shape of governance arenas aimed to build the policies in responding to suburbanisms and citizens’ well-being in suburban areas?
- In what forms of built environment welfare services are provided?
- Which local welfare systems, services and even spaces are ensured on the suburban scale?

However, to provide a clear overview of the research framework, it is important to shed light on the adoption of such comprehensive terminologies, as suburbs and welfare. Drawing on Paasi (2001), there is a need to contextualize diverging spatial imaginations historically, in order to understand their contested nature. In this respect, suburbs shall be conceived as prime elements of analytical challenges to be unfolded, whereas welfare represent a key policy topic involved in massive transformation processes. Both historically and spatially, suburbs shape the urban expansion of 21st century, and under the

conditions of current trends in technology, capital accumulation, land development and urban governance, the expected urbanization will necessarily be largely sub-urbanization (Keil, 2017). Symmetrically, such circumstances raise novel insights for the governance of welfare in these areas epitomizing the contemporary urban expansion, and this dissertation opts for specific cases from Italy to address such welfare changes.

0.2 Perspective: a suburban prism

As argued by Roger Keil in the introduction of his recent pivotal book *Suburban planet, Making the World Urban from the Outside In*, “suburbanization may be viewed as the very looking glass through which we see the world today critically” (Keil, 2017: 12). This statement, enriched by other legitimations, reflects the reasoning behind the adoption of suburban-as-a-perspective.

Suburban, as a concept, is not particularly adequate with reference to the Italian patterns of urban expansion, not even for the whole Europe (Bontje & Burdach, 2005; Phelps, 2017). Unlike North America, where the suburbs are identified according to specific features (such as low-rise single-family dwellings, homeownership, automobile dependence, high presence of middle to upper classes), in Italy this representation is more elusive. Therefore, a critical reading of such terminologies and perspectives grounded on the hegemonic North American term, is needed, in order to build a reasonable framework focused on suburbs. By setting a conceptual perimeter around Europe and, more in detail, around Italy, one could argue that suburban is anything but a one-size-fits-all concept while coping with the expansion of urban peripheries which has transformed the former rural environment in a built-environment distinguished by urban features, and rural-urban “flexspaces” (Lehrer, 2013). In other words, to make possible an argument about a “suburban Italy”, it is necessary to depict the non-suburban features of Italy¹.

In addition, much of the urban expansion and urban change (including shrinkage) occurs today in a post-suburban environment (Phelps & Wu, 2011), also framed with reference to Europe (Phelps et. al., 2006). This notion entails the contemporary understanding of suburbs beyond their spatial expansion, addressing the complexities of the suburban development resulting from the building and re-building of cities at their outskirts. This approach also advocates the universality of suburban as a phenomenon, in line with the principles of the “urban revolution” theorized by Henri Lefebvre. Whereas suburbs form part of, are integrated with, and can be planned as part of the monocentric urban areas, also observed as city region, post-suburbia is part of heavily urbanized regions in which there is fragmentation or “splintering” (Graham and Marvin, 2001) of infrastructure and service provision. In this respect, the dissertation, following Ekers, Hamel and Keil (2012), the production of suburban space is seen as the combination of different powers, referred to the State, the capital and the private actions.

On this framework, the research undertakes a threefold investigation at the urban edges of the three main Italian metropolitan areas adopting three dimensions, borrowed from the research framework of an international research on suburbs, “Global Suburbanisms: Governance, Land and Infrastructures in the 21st Century” (Keil, 2013, 2017; Hamel & Keil, 2015; Harris & Vorms, 2017; Moos & Walter-Joseph, 2017; Harris & Lehrer, 2018; Filion & Pulver, 2019). In this view, governance organization, patterns of land use and land transformations, and the development and distribution of infrastructures are the three

¹ These research knots have been discussed in the seminar “Urban edges. Questioni emergenti nel contesto italiano”, organized on November 12th, 2018 by the author of this thesis involving a number of Italian scholars competent to discuss about: Francesco Indovina, Alessandro Balducci, Arturo Lanzani and Massimo Bricocoli.

elements driving the core of research. However, governance issues stand at the forefront of the investigation, as strongly interlinked with contemporary welfare challenges. This centrality of governance is – in a way – supported by inquires on land, in order to view the forms of built environment and urbanization, and infrastructures, to focus on the buildings where welfare services are located, and their spatial distribution. On such basis, the contemporary processes of unfolding the suburban enable a discovery of local welfare issues at the urban edges beyond a city-centric approach. Although this research posture may be unidirectional in embracing the contemporary suburban studies, such a decision is rather prompted by the evidence and the need of bringing debates and perspectives little explored in the Italian scenario, which are instead travelling worldwide. A suburban perspective may deploy instances and demands from the suburbs regarding societal challenges and the welfare governance arranged to deal with them.

0.3 Topic: local welfare

Whilst suburban represents an intriguing perspective strengthened by the body of recent literature contributions, welfare, and especially its contemporary declination on the local scale is instead not the basis assumption from which constructing a theoretical discussion, but rather it is the issue at stake to focus the attention in the light of new forms of urbanization, or rather, suburbanization.

As aforementioned, since mid-1970s the social protection and public services delivery collapsed, especially in Western Countries, opening up for new re-arrangements towards the institutionalization of governance as a governmental solution for a more pluralistic decision-making (Kazepov, 2008; Bifulco, 2015). Alongside, the organization, allocation and provision of welfare services met a recasting process towards the enhancement of the local scale, as a result of a new scenario of different levels of government, from the supra-national to the national, regional and closely local ones, and a multiplication of actors involved in decision-making and policy-making, beside the public authorities. In a quick introduction the issues of welfare in Italy, it must be noted how, as a consequence of the welfare state retrenchment, since early 1980s, welfare provision in Italy has significantly changed, affected by a lack of economic resources due to the global crisis on the one hand, and a territorial fragmentation determined by regional disparities, on the other hand. This weakening is additionally questioned by the uneven (sub)urban development occurred at the metropolitan edges. In this view, the research framework bridges the gap between the investigations related to the changes of urban forms and environments and the studies of local welfare according to its public disposal. Furthermore, in a “suburban planet”, welfare provision is “at stake”, as new forms, infrastructures and patterns of global connectivity move along with new geographies of disconnection, peripheralization, exclusion and vulnerability, within, among and beyond the world’s major urbanizing regions (Brenner & Keil, 2011). In this view, public provision of welfare services is progressively slippery.

Furthermore, local welfare looks less explored at the suburban scale, when compared to the vast attention dedicated to reorganizations in the urban contexts and to wider metropolitan or city-region configurations. This dissertation is drawn on the contemporary international suburban debate also as a way to foster a centrality of suburbs in the debates related to local welfare. In so doing, local welfare is therefore the policy field to be investigated, the very topic of the empirical researches, addressed with the help of a specific “suburban perspective” that – in a draw from the theoretical framework – entails a broad understanding of local welfare, with the aim of grasping the specificities and the key features determining well-being for the population living in suburbs. In Italy, the scholar attention from welfare studies in the population living outside-but-connected to the urban cores look slightly uncultivated,

whereas urban planners debated the shapes of new urban forms over the last years. In this friction, there is a clear motivation of this research: pursuing a particular attention to welfare on suburbs, in a country that escapes from the analytical suburban framework. In this respect, such attempt entails an approach on welfare issues oriented on the contextualities and spatial implications of welfare policies, rather than on the evaluation and measurement of policies' efficacy. Thus, alongside these motivations, this introductory toolkit has also to illustrate the research methods adopted in the dissertation.

0.4 Research methods

The riposte to the research questions declared earlier entails the choice of qualitative-led methods and approaches in the thesis configuration. The main outcomes and the discussion of the dissertation are based on empirical evidences raised from the use of methods and techniques belonging to the qualitative-interpretative approach, such as interviews, both semi-structured and non-structured, and field visits little influenced by an ethnographic flair. Such tools are combined with the search of institutional documentations, policy reports and masterplans involving welfare and public transformations in the three selected municipalities. In view of this latter reference, qualitative-driven researches have been conducted in three different contexts, representing three isolated case-studies.

Although their researches are not based on data-driven objectivities, the tendency for qualitative research is regarded as producing interesting insightful findings (Bryman, 2008). Nevertheless, the development of three different investigations into three not-randomly selected cases is not immune to the fact that research outcomes hide an act of classification, of identification and of ideal-types construction within the discussion of research findings. In this view, classification is the result of a subjective activity (Marradi, 1990), of an order-making practice, and as such, it is a distortion of the reality always more complex than its classification (Gobo, 2008). Classification entails a construction of the reality (see Berger & Luckmann, 1977). In this respect, Flyvbjerg (2006) remarks how qualitative tools ostensibly allow more room for the researcher's subjective and arbitrary judgment than other methods, as they are less rigorous than quantitative analyses, based on hypothetico-deductive methods. Although this is a useful criticism - Flyvbjerg maintains (2006: 234) – experienced case researches cannot help but see the critique as demonstrating a lack of knowledge of what is involved in case-study research. In fact, case studies are they key elements encompassing the qualitative research tools. No primarily data have been gathered for this thesis. Yet, a collection of aggregate data from two national databases have been employed, in order to have a first glance of the target-areas through numbers. The two databases are the “*Atlante PRIN Post-Metropoli*”², created from a national research on the Italian urban forms [see chapters 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7], and the recently launched “Urban Index database”, a Ministerial gathering of different datasets³. The choice to develop three different qualitative case studies is an intriguing perspective to find answers to the research questions about local welfare challenges for a specific reason: to seek a closer understanding of the main welfare issues. The encounters, where possible, with privileged informants and inhabitants have been a necessary research element from the very beginning. Also, the visits of the municipalities, very diversified and heterogeneous in terms of built environment, connections to the urban core, and age of sub-urbanization, have been a fundamental research activity.

The whole information as regards the research activities carried out, are not reported in this introduction. A detailed illustration of the research steps employed throughout the thesis is provided in

² *Atlante PRIN Post-Metropoli*: <http://www.postmetropoli.it/atlante/>

³ “Urban Index” database: <https://www.urbanindex.it/>

Appendix A, whereas the sequences of the interviews conducted in each of the three cases studies are reported in Appendix B, with related information (person interviewed, role, date of the interview, venue, type of interview, length). The deeper descriptions of the contexts of analysis, the organization of case studies and research findings, and the selection of welfare services investigated are illustrated in chapter 4, at the beginning of the second part of the thesis, as a gateway to the empirical discussion.

Undoubtedly, the thesis would have benefited from more rigorous quantitative analyses. Yet, the research is not oriented to the measurement of socio-spatial inequalities or accessibility to welfare services. Furthermore, the thesis does not select a priori specific welfare services or policies to be studied, but it rather leaves reasonable room to the evidences emerged from interviews to the decision-makers, identified in civil servants for public institutions, administrators (predominantly Aldermen), and experts, divided between former governors or local actors. Inhabitants have been interviewed where possible, and in very few cases with random meetings. In this research view, the thesis aims at producing concepts and facts that “destabilize” the investigated contexts. Thus, a methodology based on interpretative approaches keeps the argumentation erect while navigating into a terrain that moves and shifts and it is constantly updated (see Burawoy, 1998). In this respect, drawing on Polanyi (1958), this thesis is not grounded on a positivist objectivity, as no primary data have been collected and data-driven analyses are not excavated. Rather, the dissertation encourages a reflexive model of interpretation of the investigated reality. A deeper understanding of the contextual specificities has been selected to grasp practices, movements and main urgencies in the field of welfare. This statement approaches to a fundamental keyword of the thesis – suburbanisms (suburban ways of living) – that will be largely debated. In general, the research grounds on qualitative-led approaches to have ‘a point of entry’ into larger social processes (Gómez & Kuronen, 2011) depicted on the local scale of three Italian “suburbs”, but embedded in a larger debate on the suburban understanding.

The dissertation results as a hybrid of academic disciplines, as it intertwines a tool-kit of research methods, approaches and knowledges grounded in the social sciences on the one hand, and the inspirations from urban planning and policies fields on the other hand, prompted by the intellectual exchanges that have enabled the conduction of this research, in a department of architecture and urban studies. The research benefits from three ways of approaching case-studies in the urban planning field (Fareri, 2009): (1) the construction of a timeline of the main significative events in the decisional processes; (2) the construction and the analysis of actors framework, their features, resources, interactions and positions; (3) the critical interpretation of the decision-making processes in view of the research questions. These threefold subdivision – although not fully observed – helps in guiding the relationship between two parallel research issues: on the one hand, the process of suburbanization involving each of the three case-studies taken singularly, in view of the Italian patterns of urban changes discussed in chapter 2, and on the other hand, the most recent changes in welfare provision at the local scale, in view of features of local welfare framework, discussed in chapter 3. As based upon social sciences backgrounds, the thesis rolls with the “cultural flexibility” of social sciences methods that steered a global diffusion of social research tools from a locally based product to a sort of general knowledge based on context-free principles (Gobo, 2008). The thesis entwines the features of contemporary social research methods produced by local cultures in a study employed with cases on a local scale, with the global debates on local welfare transformation facing the trajectories of a suburban planet.

A sort of hybridity between social sciences and urban studies determine methods and methodology. In this vein, multi-disciplinary frameworks are adopted to systematize an understanding of the relationships between people and places, moving from the theoretical foundation that individual or collective human beings are always localized and, complementarily, the living places of human livings are

produced as acts of subjectivity by humans (Caniglia Rispoli & Signorelli, 2008: 43). Such perspective invokes David Harvey when arguing that “the particular spaces of cities are created by a myriad of actions, each of which bears the mark of human intentions and actions” (Harvey, 2010: 262). Suburbs, and welfare in suburbs, are both products of interactions, decisions, organizations, conflicts and processes to be addressed in a research approach as closely as possible to the local and contextual characteristics. Due to this reason, hybridity results from a match between the issues revolving around the (non)suburban forms of Italian urban areas – debated mostly in urban studies – and the challenges in the governance and organization of welfare, which are predominantly subjects of studies in social sciences (as sociology, geography, political studies, anthropology, economy...).

0.5 Case studies selection

In social sciences, case study researches “commonly scrutinize not only the demographic and other statistics of a case, such as how many persons are involved or affected and how indicators of impact vary over time, but even more closely the experiences and perceptions of participants” (Mabry, 2008: 215). In this view, questions guiding the case studies development are stimulated by the goal of understanding a suburban context beyond countable aspects and trends. According to Flyvbjerg (2006: 223), the closeness of the case studies to real-life situations and its details are important in two respects. First, it is important for the development of a nuanced view of reality, including the view that human behaviour cannot be meaningfully understood as simply the rule- governed acts found at the lowest levels of the learning process and in much theory. Second, cases are important for researchers’ own learning processes in developing the skills needed to do good research. As pointed out by Linda Mabry (2008), contextuality is an aspect of dynamism and complexity of cases, as they are shaped by many contexts: historical, social, political, ideological, organizational, cultural, linguistic, and so on. Especially suburbs are transitional in time and space (see McManus & Ethington, 2007), thus exposed to such contextualities. In this view, case studies are employed to foster a dialectical reading of the social conditions of the urban (see Peck, 2015), and although strongly influenced by European and North American thinking, theories and debate, the three cases studies are framed in the perspective calling for a renovated geography of theories characterizing the novel understanding of the urban in its complexities at the 21st century (Roy, 2009).

However, some clarifications about the case studies choice shall be noticed, regardless the specific investigated target-areas. First, the three cases are not selected on objectivity criteria, hence they have not the same dimension, population, and they did not experience the same suburbanization process, even in view of the multifaceted aspects of urban transformations in Italy. As will be reminded in the discussion of the research outcomes [see chapter 8], the three contexts are very diverse, as the three urban regions where they are located experienced different process of suburbanization in timing and space. On this basis, the research does not provide a rigorous comparison between cases, and has no comparative goals, although a confrontation of the three areas with a commentary of the number is provided at the beginning of the conclusive chapter. Rather, the thesis employs individual comparison (see Tilly, 1984), by treating each case as a singular experience and a single object where local welfare and suburbanization are interwoven, hence minimizing the common proprieties amongst the cases. In so doing, the thesis may not be seen as a formal comparative research, but is rather focused on a more flexible approach in confronting different cases (see Robinson, 2011). There are no rigidities in the organization of cases, where the only common features are the gathering of data selected to have first numeric insights, and the presentation of the empirical activities, organized through a threefold subdivision borrowing the keywords of governance, land and infrastructures [see chapter 4]. In this vein, the attempt is to investigate

what has occurred and is occurring in the pathways to ensure decent livings at the urban edges, rather than assuming whether an adequate delivery of welfare services works or not. As a consequence, the outcomes are related to a body of possible policy implications, and they also hide some obliged generalization, but the very final research objectives are far from generalizing and universalising the issues of welfare addressed. In this view, the thesis relies on a case study method without attempts to generalize, which can certainly be valuable and often opens a path toward scientific innovation (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Some insightful remarks in comparison through case studies (but not only) are also retrieved from social sciences. Émile Durkheim (1893) observed that “comparative sociology” is not a particular branch of sociology, but it is sociology itself, in so far as it ceases to be purely descriptive and aspires to account for facts. The subdivision between comparative or single-based case studies is something more recent in the sociological approach. Drawing on Neil Smelser (2013 [1976]), comparative social science – also seen as the study of dissimilar social units – is not a species of inquiry independent from the remainder of social-scientific investigations (Smelser, 2013 [1976]: 2). On this basis, put very simply, the dissertation undertakes a threefold investigation – hence with a minimum of comparison and generalizations in the research implications – because it is an adequate pathway to tackle differences in social units (and living places) with a flair strongly based on social sciences.

The motivations of the three selected cases are very basic. Three suburban constellations (Keil, 2013) have been selected by taking into account the urban edges of the three most populated Italian cities: Rome (2,8 millions of inhabitants), Milan (1,4 millions) and Naples (972.130 inhabitants)⁴, where the metropolitan areas are very different one from another, even in the number of inhabitants. In this respect, as Milan is located in the prosperous Northern Italy whereas Rome, and especially Naples, rather suffer from the weaknesses of Southern Italy, the longstanding and persistent North-South dualism is addressed, through a centrality attributed not the urban cores, but the urban fringes instead. More detailed elements determining the very selection of the case-studies are largely illustrated in chapter 4, introducing the second part of the dissertation, dedicated to empirical case-studies, precisely.

To conclude, an addendum takes the research overview back to the debate on contemporary urban transformations. Following Brenner, Madden and Wachsmuth (2012)⁵, “as the urban condition becomes worldwide, it does so not through the absolute territorial expansion of an inherited urban object, but rather through the emergence of qualitatively new, genuine planetary forms of urbanization in which a densely if unevenly urbanized fabric of socio-spatial and political-economic interconnectivity is at once stretched, thickened and continually re-differentiated across places, territories and scales”. Hence, there is not only a simple quantitative expansion of city population or an outwards extension of the metropolises, but also, a qualitative reconstruction of the urban itself towards re-articulations of spatial opposition, such as rural-urban, centre-periphery, society-nature. A qualitative approach to case studies is valuable when positioning a research in this analytical stream.

0.6 Structure of the thesis

Introduced by this body of research tools and theoretical foundations, the dissertation reveals a number of evidences. First, the investigation acknowledges the diversity of suburbanization processes in

⁴ Data retrieved from Demo.ISTAT: <http://demo.istat.it/>

⁵ The quotation refers to the chapter in *Cities for people, not for profit. Critical urban theory and the right to the city* (Myer, Brenner and Marcuse, 2012), but it has been retrieved from the collection of essays entitled *Critique of urbanization: selected essays* (Brenner, 2017), chapter 15.

urban Italy, moving from the most recent evidences (Balducci et. al., 2017a, 2017b). Second, it explores such heterogeneity getting into the specificities of three areas very different one from another, through three research drivers of governance, land and infrastructure. In so doing, as third point, the thesis unfolds the main features, the weaknesses and the key challenges in the governance of local welfare at the little explored suburban scale, constructed through a special attention to suburbanisms, i.e. the suburban ways of living. Fourth, the dissertation highlights how social demands and key issues in welfare governance exceed the field of social services delivery. Fifth, the thesis reveals how new sub-urban fabrics are emerging at the urban edges by inhabiting contexts continuously exposed to socio-spatial transformations between sub-urban expansions and infrastructural developments (or deprivations). Suburbanisms raise indeed as an outcome of the encounter between welfare provision and social demands emerging from the sub-urban fabrics. Such aspects remark the importance of a case-study approach as presented earlier. To reach these research outcomes, the thesis is organized in two parts. The first part is composed by chapters 1, 2 and 3, which provide the theoretical framework of the dissertation, whereas the second part is dedicated to the case-studies and their discussion.

Chapter 1 sets out the debates and contents of suburban studies, and it is organized in five sections. First, it introduces the motivations behind the choice of researching suburbs, by identifying these traces in the international debate. Second, to strengthen the suburban perspective, the chapter embraces the contemporary questionings of the urban studies, also through an analytical dialogue between two approaches: the planetary urbanization (Brenner, 2014, 2017) on the one hand, which stresses an urbanization process “without an outside” (Brenner, 2014), and the post-metropolis (Soja, 2000, 2012), positing a regional urbanization led by the diffusion of urban forms. Third, the first chapter focuses on the suburban debate in a threefold pathway, by addressing the North American hegemony, the diversity of terminologies to define suburbs, and the contemporary post-suburban framework to foster more comprehensive understanding of suburbanization. Fourth, the chapter led to its final discussion focused on governance, by introducing the key frame of “global suburbanisms”. Fifth, conclusive pages legitimize the adoption of suburban as a lens for the empirical researches.

In chapter 2, the attention is fully devoted to the policy-field of the thesis. Explorations on local welfare are carried out in four sections. Firstly, rationale, pillars and principles of local welfare are presented together with overviews of multi-level European framework of local welfare. On such basis, the chapter runs into the contemporary challenges faced by local welfare, by enhancing two issues: the attention by policymakers in cohesion (both social and territorial), and the overwhelming debate on neoliberalization. Third, the chapter copes with the territorial dimension of local welfare, between territorialisation, disciplinary hybridizations and policy integrations. As a conclusion, the chapter identifies a body of emerging issues and tensions in local welfare debate, emerging from a secondary condition of suburbs in local welfare agendas.

The third chapter focuses on Italy, the national context of analysis where to investigate suburban welfare. As first, the chapter points out the analytical and theoretical gaps to be bridged when focusing on suburbs in Europe. In so doing, the second section wonders whether a “suburban Europe” exists in view of the diversities with respect to the North American and Anglo-Saxon models. Subsequently, the chapter addresses the same question by observing Italy. To figure out the non-suburban specificities of Italy, an historical overview of urbanization since Second post-war is provided, followed by a construction of the “non-suburban mosaic”, built through an identification of the most recent researches that addresses contemporary urbanization in Italy. Furthermore, an introduction of the Italian welfare framework is provided. To conclude, in view of the described welfare matters, the chapter raises questions of inequalities as an issue entrenched within the uneven and varying urbanization processes.

Chapter 4 represents the introduction of the second part, as well as of the case studies. It is composed by three concise sections explaining the main features and the decisions undertaken during the investigations for case-studies. First, the chapter highlights the main reasons lying behind the choice of a threefold analysis, also prompted by geographical issues of shedding light in the North-South differentiation between welfare provision and suburbanization. Second, the chapter describes the three keywords guiding the restitution of fieldwork activities, i.e. governance, land and infrastructures, borrowed from the research framework of the international research “Global Suburbanisms”. Third, the chapter exposes the investigated welfare services. The third following chapters share the same organization to show the contents of the fieldworks.

The fifth chapter is dedicated to the case-study carried out at the urban edges of Milan, selecting Pioltello as a target-area, in the Eastern edges of Milan, a city which represents a core of economic development and a laboratory of urban experimentations [see section 5.1]. After an overview of Milan and its urban region, as well as after the presentation of Pioltello and the investigated fragile area of Satellite, the chapter presents the first glance through data, followed by the contextual qualitative findings. The key issues of welfare, together with an argumentation revolving around cosmopolitanism in suburbs represent the contents of the final section.

Chapter 6 presents the same structure, although focused on Villaricca, the selected municipality of Comprensorio Giuglianese, at the Northern edges of Naples. Here, the first section describes the multitude of issues to be considered when studying Naples area. Subsequently, the attention moves to the description of Villaricca and Comprensorio Giuglianese. After the first glances through data, the “on-field” section presents the qualitative findings, whereas the conclusive section identifies welfare urgencies and patterns of suburbanisms in the complex overlapping of old and new fragilities at the fringes of Naples, and where long-standing problems such as the burning of illegal garbage dumps affects citizens’ well-being.

In chapter 7, the third case study is illustrated shifting the research focus to Rome, with the emphasis on the municipalities of Fiano Romano and Capena. A first section unfolds the main features of a complex (non) metropolitan dimension shaping the outskirts of Rome, the largest and most populated Italian city. Then, a presentation of the target-areas of suburban investigations completes the first section. The second section shows data gatherings introduced earlier, as a way to anticipate the qualitative findings, which represent the contents of the third section, entitled “on field” for the other two research chapters. Here, as for the other cases, the threefold subdivision of governance, land and infrastructures drives the analysis. To conclude, findings and identification of the main issues of welfare complete the case studies, where aspects related to water governance and accessibility to welfare services stands at the forefront.

Chapter 8 discusses the research findings from the empirical activities, by employing a confrontation of the three cases, although they are three separated investigations. The overview and the discussion of the case studies is sustained by the identification of the main research limits. The chapter also introduces the strengths of steering investigations on local welfare at the urban edges, with particular reference to the Italian context, attempting to understand and illustrate why studying welfare at the urban edges is nowadays a challenging research effort. In so doing, such section bridges the analysis between the research findings and the concluding remarks, outlined in the final chapter.

In this regard, chapter 9 represents the conclusive step of the whole dissertation, aimed at answering to the research questions introduced in this introductory chapter, by deploying the suburban perspective built for this thesis as a possible framework for an analytical redefinition of local welfare issues at a time when the urban world is increasingly suburban. Further analytical directions conclude the final chapter.

PART I

Suburbs and welfare provision: a theoretical configuration

Chapter One

Setting the suburban debate

Abstract

Over the last decades, several theories and approaches have studied the growth of suburban areas, by also dedicating a specific attention to the governance challenges in the delivery of basic services in the suburbs. Yet, a comprehensive understanding of what suburbs today are, is pivotal. In this respect, this first theoretical chapter aims at illustrating the suburban debate. After the introduction of the theme, the main body is divided into three sections: first, it questions the “urban” concept by adopting two specific theories, as a way to introduce suburban governance and its conceptual background; second, it provides a literature overview moving from the North-American dominance, and third, it presents the field of the suburban governance and its main features. The conclusion stresses the possible analytical connections revolving around the local welfare organization in suburbs.

1. Motivating the interest on suburbia

Suburban development has recently turned into a key feature to analyse urban changes in their forms, diversity and spatial development. Several studies and statistical data affirm that we are now living on a suburban planet where the growth of cities’ population and activities is characterized by a disproportional expansion of those cities’ territory (Keil, 2017). From the mid-20th century onwards, the urban “sprawl” that characterized the so-called “urban age” (Burdett & Sudjic, 2007) experienced a profound transformation. The pillars of morphological, societal and governmental urban dimensions started to fade. Urban areas assumed a polycentric shape (Hall & Pain, 2006) and new theories, such as “regional urbanization” (Soja, 2000, 2011, 2012) and “planetary” urbanization (Brenner, 2004, 2014, 2017a; Brenner & Schmid, 2011) challenged the traditional monocentric models of the urban, revealing big changes in socio-spatial urban structures. As a consequence, governing the city is nowadays a process not only related to the *urbe*. Several contributions analysed suburban processes over the last decades. A proliferation of concepts have been spawned to describe the suburban forms, such as “edge city” (Garreau, 2011; McManus & Ethington, 2007; Phelps, 2012) and the consequential “edgeless city” (Lang, 2003; Lang & LeFurgy, 2003), as well as specific terms such as “exopolis” (Soja, 1992; 1998), “metroburbia” (Knox, 2008), “boomburbs” (Lang & LeFurgy, 2007), “technoburbs” (Fishman, 1987), “in-between” city (Sieverts, 2003; Young, Keil, & Wood, 2011), “flexspace” (Lehrer, 2013). From such multitude, “post-suburbia” is today the notion encompassing the body of theories to study the composite and multi-centred metropolitan-edge environments (Teaford, 1997; Phelps et. al. 2006; Phelps, Wood, & Valler, 2010; Phelps & Wu, 2011). The identification of a keyword as “suburbia” sheds light amongst the manifold perspectives that impede to properly pin down suburbanization as a process rather than as a subsequence of urban sprawl in forms and function, albeit many authors have set out a suburban conceptualization (Forsyth, 2012; Hanlon, Short, & Vicino, 2006; 2009; Harris, 2010; Harris & Vorms, 2017). Based upon previous studies (Fishman, 1994; Hayden, 2003; Kotkin, 2005; Cox, 2010; Phelps & Wu, 2011; Keil, 2013; Hamel & Keil, 2015, 2016; Keil, 2017; Berger, Kotkin, & Balderas-Guzmán, 2017), “suburbia” is today the culturally connotative noun (McManus & Ethington, 2007) used to describe the “constellation” of suburbs (i.e. the built forms of settlements located at the metropolitan edges), and to refer to their inhabitants’ ways of life. In contrast to a wide literature about physical features of urban expansion, much less attention has been paid to the constellation of public and private processes, actors, and institutions that determine and shape the planning, design, politics and economics of suburban spaces and ways of life (Ekers, Hamel, & Keil, 2012; Hamel & Keil, 2015). This research addresses suburban

governance by focusing the attention on welfare provision, and by integrating the suburban territorial scope with the localization of welfare provision.

In such a perspective, the social, cultural, economic and political transformations produced by suburban expansion, and their impacts on city-regions, are features that is impossible to ignore. The continuous urban revolution (Lefebvre, 2003) determines the socio-spatial configuration of places, therefore attentions needs to be paid to how this is related to specific processes of spatial, economic and social peripheralization characterizing urbanization today (Bricocoli & de Leonardis, 2014; Keil, 2017). A combination of old and new inequalities is currently weighing on welfare (de Leonardis, 1998, 2002) and for such reason a collective relevance is still necessary, as well as a new configuration of both welfare services and spaces, even in suburbs. The social fabric looks weakened due to the global crisis, as manifold social ruptures threaten the inclusive ties shaping the urban contexts (de Leonardis, 2015). Although under continuous transformations, an “urban citizenship” (Donzelot, 2004; Donzelot & Epstein, 2009) is existing and it is socially produced, as well as “space” is reproduced through systems of social processes and practices (Lefebvre, 1974; Raffestin, 2012; Goonewardena et. al. 2008; Merrifield, 2006; Walks, 2013). By contrast, the production and the fair distribution of the services that determine such citizenship has been significantly weakened. Equally, at a time of widespread “urbanity”, space has also assumed a multidimensional configuration which distinguishes urban and non-urban (or less-urban) spaces. In this respect, this chapter addresses the specific dimension of “the suburban”, by overviewing theories, perspectives and concepts, with a key attention dedicated to the governance of suburban areas. The goal is to construct an adequate framework where to place further inquiries on welfare provision aimed at responding to the contemporary socio-spatial inequalities that are occurring in the territories at the metropolitan edges. In so doing, the first task is to evolve a deep understanding of what suburbanization and suburban are.

Scholarly attention to the suburbs is historically influenced by the Anglo-Saxon image, from the early 20th century, of the “garden city” designed by Ebenezer Howard (1898) and subsequently adopted by Clarence Perry in the so-called “neighbourhood unit” (Devine, 1975; Mumford, 1954; Perry, 1929a, 1929b, 1966), where the pillar was the arrangement of a human-scale liveability guaranteed by small conglomerations able also to build a sense of community⁶. On such historical assumptions, North America has therefore become the birthplace of suburban studies, due to the well-grounded debate to set the term (Berger et al., 2017; Forsyth, 2012; Harris, 2010; Harris & Larkham, 1999; Harris & Vorms, 2017; Kotkin, 2005; Lang & LeFurgy, 2007), to study suburban shapes (Masotti & Hadden, 1973; Fishman, 1990; Sharpe & Wallock, 1994; Clapson, 2003; Beuka, 2004; Teaford, 2008; Beauregard, 2006; Lewis, 2004; Hanlon et al., 2009, 2006) and to look at their representation (Clark, 1966; Silverstone, 1997; Duany, Plater-Zyberk, & Speck, 2000; Donaldson, 2001; Waldie, 2005; Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006; Webster, 2000; Fishman, 1994). Not by chance, many scholars agree that suburbs have been discussed as a phenomenon associated with the Anglo-Saxon societal model (Forsyth, 2012; Harris, 2010; Jauhainen, 2013; Keil, 2017). In this respect, the ideal-typical image of suburbia refers to a vast sequence

⁶ Clarence Perry defined four specific “catchment areas” of a neighbourhood-unit: school-areas (1000-1600 pupils for each primary school), residential density (80-95 inhabitants per hectare), specific target-areas (60 ha) and standards for green areas (16 square meters per inhabitant).

of single-family dwellings sprawled in large areas and located at a reasonable distance from the skyscraper of city center, better known as “downtowns” [see Figg. 1 and 2].



Figure 1. The ideal-type of North American suburb: a pattern of single-family dwellings. Aerial view of Vaughan, a suburb of Toronto. Source: theconversation.ca



Figure 2. The urban-suburban dualism in North American ideal-type. View of a suburb of Dallas, with downtown in the background. Source: dallasobserver.com

Although influenced by the North American pattern, European suburbanization (Phelps et al., 2006; Couch, Petschel-Held, & Leontidou, 2008; Phelps, 2017) presents instead its own specificities nourished by processes over history culminated during the last decade into a “post-suburban” phase (Phelps, 2017; Phelps et al., 2006; Phelps & Wood, 2011; Phelps & Wu, 2011). Besides, Italian scholars have also debated

about the national development patterns of urban environment (Indovina et. al., 1990; Turri, 2000; Lanzani, 2003; Secchi, 2005; Indovina et. al., 2009; Lanzani & Pasqui, 2011; Cellamare, 2016; La Greca & Carta, 2017) even addressing the political fragmentation of metropolitan areas (Calafati, 2014; Calafati & Veneri, 2013) as well as the new urbanities of Italy (Balducci, Curci, & Fedeli, 2016; Balducci, Fedeli, & Curci, 2017a, 2017b) [see chapter 3]. The attention devoted to suburbia entails a journey amongst these geographical differences, moving from the dominance of the North American model towards a deeper understanding of the contemporary complexities. In so doing, the interest on suburbs is critically addressed by embracing the body of theories facing the grey areas of the contemporary urban through an approach that lie at the crossroads between neo-Marxist, Lefebvrian and anti-capitalist perspectives, hence viewing suburbs as the products of a complex urban expansion that altered both the urban fabric and realm.

2. “Not only cities”: building a suburban debate

2.1 Questioning the urban

Over the last two decades new explorations aimed at questioning and redefining the urban forms have been incorporated in an era where the urban concept gained a particular centrality. A new widely discussed idea took place from the consolidated existence of an “urban age” (Burdett & Sudjic, 2007), where cities reveal a concatenation of bodies, constructions, technological infrastructures (Amin & Thrift, 2017) that activate the “urban machine”, made by opportunities and interactions. Despite its long history and widespread influence in both academic and policy discourses (Burdett & Sudjic, 2007; 2011), the so-called “urban age” has been criticised – particularly during the last decade – of being empirically untenable (i.e. a statistical artefact) and theoretically incoherent (i.e. a chaotic conception) (Brenner & Schmid, 2014). In a nutshell, the notion of urban age has its core in the move of populations from more dispersed into denser environments, where humans can find a large variety of possibilities to increase their well-being and their status quo, into more compact spatial patterns for work and life. In this view, “urban age” is a consolidated common sense concept that strengthened the centrality of the urban in the public debate as “a *de rigueur* framing device or reference point for nearly anyone concerned to justify the importance of cities as sites of research, policy intervention, planning/design practice, investment or community activism” (Brenner & Schmid, 2015: 734). Furthermore, this attention reinforced the traditional centre-periphery, urban-rural, dense-dispersed dualisms, where the city is conceived as a core, whereas suburbs are peripheral and dispersed: “the dense-city versus dispersed-suburbs trope has been an ideal carrier of the urbanist differentiation of form and function: it became the ideal battle ground for ideas of human life that are entirely unrelated to how we are housed, sheltered and moved around” (Keil, 2017: 191). In this sense, it is necessary to overcome the centralist biases that move the main attention to the city functions, seen as the intangible best place of (social) innovation. John Friedmann (2002) adopted the term “urban transition” to point out the irreversible inevitability of the world turning urban, by also reminding the expectancy to see the future cities not as the result of planning driven by megaprojects, but rather as the place to reconceptualise the civil society (Brenner & Keil, 2011; Friedmann, 1997). Yet, the recent years of global crisis hampered such reconceptualization. Needless to say, notions such as “urban” and “city” have been increasingly treated as interchangeable categories that produce an impact on the current spatial unevenness experienced during global economic crisis.

The traditional models that differentiate spaces into urban-rural are no longer adequate to read the current urban forms, as today divergent conditions of wealth and poverty, growth and decline, inclusion

and exclusion, centre and periphery, produce polarizations and territorial inequalities at all spatial scales (Brenner & Schmid, 2015). Furthermore, a number of theories that addressed such socio-spatial challenges of global urbanization over the last two decades, have ended up to globally legitimize the unabated role played by cities as agents of development. The analysis refers to the urban “triumphalism” (Glaeser, 2012) and the inquiries on global cities (Sassen, 2002, 2013) megacities (Hall & Pain, 2006) and endless cities (Burdett & Sudjic, 2007; 2011).

The Chicago School of sociology has probably historically been the meaningful advocate of centre-periphery dualism describing the city form through concentric circles that take shape from a monocentric “central business district” (CBD), seen as the core from which the rest of the city spread out (Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1984; Burgess, 2008). This framework is a product of an observation of Chicago during the 1920s⁷. According to Burgess, urban growth is a process of expansion and reconversion of land uses with expanding tendencies. However, it sees central business districts as the main driving force of urban realm, and within the subsequent evolution of global cities’ networks, these are exclusively interconnected through their city centres’, i.e. their financial and economical districts. Peripheries represent merely outskirts instead. The main critics that have been levelled at global city researchers is to glorify the status of a worldwide inter-urban competition representing an uncritical affirmation of global neoliberalism (Brenner & Keil, 2011). The latest urban policy regimes interiorized neoliberal programs over the last two, as newly formed territorial alliances which transformed local economies through deregulation, privatization, liberalization, fiscal austerity (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). In other words, cities in a worldwide perspective are today also seen as expression of existing neoliberalism led by market forces. Such contemporary framework is part of a wider process where the consequences of urban expansion are not only visible in the increase of cities population, but also in the strengthening inherited spatial oppositions that places “the urban” in a city-centric perspective. The attention to cities as engines of innovation, opportunities and policy experimentations is still widely accredited. For illustrative purposes, the research centre “Cities” at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), is carrying out a research project entitled “Urban Age”⁷ to explore how cities are physically and socially interconnected. The sole attention of city-shape calls – in a way – for a counterpart able to recognize the role played of urban peripheries and suburbs in the urban growth, thus affirming that city is also “fuelled” by its surrounding contexts. By distinguishing city from the putatively non-urban spaces, CBD reinforces urban-rural and core-periphery dualisms, thus proving to be no longer reliable in reading the spatial configuration of the contemporary urban. The multi-scalar geography of uneven spatial development reproduces social inequalities mainly experienced outside of the metropolitan cores (Filion & Keil, 2016). In this respect, urbanization needs a deeper understanding oriented to the composite tendency of expansion, de-centralization and suburbanization that shape contemporary urban realm.

The critics to the urban age approach enable a redefinition of “the urban”, albeit they does not question the so-called “urban revolution” hypothesized by Henri Lefebvre (2003)⁸. Rather, they underpin a general critique to the stable categories of space and society (Hamel & Keil, 2015). By drawing on Lefebvre, Alan Walks (2013) stresses the role of urbanism as product of the social power from which both state and market rationality arise, as well as the centrality of decision-making. Lefebvre has not only saw the continued urbanization as – inter alia – a complete subordination of the agrarian to the urban

⁷ More info about the project Urban Age at LSE: <https://urbanage.lsecities.net/>

⁸ The first original manuscript of Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* is dated 1970, whereas the translation by Robert Bononno has been published in 2003 (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press).

(Walks, 2013). Following Keil (2017), when Lefebvre postulated the idea of “right to the city” he did not endorse the fetishization of decision-making centres (Lefebvre, 2003). Rather, he unfolded the subordination of the peripheries in the late Fordism era, when suburbs were constantly growing despite the city operated primarily through centres as places of productivity. However, this is no longer the today reality. According to Lefebvre, a socio-spatial dialectic influences the urban phenomenon, as well as the urban revolution paved the way for an extension of urban morphology through its dislocation, producing suburbs engulfed in the urban core, thus extending the city far beyond its physical borders (Lefebvre, 1967, 2003). The urban revolution implies suburbanization and not only centralization, or better, behind all of the different forms of suburbs there are processes of urban growth which now take the form of peripheral and suburban development (Ekers et al., 2012). Criticising the centrality of “urban” as an unavoidable analytical category is here a way to question the evidence of an urban growth which is currently “suburban”, taking into account the combination of vulnerability, eviction of poverty and disadvantages from the urban core (Hamel & Keil, 2015; Keil, 2017) in an uneven sub-urban development. Recently, such aspects raised research concerns – primarily in the US – about the re-production of existing forms of neoliberalization based on the consumption of space, nature and resources, in privileged suburban “frontier spaces” (Knox, 2008; Peck, 2011, 2015).

Today, new understandings of urbanization navigate the relations between agglomeration processes and their operational landscapes, including land-use intensification and infrastructural expansion, socio-metabolic transformations and territorial redesign, at all spatial scales. In this framework, the spatial articulation of social and welfare services is a fundamental aspect for governing the urban edges in a condition of constant building of power (see Schafran, 2014).

2.2 A dialogue between planetary urbanization and post-metropolis

The “urban age” characterized most of the last decades’ ways of life, drawing a globally shared experience of “urban citizenship”. The notion suggests a migration flow of populations from more dispersed into denser areas for residence, work and recreation. However, such thinking has been subject to some methodological and analytical criticisms pointing out a new configuration of the urban. In this view, urban growth is no more related to a movement into denser urban areas, but rather it may take into account tendencies towards urban expansion, de-centralization and sub-urbanization.

To analyse such phase, Edward W. Soja identified and studied a process of “regional urbanization”, well described by the birth of what he called “post-metropolis”, as a mean to explore the changes of urban regions (Soja, 2000, 2011, 2012). The geographer detected a model of multi-scalar urban regionalization where metropolitan, sub-national and regional are merged into new webs and networks different and wider from those typical of the 19th century. A new dimension, together with a new polycentric shape of space, generate the “city-region”, where centre and periphery are more mixed patterns within urbanization, influenced by three main driving forces (Soja, 2012): (1) the born of a “new economy” characterized by a more flexible, globalized and neoliberal mode of urban industrial capitalism; (2) the effects of the latest technological development in information and communication fields; (3) the transnational migration flows that “re-configure” several metropolitan areas, by contributing to the urbanization of suburbia (Ekers et al., 2012; Soja, 2000, 2011). Yet at the same time, global city-regions as economic, political and social entities, are seen as increasingly important venues of the contemporary

⁹Some other important scholars have also discussed the understanding of “right the city” over the last decade. See also Marcuse (2014), Reading the right to the city, *City*, 18(1), 4-9, and Purcell (2014), Possible worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 36(1), 141-154

capitalism (Keil, Hamel, Boudreau, & Kipfer, 2017), resulting from the challenge for inter-local and territorial competitiveness among cities (Brenner & Wachsmuth, 2012). This scenario is anything but close to the idea of metropolitan regions as sites for spatial justice (Soja, 2010), but to the contrary, it strengthens the unevenness of metropolitan spatial development, expressing clearly the relentless capitals' flow in steering specific territories as forces of production (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). In the contemporary global context, cities represent such privileged places, fuelled by its surrounding areas through a constrained path-dependence that accentuates regional spaces as the heart of new globalized economy (Soja, 2015).

Therefore, regional urbanization may produce inequality and social injustice effects, due to the intensification of socio-economic inequalities, disadvantages and social polarization (Soja, 2012). In other words, city-region affects the relationship between space and society, as it is exposed to the endemic features of modern capitalism, such as the uneven spatial development and socio-spatial polarizations (Brenner & Keil, 2011). In this respect, post-metropolis is not a way of thinking on boundaries and different urbanities, but rather, it is an interpretative instrument of the latest urban changes that calls for a thinking about the relationships that are brought out from a new multi-scalar urban regionalization, where different governance arenas deal with these new trans-scalar agglomerations in the areas at the edge of urban cores. Whilst remaining on the "post" perspective, Michael Dear and Steven Flusty (1998) theorized a "postmodern urbanism" by pursuing the viewpoint of Los Angeles school (Dear & Dahmann, 2008) introduced by Edward Soja to observe the urban restructuring that was going in the opposite direction to the concentric shape previously designed by the Chicago School. Postmodern urbanism (Dear & Flusty, 1998; Ellin, 1999) is defined as a process "in which the urban periphery organizes the centre within the context of a globalizing capitalism" (Dear & Flusty, 1998: 65).

The conceptualization of post-metropolis interacts with the theory of "planetary urbanization" (Brenner, 2014; Brenner & Schmid, 2011, 2014). Such theory, pursued by the Urban Theory Lab at Harvard University, describes a process of urban reinvention where "spaces that lie well beyond the traditional city cores and suburban peripheries [...] have become integral part of a worldwide urban fabric" (Brenner & Schmid, 2011: 12). This position emphasizes the dialectics of concentrated and extended dimensions of world urbanization. The authors conceive planetary urbanization as a variegated socio-spatial and environmental process that involves the production of zones of urban concentration at various spatial scales, included the suburban one, in a dialectical relation to the continuous production of industrialized operational landscapes that facilitate urban growth and manage its by-products and consequences¹⁰. Within this processes, the socio-spatial relationships are not set out within a boundary or limit, but rather they blow up outside of these boundaries, following infrastructural networks and flows which embrace a planetary dimension (Brenner, 2014, 2017a, Brenner & Schmid, 2011, 2014, 2015) thus forming poly-nuclear metropolitan regions where a multitude of processes take shape (Balducci et al., 2017a, 2017b, Brenner & Schmid, 2011, 2015): the densification of inter-metropolitan networks supported by infrastructural webs; the dissolution, or rather, the restructuring of the urban fringes, due to the localization processes for logistic and commercial functions; the development of territorial platform aimed at the production and circulation of energy, water and waste cycles; the social transformation of rural areas that determines an "end of wilderness", according to the new modalities of land exploitation, serving the rules of financial capitalism (Brenner, 2014; Brenner & Schmid, 2014, 2015). Furthermore, the urbanization processes are no longer attributable to the urban/rural juxtaposition.

¹⁰ This brief yet succinct definition of planetary urbanization is retrieved from an infographic video entitled "Urban World?" by Daniel Ibañez, scholar at the Urban Theory Lab (Harvard): <https://vimeo.com/170433012>

Rather, they are identified in other forms that explore the regulation and normative forms of territories, the everyday practices of the spaces (de Certeau, 2010), on the assumption that, as stated by the Italian scholar Pierluigi Crosta, territory is the way in which it is used and exploited (see Crosta, 1998). This frame enables to see the contemporary urban “not simply as unstructured empirical complexity, but as intrinsic, systemically produced properties of the urbanization process itself” (Brenner, 2017a: 216). The urban changes imply socio-economic, socio-spatial and territorial polarizations: we are being confronted with new forms, infrastructures and patterns of global connectivity, along with new geographies of disconnection, “peripheralization”, exclusion and vulnerability, within, among and beyond the world’s major urbanizing regions (Brenner & Keil, 2011). Moreover, as stressed by Addie (2013), the functional networks of contemporary global urbanization transcend the jurisdictional, territorially defined boundaries of the metropolis, thus modifying governance agenda.

The suburb is anything but residual concept within planetary urbanization, so much that planetary urbanization may well be more accurately framed as a suburban question (Phelps, Vento & Roitman, 2015). This overview of two key contemporary theories enables a redefinition of urban forms while introducing a grounder reflection on suburbanization.

3. Focusing on suburbia

3.1 An unfulfilled American dream: the heart of suburban constellations

Suburban studies come from the call for a new conceptual order beyond the traditional dichotomies of urban fields that still distinguish city and suburbs and even hamper a better understanding of urbanization overall (Merrifield, 2012; Schafran, 2013; Keil, 2017). Suburbanization may be synthesized as “the combination of non-central population and economic growth with urban spatial expansion” (Ekers et al., 2012: 407). However, this field of studies has the reputation as a sub-region (Keil, 2017) that only now is going to be exceeded. Suburbs have always been looked as a category subordinated to the urban one, as indicated by the prefix “sub”. Literally, suburbs means “partially urban” (Walks, 2013), or even “under”, close to, up to, towards the city (McManus & Ethington, 2007). By looking at the historical preferences of downtown for talented professions and creative economies, Nick Phelps (2012) has pointed out the vision of suburbs as “sub-creative” places where innovations and productivity are not as much produced as in the downtowns. For Peck (2011) and Teaford (2008) suburbs can be conceived as a secondary sub-versive urban form. Anyway, they “have been largely written into a theoretical space of second-order importance [...] and in the urban imagination appear largely as a *terra incognita*” (Keil, 2017: 58). Novel perspectives have arisen once it has been acknowledged the tie between urban revolution and market-led capital accumulation [see section 1.1] (Brenner & Schmid, 2015; Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Peck, 2015; Theodore & Peck, 2012), thus repositioning suburbs within the contemporary urban realm. Clarifying what suburb means has been the task of several scholars, in order to tackle the “epistemological fragility” (Vaughan, Griffiths, Haklay, & Jones, 2009) around the term, as “the literature [...] is extensive, yet the subject always seems elusive” (Hinchcliffe, 2005: 899). In preindustrial times, suburbs were viewed as undesirable places at the edge of towns, with a mix of the poor with licentious habits (Nijman & Clery, 2015). The end of Industrial revolution, instead, led to a growing interest for upper classes on large estate far from the increasingly crowded city. Suburbs – as object of studies – have continuously found their main analytical field in the American context, as suburbanization proceeded faster in the United States than anywhere else because industrialization was

more vigorous and sustained, and as such fuelled a more significant reordering of the cities (Nijman, 2013).

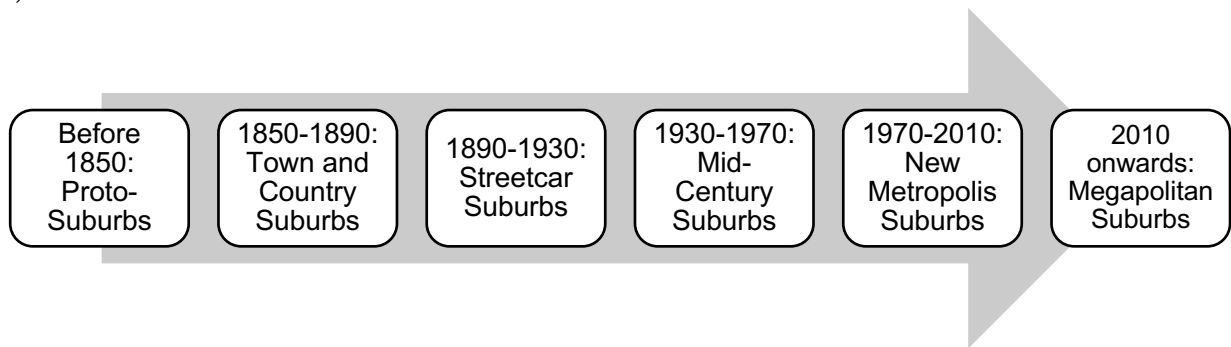


Figure 3. The six suburban areas of United States.
Source: Lang, LeFurgy and Nelson, Metropolitan Institute at Virginia Tech (2006)

On a timeline, Lang, LeFurgy & Nelson (2006) identify six suburban eras of the United States [see Fig. 3] to establish a common base for historical data analysis. This configuration has been designed to overcome the pre-war and post-war dichotomy indicating the continuous flows of events. The authors consider the settlements around London appeared during the early 1800s as the first suburbs influencing the North American patterns. Prior to 1850, proto-suburbs were the borderlands poorer than the urban cores, such as Brooklyn in New York, whereas during the second half of 19th Century, separate suburban settlements became reality thanks to the improvement of transport and infrastructural networks that enabled the annexation of bourgeois single-family homes to the central city. By the late 1880s the first electric streetcars were in use, both helping sprawl for miles from the urban core and anticipating the automobile diffusion. The demand of suburban living increased also among lower middle-classes, thus the exclusivity of suburbs as upper-class utopia was already under pressure. Moreover, the state soon became indispensable to regulate peripheral urban land market, zoning and factories' demanding for infrastructural projects (Nijman & Clery, 2015). Thus, the mid-century suburbs were characterized by a car-dominated environment, a change in suburban architectures and an explosion of previous modest suburban shopping centres into massive malls. The suburban development has been here the consequence of a new central-city decay, reinforcing the earlier idealistic vision of the suburb (*ibidem*). The "post-war" suburban phase set out the heterogeneity of those areas, no longer identifiable only with the traditional single-family dwellings. From the late 1990s to the first decade of 2000s, the suburban domination paradigms emerged through widespread "edgeless cities" (Lang, 2003), made-up of detached buildings, offices, parks, and clusters of building of varying densities along arterial highways. Suburbs took the shape of bigger towns, turning into cities in function, but not in form (Fishman, 1990; Hayden, 2003). The last wave introduced the "megapolitan areas" (Lang & Dhavale, 2005) as new trans-metropolitan geographies which captured the latest urban sprawl of American cities, also intensifying development, mega-projects investments, mixed-use of urban spaces within the suburbs. The American timeline on six phases enable a more comprehensive understanding of the variety of real existing suburban developments. Back to the First post-world war period, when the marginal industrial proto-suburbs were going to be transformed, one could notice how suburbanization has been originally conceived. As early as 1920s', Paul H. Dogulass identified a suburban trend to less densely populated areas than the city:

“Those communities within the total metropolitan areas which have a suburban identity of population and from which, in addition, the hearth of the city can be conveniently, quickly at a low-cost, are suburban” (Douglass, 1925: 7).

Douglass emphasized how population density and transportation networks to the urban cores were defining characteristics of suburbia, more than the simple political boundaries. Borchert (1996) likewise described the birth of a residential suburban pattern from 1880 to 1930, as also acknowledged by Gardner (2001) in a slightly longer “slow wave” of residential changes both in cities and suburbs, from 1850 to 1940. The residential suburban configuration emerged during those decades as a consequence of migration by low-status city-dwellers to fringe areas, particularly in oldest and largest metropolitan areas (Gardner, 2001). This scenario lasted in the US until World War II. In 1943, the outcomes of a research conducted by Chauncy D. Harris in the 140 Metropolitan districts traced by the Sixteenth American Census, identified three main factors contributing to the suburban growth: (1) increasing use of the automobile; (2) decreasing size of the family and the consequent increase in number of housing units needed for a given population; (3) a tendency of some cities to lag behind the expansion in the built-up areas (Harris, 1943).

From the Second post-war period onwards, this trend has constantly increased, particularly in the US. Indeed, “before the war, North American cities were relatively compact, featuring mixed land use and a centralized configuration focused on the central business district” (Filion, 2013: 40). After the World War II, space consumption increased dramatically developing wider road and rail networks, metropolitan regions and multi-functional areas. Post-metropolis, as depicted by Soja, began to take shape encouraged by a still ongoing decentralization process. Not by chance, Gottdiener (1977) explains how during this period urban sprawl has been a mere way to extend both public and private interests of decentralization. The consequences of this sprawling process will be dramatic in the following decades. Infrastructural networks ensued a fragmented expansion that led to theorize a phenomenon of “splintering urbanism” (Graham & Marvin, 2001) “that severely challenges the nomothetic models of urban forms and structures” (Lang & Knox, 2009: 791). From 1950s to 1980s, American population on suburbs has tripled (Beauregard, 2006; Hanlon et al., 2009; Nijman, 2013; Nijman & Clery, 2015) whereas more than 90% of all the growth in US metropolitan areas has been in the suburbs (Kotkin, 2005). Furthermore, suburbanization gave a spatial representation to the American dream (Hanlon et al., 2009; Keil, 2017), by embodying the ideal of a good life, unhampered by the cities’ chaos, and the elitism of a wealthy class (Nijman, 2013). “Energized by the prosperity of the time, and carried along by new patterns of consumption, the suburb lifestyle spread throughout the country. [...] The dominant American way of life came to be crafted around the suburbs” (Beauregard, 2006: 142). A suburban myth raised (Donaldson, 2001; Masotti, 1973; Silverstone, 1997) bringing an ideal of “holy land” (Waldie, 2005). Yet at the same time, it posited new questions about the geographies of metropolitan edges.

The post-war suburban expansion resulted in a growing interest of the elites in new housing on the urban peripheries, typically connoted in the low single-family houses, as a refuge from work, as a source of happiness and goodness (Nijman, 2013). Suburbs were seen again as the place of the so-called “bourgeois utopia” (Fishman, 1987) through a mass process of “parasitic” urbanisation (Beauregard, 2006) driven by the fast building up of houses by developers that caught local governments unprepared to respond. However, this conservative ambitious ideology of make suburbia more familiar, secure and bourgeois (see Hayden, 2003; Phelps et al., 2010), did not last long also due to the de-industrialization and the cultural turn that ran into 1960s and 1970s, determining a progressively development of high-density clusters made-up by both residential, commercial and economic functions. Suburban living

increasingly attracted lower-income strata, and a number of negative quality associated with the decaying central city and its poorer neighbourhoods, had gone suburban as well (Nijman & Clery, 2015). Some have argued that this movement of lower classes from central city to suburbs has also been underpinned by gentrification, as a capitalist consequence of pushing up land prices in central cities (Moos & Mendez, 2015; Smith, 1996), hence replacing the populations according to their financial incomes. Those who cannot afford a homeownership in midtown or downtown, necessarily chose suburb. As a result, the archetypal 1950s suburbs, such as Levittown on East Coast and Lakewood on West Coast¹¹, left room the (sub)urban expansion, therefore “the rhetoric of suburban utopia became increasingly incongruous with the evolving metropolitan realities” (Nijman, 2013: 163), which became more and more complex. From the development of “New Metropolis Suburbs” onwards [see Fig. 3], suburbs began to gain ethnic diversity more than central cities and to be built in diverse ways, from working-class modest houses to high-rise buildings, interwoven in a landscape previously dominated by the low single-family dwellings, as exemplified by Toronto [see Fig. 4].



Figure 4. An image from the "inner suburb" of Jane and Finch (Toronto). High-rise buildings and single-family houses merged in the same (sub)urban context. Source: author

Yet at the same time, with the arrival of working-classes, by 2010 more people lived in poverty in the suburbs than did in central cities (Nijman, 2013). In addition, the development of relatively high-density clusters of economic activities and residential functions in suburban landscapes, led to the born of “edge cities” (Garreau, 2011) and “edgeless cities” (Lang, 2003; Lang & LeFurgy, 2003), which

¹¹ Levittown and Lakewood can be considered the prototype suburban settlements that inherit the British “garden city” tradition pursuing the American dream of good life far from the overcrowded cities. While the first was planned by Levitt family in Long Island area on the scale of a town partially self-developed (service-to-citizens, from garbage collections to school or roads, were responsibility of the government) (Gans, 1967; Nijman & Clery, 2015), Lakewood, located in Southern area of Los Angeles region, became during the 1950s the model of suburban political self-government (see also Keil, 2017; Waldie, 2005), which actually lead to subsequent suburban inequalities.

contributed to the blurring of city-suburb distinction. While the first one introduces a “density issue” in constantly growing suburbs that “have more jobs than bedrooms” (Garreau [1991], in Lang & LeFurgy, 2003: 436), the latter constitutes a crucial expression of the sub-regional structures within the 21st century metropolis where elements of low density, automobile dependence and dispersion are interwoven. This long transition has resulted into the transformation of United States into a suburban nation (Beuka, 2004; Duany et al., 2000; Jackson, 1985), marking the sunset of the suburban ideal.

Suburban constellations became a reality highly distinguished by their physical features but also according to the socioeconomic status of the inhabitants. Suburbanization has also fuelled metropolitan fragmentation in terms of governance structures (Nijman, 2013). In this respect, suburbs played and still play a key role as target-areas of resources’ delocalization (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Peck, 2011; Peck, Theodore, & Brenner, 2009; Theodore & Peck, 2012). Previously, in his pivotal study, Richard Walker (1977) acknowledged how suburban development came as a capitalistic solution to solve class conflicts, contradictions and accumulation cycles. Drawing on the American splintering urbanism (Graham & Marvin, 2001), the urban governance became splintered as well, opening for a theoretical re-conceptualization of suburbanization at a global scale (Hamel & Keil, 2015, 2016; Keil, 2017). Moreover, a return to the city by middle and upper classes (partially thanks to gentrification) is today acknowledged as a consequence of the blurring between city and suburb (Keil, 2017; Nijman, 2013). Therefore, the suburban socio-spatial polarization (re)produce new patterns of segregation and vulnerability in a heterogeneity of physical and spatial forms.

According to the American suburban history, three main predominant dynamics may be highlighted (see Keil, 2017): (1) home ownership, as private market drove for a long period the suburban housing market, even without being a necessary condition; (2) industrialization, as sub-metropolitan industrial districts, metropolitan labour market strategies and sectorial needs always influenced the specific locational mix on metropolitan edges; (3) displacement, as suburbs has been fuelled by proletarian outward through gentrification and also ethnic-segregation processes.

3.2 The long-standing pathway to define suburbs

From early 2000s onwards the analysis of American metropolitan patterns led to a number of comparative research (Hanlon et al., 2009, 2006; Lang & Knox, 2009; Orfield, 2002), as well as to interesting non-academic contributions (see Flint, 2006). Yet, defining suburbanization is a still ongoing research challenge that, according to the heterogeneity of suburban forms, requires a setting of general criterion on one hand, and it paves the way for a wide range of new conceptualizations on the other hand. The physical and aesthetic expressions of suburbs are numerous. While the conventional single-family dwelling characterized most of the Anglo-Saxon and American suburbanization, lately, high-rise condos and different residential patterns have emerged. Today “spatial peripheralization goes along with social marginalization and/or sequestration of privileges both in classical gated communities and in newer forms of segregation, such as condominium complexes” (Keil, 2017: 55).

Physical features are not exhaustive to describe the current suburban typologies. The edge-lands where single-family houses, gate communities and high-rise buildings coexists are today a crucial field of analysis where the identification of general criteria is still underway. By 2030 the urbanized land is estimated will cover 1,2 millions of square kilometres, twice as much as in 2000 (Keil, 2017), reaching almost the 10% of the whole earth’s surface. Suburbs are currently playing a key role in this endless process, by determining the pace and direction of urbanization today: “the urban revolution does not just return from the periphery to the core but opens the city toward urban society” (*ibidem*: 27). Besides,

“metropolitan areas now centre on individual households, which create an unfocused spatial structure and a new basis for urbanization” (Lang & LeFurgy, 2003: 433). Whilst cities create a rarefied monoculture of condominium-dwellings, “creative” attractiveness and challenges for competitiveness (Brenner & Wachsmuth, 2012), suburbs come as a less predictable environment of disorder and possibility (Keil, 2018). Scholars heightened the research paving the way for a wider field of debate, providing several case studies, national framework analysis, comparative researches and theoretical reflections. The academic literature on suburbanization has increased over the last two decades, as shown by Figure 2 and Figure 3, which illustrate the number of publications and quotations around the keyword “suburb” from 1997 to 2017. The charts have been created using *Web Of Science* database, restricting the research to three specific fields of study: “urban studies”, “environmental studies” and “geography”. Regarding the problem of definition, a general rule conceives suburbs as one part of the fabric of housing, commerce, and industry in contemporary urban settlements (McGee, 2013). In line with the American tradition, a noteworthy literature has been more produced to tackle both the semantic ambiguity and the heterogeneity of suburban typologies.

Reflecting on some of the latest contributions, Harris & Larkham (1999) have undertaken a comparative study to define forms, foundations and definitions of suburbs. They emphasized five common dimensions of the suburban world: (1) peripheral location related to a dominant urban centre; (2) a specific residential character; (3) low densities with decentralized settlements and high levels of ownership; (4) a distinctive way of life; (5) separate community identities, often embodied at the local governmental level.

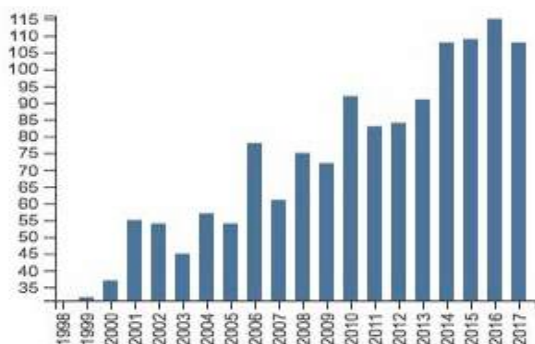


Figure 5. Publications by year (1997-2017) including the keyword “suburbs” in the fields of (1) urban studies, (2) environmental studies and (3) geography. Source: Web of Science

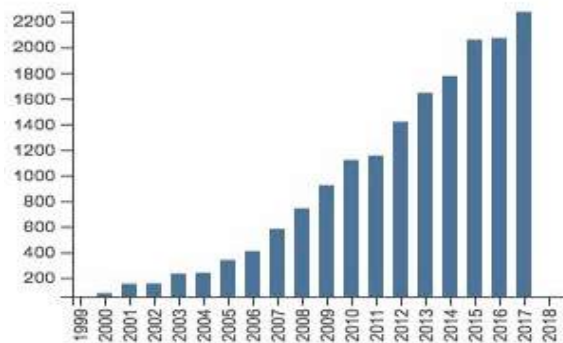


Figure 6. Sum of times “suburb” keyword has been cited by year in the fields of (1) urban studies, (2) environmental studies and (3) geography. Source: Web of Science

On this basis, McManus & Ethington (2007) identify eight key definitional variables: peripheral location; relationship to the urban core (as a functional dependence); relationship to the countryside; density, relative to the urban core; housing types (at a first glance, low single-family dwellings are certainly considered the most common); social segregation (mainly class or ethnic); cultural formations (utopian traditional models versus dystopian nature-devouring sprawl). Dunham-Jones & Williamson (2009), describes instead suburbs as lower-density and single use private buildings designed as objects in a landscape automobile-oriented, with a looped and cul-de-sac network. Moreover, they stress how short-term stakeholders such as real estate investment trusts and larger-scale homebuilders strongly supported and even built suburbia. Orfield (2002) employed a cluster analysis to almost 5000 suburban places in the United States, distinguishing them according to fiscal capacity (and to their location outside the core city). He proposed six suburban clusters identifying three “at-risk” types (segregated, older, low-density), two

types of suburban jobs centres (best off fiscally), and bedroom suburbs. However, as regard the last category, Ute Lehrer (2013) notices how after the significant changes during the past thirty years, suburbs are no longer monotonous sites for bedroom communities, but rather they evolved into different urban forms as a consequence of suburbanization.

Richard Harris (2010) stresses the importance to focus on suburbanization in particular to find a better agreement on the definition of “suburb” in a metropolitan expansion era where “urban regions have been stretched and reshaped to accommodate increasingly complex and extensive patterns of interdependence” (Lang & Knox, 2009: 791). Harris found out three main defining qualities: density, newness and peripheral location. The last two are commonly considered the main key features to describe a suburb (Forsyth, 2014). In this respect, Harris also pointed out that “in order to understand the meanings of the suburbs, it is above all necessary to consider the backgrounds, purposes and experiences of their residents [...], the character of infrastructure to which they have access, ranging from school to transportation” (Harris, 2010: 38). Several researchers began to successfully cope with these aspects, grounding their reflections on the social effects of urban transformations at the metropolitan outskirts.

To set the terminology, Anne Forsyth (2012) provides a detailed examination of the wide range of suburban definitions. She pointed out two solutions to deal with the issue of defining: the first, is giving up on the word “suburb” replacing it with more specific environmental types such as “edge city” (Garreau, 2011), looking at the metropolitan areas as a variety of such different environments. However, such an approach hampers the attention to wider topics, for e.g. governance and multi-scalar processes, both on the institutional and the urban planning sides, albeit a strategy to avoid this difficulty could be focusing on specific features such as density, location, or street patterns. The second solution is to better distinguish the types of suburbs, qualifying them according to some specificities: as “ethnoburbs” (Li, 1998; Saunders, 2011) to describe the immigrant-communities in big cities, “technoburbs” (Fishman, 1987) as spaces of post-Fordist restructuring, “boomburbs” (Lang & LeFurgy, 2007), to define – through an interesting research in 140 American towns – the fast-growing cities at metropolitan fringes; or even “exopolis” (Soja, 1989, 2000; Soja, 1992) as rural-fringe settlements raised as consequence of dispersion, decentralization and re-concentration dynamics. Paul Knox (2008, 2017), through a twofold study first in US and Greater London, describes as “metroburbia” those areas as sophisticated as the metropolis, with their own services, facilities and essential infrastructures. Considering the “metropolitan influence” of suburbanization, the American “edgless city” (Lang, 2003) found also an analytical representation in the ten “megapolitan” areas identified and analysed by (Lang & Dhavale, 2005)¹². Instead, looking at the European contexts, a more nuanced identification of settlements at the urban edges may be identified.

In Europe, Thomas Sieverts (2003) adopts the concept “in-between-city” (*Zwischenstadt*) to depict hybrid locations compressed between the old city and the open countryside, “between living space and non-places of mobility” (Lehrer, 2013: 60). “Flexspace” (Lehrer, 1994; 2013) likewise refers to the meeting between urban forms and agricultural lands that lead to structural changes in built environments at the cities’ edges. Whilst the in-betweenness perspective is grounded in Germany, many other approaches have addressed urban expansion according to the features of each national context by providing specific notions, such as *cintat de cintats* in Spain (Nel-lo, 2001) *città diffusa* in Italy (Indovina et al., 1990), as well as tackling the specificities of post-socialist suburbanization in the Eastern Europe (Hirt, 2007, 2011; Hirt & Petrović, 2011). Since the Second postwar, European cities face the constant urban growth by maintaining an urban dimension through densification and new territorial organizations among differently sized cities, instead of a large concentration of many metropolises (Indovina, 2016), as

¹² Lang and Dhavale (2005) empirically identified ten “Megapolitan” American areas based on nine criteria.

occurred in North-America. In this respect, “a diversity of developmental trajectories and processes operating within European setting” (Bontje & Burdach, 2005, pag. 1745) emerged amongst a nodal and fragmented pattern of relationships (Batty, 2001, 2009) into a disparate urban fabric more compact than their North-American counterparts. Although the European-American experience has been heavily hegemonic and neglecting most other global experiences (Roy, 2009), recent contributions have addressed the diverse forms and features of the suburban in the Global South (see Caldeira, 2017). Terry McGee (1991), for instance, identifies the Indonesian term “desakota” to label the growing places in-between urban and rural areas, subsequently observed also by Davis (2006) in his famed *Planet of Slums*. In addition, a large body of investigations have explored Latin-America, from the extended urbanization of Brazil (Monte-Mor, 2014; Castriota & Tonucci, 2018) to the private-led developments of Argentina (Roitman & Phelps, 2011) and Chile (Heinrichs et. al., 2011). Studies of the massive urbanization in East Asia have paid specific attention to India (Kennedy, 2007), China (Wu & Shen, 2015a), the Philippines (Ortega, 2016) as well as to specific metropolises such as Tokyo (Sorensen, 2011), Seoul (Lee & Shin, 2011) and Jakarta (Leaf, 1994). Attention has also been devoted to the suburbanization of Sub-Saharan Africa (Mabin, 2013; Mabin et. al. 2013) and the massive suburban growth of Istanbul (Güney et. al., 2019). Thus, the world is increasingly urban, and the urban world is increasingly suburban (Klausen & Røe, 2012).

Yet at the same time, as argued by McGee (2013), it is evident that suburbs reveal an increasing diversity and hybridity at the global, national and local level. Although the multitude of new conceptualizations enable to better understand and categorise the patterns of suburbanization for further studies, an issue of overlapping may have place. Alan Mabin (2013), for instance, posits how the Portuguese name *subúrbio* has come to be an imprecise expression adopted to indicate those *bairros* abandoned by public authorities, i.e. the informal peri-urban settlements such as the Indian “slums”, the Brazilian *favelas*, the Asian *kampong*, the *borgate*, etc. This aspect brings back to the negative “sub” connotation, but mostly, it points to an analytical overlapping between peripheries and suburbs, when the latter are merely observed as the former. For instance, Woodbridge – a “suburban community” almost 30 km far from Toronto downtown – is an Italian ethnoburb, likewise Jane and Finch – a fragile area in the Northern periphery – is inhabited by a “visible minority group” (between 60,8% and 78,5%) referred to the black people (City of Toronto, 2016)¹³. Nonetheless, there is a clear difference between the two: Woodbridge is effectively a suburb, as part of Vaughan municipality, whereas Jane and Finch, once a suburb, has been incorporated by the municipality Toronto, turning into an “inner suburb”. The precarious utilization of the word “suburb” is straightforward. Whilst peripheral constellation has always been defined through general worldwide criteria, such as distance from the centre, poverty, high presence of public housing estates and low-classes citizens, suburban constellation is strongly dependent from the contemporary strategies of urban sprawl and built-environment, albeit it may reproduce specific features of the urban peripheries, such as ethnicity, high-rise buildings or lack of services.

A distinction between peripheral neighbourhood and suburb is needed. The Anglo-Saxon tradition is yet another useful in this matter. In the US, the notion of city limits has been vital to conceptualize suburbia. Unlike Britain, where the term suburb refers to a peripheral area whether inside or beyond urban core boundaries, in the US the federal census bureau have defined suburbia as that zone within metropolitan areas but beyond central city limits (Teaford, 2008). This perimeter enables to distinguish – once for all – between suburbia as areas located beyond the municipal boundaries but still influenced

¹³ Data are extracted from Toronto Social Atlas 2016, section “Immigration & Ethnicity”. For further details: https://www.toronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/94fc-Toronto_Geographic-Trends_Web-Version.pdf

by both metropolitan environment and way-of-living, and peripheral neighbourhoods as settlements distant-from-city-centre but still within the city boundaries. This distinction addresses both the environmental and societal diversity of suburbia.

Within urban expansion, a distinction between urban peripheries and suburbs needs to be traced. From US to Europe until Asia, the somehow consolidated peripheries have always been the destination of middle and low working-classes, i.e. public housing estates, to not mention the Global South's "bidonvilles" and illegal settlements. To the contrary, suburbanization changes from a national context to another, mixing bourgeois utopias and low-middle classes' residential choices (Phelps et al., 2006a; Keil, 2013; Hamel & Keil, 2015; Phelps, 2017). Therefore, suburbs have experienced a slightly larger "social mix" of inhabitants. Many factors have historically affected suburban conformation: the increased contemporary migration flows, policy and planning trajectories focused on metropolitan polycentrism (i.e. decentralization), or rather the public support of private residential options, such as the consolidated mortgage system that intensified the North-American suburbanization and not only (Jackson, 1985; Keil, Hamel, Chou, & Williams, 2015; McGee, 2013; Nijman & Clery, 2015). Drawing on Richard Harris (2013), the land market has particularly guided the suburban evolution, at least in Western countries. As observed by McGee (2013), a combination of increasing land prices in the inner cities with lower land and property prices in the urban outskirts provided incentives to the middle and upper income communities to move out. Thus, a public promotion of mass homeownership took place from the late Second post-war period in the whole Anglo-Saxon tradition, with sparse reproductions elsewhere thanks to a reinforced "governing role" of the capital and a "restricted role" of the State (Heinrichs & Nuissl, 2013).

Definition	Author(s)	Field of analysis	Brief description
Outer city	Herrington (1984)	United Kingdom	Maintaining "garden city" principles in suburbs not absorbed by urbanization
Web of cities	Dematteis (1985)	Italy	Network of towns developed by "counter-urbanization" phenomena
Technoburbs	Fishman (1987)	United States	Overlapping of housing, industry, commerce, agriculture uses and political jurisdictions within the same area
'Città diffusa'	Indovina (1990)	Italy	Compact mid-cities less dense than urban areas led by relocation of production activities and presence of urban services
Exopolis	Soja (1989)	United States	Rural settlements developed on the "second" urban fringes
Edge city	Garreau (1991)	United States	Concentration of traditional downtown activities in previously residential and rural areas through a fast-growing agenda
Desakota	McGee (1991)	Indonesia	Asian increasingly urbanized settlements between urban and rural areas
Flexspace	Lehrer (1994)	Switzerland	New spatial and environmental articulation between urban and rural in Western cities
Post-modern urbanism	Ellin (1996), Dear & Flusty (1998)	United States	Centres of globalizing capitalism in the urban periphery
Ethnoburbs	Li (1998)	United States	Immigrant communities' edge-towns
'Ciutat de ciutats'	Nel-lo (2001)	Spain	Articulated network of cities with strong territorial and socio-economic relations

Edgeless city	Lang (2003)	United States	Continuous fast-growing cities on the regional fringe of a metropolitan area
In-between city	Sieverts (2003)	Germany	New hybrid forms of European cities due to metropolitan expansion
Boomburbs	Lang & LeFurgy (2007)	United States	Fast-growing towns between 50000 and 100000 inhabitants situated close to a metropolis or bigger city
Metroburbia	Knox (2008, 2017)	United States, London	Suburban and exurban areas distinguished by a fully metropolitan landscape

Table 1. Chronological order of suburb's definition according to specific features.

Source: author's elaboration on 200 references database

There are evidences here of the contemporary key-role played by suburbia in urban change. Needless to say, as early as 1993, David Rusk, the former mayor of Albuquerque, in his book *Cities without suburbs* argued that cities should capture the suburban growth in their metropolitan areas through municipal annexation to avoid decline, to reshape political boundaries and to take advantage from the rapid suburban expansion as a way to attract more residents (Lang & LeFurgy, 2007). In view of these distinctions, suburbia may be also defined as a constellation of in-between municipalities where socio-spatial polarizations, public-private partnerships (PPPs), infrastructural and environmental developments are juxtaposed, according to each national urbanization and capital accumulation processes. Yet, another actually existing dissimilarity in the environment of “global suburbs” differentiates between settlements of an extended urbanization, which occurs in highly urbanized but demographically stagnating regions (i.e. the Western ones), and those typical of a primary urbanization, which includes gated enclaves, slums of the displaced and squatted areas, sprawling single-family homes, hyper-dense high-rise towers and new developments in ecologically sensitive areas (Keil, 2017). Along these lines, Jauhainen (2013) focuses on morphology and built environment, adopting the twofold categories of planned/unplanned areas and regulated/unregulated suburbanization, to see the modes of suburban forms, further calling for approaches that move from the hybridity of suburbs to intertwine economic, social and technological perspectives. Therefore, suburbia has been defined according to specific socio-spatial and morphological features, although sub-distinctions demonstrate that the increasingly worldwide suburbanization is today multifaceted. Table 1 summarises the most recently adopted terminologies to define suburbs according to certain specificities, by saying that “the meaning that is invested in the term suburb varies considerably” (Phelps, 2017: 6). The table represents the effort of a review through 200 references. Although the resume aims at being as most exhaustive as possible, some expressions could have been not included.

Most of the definitions contained in the table address the process of “urbanization of suburbs”, as a key-feature of the last three decades’ sprawl. Some studies point out also the automobile-dependence and newness as the most important factors from which to start defining suburbs according to other features (Forsyth, 2014). Currently, suburban areas are experiencing a phase that merges and overlaps specific “suburban features”, thus leading to a strengthening of a specific field of studies to deal with suburbs, framed as a “post-suburban” scenario.

3.3 Post-suburbia as contemporary framework

The common driver of all the definitions coined to define suburb is the awareness of new urban forms and ways of life emerged at the margin of the metropolis. Building on three concepts – edge cities (Garreau, 2011), exopolis (Soja, 1989), and outer cities (Herington, 1984) – John Teaford (1997) has coined the notion of “post-suburbia” to acknowledge fundamental change in metropolitan sprawl not

only from structural and morphological viewpoints, but also in the political management. This conceptual proposal introduced “a growing divorce between urban and anti-urban values, including the culture of localism [...]” arguing that “it is no longer possible to ignore social, cultural, economic and political transformations produced by suburban expansion and its impact on city-regions” (Hamel & Keil, 2015: 5). As the latest step of a long analytical path, the term “post-suburbia” has emerged over the last two decades to expand comparative analyses beyond the contextual development of mono-functional North-American residential sprawl (Phelps et al., 2006, 2010; Phelps & Wood, 2011; Phelps & Wu, 2011). Phelps et al. (2010) note that the term “suburbia” has been used in rather different ways. While Teaford (1997) uses the term to express a break with past patterns of suburbanization through economic development objectives, Lucy & Phillips (1997) refers to a time period which succeed the suburban including different spatial forms, including exurban sprawl in rural landscapes, causing a farmland conversion and suburban employment increase. In this view, post-suburbanization comes as a more complex explanation that strengthens differences and inequalities, as today suburbs are “increasingly home to socioeconomic disparities between the poor, middle, and the more affluent segments of population on the fringe, and to highly differentiated family and household compositions” (Drummond & Labbé, 2013: 47). The consensus on “the post-suburban” is growing, as it is increasingly seen as a key to understanding contemporary suburbanization in its heterogeneity, by tackling the variety of capitalisms, welfare, planning, housing systems, land ownership, industry structures and ideologies present (Phelps & Tarazona Vento, 2015). In so doing, the post-suburban provides a geographical and conceptual framework for political action (Young & Keil, 2014), to denote the complex urbanization processes that take place in suburban areas since several years (Charmes & Keil, 2015; Phelps, 2015). Nick Phelps and Fulong Wu (2011a) find out a global manifestation of post-suburbia, led by divergences and land use mixes, new politics and new workplace-residence relations.

Other scholars, instead, cope with the key issue of placing post-suburbia not only on a timeline, but also considering its distinctive elements. Phelps et al. (2010) relies on the so called Los Angeles school approach (Dear & Flusty, 1998; Dear & Dahmann, 2008) which points out to reverse the binaries of centre-periphery, thus overcoming the concentric radial urban form designed by the Chicago School during the 1920s. Therefore, post-suburbia is defined here as “a new form of settlement space” (Gottdiener & Kephart, 1995) that needs a rejection of binaries categories and concentric circle models of the city. Yet at the same time, post-suburban spatial form strengthens the heterogeneity of suburban settlements, contrasting the centrality of edge suburbs and edge cities. Indeed, an additional key feature of post-suburbia is the difficulty in locating or demarking the boundaries of a suburb (Phelps et al., 2010). This may be considered as the expression of a detachment from the consolidated spatial hierarchies which generates strains due to a fragmentation, or rather, a splintering (see Graham & Marvin, 2001) of infrastructure and service provision in a post-suburban environment, according to the citizens’ availability to pay a certain service. Along this aspect, post-suburbanization represents the multifaceted contemporary suburbanization process as the end product of a long-standing decentralization process of metropolitan population (Keil, 2017; Teaford, 2011).

According to this framework, questions on post-suburban governance and agenda-setting have arisen (Phelps et al., 2010; Phelps & Wood, 2011; Phelps & Wu, 2011), particularly when observing the transformation of urban Europe in both metropolitan nodes and midtowns [see chapter 3]. As suggested by Dunham-Jones & Williamson (2009), the redevelopment of sprawl into more urban, connected and sustainable places is the big issue of the current century. In this respect, post-suburban politics emerged as a way to search a new spatial fix (Keil, 1994) in settlements that are turned urban in their functions but in their forms. In other words, they called for a new relational politics according to the in-betweenness

of suburban settlements, regardless of their physical dimension. Nevertheless, some political tensions influence post-suburbia, such as those between the pursuit of growth and provision for collective consumption, or rather the contradictory pressures towards municipal secession and amalgamation (Phelps et al., 2010). The private sector particularly fuelled the contemporary suburbanization, also through political urban centres' elites (Filion, 2013; Lehrer, 2013), or rather through "localist" orientation of growth machines and urban regimes (Phelps & Wood, 2011), thus undermining the intra-governmental as well as local and extra-local relations in the State intervention. In this respect, Teaford (1997) notes how the government of the post-suburban future is a product of the ideology inherited from the past parasitic suburbanization with forward new political objects to cope with both an uneven spatial suburban development and public-private synergies. Post-suburbanization "entails a profound rescaling of the relationalities and modes of governance that have traditionally regulated the relationship between centre and periphery in the suburban model" (Keil, 2017: 189). In Europe, for instance, suburban settlements have been expanding as "satellite cities", such as the cities of Getafe, turned into "the capital of Southern Madrid" thanks to the synergy between grassroots and institutional politics (Phelps & Tarazona Vento, 2015; Phelps, Vento, & Roitman, 2015), and Espoo, a suburb of Helsinki that became the second largest Finnish city thanks to land-based business interest and municipal pro-growth agenda to attract wealthy residents and new innovative businesses (Vaattovaara & Kortteinen, 2003; Phelps et al., 2006). This dualism shows the presence of collectiveness and private-led governments in the post-suburban Europe, as a way to strengthen a place-based agenda for the governance of post-suburban heterogeneity. Another highly quoted example here is the inter-authority governance of Southern England, to preserve both the urban growth and the local networks and political coalitions (Charlesworth & Cochrane, 1994). Europe captures the contemporary post-suburban landscape and its governance implications, as it experiences, from the latest urban growths, a complex mixing of traditional suburban ideological and political concerns over the promotion of collective consumption, growth' management and welfare provision (Phelps et al., 2006; 2010). The relationship between grassroots opposition and state intervention in suburban governance are a key aspect of this thesis, not so much as a field to study the participatory modes – whether they are framed as "collaborative" (Healey, 1997) or "communicative" (Forester, 1989) – but rather to define and provide further implications for the organizations of welfare systems in the light of an uneven spatial development on the one hand, and slippery governance alliances on the other hand. Dunham-Jones & Williamson (2009) conceive these reflections labelling a process of "retrofitting suburbia", based on the assumption of bringing further urbanisation and further diversity into suburbs to improve their everyday functionality.

To summarise the whole theoretical pathway resulting into the post-suburbanization, a threefold process identified by Roger Keil (2017: 37–39) explicates the whirling of spatial landscape from "urban constellation" (Gandy, 2011) to a "suburban constellation" (Keil, 2013). Such processes are identified as follows. First, post-Fordism: from the industries settled in business peripheral zones to the decentralization of economic activities through a post-Fordist "flexibilization" of space and spatial forms. Second, globalization: according to what stated in the critical paragraph about the "urban" category, suburbs and, generally speaking, urban peripheries today fuel the global cities' performances and their run for competitiveness. Third, neoliberalization: together with the other two processes, capitalism worldwide includes suburbanization as well, seen as the ideal field for a private-led restructuring of social and spatial interactions (and thus, polarizations).

Behind these three intertwined processes, governance emerges as a "driver" principle to identify the constitutive dynamics of shaping and influencing how suburbs are produced and experienced (Ekers et al., 2012). In this respect, a key role is addressed to governance and its feature of inclusiveness at a post-

suburban time. Although it is still an unsolved issue, citizens' inclusion in decision-making has been recently ameliorated as a tool of the de-democratized "good governance" (Swyngedouw, 2005), through consensus-building tactics aimed at strengthening political decisions already taken before considering the inhabitants' opinions. As a consequence, issues of governance in suburban areas need to take into account the relation between the suburban built environment and their inhabitants' ways of living. The reflection grounds on a sort of "urban intensity" (Vazzoler, 2015): a dimension to study the multidimensional practices of space's living in an in-between area, reminiscent of what Henri Lefebvre – in his classic *The production of the Space* – called "lived space" experienced by people in everyday life in the "space of representation" sphere. Suburban governance framed in a post-suburban rationale, entails an interwoven relationship between (post)suburbanization as a process and welfare provision as a policy field. Although post-suburbia is the today general framework behind studies of suburbs, the understanding of the suburban world still goes through investigations on suburbanization, as it represents the current dominant mode in which cities are contemporary built (Filion, 2010). As a consequence, a backward step from the very recent framework for research and action shaped "after suburbia" (Keil, 2018) is needed to grasp the governance complexities.

4. Governance in a suburban realm

From 2010 to 2018, the collective endeavour of the Major Collaborative Research Initiative called "Global Suburbanisms: Governance, Land and Infrastructure in the 21st century" constructed a comprehensive understanding of the puzzling diversity of suburban process, form and function (Hamel & Keil, 2015). This project represents a turning point in the field of suburban studies, as it systematizes the existence of a specific debate that gained an autonomy from the "cityness" (Sassen, 2005) on the one hand, and the need for a specific suburban agenda tailor-made in accordance with specific socio-spatial and geographical local key features on the other hand, but above all, it defined – once for all – the heterogeneity and the diversity of suburbs. The research does not apply the Western suburban models as preordained perspectives, nor it finds a specific macro-model of suburbanization. The dazzling diversity, and even pluralism, of suburbanization, is studied through their process, forms and functions (Hamel & Keil, 2015), pointing out a typical contemporary post-suburban expansion, where the emerging geographies are everywhere assuming a suburban shape that questions the traditional urban triumphalism (Glaeser, 2012). By strengthening suburban heterogeneity, Ekers, Hamel and Keil (2012: 408) highlight some key aspects that lie behind the whole framework of "global suburbanisms":

"understanding different processes of suburbanization requires grasping the discourses of homeownership, the aesthetics of architecture, the dynamics of capital accumulation, political processes of annexation and incorporation, representations of central cities and many more relations. Treated broadly, governance helps these varied relations to be appreciated".

The international research "Global Suburbanisms" focused its attention much more on the political and governing aspects of the current suburbanization, with the goal of filling a gap in both theoretical and empirical investigations on the geographical peripheries and outskirts as urban areas that claim new centralities (Keil, 2017). The suburban development goes along with social marginalization and geographical subdivisions from 'burb to 'burb (i.e. in the global suburbia a gated community can be found beside a low-class condominium-dominant periphery). In this vein, the contemporary post-suburban scenario introduces a key issue for suburban studies, i.e. the concern with governance in the light of a

worldwide uneven development of (post)suburban settlements, by addressing the “explicit political character of suburbanization that pushes for a consideration of the governance of suburbanization and its profoundly unequal geographies, environments and social histories” (Ekers et al., 2012: 407).

4.1 Introducing suburbanisms

Before grounding the analysis on the meaningful typologies of suburban governance, the key concept of “suburbanisms” is fundamental in this vein. First, as a remind, Keil et. al. (2012; 2015; 2016) defines “suburbanization” as the combination of non-centric population and economic growth with urban spatial expansion. This description incorporates the multifaceted peripheral growth, from the Anglo-American gated communities to the high rise-dominated public estate areas that inherit a typically European tradition (Phelps, 2017), the Eastern Indian and Chinese growth machine’s suburbs (Keil, 2013; Gururani & Kose, 2015; Wu & Shen, 2015) and the informal Latin-American (Heinrichs & Nussl, 2013) and African settlements (Bloch, 2015; Mabin, 2013). In this respect, suburbanization comes as a process that enable a deeper understanding beyond the core-periphery dialectics of space that, as many scholars argued, looks obsolete in the contemporary era. Hence, suburbs are the product of a combination of dynamics (Keil, 2017) related to production and planning of space. Intensity and diversity are key component of that suburbanization process that characterizes the contemporary cities (Hamel & Keil, 2016). Although a great deal of attention has been paid to urban sprawl, suburbanization is currently the dominant mode of which cities are built (Filion, 2010), so much that even the planning practices – not to say “tools” – of urban political ecology, such as the greenbelts, are enclosed in a politically organized suburbanization process energised by land consumption while described as the creation of urban nature (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2003; Keil & Shields, 2013; Keil & Macdonald, 2016). Within the city, gentrification and former low-classes neighbourhood’s revitalizations are likewise consequence of suburbanization, which enables a dispersion of poorer inhabitants throughout newly suburbs, thus allowing “urban elites” to guide regeneration planning of inner neighbourhoods. Both processes can be entailed in what Erik Swyngedouw (2009) calls the “post-political city”. In the respect of the second assumption, suburbanization “shows itself to be the glass through which we can get a better glimpse of the urban century that through the tunnel vision onto the monocultures of the gentrified inner cities” (Keil, 2017: 39). In addition, it does not only guide the planning and building trajectories, but it also rescaled politics on the regional level, “as existing centres and new suburbs had to calibrate their mutual relationships” (*ibidem*). (Post)suburbanization hence calls for both policy reorientation and political metropolitan reconfiguration.

In this context, “suburbanisms” can be synthetically defined as the “suburban ways of life”. Fava (1956) offered the first attempt to scholarly define it as an ecological phenomenon accompanied by a social-psychological attributes that imply a distinction based on “neighbouring”, according to both the middle-class concentration and the physical qualities of residential American suburbs of the 1950s. More recently, Kotkin (2005) identified a “new suburbanism” led by market forces that reflects three main expressions: (1) the evolution of older suburbs into focal points for the surrounded smaller suburban communities and villages; (2) the post-World War II changing in the production of suburbs including the attempt to the delocalize new centres such as malls; (3) the creation of brand-new villages in the outer metropolitan peripheries. However, this viewpoint seems simple-minded, as far as it observes suburbs as mere outputs of a broad preference for more liveable places beyond cities or urban peripheries, without excavating the complexities of suburban ways of living. Alan Walks addressed the issue through Henri Lefevbre’s dialectics [see section 1.1], by seeing suburbanism as a multidimensional aspect distinct but

inseparable from urbanism, arisen from relational forms in space. He then theorized six dimensions of urbanism-suburbanism interplay. The intention to better depict the suburban ways of living according to the Walks' studies has strongly influenced the quantitative and geo-spatial analysis of twenty-first century's Northern America suburbanisms (see Moos & Walter-Joseph, 2017)¹⁴. Instead, an observation by Drummond and Labbé (2013) is less based on quantitative data but rather on anthropological and ethnographic view of life at the urban frontiers, to study the practices and spaces of social interaction across suburban places, in a way reminiscent of the "urban intensity" framed by Nicola Vazzoler studying the "in-between territories" of suburban Rome. As peripheral growth occurs through different models of suburban governance, we can speak of increasing prevalence and diversity of qualitatively distinct suburban ways of life (Hamel, 2013). Coping with suburban governance implies tackling a plethora of issues that stand beyond the physical dimension of suburbs, and the densification, decentralization and recentralization processes that drive suburbanization.

4.2 Introducing governance

Defining the meaning of "governance" is anything but simple, despite the term has become central to political, policy and academic debates. Generally speaking, the concept of "governance" has been used to identify alternative governmental forms and devices to those of "government" (Rhodes, 1997), arising as an innovative transformation in the functioning of the state due to the limitations of its resources and capacity for responding to social demands. However, "bringing together representatives of markets or private enterprises, state authority, and citizens, governance promotes cooperation between these actors, even though it is always possible that cooperation can be channelled or even manipulated to serve special interests" (Hamel & Keil, 2015: 6). Governance can be even framed as a process of "institution building" towards a greater sharing of knowledge (de Leonardis & Bifulco, 2005). However, as largely agreed with the German political scientist Claus Offe (2009), governance comes as an "empty signifier" that does not shed light on the interests that determine power relationships and public decisions. For Carlo Donolo (2012: 28) governance ideally "creates the bridges where choices walk on, and it cannot take those bridges for granted". Therefore – Donolo maintains – governance seems suitable to govern dynamic and highly uncertain processes. Yet at the same time, governance entails the undermining of political government, as the public authority has to work together with other powers and forces, thus reinforcing the "privatised" elements and their managerial cultures within the policy-making arenas. This aspect deploys the various and even misleading utilization of the term governance over the most recent years. Brenner (2017b) stresses how the notion of "good governance" encompasses ideological functions in contemporary political discourse and practices among both neoliberal and centrist policy makers, politicians and technocrats. This configuration is strengthened by both United Nations and World Bank's promotion of "good governance", since the mid-1990s, as a "market-friendly" form of state intervention. This feature can be read in more critical hands as a "post-political" neoliberal character of the political efficiency of governance itself (McLeod, 2011; Swyngedouw, 2005, 2009). Along these lines, Donolo (2012) saw "corporate governance" as a global and economic-led banking strategy to tackle the global 2008 crisis, whereas for Kevin Cox (2010), who deeply analysed the governance of metropolitan areas in the United States¹⁵, the academic interest in urban governance emerged in the context of territorial competition among cities seen as unleashed by globalization and neo-liberalism. Beyond that, the concept

¹⁴ The book by Moos and Walter-Joseph (2017) *Still detached and subdivided? Suburban ways of living in the 21st century North America*, collects the outcomes of the "Atlas of Suburbanisms" (University of Waterloo).

¹⁵ See Cox & Jonas (1993) and Cox (2010) about the "annexation policy" in the city of Columbus.

of “good” governance presents a normative definition that has to be exceeded, avoiding adjunctive concepts that usually entail and support authoritative forms of governance legitimized by its alleged “cooperative” nature that is supposed to foster local developments and citizens’ needs.

Local policies and the govern of territories have been increasingly reframed as fields of governance (Bassoli & Polizzi, 2011) and in that respect Burroni, Crouch & Keune (2005) identify a “kaleidoscopic governance” to describe the almost chaotic plurality of actors (both institutional and civil), governmental levels and economic players involved in the arena. Others refer to the “light governance” (see also Penttilä, 2009) as a way to diminish local governments’ role in favour of entrepreneurial and private individual actors, which not always pursue the achievement of collective local development’s pathways. In much more critical hands, Swyngedouw (2000) refers to the “authoritarian governance” to describe that politics of local and regional rescaling strongly influenced by rhetoric and myth of globalisation. All of these manifold modifications indicate that the democraticness of governance is a variable dimension (Bifulco, 2016) on a continuum between two extremes from neoliberal declinations and contestatory governance with the primary goal of increasing local democracy and social inclusion.

In the EU, multilevel governance represents the main pace to foster European integration on several policy fields (Kazepov, 2010; Piattoni, 2010), focusing on the different articulation of state intervention with transnational functions and guidelines (Hooghe & Marks, 2001; Jessop, 2004). By standing with the governing processes of urban transformations and the multi-layered scale of government, it must be said that governance is supposed to play a key role in the interplay between institutional matters and citizens’ needs, as “urban development is not the mere product of vertical influence between layers of government [...] but it is an outcome of a networking process in which spatial dynamics are framed and rescaled to fit different policy levels” (Savini, 2013: 1595). According to that, Patrick Le Galès (2002) defines “metropolitan governance” as a process of coordinating actors, social groups, and institutions to obtain particular goals, discussed and defined collectively in fragmented, uncertain environments. From such statement it is possible to shift the attention on the suburban scale of governance, simplistically seen as a by-product of a broader metropolitan governance configuration, or rather, to use a notion by Cuff & Sherman (2011), a “fast-forward urbanism” that strongly modified the scale and features of city-making towards city-regions.

4.3 Governance of suburbanization

Suburban governance can be primarily defined as “a mechanism of regulation in order to cope with issues of territorial integration at a metropolitan, city region, or mega-city region scale” (Hamel, 2013: 27). It basically points out the need for metropolitan governance that considers suburbs and urban outskirts as a non-separated part of policymaking. Both challenging issues on the theoretical and governmental level (i.e. issues related both to the academic debate and empirical practices) calls for a deeper understanding of governance in the light of the extreme (sub)urbanization. In this regard, Roger Keil and his colleagues refer to governance as a working tool for exploring how policy making regarding suburban expansion and suburban way of life have been institutionalized and/or have been underway (Hamel & Keil, 2016). Conceiving suburban governance requires the understanding of two central aspects (Ekers et al., 2012; Hamel & Keil, 2015; 2016). First, comprehending how processes of suburbanization and forms of suburbanisms are historically and geographically differentiated is essential, particularly in view of decentralization (and recentralization) or rather annexation policies. Second, suburban governance is about accounting for the points of convergence or divergence, regarding how suburbanization proceeds whether in Europe, United States, Asia or Africa. Here, the variety of agents,

histories, institutional settings and methods, has to be taken into account together as mechanisms of suburban governance. These remarks reflect what Beauregard (Beauregard, 2006) called “parasitic” urbanization [see section 2.1] referring to fragmented and non-redistributive nature of suburbanization that demanded for new modes of governance, less centralized and more oriented to the redistribution of resources on a larger metropolitan scale. However, misalignment between political institutions and the rapid growth of both suburban expansion and decentralization development, continuously transforms the urban regions (Le Galès, 2003; Phelps & Wood, 2011), thus emphasizing the importance of a governance agenda that strongly copes with the urban shifting of suburban territories. Ambiguities notwithstanding, governance remains a central notion to analyse the new institutional arrangements for decision-making in an era of suburbanization.

The identification of suburban governance modalities contributes in exploring the current styles of suburbanization, thus the effort of framing suburban governance is at the same time an exercise to update the framework of suburbanization processes at a global scale, beyond the American traditional configurations, even involving the worldwide uneven suburban expansion, considering that “each type of suburban expansion is evident in different historical moments and spaces” (Ekers et al., 2012: 408). In Western Europe, for instance, suburban settlements are often built as satellite cities for (de)centralized governance in a usually modern built environment (Keil, 2017). Differently from North America where priorities are aimed to coordinate central cities and their suburbs through different policies, in Europe polycentrism represent a new, current way to take advantage from suburban development, involving on the one hand the “everlasting” market-led and private investment circle on the built suburban environment, but including also cooperation, inter-institutional policy integration in decision-making, thus pointing out the inclusiveness of collective choices on the regional and metropolitan agendas. Truthfully, governance goes hand in hand with an active citizenship stimulation and with the possibility of governing differently the *res publica* (see Ekers et al., 2012).

Social, economic and political local configurations must be taken into account as key values for addressing the current issues of global suburbanization and suburbanisms. In other words, I would argue that the socio-spatial, socio-economical and socio-political aspects which require a deep understanding to frame and define suburban governance, raises questions about well-being together with the analysis of the geographical unevenness in service provision. It is evident that city-centres inhabitants can easily reach a hospital because they live in a dense area with a consolidated form and structure, at least in most of Western Countries, but not only. Do the same happens for the suburban inhabitants? I would argue that this not happen in the same way, because the diverse nature of suburbs generates an irregular distribution of social or health services and infrastructures, therefore the inhabitants of a big “metroburbia” (Knox, 2008, 2017) can reach a specific well-being service faster than the inhabitants of an under-construction “boomburb” (Lang & LeFurgy, 2007) where private actors are perhaps investing in anything but health infrastructures. These hypothetic statements serve as an example to state that coping with socio-spatial unevenness it is not a critical exercise against neoliberal policies, but rather a way to study how welfare provision changes according to an unstoppable suburbanization. The inequalities that weigh on the service provision to achieve citizens’ well-being find a spatial unequal distribution in suburban areas, thus raising the questions of collective choice and public decision-making with regards to suburbanisms (Hamel, 2013). The three modalities identified by Roger Keil and his colleagues are self-led, state-led and private-led suburbanization. Suburbs are never products of natural urban expansion; as sprawl is almost everywhere planned, therefore, the following historical patterns of suburbanization reflect specific suburban governance.

Self-led peri-urban growth is serendipitous and occurs without detailed planning (Ekers et al., 2012; Hamel & Keil, 2015, 2016). Individual, residential and commercial developments coexist with tracts of informal housing; hence fragmentation and low regulation characterizes this type of splintered suburban development. Moreover, few attention is dedicated to the suburban infrastructures, albeit they play a key role in shaping suburban forms and functions (Filion, 2013). State-led suburbanization implies instead a centralized policymaking, planned and directed by government agencies aimed to design zoning and planning processes for residential, industrial and commercial settlements. Here, infrastructure connectivity tends to be utilized as a lever for guiding and regulating the development process (Ekers et al., 2012).

Private-led suburbanization is guided by market forces aimed to involve decentralized control of economic and commercial activities into new suburban clusters. The state plays a facilitative role in terms of land use, labour and environmental policies, providing at the same time the legislative framework (Ekers et al., 2012; Hamel & Keil, 2015). Insofar as this type of suburbanization is strongly oriented on the development of built environment as a form of profit, it generates political and social exclusion, thus enhancing the uneven socio-spatial polarization that underpins the current planetary suburbanization.

Specificities in history, but particularly in geography, affect these three ideal-types of suburbanization’s modalities. This means that there is a mismatch between the aforementioned patterns and the actually existing ways of governing suburbia, where capital accumulation and authoritarian private governance represent the main modalities. To some degree, as observed by Soja (2015), every city on earth is experiencing some similar developmental force shaped by globalization and new economy. At the same time, these general processes are faced in unique ways according to local history and geography. An evident outcome of this transformation is, for instance, the erosion of the difference from North American sprawled cities to the more compact European ones, towards a global process of suburbanization.

Type of suburbanization	Key features	Historical geographical areas
Self-led suburbanization	Low planning Informal housing Low infrastructures	Latin America Mediterranean Europe (Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal) Eastern Europe and former Eastern Germany
State-led suburbanization	Centralized planning Zoning of areas’ uses High Infrastructural development	United Kingdom Northern Europe Austria, France, Germany Australia
Private-led suburbanization	Decentralized market-led planning State as “facilitator” For-profit infrastructural development	Canada United States India China

Table 2. Patterns of suburbanization: a first glance on the three typologies. Source: author’s construction

Specific territorial scopes may be identified in view of the three forms of suburbanization, by integrating the plethora of case studies collected in the research “Global suburbanisms” (Keil, 2013; Hamel & Keil, 2015; Keil et al., 2017; Phelps, 2017). The outcome of this effort is summarised in Table 2, which does not have any claim to be exhaustive, but rather it sets out some specific general features and territorial configurations that ease the understanding of such a diverse process as suburbanization is.

The analytical goal here implies the question of how exactly the three modalities of suburban governance are intertwined (see Keil, 2017). The mechanisms in governance of suburban spaces can experience an overlapping (both in the physical environment and organizational frameworks) of informal self-developed areas and private-led projects. Table 2 just serves as a quick glance for setting the heterogeneous and juxtaposed patterns of suburbanization of the twenty-first century. In Latin America, for instance, informality historically drove suburbanization, even though new authoritarian private-oriented modes of governance have recently taken place paving the way for gated communities and restricting the role of the state in favour of that of capital (Heinrichs & Nuissl, 2013, 2015).

Indeed, private-led suburbanization is currently worldwide, inspired by the American edge-city development, which has been reproduced, for instance, in the “old Europe”, where population growth has been slower than elsewhere (Bontje & Burdach, 2005; Phelps, 2017). National and continental specificities shape the today suburban forms throughout the world. Global south and Asian countries (particularly India and China) are currently viewed as the cores of further suburbanization phases.

4.4 Governance of global suburbanisms

The three types of suburbanization have been historically regulated through three governance modalities: state/institutional policies, capital accumulation and authoritarian private governance (Ekers et al., 2012; Keil, 2017). Within this framework, the neoliberal city-making is a site-specific aspect that calls for a re-calibration of both welfare and urban policies facing with market forces that strongly affects the urban planning. According to what introduced before on governance, I argue that as a process of institution building (de Leonardis & Bifulco, 2005) towards a more pluralistic policy-making, governance not only goes hand in hand with an active citizenship and with the possibility of governing differently (Hamel & Keil, 2015), but also together with a reinforcement of citizens' capabilities within the public debate (Sen, 1992, 2010; Bifulco & Mozzana, 2011; de Leonardis, Salais, & Negrelli, 2012). As a less explored field of study until the recent decades, suburbia can be identified as a key territorial scope where to redefine governance according to the threefold subdivision based on the current global suburbanisms on the one hand, and the contemporary diverse post-suburban environments, on the other hand. In this view, the “suburban scale” legitimizes that “the traditional and centralized approach to public action proved inadequate to meet emerging social demands” (Boudreau & Hamel, 2017: 34), without neglecting the key role of the State in a de-centralized approach. The uneven suburban development can exacerbate the threats on the emerging social demands, thus suburbia looks as a scope where to meet state actions together with local organizations while addressing suburbanisms. Furthermore, the governance of suburbia is not immune from the contemporary problems of governing a complex society, but rather it is affected by three different sources of political tensions that are even reproduced in the post-suburban growth: provision of collective consumption, environmental and residential amenities, and governmental amalgamation and secession (Peck, 2011; Phelps et al., 2010).

The three modalities of suburban governance have been largely observed (Keil, 2013; Hamel & Keil, 2015; Phelps, 2017) by investigating on how State, private actors and informality work through one another.

Governance and the State

Rescaling processes have occurred over the last decades leading to a “new state space” (Brenner, 2004; Brenner, Jessop, Jones, & Macleod, 2008), as well as a phase of growth-oriented New Urban Politics

(NUP), have been pivotal in shaping research “on the rapidly transforming landscapes in urban economic development *and* the shifting institutional infrastructures of urban politics and governance” (MacLeod & Jones, 2011: 2445). Politics of local economy development and politics of collective consumption are, arguably, the two major conceptions of urban politics at present time that significantly influence the territorial structures of the state, at least in metropolitan areas (Cox & Jonas, 1993). As MacLeod & Jones (2011) maintains, the “localist ontology” (i.e. the emphasis on localization of growth sources) has blinded scholars to the role of national state in politicising urban spaces, reduced to a mere “facilitator” of popular consensus around economic growth and private-oriented governance regimes. Post-political city (Swyngedouw, 2005, 2009, 2011) is no longer a critical viewpoint, but rather, it is an actually existing endeavour to transform both urban politics and urban governance within a post-democratic institutional configuration (Crouch, 2004). State, instead of being a fundamental actor responsible of service provision and its jurisdictional framework in and beyond metropolitan areas, has turned into a stakeholder that maintains the traditional state spaces (national, regional, urban) within the “roll-out” of neoliberal governmentalities.

This condition altered State functions. Although the role of State in peripheral and suburban expansion has historically been marginal, some geographical and timing differences are existent. Three forms of state and suburbanization has been outlined by Sonia Hirt (2007) through an observation of Sofia (the capital city of Bulgaria), and then retailed by (Hamel & Keil, 2015): (1) developing capitalist state, which takes a passive role because of lack of resources; (2) developed capitalist state, which is active in promoting urban decentralization through planning, financial and infrastructural policies; (3) socialist state, which reacts to low death and high birth rates by building high-density and high-rise housing estates on the urban peripheries. In all of these cases, governance is not separated from government proper. Nevertheless, the role of the state has been central in some European suburbanization process, particularly in those country (both European and extra-European) not fully influenced by the traditional American suburbanization, such as France or Italy, where the *grand ensembles* (i.e. the massive high-rise estates in the “banlieues”) and the *quartieri popolari* (i.e. working class neighbourhoods like the *borgate* in Rome) has been developed as industrial suburbs that experienced a subsequent increasing density. European cities, even considering some of the Post-socialist ones, present some key features that differ from the North American metropolis and cities, that will be addressed in the next chapter.

After the World War II, the centrality of historic central city cores was not challenged by urban sprawl and suburbanization, as happened overseas. The unevenness of urban expansion affects European cities from the crisis of welfare states during the late 1970s, when the state was still playing a key role in suburbanization before yielding to private actors and global forces that led to a state rescaling. Notwithstanding, spatial planning remains an imperative and in some way a need to implement strategies for liveability.

In North America the state became actively involved in suburbanization from the post-war period favouring the private-led homeownership desires through financing programmes (Hanlon et al., 2009). In addition, mobility played a key role in the government-by-the-State of suburbanization process, seen as a central value of modernity towards a city-region development. Infrastructure-led suburban development, for instance, has been occurring at a massive element, particularly dedicated to accompanying the increasing automobile-dependence, not only in North America, but also in Southeast and East Asia. Notwithstanding, the state remains an actor and a dimension that cannot be ignored. As observed by Ekers et. al. (2012), the redefinition of forms of political contestation continues to implicitly and explicitly reference the state as a central institution, pursuing the emergence of new models of social and economic regulation that would not be possible without the state.

State-led suburban governance, even though it remains fundamental, could generate both positive effects of spatial justice (Soja, 2010) or negative effects of gross inequalities and socio-spatial polarizations. In the latter, the presence of the state is more nuanced and influenced by additional forces. Private actors played and still play a key role in the worldwide suburban development led by neoliberalization. Capital accumulation is nowadays a governing force of suburban areas, thanks to the aforementioned New Urban Politics (NUP) regimes, as well as pro-growth coalitions (Logan & Molotch, 2007) oriented to “growth-machine” regimes (Molotch, 1976)¹⁶, which characterized most of the cities’ development in Anglo-Saxon countries and beyond (see Vicari & Molotch, 1990). Moreover, a debate about the hypothetical suburban scale of growth machine has been addressed (Phelps, 2012). Nowadays, the accumulation process is central to understanding the question of (sub)urban governance (Cox, 2010). The post-Fordist relocation of industrial and technological activities at the urban outskirts is a clear example of a suburban “neoliberalization” process (Knox, 2008; Peck, 2011), led by delocalization investments to pursue competitive advantage. As Soja noted (2000: 242), “in the last third of 20th century the regional balance of industrialization in many post-metropolitan areas was reversed, with the majority of production and jobs located in the outer rings than in the inner cities regions”.

The influence of capital on the suburban landscape is closely tied to the state, which provides tax and infrastructure incentives, as infrastructures were considered “the message” to shape suburban areas (Filion, 2013). Therefore, “market” and “consumer choices” are central aspects of suburbanization, and beyond downtown, a range of shadow governments, “secessionary” place-makings and privatism are remaking the political landscape of post-suburbia (MacLeod, 2011). According to the processes of planetary urbanization and post-metropolitan regionalization [see section 2.2], suburbia currently represents the new territorial scope to reproduce “cityness” within the global economic growth. Although state-led governance remains a key aspect of suburbanization, the accumulation of capital continues to act as a second modality of suburban governance (Hamel & Keil, 2016). Capital as a governing forces transformed certain suburbs in edge cities (Garreau, 2011) with global economic significance, while some others, less included in the nodes of development, began to experience an overlapping of fragilities and vulnerabilities, starting from the absence of infrastructural networks that would include them in the edgeless (Lang, 2003) private-led growth, where political economy is overwhelming (Katz & Bradley, 2013). In this respect, MacLeod (2011) points out that many policies and programmes has been unleashed by entrepreneurial paradigm in spatial development, where neoliberal accumulation regimes have fundamentally sanctified private property and capitalist classes’ power, as a way to pursue a metropolitan lifestyle in suburbs. Moreover, a public consensus has been also built around this kind of private-led investments, neutralizing dissenting and antagonistic voices. Suburban governance driven by capital accumulation stresses the “depoliticized” connotation of pro-growth economic-urban regimes much more than the State-led governance, albeit they are both connected with the “post-political city” posited by Swyngedouw (2009), governed by capitalist class instead of the political one, with the consequence of social groups marginalization, according to their suburban living place. In other words, the more a suburb is place of investments, consumption and delocalization, the more citizens well-being and living cost will increase, whereas on the contrary, the least a suburb is a “post-political” target of growth-machine or rather NUP regime, the more inhabitants’ well-being will decrease.

¹⁶ The growth machine theory states that the political and economic essence of any given locality is growth and a common interest in local initiatives of social and economic reforms, at least in the American context.

The emerging scenario: authoritarian private governance

The extreme manifestation of private sector power in suburban policy-making, is the so-called “authoritarian” private governance, which entailed a devolution of responsibility from the state to private sectors and parts of civil society (Swyngedouw, 2000, 2005), such as the “third sector”, non-governmental organizations and corporations able to generate strong PPPs that goes in the opposite direction to the participatory and inclusive aspects that are supposed to be pillars of governance arenas. Arguably, these authoritarian forms are proliferating most quickly in suburban spaces (Ekers et al., 2012), reflecting growing spatial and social inequalities. The urban development of Markham, a Northern suburb of Toronto is one such example of the authoritarian governance. The agreements converged in an urban-growth project called “Creating a community”¹⁷, drawn upon community-building as a keyword to invite keeping Markham’s residents and attracting new ones. Markham is a suburb that still faces a constant population growth (from 208.615 inhabitants in 2001 to 328.966 in 2016), thus demanding renovated welfare services (such as schools, roads and housing). Nevertheless, “Creating a community” looks entrenched in a market-led process resulting in an increased cost of living fuelled by retail opportunities, offices and decentralized headquarters, as well as the neighbouring suburb of Vaughan, where the Municipal Centre is not only a new hub of the transit network in GTA (Greater Toronto Area), but also a venue of investments, enough to frame it as the “new downtown” inviting big companies.

The case of Northern Torontonians’ “growth-machines” strengthens a new pattern of “suburban neoliberalism” as outlined by Jamie Peck (2011). Such configuration was previously observed in the gated communities where transition from public government to private associations has polarized wealth and state capacity. Gated communities (Low, 2004; 2008) represent the contemporary expression of holy land ‘burbs inspired by garden cities ideals, master-planned not only in the US, with a core in southern Sunbelt states (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a, 1997b, Low, 1997, 2008) but almost all over the world, from Turkey (Bekleyen & Yilmaz-Ay, 2016) to Latin America (Heinrichs & Nuissl, 2013). This privatized scenario has been framed even in Milan, with the Silvio Berlusconi’s creations of Milano 2 and Milano 3, two gate communities based on “garden city” conception. In *Milano Downtown*, Massimo Bricocoli and Paola Savoldi (2010) described how – inter alia – new urban projects in Milan, such as the renovation of Pompeo Leoni neighbourhood, has been guided by a planning activity aimed at separating the new area from the surroundings, to severely divide the renewed area from the rest of the “consolidated” city where it is inserted in. The metaphor “walking away from the city” well expresses this reality that relies on private relocation investments for specific target-families. Thus, a reinforcing trend of polarization looks with higher attention to the private developments. Within suburban landscapes, gated and master-planned communities have led to a fractured form of governance (Peck, 2011) . The authoritarian scenario enables to depict the changing culture of governance in space production, where city does not act anymore as a society and a place for the full recognition of social citizenship, but rather it is the theatre of a strengthened demarcation between middle and lower classes, albeit “social mix” practices attempt to contrast it. However, the history of suburbanization shows how the middle classes do not accept any longer sharing with and supporting popular classes the way they did when the welfare state was seen as the solution to solving and regulating social problems (Ekers et. al., 2012). The consequence of this contemporary differentiation can be synthesized in there dynamics defining a “three-speed city” (Donzelot, 2004): *relegation*, i.e. the eviction of poor people from in specific areas, *périurbanisation*, which represent the relocation of middle-class at the periphery thanks to particular investments for some target-

¹⁷ For more details about the project “Creating a community”, visit the website www.creatingacomunity.ca

areas or gated-communities' development, and *gentrification*, as a consequence of the exclusion of the poor from the traditional working-class neighbourhood, followed by their replacement by the middle-classes. Such three paces determine differences and gaps in provision, allocation and delivery of welfare services in suburbs, as those developed through privatized governance can rely on their alliances much more than those suburban areas dependent from public provision. The consequence is an increased social segregation that creates disparities in the services delivery, thus arising an issue of local welfare.

This final section illustrated how suburbs are planned, designed and created through self-built, state-led and private-led modes of suburbanization, and further it proposed to set up governance through three interwoven modalities involving State, capital and authoritarian forms. Such a fragmented environment, where the so-called new social risks (Castel, 2004) are scattered in a non-homogenous way, coexists with wealthier areas. The provision and distribution of basic services is endangered by a splintered heterogeneous constellation of settlements.

5. Suburban governance as analytical perspective

This analytical pace moved from the unwieldy conceptualization of “the urban” as a buzzword that tends to influence the main issues standing “around” and “beyond” the urban and metropolitan cores. To both strengthen this first critical aspect and to introduce suburbanization, two consolidated theories as “planetary urbanization” and “post-metropolis” helped approaching the topic. Then, the reflection into the field of suburban studies provided an overview of the suburbanization, moving from the North American dominance. Subsequently, after turbulent decades of oil and welfare crisis in the 1970s, of environmental changes in the 1980s, and of global economic crisis in the early 2000s, the pathway moved to a focus of the contemporary “post-suburban” framework. As a final milestone, the field of “suburban governance” outlined by the international research “Global Suburbanisms” represent a key contemporary experience from which to observe suburban changes through a threefold view on governance, land and infrastructures. Particular attention has been dedicated to governance as a key concept to connect the analysis to local welfare issues. To conclude, the chapter attempts to strengthen this analytical interplay for the following debate.

There are many emerging themes of suburban governance, such as housing, amenities and labour market. In addition, mobility infrastructures, primary and second schooling, as well as taxes, remain at the top of the list on the agendas of suburban politics. The environment, economic development and community safety are always big issues, whereas the post-suburban in-betweenness of an increasing diverse suburbia calls for more inclusive forms of governance (Hamel & Keil, 2016). In the same way, Phelps, Wood and Valler (2010) identify three sources of political tension in the post-suburban growth: (1) provision for collective consumption, “particularly in those nations most committed to equality and welfare” (*ivi*: 376); (2) environmental and residential amenities, not without contradictions between environmental conservation and pro-growth interests for newer settlements; (3) governmental amalgamation and secession in suburbia, in the light of intergovernmental relations, spatial fix strategies and boundaries' redefinition. The threefold subdivision enables an analytical integration of suburban studies with the study of welfare, to point out the “political” aspects behind the not fully unexplored governmental issues in suburban areas. Suburban areas require a deeper understanding of governing processes, conducted here through the framework of local welfare, according to its Italian specificities [see chapter 3]. The dissertation aims at pursuing the research attention on the non-territorial aspects, towards an understating of suburbs “as the products of assemblages of resources, discourses and power mobilized by various actors” (Phelps, 2017: 239). Cotemporary (sub)urbanization is today a dynamic

process mutating not only cities, but the whole environment, where land and morphological changes are determined by complex political and not only territorial relations, excavated here through the field of local welfare policies.

The field of suburban governance – including investigations on global suburbanisms and post-suburbs – has been also questioned. Rahel Nüssli (2017), for instance, argues that these concepts still maintain the distinction between an urban and suburban world, and it would be rather preferable adopting a term such as “urban configuration” to describe the different constellations, regardless of whether or not they are located at urban edges, as they are observable according to their urban conditions in a context where boundaries between centre and peripheries are blurred. Thus, reproducing the subdivision between urban and suburban, these categories do not enable to study the interplay between processes of politics and suburbanization, which, Nüssli continues, are not confinable into defined categories. However, governance has not a clear definition either, and within a suburban configuration, suburban studies entail general criteria about politics, urbanization and suburbanization. The territorial dimension of suburban governance and its implication on welfare provision are not undermined by the risk of reproduce the centre-periphery and urban-rural dualisms. Territory is not defined by space, “rather it defines spaces through patterns of relations. Every type of social tie can be imagined and constructed as territorial” (Brighenti, 2010: 57). The combined effects of both residential and commercial decentralization, the increase in mobility, albeit still dependent from automobile-use, and the fragmentation not only of suburban landscape but also of families in those areas, are producing a profound reconfiguration of the urban structure (Balducci, 2012), hence changing the urban fabric and the configurations of citizens’ needs.

Another point of criticism regarding the interpretation of suburbanization is that divided into “systemic” and “symptomatic” (Keil, 2017). The first sees suburbanization as an extension of contradictions caused by capitalist urbanization processes and intrinsically interwoven with them (Beauregard, 2006; Walker, 1981). The symptomatic critique sees suburbs from an urbanist viewpoint, as a “technical constellation” that can be reformed and rebuilt into more sustainable forms. Both the perspectives do not consider the relational processes that lie behind suburbanization, relying on mere symptomatic values such as policy-makers’ choices, citizens’ behaviours, community-building, regardless of the fact that all of these key aspects are strongly related to contradictions of capital accumulation, State deliberation, neoliberalization, etc. However, there is a current urge to retrofit suburbia (Dunham-Jones & Williamson, 2009) that operates on the assumption that bringing urban morphology diversity and urbanity into the suburbs will somehow bring improved everyday functionality. I argue that this retrofitting process must be accompanied by a deep supportive understanding of how localization of welfare services is provided in suburbia, depicting the distribution of social infrastructures (such as health services, schools, social and even leisure services) and the transit network infrastructures to connect suburbs to metropolitan core. It clearly represent a construction process of “overlapping urban realities with indistinct borders” (Schmid, 2014: 68), but yet at the same it points out the obsolescence of cityness and cityism in coping with urban transformations, as the planetary order of suburbanization influences the everyday lives of suburban inhabitants that seek urban lifestyle without living in a full urban, or rather metropolitan environment. Urban space, in this sense, is a space of material interaction, exchange, meeting and encounter (*ivi*: 76). In broad terms, welfare plays a key role to meet the citizens’ needs in this interactional space. Today, the archetype of welfare is framed on the “local” scale. Making welfare services much closer to citizens, towards a universalistic provision, is a pillar of what has been defined as “local welfare” over the last two decades, at least in Europe and Italy. This framework is made possible by some key concepts which determined both the local allocation and delivery of services on one hand,

and the production of area-based social infrastructures in the local contexts (usually recognized as the vulnerable neighbourhoods), on the other hand. Local welfare moves towards a universalistic model able to guarantee a minimum, democratic allocation of well-being services, focusing on the local contexts where to build local welfare systems (Andreotti et al., 2012; Andreotti & Mingione, 2016), through planning strategies and social programmes closer to local needs. Synthetically, five pillars determine both framework and policy-making approaches of local welfare: citizens' activation, participation, territorialisation of social policies, integration among policy fields and both horizontal-vertical subsidiarity, and contractualisation (Bifulco, 2015) [see chapter 2, section 1]. The rationale of local welfare finds an interplay with suburban governance to question and eventually strengthen its "spatial" dimension (McEwen & Moreno, 2008), even according to some contributions from the Italian debate (Bricocoli, 2002; Caravaggi & Imbroglini, 2016; Pomilio, 2009; Bricocoli & Sabatinelli, 2017; Tosi & Munarin, 2011). A spatial configuration of welfare invokes today attention on its capacity of bridging to link between studies on suburbanization and issues of welfare, a policy field to be reframed, reconceptualized and questioned in view of the heterogeneity of suburban governmentalities, at a time when welfare is also calibrated on a multilevel governance (Warleigh, 2006; Hooghe & Marks, 2001; Kazepov, 2008; Piattoni, 2010) aimed at fostering a policy-network among supranational, national and regional levels.

The suburban scale comes as a less explored field of investigation for the local welfare framework, towards an approach that see suburbs as a place of disorder and possibility (Keil, 2018), hence fostering an interplay between governance, suburbanization and welfare provision. Suburbia acts a scope for local welfare redefinition at a time of economic resources' reductions and authoritarian forms of governance that undermine the universalistic allocation of services, particularly in areas distinguished by an uneven spatial development, even in the Italian context. Furthermore, this interplay attempts to meet the investigations and debates undertaken by Urban@it, an Italian inter-departmental research group that addressed the current challenges for metropolitan agendas on the one hand, and the need to fill the gap between policies and city-scale on the other hand (Urban@it, 2017, 2018). According to these indications, suburbanization plays a role in the transformation of metropolitan environment at its edges, determining a shifting to a post-metropolitan scenario, as recently illustrated by Balducci et. al. (2016, 2017a, 2017b) [see chapter 3]. However, debates on the urban forms in Italy deserve special attention in order to figure out whether a suburban perspective may well travel amongst the complexities of the Italian landscape.

Chapter Two

Explorations on local welfare

Abstract

To integrate the suburban question, the attention now shifts to the policy field investigated in this thesis, through a comprehensive overview of local welfare, explored as a policy framework emerged after the retrenchment of welfare state. Such inquiry is organized as follows. First, an introductory framework offers a presentation of the main pillars and principles of local welfare, enriched by an overview of the European debate. Then, two contemporary challenges in governance of local welfare are investigated: the keyword of “cohesion” on one hand, and the affirmation of neoliberal inputs on the other hand. A third section involves the spatial and territorial aspects affecting local welfare with focus on Italy, and a conclusion lays the groundwork for questioning and redefining local welfare in view of the socio-spatial changes occurring at the urban edges.

1. Introducing local welfare

In the previous chapter, a great deal of attention has been dedicated to the new urban question. The focus on suburban governance as an analytical perspective enables the construction of a reasonable framework from which walking towards the policy-field of welfare. The goal of addressing the governance of local welfare in specific Italian “urban edges” located in metropolitan areas entails a deep understanding of what is welfare today, at a time of emerging inequalities, five decades after the end of the “golden age” of welfare (or *Thirty Glorious*, 1945-1975), as well as after several years of a vibrant planning activity, until the outbreak of the global financial crisis. Moreover, such emphasis should be tailored on the Italian specificities on the one hand, and according to the long season of “localization” of welfare services in the whole Europe, on the other hand. This twofold theoretical process involves the comprehension of a plethora of topics: from multilevel governance to the affirmation of neoliberalism, from the European States rescaling (see Brenner, 2004a, 2004b) to the “territorialisation” of welfare policies. In so doing, this chapters aims at providing an exhaustive framework of the contemporary welfare issues in view of the debated suburban questions. As a remind, the suburban comes as an inspiring perspective to observe societal changes according to the new “urbanities”, whereas welfare represents the policy field investigated through an observation of governance, governments, planning issues and, especially, the territorial configuration of welfare policies. As Scott and Storper (2015: 9) argue “urbanization processes are profoundly shaped by the social and property relations of capitalism, though they cannot be reduced to functionalist expressions of those relations, because they are also shaped by ideas, interests and politics”. This statement embodies the interplay between welfare and (sub)urban issues. Yet, the overview of what is welfare today in Europe and Italy requires an in-depth overview of the historical process of welfare construction, by seizing the contemporary scenario resulted from changes that introduced the “local welfare” framework. In other words, to find out what today welfare is, it is necessary to enlarge the view, grasping dynamics, successes, limits and perspectives (Bifulco, 2015).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, dealing with welfare entails a specific attention to the issues and choices regarding justice (de Leonardis, 2002). *The Spirit of '45*, a documentary directed by Ken Loach, describes this focus on justice as a key criterion of welfare by illustrating the Great Britain facing reconstruction after WWII. Such restoration reveals the historical distinctiveness of what is known as “welfare state”, seen not only as a new way to contrast social risks, but also as a political commitment to reconstruct the “social contract” between State and citizens (Esping-Andersen, 1999); its foundations are entrenched in the reconstruction of a form of citizenship after savagery of World-War II. Welfare state copes by definition with basic and social needs, with the aim of promoting well-being, and the current

shortcomings in achieving these goals are focal in civil society's efforts to produce a remedy (Oosterlynck et al., 2013). Although these issues will be further discussed, they are here introduced to clarify that welfare – in its broad view – is something not relegated to policies and politics, or to the dialectics between participative or deliberative democracy. Rather, welfare issues refer to the system that ensure “citizenship” to all the inhabitants of a State, by providing an adequate provision of service-to-citizens, an organization-and-delivery process that lie behind the “contract” between State and citizens. A structure of meanings, values, norms, and institutional and social practices, is the key principle of welfare state (Bifulco, 2011) to ensure the “right to the citizenship”, which unfolds a fundamental process of organization of public domain and public provision. Such historical background revolving around the notion of “citizenship” would deserve more attention drawn upon the interplay between the State organization for the “protection” of its citizens, and the very status of citizens (see Castel, 2004). Nevertheless, this exploration on the governance of local welfare moves from the signal that today the equivalence between the public and the State no longer works (de Leonardis, 1998; Clarke, 2004a, 2008), as well as the construction of a national, universalistic and standardised system to provide a capillary form of social protection stated for UK by the Beveridge Report (1942), no longer exists.

1.1 Rationale and features of local welfare

This brief introduction demands an analytical tool-kit to navigate the local welfare. The literature on welfare in Europe is strongly influenced and shaped by the notion of “welfare regime”, originally developed by Gøsta Esping-Andersen (1990). By studying the differences between national welfare systems, the Danish sociologist delineated four groups of regimes: the social-democratic Nordic model (typical of the Scandinavian and Northern countries), based on egalitarian principles in distributing social benefits between the citizens; the liberal Anglo-Saxon, where social benefits are individually accumulated by citizens' and the State play a less central role in welfare provision; the corporatist Continental model, typical of Central Europe, positioned halfway through the formers, and the Mediterranean “familistic” model, based on the pivotal role of the family in supporting individuals. In addition, welfare system of post- socialist countries of Eastern Europe are considered “in transition”. Although this subdivision is a pillar of European welfare, the rationale of local welfare shall be read as a more contemporary framework emerged after the crisis of the “golden age” of welfare (1945-1975), when the “social State”, after thirty years of public protection, collapsed, paving the way for a new public-private framework, addressed through varying concepts, such as – inter alia – “new public management” (Dunleavy & Hood, 1994; Hood, 1995). Nonetheless, a localisation process was already present in the regulation of welfare models of the Fordist age, although as a mere transmission belt for centrally defined policies (Brenner, 2004a).

In a scenario of post-industrialization and post-Fordism (Amin, 1994; Brenner, 2004a), during the 1970s' changes, the 1973 petroleum crisis represented a watershed, as it put an end to the economic growth that characterized the two previous decades in Western countries. In an economic contraction, the delivery of basic services ensuring a decent liveability has been consistently weakened, leading to a crisis of welfare state, in Europe and beyond (see Alber, 1988). As a consequence, the local welfare framework came up to recast service provision, and its role shall be placed within the trajectories aimed at reframing the relational scales of government from the local to the national and supra-national levels. The increasing importance of local welfare coincides with the more heterogeneous, diversified and complex demand for social protection that has been generated by the social changes in family, employment, demographic assets and global economy (Taylor-Gooby, 2004; Bonoli, 2007; Andreotti & Mingione, 2016). Such changes may be outlined into the notion of “new social risks”(Pavolini, 2002;

Taylor-Gooby, 2004; Bonoli, 2005), drawn to define what people face in the course of their lives as a result of the economic and social changes associated with the transition to a post-industrial society (Taylor-Gooby, 2003). Such risks are arising from precariousness, job insecurity, family breakdowns, diminished care capacity and labour-family conciliation, ageing, and housing affordability (see Ranci et. al. 2014). On the contrary, during the golden age of welfare, such risks were limited, life courses were more predictable, economy and demography were stable, and the main issues were used to concern long-term employment, monetary supports to integrate the male breadwinner income of families, and living standards in dwellings, with particular reference to the public housing stock. Within the disposal of centralized welfare provision occurred since mid-1970s, the localisation of welfare services raised to tackle these emerging social risks, with the assumption of being more efficient, less expensive (i.e. more sustainable), and more participatory, compared to the national welfare programmes (Andreotti et. al., 2012; Andreotti & Mingione, 2016). Regardless the achievement of such criteria, local welfare came into debates and policy frameworks reconsidering the conditions able to combine both the economic growth and the social well-being, towards the identification of synergies between economic production and social reproduction, between care and productivity, between economic and social policies (de Leonardis, 1998). Lavinia Bifulco (2015) identifies five pillars that lie behind the rationale of contemporary local welfare. Such pillars represent the vocabulary, the minimum analytical instrumentation to grasp the main novelties introduced by local welfare to cope with the commitment of keeping together a decentralized arrangement stuck in territories and an universalistic guidance (Bifulco & Vitale, 2006).

“Activation” is the first pillar, and it enhances the individual responsibilities and capabilities (Sen, 1992; Nussbaum, 2001; Van Berkel & Borghi, 2008; de Leonardis et. al., 2012) in fostering empowerment towards the idea of an “active welfare” aimed at promoting citizens’ autonomy and capacities. Over the past two decades, activation has become a rather fashionable European trend for policies in the area of welfare and work (Heidenreich & Graziano, 2014). The focus on activation is acknowledged within the framework of public social policies developed at the local scale of neighbourhood through “area based” initiatives to identify – together with the beneficiaries of such policies or projects – the local leverages able to trigger trajectories of development (Bricocoli & Centemeri, 2005). However, the achievement of such activation of local contexts through the collective activation of its inhabitants is anything but easy, as it requires a minimum presence of resources, people and community life to be triggered (Vicari, 2005). Generally, “beyond European and national reform paths, active inclusion policies therefore crucially shift the outcome of social policy onto the local level” (Künzel, 2012: 8) towards governance arrangements embracing the activation paradigm.

The second pillar refers to the complex concept of “territorialisation” [see section 3.1]. Territorialisation responds to the interaction between urban policies and social policies by focusing on the local scale as a target of intervention, and also with a specific attention to the spatial dimension (Tosi & Munarin, 2011; Sabatinelli, 2017). In policy-making, territorialisation consists of the tendency to pursue an integrated approach among diverse policy fields (social, housing, health) to address manifold issues (in the social, physical or economic spheres) in a specific context, usually delimited to the neighbourhood scale of disadvantaged, abandoned and vulnerable public housing estates. According to this framework, territorialisation calls for the implementation of active policies in close proximity to the local needs by encouraging processes of citizens’ empowerment one the one hand, and by entailing a reconceptualization of territory towards a shift from a concept of territory as a static, passive space, to an interpretation as a dynamic and active context (Governa & Salone, 2004). Within this stream, regionalization has increasingly assumed a central role, also at the European level (Paasi, 2001; Allen & Cochrane, 2007; Eurostat, 2018), to seek policies and services developed closer to citizens’ social

demands and their living places (Bifulco, 2015). Territorialisation may be read in connection with the process of “rescaling of statehood” (Brenner, 2004a, 2004b) towards two overarching issues: the State re-territorialisation, i.e. a political-economic practice that re-articulate different geographical scales, and a State rescaling into multi-scalar hierarchies of institutions [see section 1.2]. Along this redefinition, territorialisation sets a key role to local level of decision-making in the implementation of integrated policies that are consistent with the needs expressed by the territories (Bifulco & de Leonardis, 2003).

“Integration” is the third pillar of local welfare rationale. This concept entails the seek for integrations, connections and synergies between different policy fields which intervene in diversified social issues, in services provision and in the policy-making as well (Bifulco et. al., 2008). The sphere of integration refers to the vertical convergence of the different institutional levels of government, and the horizontal convergences embedded in the plurality of actors implied in governance. This twofold stream is better known with the terms of horizontal and vertical “subsidiarity”¹⁸ [see section 2.2]. Furthermore, integration is also connected to the coordination and the joint actions dealing with different areas of intervention, with the goal of moving beyond the fragmented compartmentalization of policies (Bricocoli, 2013; Bricocoli & de Leonardis, 2014). In this respect, governance arenas are deputed to foster both the horizontal and vertical subsidiarity in policy-making processes (Bifulco, 2015). This pillar may be intended as the way in which territorialisation of welfare policies and activations of citizens may be ignited in the local contexts.

The fourth dimension is “participation”, which echoes “activation”, and refers to the importance of effectively including citizens in the governance arenas and, where possible, in decision-making processes. The question of citizens’ participation engages a question of “civicness” (Brandsen et. al., 2010; Newman & Tonkens, 2011) and citizenship (Purcell, 2007). Participation has also been largely investigated in the field of urban planning with an insisting attention (Healey, 1997; Susskind et. al. , 1999; Forester, 2008; Gorman, 2010; Horelli, 2002; Saporito, 2016), so much that it has turned into “a popular buzzword in contemporary urban studies” (Silver, Scott, & Kazepov, 2010: 453). In fact, participation hides some pitfalls, in particular at the present neoliberal time of attention on local communities (Guarneros-Meza & Geddes, 2010). Although it is constantly debated in both academic and governmental fields as a medium to ensure democratic deliberation, it must be noticed that participation is hard to be homogenous. Who participate? For what reason? In what way? And where? Participation is not necessarily on a shared basis, and it does not necessarily improve the conditions of least advantaged inhabitants. To address these points, many agendas attempted to build valuable discourses through different lenses, such as the European framework of “cohesion”, declined into “social cohesion” (Kazepov, 2005; Barca, 2009; McCann, 2015) [see section 2.1] and “territorial cohesion” (Faludi, 2007, 2010; Janin Rivolin, 2005), whereas on the local scale, a strong interplay is to be found with the local activation of inhabitants (Laino, 2012), even in forms of encouraged local “communities” through specific projects (Amin, 2005).

The fifth pillar – albeit not explored in the dissertation – is the emerging notion of “contractualisation”, which describes the growing form of contract-led models in the regulation of labour market and, in particular, the public-private relationships deputed to the delivery of basic services (Bifulco

¹⁸ “Subsidiarity” is usually defined as the principle stating that policies ought to be handled by the institutions or agencies that are best positioned to get the most immediate results. The origin of the concept of subsidiarity is strictly connected to the catholic social doctrine which, at the end of the 19th century (with the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, 1891), attempted to define a middle course between the excesses of laissez-faire capitalism on the one hand, and the various forms of totalitarianism (Fascism, Communism, etc.), which subordinate the individual to the state, on the other (Waschkuhn 1995, quoted in Kazepov, 2008).

& Vitale, 2006). Contractual instruments have resulted over the decades with the imposition of governance, by enabling the opening of the decision-making arenas to a plurality of actors, such as bank foundations, third sector organizations, etc. Although nurturing governance, contractualisation hides a liability between two actors that needs to be carefully isolated and taken into account.

The five pillars of local welfare rationale are collectively fostered in the search for equity (see Titmuss, 1974) in the delivery and allocation of welfare services. Beside these determinants, two aspects are also fundamental. First, a key theoretical reference lies behind the change of perspective towards localization in the governance of public policies: the approach of public policy instrumentation, or “governing through the instruments” (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2007, 2009). According to the scholars, a public policy instrument constitutes “a device that is both technical and social, that organizes specific social relations between the state and those it is addressed to, according to the representations and meanings it carries. It is a particular type of institution, a technical device with the generic purpose of carrying a concrete concept of the politics/society relationship and sustained by a concept of regulation” (Lascoumes & Le Gales, 2007: 4). Today, the approach of governance through the instruments shed light on the interplays and relationships between public authority, economic actors and social groups. Policy instrumentation approach points to an enhanced focus on the contemporary policies, placing the policy instrument as a device that enable actors involved to take responsibility for defining policy objectives.

Together with the policy instrumentation, the second key notion of local welfare system (LWS) (Andreotti et al., 2012; Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Glennerster et. al., 1999) consistently outlines the local welfare rationale and action, also as a way to address its spatial dimension. The analytical concept of LWS “is not to be confused either with the local welfare state, which is the public aspect of the LWS, or with the local welfare mix (Ascoli & Ranci, 2002, 2003) which only refers to the different local actors providing welfare resources. The understanding of a LWS must start “from its socioeconomic and cultural conditions and from the social structures in which it is embedded” (Andreotti et al., 2012: 1934). LWS emerges as a complex from of instruments, resources, actors that contribute to achieve the five pillars of local welfare rationale. As for its territorial configuration, due to its mix and interplay of aspects, LWS shall be examined in a dynamic perspective, where several scales, such as the municipal, or the metropolitan, as well as the local scale of “area based” interventions, may be suitable proxies in this purpose. City may is itself seen as a crucial territory for local welfare system (Andreotti & Mingione, 2013), due to the increase of inequality, social polarization hitting not only the poorest population but also a significant portion of the middle class (Ranci et al., 2014). In general, LWS represents the sum of dynamic arrangements in view of specific socio-economic, cultural, labour market conditions put in motion different mixes of formal and informal actors, both public and non-public, involved in the provision of welfare resources. LWS have been acquiring relevance in parallel with the weakening of national state level in policy framework (Bagnasco & Le Gales, 2000; Ranci et al., 2014).

The progression of European pathway of civil rights and public protection occurred between 1945 to early 1970s, when such rights began to erode, the five pillars of activation, territorialisation, integration, participation and contractualisation, the instrumentation policy approach and the notion of local welfare systems are the key determinants of contemporary local welfare rationale as emerged since late 1970s, or rather, early 1980s, until early 2000s. In fact, the impacts of the 2008 global crisis on local welfare provision have been significant, and today the public-private provision localization of welfare services looks more fragmented and influenced by the specific body of resources, equipment and synergies activated within a single context, usually identified with a city able to gather experts, policy makers, private actors and third sector organizations. As a result, some differentiations have emerged in the fair distribution of local welfare services or in the development of local welfare systems. This aspect is

particularly evident in the Italian context, although it has been debated also at the European level, with the discourse on “places that do not matter” advanced by economic geographers (Rodríguez-Pose, 2018), although such increasingly famed examination does not strictly address the field of welfare policies. To deploy the contemporary challenges and issues of local welfare, two milestones with geographical references are needed, drawing the European framework as first, and then pointing out the features and the main policy instruments of the Italian local welfare scenario.

1.2 The European framework: rescaling and multilevel governance

The watershed of the welfare state’s collapse in the mid-1970s has resulted in an increase of inflation rates and unemployment accompanied by a drop in economic growth rates and a diminished regulative capacity of the nation state (Amin, 1994; Jessop, 2002). The institutional change in Europe moved along the creation of a common market and system of regulation on the one hand – where cities and regions acquired a strategic importance (Swyngedouw, 1997; Storper, 1997; Salet et. al., 2003; Crouch & Le Galès, 2012) – and, on the other hand, a diversified scenario of coexisting policy levels negotiating the new political opportunities and structures available (Le Galès, 2002). In this frame, a landscape of interwoven regulative powers at different scales took place through a process of “subsidiarization” of policies redefining the relations among levels of government and the role of different actors vis-à-vis the public-private lines in the implementation of social policies (Kazepov, 2008). Subsidiarity principle have gained relevance, not only as a Fundamental principle of the EC treaty (Title 3), but also as a distinctive matter from statutory planning in the European countries (Faludi, 2004; Janin Rivolin, 2005). In this respect, subsidiarity is strongly interlinked with the affirmation of “cohesion” principle as a concern for rebalancing European planning and policy framework [see section 2.1] and has also redefined State responsibilities in the national and sub-national scales, as will highlighted with the Italian case [see section 1.3]. Also, welfare systems and their functioning represent a privileged perspective in understanding the processes of subsidiarization of social policies and of their impact (Kazepov, 2008).

The concept of subsidiarization invokes the “rescaling” process of territorial reorganization that affected the European scenario (Brenner, 2004a). In this framework, Yuri Kazepov identifies two trends of an “implicit” and “explicit” form of rescaling (Kazepov, 2008, 2010). In the implicit rescaling, the weight of specific measures regulated at different territorial levels changes in favour of sub-national and locally regulated policies. In the explicit rescaling, forms of territorial re-organization of social policies, explicit reforms shifted the regulatory power from the national to other levels.

This twofold process has occurred in most of the European countries, the former since mid-1970s up to mid 1980s, and the latter in more relevant form since the 1990s, when territorial re-organization of welfare policies encountered a multiplication of actors involved in the design, management and implementation of social policies. This more recent process can be viewed from the perspective of horizontal subsidiarity that took place since the early 1980s with externalization, individualization and privatization of social services, but above all, it steered the transition from “government” to a form of “governance” in which the public actors aims at facilitating and coordination the policy implementation (Rhodes, 1997; Kazepov, 2008) [see chapter 1, section 4.2]¹⁹. This process found in the local dimension an ideal level of implementation, although the diversity of different institutional contexts may favour specific governance arrangements at the local level (DiGaetano & Strom, 2003), following a path-dependence rationale (Jessop, 2002; Kazepov, 2005).

¹⁹ The section 4.2 of chapter 1, entitled “introducing governance”, sheds light on the notion of governance and its importance for the sake of this dissertation.

Rather, the vertical principle of subsidiarity deploys the important process of “rescaling” of governance towards a multi-level framework that redefined roles and responsibilities in the delivery of social services in Europe. The concept of scale has turned out to be, by far, “the most elusive, as well as the one implying a more profound theoretical reassessment of space in sociopolitical processes” (Gualini, 2006: 884). With reference to the American scenario, Kevin Cox (2010) depicted how a “politics of scale”²⁰ run between the city and the metropolitan levels of governance, whereas according to Brenner (2004b) and Jouve (2005) the remaking of urban governance represented a key mechanism through which processes of state rescaling have unfolded throughout the EU. The “politics of scale” also served to unfold the scalar nested and hierarchal forms of organization between different actors such as state, local governments and interstate engagements within socio-ecological processes (see Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003), and furthermore, it put emphasis on rescaling as a process towards novel governance arrangements. In Europe, unprecedented dynamics of regionalization and redefinition of regional policy (Keating, 1997; Paasi, 2001; Gualini, 2006; Barca et. al., 2012; McCann, 2015) testified the scalar tensions implied in the European dual process of integration and decentralization. According to Maurizio Ferrera (2008), spatial implications of regionalization process affected also the sphere of social protection through a transition from welfare state to welfare regions. More in the details of welfare reforms in Europe, rescaling processes are inquired as part of a restructuring of modes of governance and regulation that involve shifts in the relationship between state and society and their influence on spatial relations (Gualini, 2006). Rescaling strongly involved the State through new multi-hierarchical levels of institutions (Brenner, 2004b). On the vertical ladder, the result of such multiplication of actors led to the multi-level governance framework, where “EU has proved to be the most powerful actor both in expressing a political intentionality and in developing policy practices directed towards in a new pluralist and multi-dimensional politics of scale” (Gualini, 2006: 888).

The concept of multi-level governance is generated by the experience of the EU and the working of the structural funds (Hooghe & Marks, 2001; Bache & Flinders, 2004; Warleigh, 2006). It implies “not only that governments exist at a range of different geographical levels or scales, but also that they are increasingly interdependent and involved in a continuing process of negotiation across a range of policy fields” (Allen & Cochrane, 2007: 1166). As introduced in the first chapter, in the EU, multilevel governance represents the key attempt to foster European integration on several policy fields (Kazepov, 2010; Piattoni, 2010), focusing on the different articulation of state intervention with transnational functions (Hooghe & Marks, 2001; Jessop, 2004). These changes involved a more complex system of actors, actions and partnerships that institutionalized governance as a popular term to describe the system of actors and the new forms of public actions (Dente, 1990b; Lefevre, 1998). In the pathway of European integration and subsidiarization, the affirmation of multilevel governance as a principle of vertical subsidiarity may be also viewed from what Bruno Dente labelled as “adaptive” approach in the analysis of the relation between governance and institutional design, to unfold that institution-building must take into account the different dimensions of the decision-making game, including the nature of the actors, their goals and strategies, the nature of the decisions (Dente, 1990b). This critical remark to the pluralization of actors entails also a critical review of the various governmental levels, reported in Fig. 7 for what concern the European framework. Indeed, multilevel governance opened up for a sort of nested urban hierarchy where the “metropolitan” scale of governance acquired increasing importance (Dente, 1990; Lefevre, 1998; Salet et al., 2003; Nelles et. al., 2018), even under state pressure (Brenner, 2004b).

²⁰ “Politics of scale” is a concept rooted in the field of radical geography, firstly developed by Neil Smith (1992) and then excavated by other geographers with reference to socio-political processes and struggles when facing capital circulation and uneven spatial development (see also Swyngedouw, 1997; Brenner, 2001).

Nonetheless, the governance rearrangement on the metropolitan rationale hides today some pitfalls when questioned in view of the consolidated regionalization processes (Fedeli, 2016). As illustrated in Fig. 7, this enhancement of the metropolitan and the urban in the vertical hierarchy refers to the “localist level” of cities and metropolises as key territorial actors of governance (Harding, 1997; Bagnasco & Le Gales, 2000).

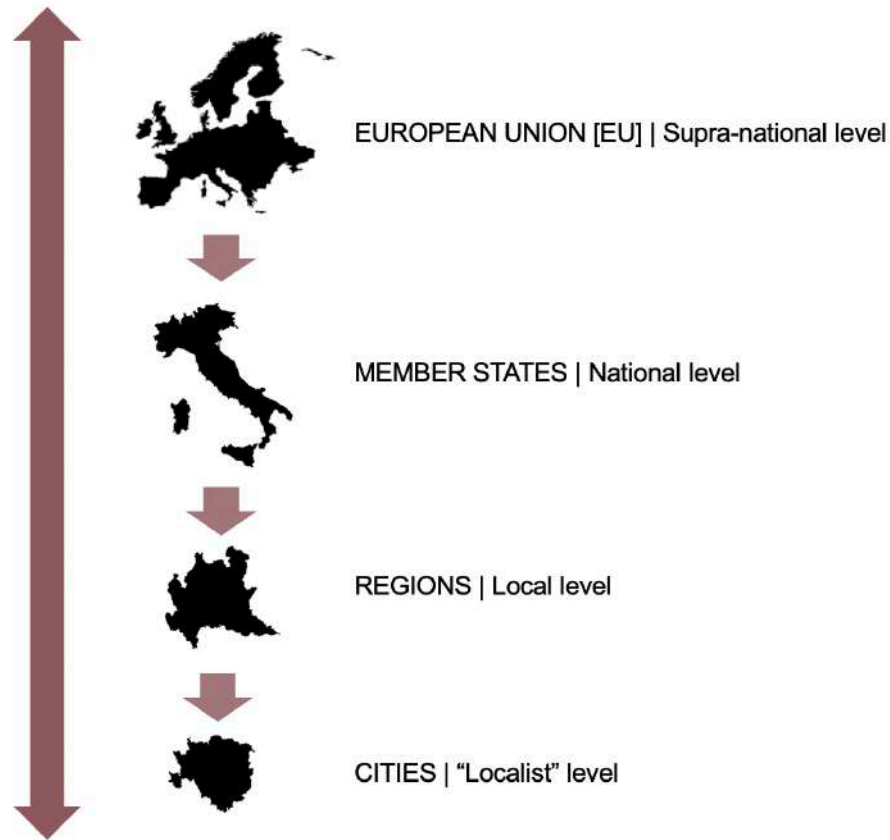


Figure 7. A pillar of the European framework: the rationale of multilevel governance in EU. With reference to the local level of regions and the “localist” level of cities, the silhouettes of Lombardy and Milan has been chosen for mere illustrative reasons. Source: author

Above all, the rescaling towards multilevel governance has strongly transformed social services provision in Europe within the construction of local welfare. Kazepov (2010: 65–67) identifies a number of pros and cons emerging from these processes of subsidiarization and actors pluralization. The pros involve the new strategic role of the local dimension and the non-state actors in the design and implementation of social policy, highlighted as follows: (1) the widening of local experimentation through coordinated solutions to old problems (Moulaert et. al., 2007) transforming the local level into a laboratory for social innovations (Le Galès, 2002; Vicari & Moulaert, 2009); (2) the diffusion of grass-roots actions and citizenship practices (Eizaguirre et. al., 2012; Garcia, 2006); (3) the legitimization of the political choice of involving local actors in decision-making, by building trust and facilitating mutually adjusting compromises. To the opposite, cons are related to the ways in which the territorial re-organization of social policies and the new governance arrangements amend the modes to cope with vulnerability and new social risks. Such criticalities are pointed out as follows: (1) the potential divergence among sub-national territories and the institutionalization of their increasing disparities [see section 4]; (2) the territorial coordination of both public and private actors involved in multilevel governance triggers the need for coordination and opens up to possible opportunistic behaviours or conflicts; (3) the spread of blame-avoiding strategies implicit in rescaling processes, in view of the reduction of financial transfers

from the central to the sub-national governments that can lead to a “decentralization of penury” (Keating, 1998) driven by political calculations; (4) the accountability of decision-making process that weakens the democratic control over actors’ responsibilities (see Crouch, 2004).

The differentiation among territorial levels to develop a complex and innovative system of multilevel governance has involved different scales and actors foreseeing homogenous access criteria and benefits (Bifulco & Vitale, 2006). However, as argued by Kazepov (2008), the impact of such processes varies according to the specificities of the respective regulatory frames at national or sub-national levels.

2. Contemporary challenges in the governance of local welfare

To unfold the contemporary challenges in local welfare provision, the argument address two issues. First, emerging from the pillars of local welfare and the European framework, a section is dedicated to the concept of cohesion. Second, the second contemporary issue involve the vibrant and heterogeneous debate on neoliberalization, not only referred to the disposal of public welfare and the contemporary changes towards public-private arrangements in governance, but also entailing analyses on neoliberal city and regimes, within a long debate that makes the term “neoliberal” itself a little unwieldy.

2.1 Coping with cohesion

As indicated earlier [see section 1.1], cohesion is a key notion travelling amongst the five pillars of local welfare, and it found valuable declinations in the terms of social cohesion and territorial cohesion, within the EU governance framework. Nonetheless, an overwhelming attention turned “cohesion” into “a dress for all seasons”, a fashionable concept for any policy implementation, regardless the effective achievement of a cohesive governance or a cohesive action, where beneficiaries play a role. “Cohesion policies” as such, is something not new: it is concerned largely, but not exclusively, with rectifying imbalance (Faludi, 2006). Although related to the same issue, it is reasonable to divide between “social cohesion” and “territorial cohesion” for the sake of this analysis. Cohesion is actually not circumscribed to such subdivision, but in view of local welfare rationale, this twofold identification enables to grasp the main features and the insistency revolving around cohesion in welfare policies.

The urban is the sphere where “social cohesion” has been largely investigated. It has been popularised by Émile Durkheim in *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893) to cope with the social conflicts in the society of 19th century, albeit its contemporary repositioning is based on a rather different belief system, if compared to that era (Donzelot, 2008). Today, social cohesion may be synthetically described as “a key European policy concern as well as an academic concept relating to diverse aspects of the dynamics of social relations, such as social exclusion, participation and belonging” (Novy et. al., 2012: 1873). In this respect, the emphasis on social cohesion – at least in Europe – entails the body of experimentations aimed at tackling segregation, declined in manifold ways, such as socio-economic segregation (Musterd et. al., 2017), socio-spatial segregation, with particular reference to an urban dimension (Atkinson, 2014; Musterd & Ostendorf, 1998) and to the ethnic forms of segregation (Musterd, 2005; Arbaci, 2007). In this regard, high levels of segregation are related to a low level of participation (Musterd, 2005) and therefore social and ethnic segregation are considered negative when fostering social cohesion. On this basis, the achievement of social cohesion is strongly interlinked with the struggle against the increasing socio-spatial inequalities in the European cities (Cassiers & Kesteloot, 2012). Moreover, a nexus between cities, social cohesion and environmental issues is also advocated by arguing that social inequalities and conflicts are intertwined with environmental processes materialized in

urban forms (Cook & Swyngedouw, 2012)²¹. Therefore, the key question involving also local welfare provision is of how more cohesive urban contexts can be planned, built and managed, in the interplay between a local public power (usually identified with the municipal one) and an active civil society. Placing historically, in Europe social cohesion gained momentum in policy and research fields when those features of cohesion connected to the welfare state started to erode, and in this conjuncture, it became a political issue due to the ineffectiveness of existing social policies and the absence of alternative in seeking redistributive policies (Novy et al., 2012). In other words, the clue of social cohesion revolves around the key pillars of local welfare with a strong interplay with the territorial dimension of cohesion, particularly in cities. In Italy, with regards to social assistance policies, the reform introduced during the 1990s and institutionalized with the national framework law (L. 328/2000) inaugurated a multilevel and non-hierarchical model of governance for social cohesion policies (Graziano & Raué, 2011; Catalano et al., 2015). Nonetheless, such reforming phase only partially achieved a social cohesion framework as well as more cohesive living places, as their achievement was and still is strongly dependent from the local resources, possibilities and arrangements. In fact, social cohesion is also approached as a *problématique* when recognizing that the definition of what is to be considered as a problem of social cohesion in the city is no simple or free-value decision (Novy et al., 2012).

In the European framework, the affirmation of the cohesion policy (see Barca, 2009) during the second half of 1990s addressed the need to reduce the disparities arisen from uneven access to employment opportunities, and in the early 2000s cohesion has turned into a guiding principle for a new social policy agenda (CEC [Commission of the European Community], 1996 and 2005, in Novy et al., 2012), aimed at rebalancing the uncertain distributive effects of an internal market without borders (Janin Rivolin, 2005). Subsequently, in EU the concept of “territorial cohesion” increasingly gained significance as an extension beyond the notion of social cohesion. Briefly, the objective of territorial cohesion framework is “to help achieving a more balanced development, to build sustainable communities in urban and rural areas and to seek greater consistency with other sectoral policies which have a spatial impact” (Faludi, 2007: 569). This ambition inherits the principles of Lisbon strategy (2000) and those of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), regarding the manifestation of a European model of planning and integration. In this respect, territorial cohesion policy framework entails the adoption of subsidiarity principle and supra-national coordination of national systems. The French roots, the history and the EU reporting tasks have been largely discussed in literature (Faludi, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2013). In this thesis framework, cohesion deserves a remark not only for its presence in the European debate on social protection and new welfare, but also to address at a first sight the spatial configuration of local welfare policies. According to Faludi (2007), the conceptualization of a spatial structure is essential for territorial cohesion policy, insofar the European model disregards the concrete shape of territory to which it is applied (*ibidem*). Territorial cohesion policy is a way of rendering this more concrete. In this view, Faludi points out an issue of “decommodification” of certain policy objects through the territorial cohesion. This concern invokes Esping-Andersen (1990) and his identification of social rights as the criterions permitting people to make their living standards independent of pure market, by also observing how citizens’ status has been reframed as a commodity after the jeopardization of social rights within welfare state retrenchment. Faludi (2007) stresses how the remit of the decommodification concept includes well-being, amenity, quality-of-life, heritage and landscape value issues unattainable without public intervention, in a perspective not fully subjected to the market. In this respect, local welfare system

²¹ This perspective is embedded in the Urban Political Ecology research stream, studying the “urbanization of the nature” (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003; Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2003; Kaika, Heynen, & Swyngedouw, 2006).

represents instead the configuration at the local scale – closely linked with rescaling process – to foster social cohesion through a more decentralized, efficient, sustainable and participatory organization (Andreotti et al., 2012). Nevertheless, local welfare in Europe – as a broad framework beyond the social and territorial cohesion – still copes with significant patterns of socio-spatial inequalities, currently framed also as regional inequalities (Rodríguez-Pose et. al., 2005; Pike et. al., 2007; Iammarino et. al., 2018). Furthermore, the regional development theories (and not only) found themselves facing the uneven geographical development exacerbated by the current financial crisis in the eurozone (Hadjimichalis, 2011). In this vein, non-economic factors, i.e. not related to economic growth and competitiveness, look ended up in the background (Hadjimichalis, 2006), modifying rationales and schemes of the EU and its regional development.

2.2 Governance at a neoliberal time

Within this dissertation, the emphasis on neoliberalization raise from an evidence debated over the last years. The reconfiguration of welfare provision on local and urban scale have provided the opportunity for a shift towards the “activation” of social spending, and the “cohesion” as a guideline, to pursue a rebirth of social policies. However, as noticed by Gilles Pinson and Christelle Morel Journal in their valued literature review of the “neoliberal city”, the development of “urban social policies” has not always followed this path, adding instead new insurance-based social protections to existing ones at the national level (Pinson & Morel Journal, 2016: 142). As argued by d’Albergo (2016: 309), the terms neoliberalism and neoliberalization form a pair of concepts whose ontological and epistemological meanings are strictly connected to each other as well as to concrete historical developments regarding the economic, political and cultural spheres of social life in contemporary capitalism. In heuristic terms it has been increasingly used to give an account of how these developments change the features of contemporary society.

Across the manifold field of studies that addresses its development and ill-defined nature, “neoliberalism” appears as a “rascal concept”: promiscuously pervasive, yet inconsistently defined, imprecise and frequently contested (Brenner et. al., 2010). It gained prominence since 1980s as a signifier of free-market ideological doctrine associated with Milton Friedmann and Friedrich Hayek, and then imposed as a market-disciplinary regulatory form entrenched in the world economy. Literally, neoliberalism is associated with the forms of privatization and new public management of the public affairs, and today it is complex, diverse and contested, and works on a number of levels (Guarneros-Meza & Geddes, 2010). Inspired by Foucault (2007), many scholars have defined neoliberalism as a new regime of governmentality and neoliberalization within which the rise of technologies and devise constructing competition and economic calculation have become new moral standards²². On this basis, “neoliberal governmentality refers to the ways in which various forms of neoliberal rationality are mobilized by and through the state, involving a range of governmental technologies” (Haughton et. al., 2013: 220). David Harvey (2005) argued that neoliberalism should be understood as a political project involving a process of “neoliberalization”, to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation. Bob Jessop (2002) noted the global character of neoliberal strategies that attribute a key role for cities in managing the interface between the local economies and the global flows, between potentially conflicting local demands for well-beings and the races of international competitiveness, and between the challenges of socio-spatial polarization and social exclusion, and those of deregulation and privatization. On this

²² A key contribution comes from the French scholars who studied the Foucault legacy and his contribution for a critic of the contemporary State transformations. See Pinson and Morel Journal on *Territory, Politics, Governance* (2016).

strand, neoliberalism does not only land in cities with impacts on urban governance, although cities are crucial cradles of neoliberalization and its contestation (Pinson & Morel Journal, 2016).

Other concerns addressed the periodization and the path-dependencies of neoliberalism, by distinguishing a phase of “roll-back” characterized by deregulation and dismantlement of preexisting Keynesian institutional frames on social-democratic welfare state, and a subsequent “roll-out” phase that introduced new rules, institutions and networked governances (Peck & Tickell, 2002). The sequence of roll-back and roll-out with neoliberalism has also been replaced by “destruction” and “creation” (Peck et. al., 2009). The same scholars also focused their attention to the contextual embeddedness of the neoliberal turn through the concept of “actually existing neoliberalism” to unfold the “production” of restructuring projects “within national, regional and local contexts defined by the legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices and political struggles” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002: 349). Such concept “is intended to underscore not only the contradictory, destructive character of neoliberal policies, but also the ways in which neoliberal ideology systematically misrepresents the real effects of such policies upon the macro-institutional structures and evolutionary trajectories of capitalism”(Peck et al., 2009: 53). Broadly, the neoliberalization framework has been of great help in giving sense to the transformation of state’s territorial policies from a redistributive to a competitive orientation (Brenner, 2004a). Although investigated also in Latin America and Global South (see references in Guarneros-Meza & Geddes, 2010), the propensity to infer the generality of processes that are likely to be very specific to the US and UK reveals an academic Anglo ethnocentrism of the neoliberalization thesis (Pinson & Morel Journal, 2016). Furthermore, neoliberalism literature is also criticized of being indiscriminate in labelling the neoliberal changes of the withdrawal of the state and the de-regulation of urban life, as well as the new techniques of public management, service provision and anti-poverty programmes (Storper, 2016). Yet, as stressed by Wacquant (2001), a “penalization” of poverty and struggles experienced by “active minorities” is entrenched within the rise of neoliberalism. Others, such as Clarke (2004b), acknowledged how the neoliberal rationale entails a dissolvment of the public realm of policy-making.

Cities epitomize the contemporary neoliberal boost, whether they are seen – inter alia – as “national champions” within the State commitments amongst policy approaches towards economic success (Crouch & Le Galès, 2012), or as theatres where to place new issues of democracy in a neoliberal contestation through the city-region frame (Purcell, 2007, 2008). Yet, cities are seen as sites of participation and democratization in an urban contention (Silver et al., 2010), as well as places of new urban politics within an increasing rich-poor division (MacLeod et. al., 2003; MacLeod, 2011). An intriguing path is the one acknowledging a “post-political” condition of the cities (Swyngedouw, 2007, 2009a). The constitution of the “post-political” embodies the new forms of autocratic governance-beyond-the-state (Swyngedouw, 2005) and it “reconfigures the act of governing to a stakeholder-based arrangement of governance in which the traditional state forms (national, regional or local) partake together with experts, non-governmental organizations and other responsible partners” (Swyngedouw, 2009: 608). The post-political city emerges as a result of post-democracy (see Crouch, 2004), where environmental, but also social and economic demands may be discussed, but in a non-conflictual way. Thus, the post-political thesis relies on the increasing privatization of urban spaces, the global capitals’ power constrains urban activism, and urban politics appears stunted and entrenched in private-public neoliberal relationships. Nonetheless, Beveridge and Koch (2017) argue that the post-political is an “empirical puzzle” that may signify an analytical “cul-de-sac” which, although capturing the current political malaise, is likely to entrap the research on depoliticization in the urban contexts. Broadly, recent

viewpoints advocate the opportunities of opening up the city to new post-crisis experimentations and urban models in view of the various understandings of neoliberalization (Oosterlynck & González, 2013).

Connected to governance, the “variegated” (Brenner et al., 2010) neoliberal rise led to various studies and investigations framing different perspectives around the neoliberal transformation of public policies, including welfare and social ones. Adalbert Evers addressed the mixes and hybridization processes in welfare, towards more autonomy of single service organization and in increasing intertwining between state and market spheres (Evers, 2005: 745). As aforementioned, Moini (2015) noticed how the Italian reforms in welfare are embedded in neoliberalization in view of the multifaceted and hybridized organizations of public action. Many different research strands involve analyses on the neoliberal spatial governance (Allmendinger, 2016), the national role in the governmentality of decentralized spatial planning projects (see Savini, 2013), as well as on the socio-spatial aspects of governance, where “the state and state power involve more than the capacity to territorialize, and hence to contain, political authority and thereby define the terrain within which state powers are exercised and from and among which inter-state relations are conducted” (Jessop, 2016: 9). In the rationality of new state spaces (Brenner, 2004a; Brenner et. al., 2008), a specific attention has been also devoted to the soft spaces of neoliberal governmentality (Haughton et al., 2013), involving a displacement from formal to informal techniques of government and the appearance of new actors on the scene of government that indicate transformations in statehood (Lemke, 2002). As indicated by Haughton, Allmendinger and Oosterlynck (2013: 222) “although soft spaces allow for a diversity of actors to be involved in the governance of space [...] *they*, to varying degrees, allow for particular demands to be voiced and negotiated, as long as they do not question and disrupt the overarching framework of market-led development”.

Spatial implications of neoliberalism cannot be fully addressed in this dissertation. Along with the raise of new soft and hybrid configuration of governance, the enhancement of the spatial development of neoliberalism is also grounded in the implications on the national-local relationship in decision-making. Drawing on Peck and Tickell (2002: 401), “neoliberalism has been able to make a virtue of uneven spatial development and continuous regulatory restructuring, rendering the macro power structure as a whole partially insulated from local challenges”. As a result, the spatial configuration of inequalities at a time of neoliberal changes has turned into a key issue in terms of welfare and well-being, even in view of the intra-urban gaps (between neighbourhoods) and between cities, metropolises and regions. Therefore, local welfare deserves a consideration of its territorial outlines.

3. The territorial dimension of local welfare

The attention devoted to the neoliberal debate aimed at acknowledging how welfare ended up into a “different welfare” (de Leonardis, 1998). Over the last years, territorialisation – amongst the five pillars of local welfare – gained an increasing significance due to its faculty to gather a number of different disciplines and approaches in the understanding of the spatial configuration and the spatial strategies of local welfare (see Powell & Boyne, 2001). For such reason, territorialisation needs to be isolated to grasp the spatial implications of a new delivery of welfare, with a view also to the knots in the organization of “welfare spaces”.

3.1 Territorialisation of social policies

As introduced, territorialisation deal with the interaction between urban policies and social policies by focusing on the local scale as a target of intervention, by placing and enhancing the interplay between

“place” and “people” as a key principle of welfare localization (Donzelot, 2003). The retrenchment of welfare state lies behind the raise of territorial issues. Inasmuch as welfare state has no longer autonomy in welfare planning, it has also a limited capacity to accommodate territorial minorities within existing political and institutional structures (Moreno & McEwen, 2005) although increasingly, sub-state governments and local authorities do not require the intervention of central bureaucracies and may activate area-based policies (see Power, 1996) and local experimentations. As contemporary cities are places of new local governances (Bagnasco & Le Gales, 2000), the reorganization of social policies is embedded in processes of urban revitalizations. In this respect, territorialisation is a concept that is used to respond to the interaction between urban policies and social policies by focusing on the neighbourhood as the local scale of intervention. Simultaneously, the relationship between state and territory lies behind the rationale of the local welfare paradigm, resulting in a dual movement: on one hand, a re-territorialisation led by devolution and localization processes; on the other hand, a de-territorialisation linking decision-making processes to supra-national levels and organizations (Bifulco, 2016). In Europe, this reframing coincided with the birth of a “new wave” of regionalization during the 1980s (Keating, 1997, 1998; Lord, 2009), which was influenced by three main forces: globalization and the consequences of the global market for regions’ functions, the encouragement of European political integration, and the political mobilization towards the local scale by creating pluralistic political arenas and allegedly collective initiatives providing a closer fit to local needs.

In a nutshell, local welfare lies at the intersection between the two pathways of territorialisation: the rescaling of welfare powers and the redesigning of policies in local contexts (Bifulco, 2016). In policy-making, territorialisation consists of the tendency to pursue an integrated approach among diverse policy fields (social, housing, health) to address manifold issues (in the social, physical or economic spheres) within a specific area, usually delimited to the neighbourhood scale of disadvantaged, abandoned and vulnerable public housing complexes lacking public facilities. Whilst localization indicates the scale of policies, territorialisation enhances the context and places where policies take place, by unravelling them as resources, objectives, trajectories and settings of public action (Bifulco et al., 2008b). In the frame of territorialisation, the territory acts as a “setting of social services” (de Leonardis & Monteleone, 2007), where the local level is deputed to the achievement of active and integrated policies coherent with the territories’ needs (Bifulco & de Leonardis, 2003). This reconfiguration promotes the localization of actions and strategies as a way to rearrange what has been thus far treated separately by the public policies (Bifulco & de Leonardis, 2006; Bricocoli, 2007). The inadequacy of sector-based approaches to regenerating urban areas has been widely acknowledged, particularly in view of the increasing societal changes in public housing areas initially designed to foster social inclusion among people moved to the city, that then fell into the ‘pitfalls of social exclusion’ (Cremaschi, 2001, 2008). Although processes dedicated to improving the living conditions in vulnerable enclaves have been implemented, some ambiguities are evident, such as the risk of increasing territorial inequalities through localized and territorialized policies (Hadjimichalis & Hudson, 2007) tackling a delimited target area according to a certain level of viability. A misleading rhetoric (Bricocoli & Cucca, 2016) sees the local scale as ‘inherently good’ (Purcell, 2006) while neglecting the risk of local policies running out owing to the precariousness of local experimentation (de Leonardis, 2008: 200). Furthermore, the contemporary neoliberal shift in both urban and social policies affects territorialisation, as the territory is at times treated merely as a stock of resources to be exploited in order to reduce public spending and enhance competitiveness (Bifulco, 2016). In this respect, Cochrane (2003) maintains that a restructuring of welfare provision is justified today largely because of the way that it makes places more or less attractive for business. Broadly intended, territorialisation lies between the interaction between welfare policies and urban regeneration

policies on one hand, and the geographical and spatial inequalities of uneven distribution of local welfare on the other hand.

In Italy, territorialisation has occurred between innovations and fragmentations (Kazepov, 2009a; Kazepov & Barberis, 2008; Bifulco, 2016). Some programmes of area-based social interventions or urban regeneration, such as respectively the “Area Social Plans” and the “Neighbourhood Contracts” (see Bifulco & Centemeri, 2008; Bricocoli & Savoldi, 2010; Bifulco, 2016), followed the trajectories of territorialisation making local activation and policy integration able to giving place to a shared revision of local issues, towards a transformation of conflictual interests into a consensus around common interests. In this way, for instance, housing issues confined in the private sphere raise on the scene of public action to be recognized as collective instances towards more pluralistic decision-making arenas (Bifulco, 2005).

However, in Italy more than elsewhere, the local scale entails “a variety of disparities, of real existing territorial inequalities regarding the accessibility to resources and services charged to the citizens” (Bifulco, 2015: 37). As a consequence, territorialisation in Italy hanging in an unbalance between the exploitation of local territorial autonomy and the increase of inequalities. On one hand, the renovated autonomy of the regional and municipal levels has encouraged the experimentation of innovative solutions for public action, but it has also exacerbated disparities and lacks in accessibility to services, both between regions (in a reproduction of North-South differentiation) and between intra-urban local contexts. The territorial configuration of local welfare in Italy is therefore an innovative pathway for the engagement of a plethora of actors in a strengthening of cohesion and democracy in public choices, but at the same time it is exposed to the risk of generating a citizenship affected by inequalities and disparities between local contexts differently equipped in terms of resources, actors and organizations. Not only in Italy, but in Europe in general, “territorialisation is an intricate phenomenon, and there is a need to gain better understanding of the effects arising from the combination of problems and opportunities” (Bifulco, 2016: 642). The aim of making social protections closer to the individual needs through tailor-made projects developed on the local scale of living context (Bricocoli & de Leonardi, 2014) is exposed to the local viabilities and resources. Extensively, in the majority of public action fields, the design of policies takes place with a “project making”, in the forms of a palimpsest where a number of actors co-organize a set of projects that, as a whole, represent a consistent part of policy-making (Dente, 1990a; Boltanski & Chiapello, 2014). Territorialisation is strongly influenced by such framework, although some critical points shall be remarked in the interplay between territory and welfare.

3.2 Tensions in the production of welfare spaces

The planning of urban infrastructures in terms of spaces and services has been a core theme of the urban masterplans that shaped cities during the 20th century, in a thick relation between the urban development and the welfare systems, encouraged by the industrial economy and a system of protection, although diversified amongst countries (Bricocoli, 2017). Spatial issues in the reshaping of welfare involve at first the geographical inequality and unevenness, but also the new arrangements entrenched in the decentralization and reorganization of social policies in the production of new welfare spaces (see Cochrane & Etherington, 2007). Alongside the role of neoliberalism in such redefinitions, a key feature concerns the interplays between social policies and urban policies, and the tensions embedded in such increasingly debated and fostered relationship. The Italian debate may shed light in this vein. Originally, it should be noted how in critical urban contexts the main solutions are oriented to the real existing public delivery of social services (Laino, 2012), whereas in view of other urban conditions, the perspective can be rather oriented on the innovation of governance towards the constructions of agreements between

public and private actors (usually the third sector) to ameliorate the spatial outcomes of social services, as recently occurred – in Italy – for the cases of Milan (Bricocoli & Sabatinelli, 2017a, 2017b) and Trieste, with emphasis on socio-health integration (de Leonardis & Monteleone, 2007; Bifulco et al., 2008a; Marchigiani, 2009; de Leonardis & De Vidovich, 2017). The recent discussion of the programme *Welfare di Tutti* (“Welfare for All”) – *WeMi* in the capital city of Lombardy [see chapter 5, section 3.1], provide a useful commentary in this respect, by addressing the knots in the policy interaction between the social and the urban fields of studies²³.

The spatial dimension of welfare, seen as the relation between welfare and territory on the one hand, and between welfare and space on the other hand, is positioned amongst different disciplines and it embraces many administrative and regulative sectors (Sabatinelli, 2017). In the Italian debate, few contributions investigated the “material features” of welfare resources and their physical qualities (Lavinia Bifulco, 2003; Pomilio, 2009; Tosi & Munarin, 2011; Caravaggi & Imbroglini, 2016). From the urban studies, Tosi and Munarin (2011: 10) notices how the relationship between welfare policies and city has been urging the urban planning and practice to rethink their ability to address the knot between the progressive impoverishment of the urban spaces and the pressures on citizenship rights. The authors point out the importance of describing welfare spaces with instruments technically appropriate, through observations entailing a twofold viewpoint. On one side, the perspective is built on the side of social policies, to understand how they are “deposited” and applied to the urban contexts (see Donolo, 2015), whereas on the other side, the urban planning perspective should look at the ways in which welfare spaces configured, by coping with the physical materials, the infrastructures, the existing practices that shape and transform those spaces, as well as the decision-making processes behind (Tosi & Munarin, 2011: 43).

Nonetheless, the researches on the nexus between welfare policies and urban planning and policies are still limited. As highlighted by Bricocoli (2017) in the urban planning field, investigations are mainly focused on the physical dimension of equipment, spaces and “material” aspects, rather than going into the merits of organization and daily access to the services. The attention is prevalent on the quantification, localization and enumeration of beneficiaries, services and functions (Di Giovanni, 2009), with very little investigations on the governance arrangements (see Caldarice, 2018). In social sciences, although the territorial configuration of policies is a study topic, the discussion of existing spatial implications of welfare services and places is scarcely addressed. It may be argued that the territorial issues of local welfare have been overwhelmingly viewed in terms of rescaling and reconfiguration of service delivery with enhancement on the local scale (Ferrera & Rhodes, 2000; Andreotti et al., 2012), or even in a closer connection with an alternative model of development based on different dimensions of the social innovation, through an application on a specific local context, although disciplined by articulations at different territorial levels (Vicari Haddock & Moulaert, 2009: 63).

Yet, the processes of transformation of social, health and well-being policies with implications on the physical dimension of the spaces where services are provided, need further investigations with supports from the urban planning (Bricocoli, 2017). The key question, according to Pace and Renzoni (2011: 92), is about the repercussions of social policies on the urban space, their role in the transformation of cities and its uses, how they can be translated into liveable spaces.

Italian urban planning faced the issue of space liveability with the instrument of “planning standard”, promulgated with the Ministerial Decree 1444 /1968 to identify a minimum allocation of public facilities

²³ The text refers to the special issue dedicated to the municipal programme *Welfare di Tutti* – *WeMi* published in *Territorio*, n. 83/2017: <http://www.planum.net/journals-books/issues/n83-2>

(in particular, 18 sqm per person). The planning standard may be viewed as the attempt, from the urban planning, to legitimize its universalism and its technical dimension, through an “objectivation” of the social rights that may be ensured by an urban regulation (Bricocoli & Savoldi, 2018). In a sense, the planning standard represents a case in which an awareness –in view of a citizen’s right – is transformed into actions – regulated by law – through a process of creating homogeneity, called “isopraxism” (Erlingsdóttir & Lindberg, 2005). Recently, fifty years after its promulgation, a group of scholars accounted for the cultural outcomes, the complexities and the fertilities that contributed in the elaboration of the “planning standards” decree, arguing that its background was based not exclusively to a quantitative dimension (Renzoni, 2018). Although the understanding of the territorial dimension of local welfare is today enriched by many views, such as the latter on “planning standards”, the spatial implications and configurations of local welfare policies are called to pursue hybridization between disciplines, frameworks and governance settings. Whilst place and people are seen in a conjuncture towards the localization of policies, social policies and urban policies find a shared territory (both analytically and physically) on an episodic basis.

4. Local welfare at stake: an attempt to reframe local welfare through the suburban

This conclusive part attempts to identify the crucial points where to place the debated topics – in this case local welfare – in an analytical interaction with the contemporary conditions of a “suburban planet” (Keil, 2017). In their observation of the interplay between urban policies and social policies, Bricocoli and Sabatinelli (2017a) points out a factor of risk in the accentuation of the urban scale, wherein an orientation of territorial and local rationale of policies and services emerges entrenched in the rhetoric of “community welfare”, which ties the access to a specific services on a basis of belonging and pertinence territorially defined. On this basis, the suburban scale needs to be in a certain sense constructed, when observing the Italian case. Such issue raises a number of features to be unfolded.

The local welfare rationale, as presented in the previous section, looks particularly attached to a strictly urban configuration, as embedded within the societal transformations of the “urban society”. Drawing on Figure 13 reported at the end of chapter two, this thesis aims at building an analytical and research relationship between the inquiries on the new “urbanities” and ways of living at the edges of urban cores – identified as “suburbanisms”, i.e. suburban ways of living – and the inquiries on welfare provision in view of the new inequalities in the access services, by investigating the uneven distribution of welfare services on the local of suburbs. In this frame, local welfare framework (Kazepov, 2008; Andreotti et al., 2012; Bifulco, 2015) adequately works to read the intra-urban and inter-national inequalities, but – although the features and challenges are coherent with the suburban debate – it may be undermined by the heterogeneity of contemporary suburban constellations exploded into uneven pockets of wealth and poverty (Filion & Keil, 2016). Such argument invokes the new epistemologies of the urban (Brenner & Schmid, 2015), calling for a novel updating in the understanding of service provision. Furthermore, investigations on welfare governance and organization in the edge-municipalities suffers from a minority condition when compared to the great attention dedicated to the urban scale in its diversity of neighbourhoods, often reflecting inequalities or dissimilarities in terms of poverty, vulnerability or social exclusion.

Nevertheless, novel insights have raised from seminal contributions in the field of regional development, when questioning the arrangements of development policies. Drawing on Barca, McCann and Rodríguez-Pose (2012: 137), “building roads and sanitation is not just a precondition for development, but also something demanded by society, highly visible and extremely attractive for

decision-makers. [...] But too much emphasis on top-down, supply-side, one-size-fits-all quick-fixes eventually result in unbalanced policies”. Such issues strongly entail local welfare as framed today, but the focus on cities and urban contexts shadows such aspects. Yet, urban edges may rather play a role in deploying such aforementioned social demands, with forms of exclusion raising from inequalities to services not only confined to the social sphere (such as education, social assistance, economic supply contrasts to poverty, etc), but also involving other aspects, such as – for instance – mobility (Cass et al., 2005; Pucci & Vecchio, 2019) or water supply (Swyngedouw, 2009b; Boelens et al., 2019). Following Barca et al. (2012), an adopted direction enhance space as an element that play a pivotal role and shapes potential development not only for territories, but through externalities of the individuals who live in them (Barca et al., 2012: 139). With reference to the local scale of welfare, such perspective implies a shifting from an “area-based” to a “place-based” approach, assuming that geographical context really matters, whereby context is understood in terms of its social, cultural and institutional features. Rather, local welfare put in motion interventions on specific territorial units clearly delimited, thus leaving in the background the geographical, contextual and socio-spatial features in terms of “places” before “areas of intervention”. Such enhancement of place-based approach also posits the importance to pursue alternative pathways to development, requiring a specific attention to the institutional contexts, the citizens’ knowledge and the capabilities of the beneficiaries of policies. Local welfare strongly addressed such issues, although asymmetries are still evident, and local-based instances, constructed through specific governance arrangements, may hamper a real existing improvement of living conditions through a localization of welfare services. In other words, local welfare is a fundamental framework to be fostered and ameliorated, but its application is still too much discontinuous and dependent from the specificities of local, or local-global relationships lying behind a specific project, programme or welfare.

In addition, alongside the increasing attention devoted to the local scale, the main strategies, trajectories and experimentations took place within a selected range of arguments and frameworks, where the suburban one maintained a second order importance (Keil, 2017). In particular, according to the World Bank (2009, quoted in Barca et al., 2012), the mega-urban growth stands at the front of the debate for alternatives as well as the top of the urban hierarchy. Besides, a great deal of attention has consolidated argumentations and strategies oriented on urban agendas (referring to the Italian case, see Urban@it, 2017) or a “metropolitan” scale, with strong interlinks with governance (Lefevre, 1998; Salet et al., 2003), with the networks emerging from governance itself (Nelles et al., 2018) and with the political and discursive elements in the construction of this scale (d’Albergo & Lefèvre, 2018). Also, as stated earlier, an inspiring trend that is acquiring importance works on the regional inequalities (Rodríguez-Pose et al., 2005; Iammarino et al., 2018) and regional developments (Barca et al., 2012; Pike et al., 2007). Nonetheless, suburbs are part of metropolises and regions/city-regions, and they play a key role in fueling their developments, also as sites of aggressive infrastructural developments (Addie & Keil, 2015), given that “suburban areas perform vital infrastructural functions in the metropolitan region and beyond” (Keil, 2017: 131).

The emphasis on infrastructures – as a concept – may drive an intriguing analytical pathway to cope with local welfare provision in these pivotal sites of urban and metropolitan areas. Related with the aspects of governance and land transformation, infrastructures is “the message” (Filion, 2013) leading the approach to the localization process of service delivery amongst suburbs, which – in view of a constant worldwide urban growth – have turned into the new global urban periphery. At a first glance, by introducing elements that will be addressed afterwards [see chapter 4 section 2] the focus on infrastructures entails both physical elements referring to mobility, water and sewage, communication and energy, and social infrastructures such as those for health and education, collectively seen as crucial

dimensions of suburban development (Filion & Keil, 2016). This dissertation grounds its reflection in the latter sphere of infrastructures, as long as they are the key elements addressed in the local welfare debate in Europe since early 1980s, not only by focusing on health and education, but also facing social services, broadly seen in terms of support for population according to a specific fragility (such as aging, unemployment, precariousness, etc.). As will be illustrated in the final discussion of the research [see chapter 9], such approach can be framed in a perspective seeking the “foundational” of local welfare, built and strengthened by the evidences resulting from the study of “suburbanisms”.

In this respect, the key question while addressing welfare is very simple: what is occurring in suburbs? What are the governmental and governance dimensions that regulate provision in such areas exposed to increasing socio-spatial inequalities? What are the main elements affecting the accessibility or non-accessibility to suburbs? Or rather, what are the shapes of suburbanisms, with reference to the Italian context? To address these issues, the thesis takes into account three specific areas [see chapter 4]. In Italy, in terms of policy agenda suburbs – here are framed with caution in the Italian scenario, through the notion of “urban edge” – look wedged between two current policy developments: on one hand, grounded on the metropolitan rationale, the “PON Metro, *Programma Operativo Nazionale Città Metropolitane 2014 – 2020*”²⁴, funded by ERDP (European Regional Development Fund) and ESP (European Social Fund) programmes; on the other hand, the “National Strategy for Inner Areas”²⁵, funded by national resources into the economic politics for cohesion to tackle the demographic decline and reinvigorate services and developments in rural areas.

At this point, however, a question arises: what agendas may be envisioned for what stands in-between these two important strategies? In Italy, although suburbs are embedded within metropolitan areas, they can experience lacks in the access to services typical of the Inner Areas. This is a consequence of the constant urban expansion of the few Italian metropolitan nodes, mirroring a worldwide process, although with very site-specific and national features [see chapter 3]. In Italy, urban edges seem to be still in the background of governance agendas for (post-crisis) development. For such reasons, investigations are called to get into the specificities of local contexts. In this thesis, this effort is undertaken through the policy field of locale welfare, seeking its “suburban configuration”.

²⁴ More info about PON Metro: <http://www.ponmetro.it/>

²⁵ More info about *Strategia Nazionale per le Aree Interne*:

<http://www.programmazioneeconomica.gov.it/2019/05/23/strategia-nazionale-delle-aree-interne/>
<http://old2018.agenziacoesione.gov.it/it/arint/>

Chapter Three

Insights on Italy

Abstract

This chapter grounds its reflection in the Italian context. The aim is to strengthen an analytical perspective focused on “suburbanisms” and suburban governance challenges in a context where such conceptualization may look misrepresentative. First, the inquiry builds the analytical bridge by also mentioning the geographical differences around the concept of suburb. Second, it questions the existence of a “suburban realm” in Europe. Third, the chapter grounds the reflection on Italy through two steps: an overview of the landscape transformations towards urbanization on one hand, and a review of the most recent and significative national researches in Italy over the last four decades. Subsequently, the focus shifts on the features of local welfare frame in Italy. To conclude, the chapter highlights the contemporary issues of socio-spatial inequalities to be tackled by addressing welfare organization.

1. On the suburban: bridging analytical and geographical differences

This chapter looks into the Italian debate by addressing changes in the urban forms and welfare provision. A focus on the Italian context is needed due to a number of reasons related to the same key issue. First, suburb is a concept deeply grounded in North American studies. As illustrated in the previous chapter, most of the scholars who coped with terminological frictions, analytical clarifications and geographical observations of suburbs, come from the Anglo-Saxon and, particularly, the North American academic contexts. However, as demonstrated by the international research “Global Suburbanisms” (Hamel & Keil, 2015; Keil, 2013, 2017b, 2018; Phelps, 2017), such hegemony does not imply an inappropriateness of the suburban as both a perspective and a concept to observe urban edges elsewhere. Therefore, a primary reason looks at the necessity to strengthen a “suburban debate”, in order to nurture international investigations on socio-spatial changes at the urban outskirts. This is not to say that suburbs are geographically everywhere, but rather, the intention is to adopt a “suburban perspective” that may pursue a deeper understanding of economic rescaling, social transformations and governance rearrangements of (sub)urban contexts. After several efforts to understand what suburban is, this concept may now turn into a prism to tackle issues of politics and policies, beyond the morphological urban expansion and the transformations of built environment at the urban edges.

Second, according to the first point, by addressing the Italian academic debate on urban transformations, it is possible to cope again with that “epistemological fragility” posited by Vaughan et al. (2009). Indeed, although suburb is residual concept in its origin (Bourne, 1996), it is increasingly “a theme of universal significance, implicated in the growth of globalized ‘world cities’ and the rapid development of the built environment in emerging economies” (Vaughan et al., 2009: 485). This statement anticipated the following largely disseminated studies on global suburbs. Furthermore, Vaughan and her co-authors conclude, “the significance of suburban theory lies in its potential to undermine one-dimensional approaches to the built environment by refocusing attention on the manifold social complexities of its spatial-temporal form” (*ibid.*). On such premises, a critical reading of the Italian theories dealing with the suburban, enable to reassemble the fragility around a concept that beyond North America found different analytical perspectives. In the Italian context, the majority of urban planners agree that suburban is not the most suitable concept to observe urban outskirts. Unlike North America, where the suburbs are identified according to specific features (such as low-rise single-family dwellings, homeownership, automobile dependence, high presence of middle to upper classes), in Italy this representation is more elusive. Therefore, a critical reading of such terminologies and perspectives that

replace the hegemonic North American term, is needed, in order to build a framework grounded on ‘suburban governance’ in a scenario where “suburban” is a little used concept. Indeed, the relevance of Anglo-Saxon terminologies such as “edge city” (Garreau, 1991) or “technoburbs” (Fishman, 1987) in Europe is highly questionable (Phelps & Parsons, 2003). Many of the terms invented to depict patterns of urbanization in the United States – Phelps argues (2017: 11) – do not travel well, because of the specificity of the context.

Third, throughout Europe manifold perspectives observed the expansion European cities with little mentions to the suburban. The aforementioned Italian debate might be enclosed in a wider European discussion that does not largely adopt suburban as a one-size-fits-all term. Rather, European peri-urbanization (Ravetz et. al., 2013) have been widely investigated. Although some differences elapse between suburbanization and peri-urbanization – and hence, between “suburbs” and “peripheries” – the two concepts tends to be interchangeably used at times. In their recent excursus across the different ways to define the “urban peripheries”, Richard Harris and Charlotte Vorms (2017) also view the term “urban sprawl” as a western notion that unable to read the multifaceted local identification of urban peripheries. In a review of this recently published book (entitled *What's in a name? Talking about urban peripheries*), Robert Home (2018: 358) notices how “the generic names given to what we now call urban areas reveal changing attitudes and policies over time”. By setting a conceptual perimeter around Europe, one could argue that suburban is an anything but one-size-fits-all concept when coping with that expansion of urban peripheries transforming the former rural environment in a fragmentally built environment. This chapter aims at facing the incongruency between a hegemonic concept in the North American literature and its contemporary European “adaptation”, through an inquiry on Italy. US perspective continues to inform the contemporary debate regarding urbanization, albeit its dominance looks inadequate to observe European realm (Sjoberg, 1960). Furthermore, by addressing welfare provision at a time of austerity, suburban is not only an identification of a specific built environment, but rather, it becomes a perspective that calls for questions, redefinitions and reframes towards a governance of urban contexts able to respond to manifold issues of inequality.

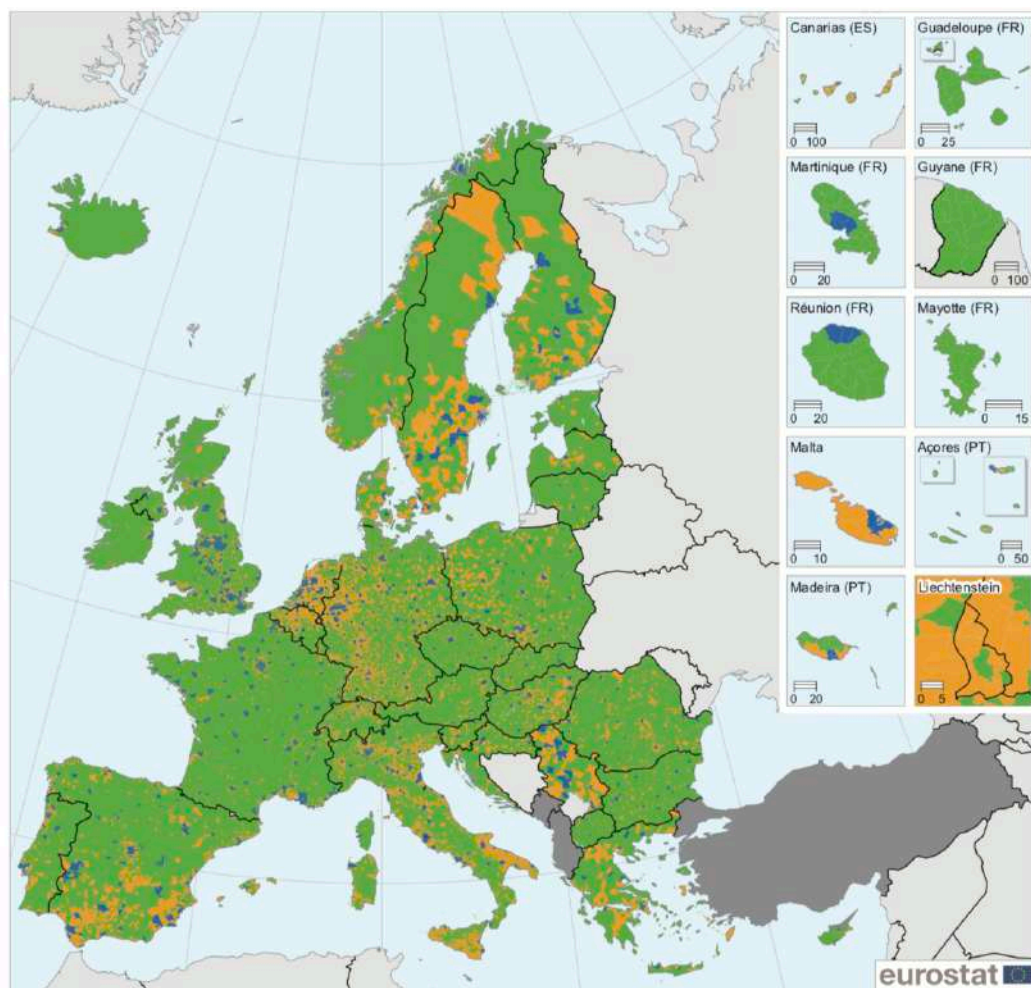
On these premises, the chapter introduces a European debate regarding the suburban, before moving its attention to the Italian debate on (sub)urban and welfare transformations. In Italy, concepts such as *città diffusa* – coined observing the urban transformations of Veneto region (Fregolent, 2005; Indovina et. al. 2009; Indovina et. al., 1990) – reflect the contemporary urban morphology. In the same manner, researches such as ITATEN (Clementi et. al., 1996) and the national PRIN Post-Metropoli (Balducci et. al. 2016; 2017; 2017a) provide an in-depth observation of contemporary Italy according to the most recent changes in built environment, as well as on societies and local communities. In this respect, it should be reminded that ‘localism’ is a historical key feature of the Italian society. Regional differences and disparities, local cultures and traditions, and even the diversity of dialects throughout the peninsula, are just some of the elements that historically affect the formation of Italy as a nation-State in the late 1800s, as well as its contemporary history. Such outline enables a grounder reflection on the “new social risks” (Bonoli, 2005, 2007; Castel, 2015; Esping-Andersen, 2005) emerged since the early 1980s, i.e. unemployment, balance of family and working life, social exclusion, poverty, and they are here investigated in their reproduction at the urban edges. This chapter points out the call for novel approaches where the suburban turns into a perspective to tackle such new social risks and socio-economic inequalities within a European framework where welfare provision has ran into a reform phase (Moreno & Palier, 2005; Ranci et. al. 2014; Taylor-Gooby, 2005). This reform may be embedded in the greater process of State rescaling (Brenner, 2003, 2004a) that affected Western Europe, with

consequences on planning systems and cultures that so often condense both the meaning and the understanding of suburbanization (Reimer, Getimis & Blotevogel, 2014).

2. Does a suburban Europe exist?

Despite the North American origins of suburbanization, the first processes of urbanization have proceeded earlier in many parts of Europe than elsewhere. The Ancient Greek *polis*, as well as the Roman *urbs*, may be conceived as the prototypes of what became the city afterwards. However, urbanization in Europe has evolved as a clear cycle of change during the post-war period, in a change from urbanization to suburbanization, to de-urbanization and, most recently, to re-urbanization (EEA, 2006: 8). Europe is not immune to the process of urban revolution acknowledged by Henri Lefebvre (1970 [1970]). A complex transformation affected the contemporary growth of European cities, where North American influences are merged into an environment of polynucleated mid-towns, big cities and few metropolises. European cities have traditionally been much more compact, developing a dense historical core shaped before the emergence of modern transport systems. Compared to most American cities, their European counterparts remain compact in many cases. In this respect, European cities are frequently surrounded by sprawled settlements with a heterogeneous social class basis than that of US suburbs “and rarely developed on the scale or the low-density and automobile-dependent pattern found in many US cities” (Couch, Petschel-Held, & Leontidou, 2008: 16). To face the constant urban growth, European urban areas preserved an urban dimension through densification and new territorial organizations among differently sized cities, instead of a large concentration of many metropolises (Indovina, 2016). Territorial hierarchies – albeit persistent – tend to weaken in favour of a diversified set of roles among mixed and largely compact cities. In Europe, the image of a compact and mixed city (both regarding social groups and functions) is a fundamental feature of the city in shaping its identity and culture (see also Raco, 2018). Cities in Europe, per se, favours social cohesion more than the American ones, and in this respect, even the walls of medieval city, while producing separation, they also organized integration (Bricocoli & Cucca, 2016). Although pressures on decentralization and polycentrism occurred in Europe over the last three decades, improvements and regenerations of historical city and towns centres have been put in place led by an emphasis on projects in urban development policies (Healey & Williams, 1993), thus confirming that the “compact city” is a very driver of European urban development. Such scenario comes as a step away from the city-suburb dualism as framed overseas.

In a distinction between North America and Europe, two aspects may be pointed out. First, a “dimensional disparity” (Mazierska & Rascaroli, 2003) relies on differences in the geographic scale of suburbanization. In North America, the “escape” of urban population has occurred in large scale areas urbanized through sprawl, insofar as it is no coincidence that the belts of highly urbanized areas, such as the “sunbelt” and the “rustbelt” have firstly appeared in the US. Second, a “temporal disparity” (Phelps et al., 2006) in timing and speed characterizes European metropolitan, albeit they have experienced some North American elements, such as decentralization, growth of car-usage, retail parks and offices clusters. However, such changes have been much more extreme and extensive in the US (Mazierska & Rascaroli, 2003). Furthermore, the American suburban development was embedded in the process of capitalist expansion (Walker, 1981).



Administrative boundaries: © EuroGeographics © UN-FAO © Turkstat
Cartography: Eurostat — GISCO, 05/2018

- Cities**
(Densely populated areas: at least 50 % of the population lives in urban centres)
- Towns and suburbs**
(Intermediate density areas: less than 50 % of the population lives in rural grid cells and less than 50 % of the population lives in urban centres)
- Rural areas**
(Thinly populated areas: more than 50 % of the population lives in rural grid cells)
- Data not available**

0 200 400 600 800 km

Note: Based on population grid from 2011 and LAU 2016.

Figure 8. Degree of urbanization by LAU.

Source: Eurostat, JRC and European Commission Directorate-General for Regional Policy (2018)

Generally, urban planning clearly distinguishes between the Anglo-American and the European traditions (Hall, 1975). Regarding typologies of urban growth, the low-density units advocated by Britain and the US have found contextual differentiations in Europe. In the aftermath of World War II, many European governments sought to invest in planned urban expansion schemes to accommodate population growth (Couch et al., 2008). Right after the economic boom, European cities progressively became nodal points of an urban growth guided by suburbanization and sprawl, which led to a reconfiguration of European spaces coincident with the crisis of welfare states occurred during the 1970s, when the state yielded the entrance of private actors and new forces that steered to a state rescaling (Brenner, 2004a, 2004b).

As the US are considered the homeland of suburban forms, Europe is instead the birthplace of the modern nation state, therefore any process of changes in the urban realm, is most likely related to the territorial state reorganizations at different scales. In this respect, Paasi (2001) states that Europe may be viewed as a social process that implies different forms and conceptualizations of spatiality. For the sake of this dissertation topic, such processual identity of Europe is well represented by the most recent Eurostat statistic representations of territories. Figure 8 shows the degree of urbanization for local administrative units (LAUs), based on 2011 and 2016 population grid cells data.

Two points come up from this map. First, Europe looks mainly rural. Those “thinly populated areas” where more than 50% of the population live in rural grid cells, are prevalent. However, this does not imply that rural areas are the most densely populated, rather, they only represent the most widespread space in Europe. Cities are instead the high-density populated areas or, using the UN classification, the “large urban areas”, where more than 50.000 inhabitants live among contiguous grid cells of 1 km² with more than 1.500 inhabitants per km² (Kotzeva, 2018). Thus, European cities are places of high concentration of people. Second, those areas between “cities” and “rural” are defined with the one-size-fits-all concept of “towns and suburbs”, thus merging the manifold mid-towns spread all over Europe, with the “suburbs”, without explaining the relationship between these two areas, and what the latter means. Eurostat, relying on UN classification of “small urban areas” adopts the statistical indicator of ‘towns and suburbs’ to describe the areas where less than 50% of the population lives in rural grid cells and less than 50% live in high-density clusters²⁶ (*ibid.*), albeit the degree of urbanization may report an increasing “urbanity” on such contexts. In a process of “conceptual osmosis”, towns and suburbs represent together for Eurostat the “intermediate urbanised areas” that encompasses what is “not fully urban” but included in an urbanized built environment (i.e., literally, suburbs) and those mid-towns that are not located in large urban areas. Suburb is therefore adopted by Eurostat as a determinative concept to classify the midpoint between rural and urban areas, aligned with towns.

Evidences from this twofold observation point out that nonetheless and despite the long process of migration from countryside to city that marked 20th century, Europe is still a large pattern of rural areas where cities are scattered and metropolitan areas, albeit playing a key role in government and countries’ developments, are not the prevalent form of built environment. Furthermore, a number of researches enhance how the 21st century urban growth will not occur in Europe, as illustrated by United Nations forecasts [see Figure 9]. In a world where 68% of population is estimated to live in urban areas by 2050 (UN, 2018), Europe and Western Countries in general, will not represent the key areas of urbanization. Alongside, whilst the concentration of population in cities constantly increase, the idea of Europe as a

²⁶ Eurostat Glossary, statistics explained: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Glossary:Town_or_suburb

highly urbanized continent (Ravetz et al., 2013) is questionable, as the dense network of cities is mostly characterized by a multitude of towns, mid-cities and metropolitan nodes.

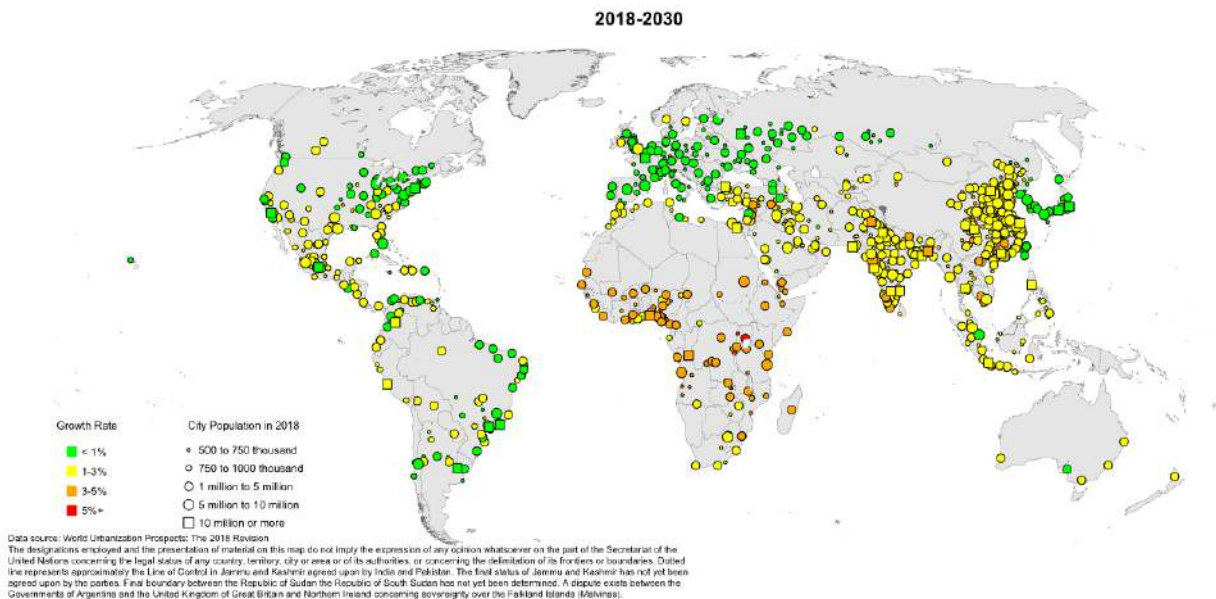


Figure 9. Growth rate of urban agglomerations by size class, 2018-2030.
Source: United Nations, DESA. World Urbanization Prospects (2018)

In this respect, the use of suburbs is rather arbitrary, embodied in a large debate on urban changes, well driven by some of theories mentioned in the previous chapters (such as post-metropolis, suburban governance and planetary urbanization). The recent URBACT III research programme “Sub>urban. Reinventing the post-war urban fringe to achieve sustainable densification”²⁷ (see van Tuijl & Verhaert, 2018), strengthens such deterministic adoption of suburb in the European debate. This research seeks a reinvention of planning at the “urban fringes”, to transform those complex peripheries emerged from urban sprawl, into more attractive and high-quality areas for existing and future communities. The endeavour moves from the grey areas and negative outcomes of urban sprawl in Europe – such as energy consumption, air pollution, risks of social exclusion, lack of commercial functions – acknowledged by several European researches (EEA, 2006; European Commission, 2011), towards a rethinking and redefinition of urban fringes under the issue of sustainability. In this research purpose, the concept of suburb serves little purpose. The partial reference in the title of this European research is actually interchangeable with the notion of “urban fringe”, that better describe the target areas considered in the investigation (such as Casoria, in the northern metropolitan periphery of Naples). First evidences illustrate the weaknesses of these fringes, which coincide to the issues discussed in the first chapter: poor-quality environment, fragmented and uneven development, disorganised patchwork of settlements in a widespread environment of private homeownership.

European cities have expanded in fragmented but organized networks, such as the *città diffusa* of the Veneto region in Italy (Indovina et al., 1990; Fregolent, 2005), whereas the increasing urban concentration has been accompanied by “an unlimited dispersion into conurbations and urban regions with fluctuating outlines” (Borraz & Le Galès, 2010: 147). Europe is made of dynamic medium and large cities equipped with several attractions (such as universities, cultural centres and festivals, design and art galleries, to not mention the historical city centres) and four dynamic “global cities” (Sassen, 1995, 2002), i.e. London, Paris, Frankfurt and Milan, according to the latest rankings constructed by “Globalization and World

²⁷ More info about the URBACT III research ‘Sub>urban. Reinventing the fringe’: <http://urbact.eu/sub.urban>

Cities” (GaWC) research networks at Loughborough University²⁸. Nevertheless, processes of social exclusion, segregation, gentrification and transformation of socio-economic inequalities are unfolding in “globalized” European cities. The development of new residential solutions at the urban edges, the regeneration of formerly fragile neighbourhoods, the development of cultural hubs, shopping centres, leisure facilities strengthen the key aspect of “polycentrism” that weighs on the cities as a policy objective for the expansion of mega-city regions (Hall & Pain, 2006). Urban polycentrism looks so important that it has been recently acknowledged, for instance, in the global city of Milan by measuring the spatial concentration of productive activities (see Colleoni & Scolari, 2017).

Relying on Peter Hall and Kathy Pain (2006), polycentrism comes as a key concept to observe the nature and the contemporary morphology of European urban areas (and hence, urban regions), where the typical North American suburban pattern is just partially reproduced with the exception of the Anglo-Saxon “garden cities”. In this respect, a meaningful concept that well defines the European polycentrism, is the “in-between cities” (*Zwischenstadt*), coined by Thomas Sieverts (2003) [see chapter 1, section 2.2] to describe a new form of urbanization where the open countryside and compact cities intermingle. Here, such “interstitial” spaces are implicated in a set of political, economic, environmental, regulatory and, to a lesser extent, cultural conflicts (Phelps & Silva, 2018). In-between cities emerged from the complexity of social, economic and productive dynamics that invested Europe from the Second post-war onwards, and they are distinguished by a less-compact traits, compared to the dense European cities and mid-towns. Nevertheless, the notion of “in-between city” echoes that of “suburban”, as framed by the collective research effort on “Global Suburbanisms”. In-betweenness implies a grounder identification of the typical lifestyle of those inhabitants living outside of the manifold dense and compact urban cores of Europe, i.e. of a whole society that may not be fully framed within the “urban society”. As a consequence, some features of North American suburbs areas reproduced in these European urbanized landscapes, such as the automobile-dependence to individually accessing well-being services and amenities (from supermarkets to health services), within a context crossed by a plethora of road, freeways and railroads. Furthermore, Thomas Sieverts points out some issues for the governability of such areas, calling for a rearrangement of actors, networks and development strategies. In this sense, the path towards “regional urbanization” acknowledged by Soja (2012) looks suitable to face the plurality of factors affecting the in-between living conditions.

Whilst “in-between” appears as an explanatory reference for European urban edges, the arguments posited here move further away from the idea of a suburban landscape in Europe. In this view, a clearer distinction is provided by the large body of “post-suburban” studies, triggered by the need to contrast the academic priority on the emergent city-regions of Europe, seen as the key institutional pivot of neoliberal-led State rescaling processes (Brenner, 1999, 2003). As discussed in the previous chapter [see Section 2.3], the term “post-suburbia” capture the profusion of terminologies relating to the emergent urban form (from “edge city” to “ethnoburb”, from “in-between city” to “boomburb”). Furthermore, the perspective tackles the site-specific economic, demographic, geographical, institutional and cultural conditions (Pagliarin & De Decker, 2018) that lead into collective governance articulations (Ekers, Hamel, & Keil, 2012; Hamel & Keil, 2015; Keil, 2017a). To cope with such complexity, post-suburbia expands comparative analyses beyond the contextual development of mono-functional North American residential sprawl (Phelps et al., 2006, 2010; Phelps & Wood, 2011; Phelps & Wu, 2011).

²⁸ Globalization and World Cities research network at Loughborough University: <https://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/index.html>. The ranking is constructed upon four strategic sectors: insurance, advertising, banking and legal. For the latest classification and for more info regarding how the index has been created: <https://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2018link.html>

By observing urban edges in Europe through a post-suburban viewpoint, Bontje and Burdach (2005) argue that the recent European suburban developments can be conceived as a typical variation of the American ‘edge city’, albeit the adaptation of such concept may be calibrated in the light of institutional European transformations at different territorial scales (Phelps & Parsons, 2003). In a nutshell, forms and functions of European post-suburbia indicates that suburbanization have been refracted very differently through the variety of capitalisms, welfare, planning, house systems, land ownership, industry structures and ideologies (Phelps & Tarazona Vento, 2015). Such reframe acknowledges the diversity of European urban edges, which is described through the one-size-fits-all concept of “post-suburbia”.

A watershed in the literature of post-suburban Europe is the collection of researches carried out by Phelps et. al. (2006) to observe the massive growth of some European capital cities: Espoo, next to Helsinki, Getafe in Madrid area, Croydon in South London, etc. The scholars depicted the key role of state in promoting post-suburban developments at the urban outskirts, by also pointing out the importance to differentiate among post-suburban forms through the analysis of the various agents involved in processes of (sub)urban development (*ivi*: 200). On such basis, the form of post-suburban developments in Europe is (1) rather different from nation to nation within the continent, (2) different from the archetypal North American style of edge-cities’ growth led by spillage of population from urban cores, and (3) different from the contemporary Asian developments (Phelps et al., 2006; Phelps & Wood, 2011). By evolving over time, post-suburban settlements stress the political inconsistencies inherent to the emergent uneven suburban development of different sizes, timings and in diverse geographical contexts (Pagliarin & De Decker, 2018). Indeed, as stated by Kevin Cox (1998), post-suburban developments are viewed in terms of their contribution to the efforts of major city governments in seeking a broader space of engagement to compete internationally. In this respect, the idea of a “suburban Europe” looks fragile, as “suburbia” is a concept strongly embedded in the US urban history. Rather, a heterogeneous and uneven development of towns and cities at the outskirts of European urban cores is existing within the globally articulated process of contemporary urbanization (Kanai & Schindler, 2018). Post-suburban Europe is influenced by the prototypical North American style yet characterized by different pathways in the settlements’ formation. Such diversity may be addressed by shifting the attention on Italy.

3. Does a suburban Italy exist? Contemporary urbanization in the Italian landscape

Italian history of urbanization is an anything but simple phenomena. Complexities regarding the weakness of landscape polity and the low governmental attention to land policies, are overlapped in a particular context where the typical territorial features have strongly affected the urban development in different sites from each other, such as the long coastline extended for 7458 kilometres, the bottoms of Alpine region, the lowlands of Po Valley (*Pianura Padana*) in Northern Italy. For these reasons, inquires around Italian suburbanization and post-suburbanization demand a prior overview of the Italian landscape from the Second post-war period until the end of 20th century, when Italy experienced its typical “diffused” urbanization [see section 2.4]. Such brief outline enables to identify the features of an urbanization pattern that has less to do with the dominant sprawled North American suburbanization. Indeed, sprawl represents a specific way of intervention on the territories through an expansion of the built environment (Indovina et al., 2009), whereas suburbanization is a different and more multifaceted process, strongly attached to the notion of urban “diffusion” in the Italian context (see Indovina et al., 1990; Fregolent, 2005; Indovina et al., 2009).

3.1 After World War II: Italy welcomes urbanization

Historicists such as Emilio Sereni (1961) and Lucio Gambi (1973) addressed the articulation of Italian landscape in the aftermath of WWII, building up an important legacy for the following urban and geography studies. Urbanization landed to Italy in the three decades between 1950s and 1970s, led by manifold phenomenon that hamper any attempt to frame such urban expansion into consolidated analytical frameworks. As noticed by Achille Ardigò (1967), such distinctiveness was mainly due to specificities of the polycentric Italian urban expansion, which was even more recent than elsewhere. A journey through the contemporary eras until the beginning of the 21st century may be carried out by relying on the investigations by the urbanist Arturo Lanzani (2003, 2012), who argues that “the suburban” does not represent an adequate perspective to observe Italy, as patterns of both Anglo-Saxon sprawl and suburbanization around an urban core are marginal in the national dynamics of the complex and long-lasting urbanization of the rural (Lanzani, 2012). Features and forms of such “diffused” Italian urbanization will be searched with the following overview.

In the early 1950s, Italy was still primarily rural, as the distribution of “compact” cities delineated a landscape not yet transformed by urbanization and industrial boom. Indeed, cities flourished in a strong interplay with the territorial patterns of roads, valleys and water supply networks that also triggered shapes and morphologies of such cities (Lanzani et. al., 2015). Three features encapsulate the Italian landscape after WWII. First, the primary urban phenomenon was embedded in an historical articulation composed by few big cities, a large network of midtowns, and some small urban villages differentiated from a region to another (see Gambi, 1974). Here, a regional dimension of Italy took shape, albeit the institutional creation of Regions will be completed only in 1970. Furthermore, a “culture of landscape” engulfed in the process of Constitution-building appeared in a “centralist” vision, opposed to a envisaged pluralistic approach to face the complexity of the Italian landscape (Lanzani et al., 2015). Such perspective was not able to meet the emerging need to integrate the rise of regional scale with the environmental protection of specific places such as the archaeological sites, the natural contexts and, later, the city centres reframed into places to be preserved as an ageless heritage of the rich Italian history (the so-called “historical city centre, *centro storico*) (Lanzani, 2003).

The second feature of the Italian landscape in the immediate post-WWII is the diversity of the numerous agricultural areas, albeit the primary sector will face a decline in the following decades as the agricultural production decreased from 23,5% to 15,7% of GDP between 1951 and 1961 (Lanzani et al., 2015). The rural Italian *Mezzogiorno* (i.e. the South), previously studied by Manlio Rossi Doria (1948, 1958), was a heterogeneous landscape, characterized by wide lowlands close to the coastlines and low-inhabited hilly areas. The rural central Italy was instead mainly characterized by hillside areas where sharecroppers evolved cultivations within a strong interplay between towns and countryside. In Northern Italy a key role was played by the Po valley, due to the intensive cultivation in a landscape fragmented by growing inhabited settlements. Furthermore, merged agricultural, pastoral and forestry lands shaped the pre-Alpine foothills. These areas will face a momentum of their productivity in the following decades.

The third aspect of agricultural post-war Italy was the growing relation between the urban and rural landscapes. Although the Italian landscape was still mainly agricultural, an important transformation was occurring through the redistribution of population, by also raising a new image of the urban periphery already evident in the industrial hinterland of Milan. Rural Italy was going to change. Indeed, the second half of 1950s faced a growth of urban peripheries within the transformations in the distribution of workplaces, services, infrastructures, land property values and construction activities (Dematteis, 1995). Different residential models were overlapped in these emerging peripheries, particularly settled at the

outskirts of the few urban cores (for e.g., the *coree* of Milan), where migration flows from Southern Italy brought new populations who initiated a self-construction process that subsequently shaped the detached and subdivided growth of family dwellings on the one hand, and the design of public housing projects on the other hand. In general, a mix of private-led patterns, public provision and self-built pattern delineated a new periphery planned without any public spaces, services and infrastructures (see Lanzani, 2003). A constellation of economies organized with the Taylorism model began to grow, whereas new building typologies made the urban-industrial peripheries more heterogeneous. These were the premises of an Italian society that was becoming “urbanized”. However, such progression was very limited in Southern regions. Although countryside will face later the transformation of its landscape, the reduction of rural population in favour of the growing cities started during the late 1950s, together with a redistribution of land tenure structures that reordered water cycles, rural pathways and dwellings distributions (Lanzani, 2003). Cities and midtowns experienced a great population increase between late 1950s and early 1960s, that led to tensions in the urban real estate market, particularly in the historical city centres. Furthermore, the emerging urban landscape was driven by the development of public housing, designed for the working classes and developed over two strands: first, the neighbourhoods built by INA-Casa²⁹ (see Di Biagi, 2001; Sotgia, 2012; Pilat, 2016) between 1949 and 1963, and second, the neighbourhoods designed by the National Law 167/1962, labelled as “areas 167”. INA-Casa was conceived as a programme to promote welfare policies spread over a plurality of aspects not only related to ensuring a decent dwelling, but also to providing basic well-being services for the new inhabitants through specific spaces dedicated to education structures, social activities, sports and leisure facilities, amenities, etc. (Sotgia, 2012). However, such large building stocks rapidly faced deterioration and abandonment, in contrast with the attention dedicated to rearticulating the historical city centres. As a consequence, a centre-periphery dualism emerged in an Italian landscape that was welcoming a tumultuous urbanization process.

3.2 1960s-1970s: the emerging landscape of “diffused” urbanization

Socio-economic transformations of the country, together with the migration flow from Southern to Northern Italy due to industrialization, set out the decades between 1960s and 1970s. At that time, the automobile-dependent mobility began to shape an urban expansion beyond the few growing cities (such as Turin, Milan, Genoa, and the constellations of towns in Veneto and Emilia-Romagna regions), whereas new railway systems connected the plethora of “compact cities”, through the stations, usually located close to the historical city centres (Lanzani, 2003: 71). Three main processes driven the urban expansion of these two decades (1): the growth of urban peripheries, (2) a typically Italian (sub)urbanization, intended as the rise and development of settlements on coastlines and foothills, and (3) the key Italian process of “diffused urbanization” (Ardigò, 1967; Indovina et al., 1990) [see Section 2.4]. The expansion of midtowns and “compact cities” raise a new emerging urban landscape through the constellation of industrial districts (see Becattini, 1979), such as Olivetti³⁰ district in Ivrea and Canavese (North-Eastern Piedmont region), where an interplay between entrepreneurship, city and the whole territory was pursued (Lanzani et al., 2015). Generally, the “Italy of industrial districts” faced its momentum during the 1960s.

²⁹ INA-Casa has been a national programme for public housing stock, funded by INA, the former National Institute for Insurance, in business until 1993.

³⁰ Olivetti S.p.a. has been one of the most important Italian companies in the electronic industry. Adriano Olivetti, son of the founder Camillo Olivetti, during the economic boom pursued a conceptualization of workplace as a venue where to promote community-building, solidarity, social equity and human well-being.

Here, the growing Italian economy led to extended “conurbations” (see Geddes, 1915) in places far from cities and urban cores, which were anyhow increasing in population and dimension. As a consequence, Italian urbanization took place in manifold ways, by setting in stone the plurality of a landscape increasingly influenced by the urban realm. Territorial changes occurred out of the main big cities, with a peak during the 1970s, bringing both urban and Fordist models of productivity into emerging regions where new economies, new productive activities and new ways of living took shape (*ibid.*). The urbanization of countryside took place also due to the rising mechanization and the use of chemical fertilisers in agriculture (Lanzani et al., 2015), whereas the growth of both cities and midtowns revealed new “urbanities”, together with new extended peripheries.

Such changes led to three different settlement rationales (Lanzani, 2003, 2012; Lanzani et al., 2015). First, an urbanization process based on a “metropolitan sprawl” took place, by taking little inspiration from the North American suburban model. Such growth was expressed in the urbanization of already existent settlements, as well as in forms of developments along old and new infrastructures, where new productive activities raised thanks to the acquisition of land properties. City and countryside, urban and rural, turned into a blurred dualism, whereas an emerging vocabulary that affected the following decades was emerging, with new concepts such as “city-region” (Scott, 2000, 2001) and “metropolitan area” (see Fedeli, 2016; Del Fabbro, 2018). This rationale was driven by the unfolding of big cities on surrounding territories, together with the development of scattered and dispersed slightly urban forms. The latter aspect appeared to be a consequence of a first “escape from the cities” that were increasingly congested, thus reminiscing the dominant Anglo-Saxon suburban model, even due to a strong dependence from the urban core in services provision and job opportunities, opposed to an emerging polycentrism of midtowns. With a peak during the 1970s, such expansion saw the first masterplans (PRG, *Piano di Governo del Territorio*) aimed at zoning the functions of the territories, in particular the industrial ones, dispersed into “corridors” alongside the main infrastructural nodes and roads. This “urbanization from the city” resulted in a moment of “explosion” due to the growth of territorial formations to support industrialization (Brenner, 2014b), which will face the big disposal in a decade. The way out the cities was strongly influenced by homeownership, hence raising slight similarities with the North American suburbia through the shapes of an Italian reaction facing those problems which gave birth to a new configuration of the space overseas (see Indovina et al., 1990). Such evolution brought to a new metropolitan landscape afflicted by an inconsistent government (Lanzani, 2003; Urban@it, 2017).

The second settlement rationale, established during the 1970s, saw a strengthened urban pattern on coastlines and valleys, particularly in Southern and Northern-Central Italy through a scattered multidimensional regional diversity. Even in this case, a middle-class “individual deployment” (see Pizzorno, 1974) encouraged the construction of numerous residential buildings that strongly transformed the whole Adriatic (see Fabbri, 1988; Zardini, 2006) and Ligurian (Cinà, 2015) seashores, as well as most of Southern Italy. Private-led and self-led modes were prominent in this pattern affected by the increasing depopulation from “inner” and mountain areas, in favour of more developed areas thanks to the construction of new infrastructural roads and railway systems. Such process marked a clear break with the agricultural lifestyle, particularly in Southern regions, which will never experience the massive Northerner industrial expansion, whilst expecting the slow progress of tourism improvement. Such changes may be framed in a twofold process: the landscape of “urbanized countryside” where the industrial districts in North-Central districts played a key role, and the urbanization of waterfronts. However, within such processes few planning instruments and laws were devised (e.g. the PRG), thus leaving room to illegal and unauthorized constructions (Fera & Ginatempo, 1985; Curci, Formato &

Zanfi, 2017). Meanwhile, tertiary and commercial implementation were promoted by the local administrations of these dispersed towns, albeit well-being services and amenities were lacking.

The third rationale is embedded in a diffused “urbanization by districts” (*urbanizzazione diffusa distrettuale*). Such model is typical of those regions observed to frame the theory of “diffused city”, i.e. the North-Eastern and Central Italy, by also dealing with the significative socio-economic changes that such expansion brought to those territories, result over the subsequent decades in several researches and theorisations, such as the “Po valley megalopolis” (*megalopolis padana*) (Turri, 2000) or the “endless city” (*città infinita*) engulfed in the large high-yield and strongly urbanized foothill area amongst the Northern hinterland of Milan, and the two main airports of Lombardy, i.e. Malpensa and Orio al Serio (Bonomi & Abruzzese, 2004). Foundations of such process are the decentralization of productive activities, the first elements of the deindustrialization that will occur over the 1980s and 1990s, and the affirmation of the so called “Third Italy” (*Terza Italia*), a concept theorized by the sociologist Arnaldo Bagnasco (1977) to define the Central and North-Eastern Italy (i.e. Trentino-Alto Adige, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Veneto, Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, Marche and Umbria regions) which had a raising strong network of midtowns and productive districts, although they less experienced the economic boom of the other Northern regions, i.e. those embedded in the “industrial triangle” among Milan, Turin and Genoa. While the other two models are related to the sprawl from the cities or the development of former small towns at the edges of an urban core on the one hand, and the depopulation of rural, mountainous or ridgelines settlements in favour of a new urbanization on the coasts or valleys on the other hand, this third models saw a different relation with the “urbanities” that move far from any suburban configuration, by approaching instead a more polycentric models that resulted into the complete transformations of countryside, as well as into new theories revolving around the notion of networks of cities (see Dematteis, 1985, 1990). Instead, the third model produced a dense articulation of infrastructures and residential buildings through the diffusion of small or mid towns where a plethora of activities, even those that innovated agricultures, were organized in a strong interaction with the development of detached family houses, industrial warehouses and commercial strips (*strada mercato*) as key infrastructural axes.

The heterogeneity of this sprawling urbanized landscape met three new issues (Lanzani et al., 2015): (1) the upcoming deindustrialization created some unexpected “urban voids” and empty spaces, as occurred in the whole Europe; (2) during the 1970s, the previous debates around the historical city centres led to a culture of preservation, thus stimulating a particular attention to the city-scale that will result into the evolution of new urban politics until present days; (3) the longstanding season of public housing estate provision (i.e. the aforementioned INA Casa and 167 areas) shaped the increasingly expanded urban peripheries. However, the overlapping of unauthorized constructions, the lack of well-being services and the early deterioration of buildings will bring to the “issue of peripheries”, a key issue faced by both national and local governments since early 1990s with new pathways for services allocation. In the background, the 1973 oil crisis, and the subsequent crisis of “Thirty Glorious” led to radical societal changes [see chapter 2].

3.3 From 1980s to the present days: formation and evolution of *città diffusa*

The last three decades legitimized the features of a diffused urbanization realized through a processual polycentric change. The last decades of the 20th century saw the conceptualization of *città diffusa*, a key urban theory to observe the Italian context of diffused urbanization, subsequently turned into a polynucleated “metropolitan archipelago” (Indovina, 2005). Migration from South to North ended, whereas short-distances and intra-regional movements intensified. The growth of the diffused

urbanization territories continued until the beginning of 21st century, whereas the few metropolitan nodes saw an increase of city-user commuters. However, the growing interest for “urban projects” instruments faced a governmental watershed: although the transformation of Italy over the past decades was significative, no governmental awareness accompanied such “urban revolution”. Thus, the urban policy-making saw the shifting from a governmental stagnation to an opposed planning pragmatism, also resulted in the emerging concept of governance, albeit pluralistic decision-making processes will be slow in coming (see Dente, 1999; Lanzani, 2003). Nevertheless, the agenda of urban and territorial politics dealt with manifold issues: a rational organization of the scattered industries of the diffused urbanized landscapes, and a functional localization of business centres and tertiary clusters located outside of the urban historical city centres, but close to the transportation and distribution nodes (Fregolent, 2005). Generally, the last decades of 1900s, as well as the first 2000s, saw the complete affirmation of polycentrism not only as a physical web of midtowns and cities (Dematteis, 1985), particularly in North-Eastern regions (Fregolent, 2005; Indovina, 1989; Indovina et al., 1990), but also as a new institutional arrangement between metropolitan (re)organization, inter-municipality and regionalism (see Savino, 1999; Ferlaino & Molinari, 2009). The complete urbanization of the rural (Walks, 2013) due to diffused urbanization and the subsequent reticular territorial organization, embodied a weakening of the cities (Indovina, 1989) after several decades of expansion. The multifaceted development of diffused urbanization distinguished the 1980s and 1990s. While big cities were running into deindustrialization, hence facing a time of stagnation, an implementation of services dedicated to both productive activities and families nourished the dispersed reticular networks of midtowns (Dematteis, 1985, 1990a, 1990b).

Since the mid-1980s a “second season” of Italian diffused urbanization gained strength (Lanzani, 2012) by altering the diffusion of dispersed midtowns which marked out the previous decades. The urbanization dynamics of the eighties was characterized by four main motions (Indovina, 1989): (1) the relocation and decentralization of the main productive activities, due to the goal of politics and trade unions to find less conflictual places where to settle the productivity on one hand, and the technological innovations that pushed activities far from the increasingly expensive cities on the other hand; (2) the strengthening of the some towns as venues where to migrate and to live, thanks to their socio-economic improvements; (3) a “social replacement” path: while middle-class moved to suburbs with the North American desire of a private homeownership far from the congested city, new working-classes accessed to cities even thanks to the labour possibilities provided by the raising black market, hence accepting a “marginal” and vulnerable condition within the urban core; (4) economic interests began to focused their attention to the cities due to the compresence of innovations, advanced welfare services and the growth of high-skilled profiles. Such attention resulted into a real estate exploitation, and it also raised a vision to recast the urban voids. This was the launch of the city “planned through projects” (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2014 [1999]; Pinson, 2009). A twofold process emerged from these four aspects: an extensive use of the territory nurtured by an unstopped urbanization process on the one hand, and an intensive use of the cities on the other hand, as venues able to attract private and market investments. Italian landscape significantly changed during 1980s, blurring the boundaries between compact cities and diffused urbanization (Lanzani, 2012), as well as allowing private initiative in building constructions. As a consequence, a new organization of the space surfaced as a *sine qua non* for the capitalistic development (Indovina, 1989) while leaving room to a private-led housing market that reached its peak during the 1990s (Lanzani et al., 2015). Such radical transformations brought to a misalignment between private housing boom and socio-economic development (*ibidem*). Italian landscape became completely influenced by diffused urbanization in its manifold forms, as acknowledged by the National Law 47/1985 on planning amnesty, which regularised the large presence of unauthorized constructions. *Città diffusa*

was the urban realm emerged from of such complexity, seen as the new territorial configuration reminiscent of the Anglo-Saxon model of space organization at the urban edges (see Indovina et al., 1990).

Diffused urbanization lies behind the model of “diffused city”, albeit they are not the same phenomena. The diffused city characterized the urban forms of the late 20th century, according to three specific features different from the traditional urban peripheries (Indovina, 1989): (1) a middle-class (sub)urban fabric; (2) the presence of the productive districts leading the diffused expansion, and, more important, the reproduction of urban public services and facilities, albeit as not implemented as in the urban cores; (3) the automobile-dependence due to the low demand of public transport infrastructures. Differently from the compact cities, in the diffused cities welfare services are reproduced following the consolidated “urban provision”, by facing at the same time the difficulties of an adequate service allocation into fragmented territories from the governmental viewpoint. Indeed, this period inherited the longstanding lack of regulatory national framework for territorial organization, coping only with individual interests or local instances. Not by chance, private market guided the transformation of diffused city spaces in a capitalistic exploitation of the territory (Indovina, 1989; Fregolent, 2005). Such model was and still is based on the changes of local communities into urban and subsequently metropolitan ways of living adapted to “dispersed households” (Indovina et al., 1990). As argued by Barbieri (1996: 110), *città diffusa* resulted in an hybridization among forms, traces and productivities already existent with new ways of living the transformed spaces, or rather, the “practiced spaces” (see de Certeau, 2010). The area where *città diffusa* has been theorized is the central Veneto region (see Indovina et al., 1990; Savino, 1999; Fregolent, 2005), divided into different realms of (sub)urban constellations, as illustrated in Figure 10.

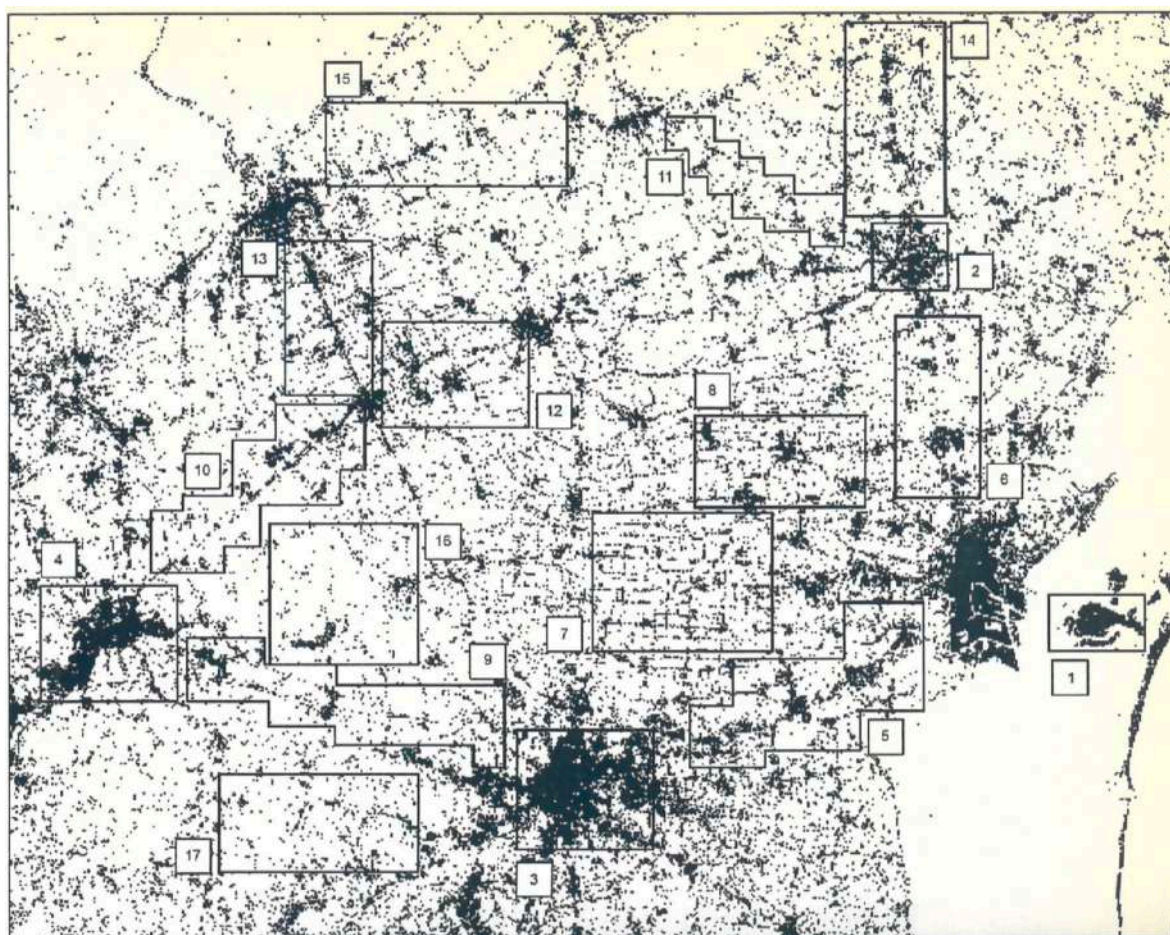


Figure 10. Forms of città diffusa in Veneto region. Source: Fregolent (2005)

Frames in Figure 10 shall be read as follows: 1, 2, 3 and 4 represent the “compact cities”, i.e. respectively Venice, Treviso, Padua and Vicenza. From 5 to 12 are the “integrated territories” emerged as reticular networks of small towns. Frames 13 and 14 are the so called *strade mercato*, i.e. settlements expanded around a key commercial route, whereas frames 15, 16 and 17 are the territories of diffused urbanization that did not turn into diffused cities. Such articulation might be seen elsewhere in Italy, where productive districts were settled and networked, or where local economies reshaped a dispersed nature of some towns (for an exploration in Central Italy, see Calafati & Mazzoni, 2009). In this respect, issues of territorial hierarchies emerged through the model of diffused city, fuelled by a vibrant debate during 1990s and 2000s, when the concept of *Città metropolitana* became an institutional entity through two specific laws³¹. Such novel hierarchies raised in the analytical interplay between the diffused city and the heightening concept of metropolitan area (see Cafiero & Busca, 1970; Cecchini, 1988; Bartaletti, 1992). As noticed by Francesco Indovina (1990), a metropolitan area entails vertical connections between an urban core and a series of “satellite towns” located at the urban outskirts, in a centre-periphery dialectic, whereas diffused city implies multidimensional horizontal connections, as it is embedded in wider territorial hierarchies driven by manifold issues, such labour market fluctuations and the consequent workers mobility, or the infrastructural development and the establishment of metropolitan facilities (i.e. shopping malls, big retail centres, sports centres, specialized commercial centres, etc.) and “supra-local” education and services (Lanzani, 2003). Diffused city came up from an “urban demand” in formerly non-urban places, albeit such diffusion has not been accompanied by an adequate institutional attention (Lanzani, 2003, 2012), partly due to the large territorial gap between North-Central and Southern Italy, where the large majority of “diffusive” expansion occurred in an illicit or self-organized tactic. In this context, traces of the North American sprawled suburbanization are less visible.

From the late nineties onwards, the increasing social polarization within compact and big cities brought to a more articulated conformation named “metropolitan archipelago” (Indovina, 2005; Indovina et al., 2009) to enhance how functions and social fabric are reproduced in a different built environment compared to the urban cores. The evolution of these archipelagos steered the most contemporary debates on large areas planning before (Indovina, 2006), and later by nourishing the recent debates on the definition of metropolitan areas (Calafati, 2014; Fedeli, 2016) and its interwoven relationship with the recently debated regional urbanization (Balducci & Fedeli, 2007; Balducci et al., 2017a, 2017b), which will be further discussed [see section 2.4]. Such metropolitan dimension has been depicted also elsewhere in Europe (e.g., for an exploration of *ciutat de ciutats* in Catalunya, see Nel-lo, 2001). Over the last three decades, the reinforce of the diffused configuration of cities toward “metropolization” has been the main Italian and European rationale to foster “urbanities” even far from big cities, thus adapting the local milieu towards an increasingly (sub)urban ways of living, i.e. suburbanisms adapted to non-suburban landscapes as the Italian one.

The timeline from Second post-war onwards explained how the Italian landscape turned slowly but gradually into a diffuse urbanized context, reshaped by urban and technological developments, both in rural areas and at the edges of big cities. On this excursus, the concept of *città diffusa* enables to distinguish Italian forms in view of a typical (sub)urbanization pathway that present several differences with the North American models, as well as few similarities embodied in the recent private-led diffused

³¹ Two main laws characterize the institutional process of *Città Metropolitana* (“Metropolitan City”): L. 142/1990 introduced the concept in an amendment for the legislation of local authorities; L. 56/2014 established 15 Italian metropolitan cities as a new institutional level that replaces the former “provinces”.

expansions. However, overseas suburban expansion was guided by a wider planned process of “sprawl”, which differs from the “urban explosion” that steered diffused urbanization in most of the European countries. Patterns of North American sprawl in Italy are just visible at the edges of the main urban cores. Whilst sprawl looks as a planning intervention for large estates, diffusion is rather driven by the individual mobilization towards a more “urbanized” way of living (Fregolent, 2005; Indovina et. al., 2009). One could argue that North American suburbanization has been strongly influenced by a planning-through-sprawl to implement megapolitan areas (Lang & Dhavale, 2005; Lang & Knox, 2009) and “edgeless” cities (Lang, 2003; Lang & LeFurgy, 2003), thus reshaping forms and dimensions of suburbs, whereas the diffused urbanization typical of Italy and Europe represented instead a territorial reconfiguration of countryside, midtowns constellations and networks of cities through manifold typologies least bit linked to the unique North American model of suburbanization (see Lanzani, 2012). Furthermore, to enhance the difference, sprawl may be seen as a way of building cities, whereas diffusion occurs to modify the already existent settlements by implementing a sort of urban fabric among differently sized cities (Indovina et. al., 2009). In this respect, the suburban does not seem appropriate as a concept to observe Italy, in so far as its history of urbanization is different from that of North America. Nevertheless, explorations on “suburbanisms” (suburban ways of living) according to the importance of diffused cities model in Italy one the one hand, and the latest findings on Italian urban realms on the other hand, may be pursued. Not by chance, Indovina (1989) noticed how typical ways of living influenced by the urban but different from those of city-users and inhabitants were emerging in the scattered environments of diffused cities. In so doing, a journey through the most recent researches on contemporary forms of the Italian territory may enrich the excursus of a non-suburban Italy.

4. A non-suburban mosaic: researching the new Italian urbanity

The attempt to systemize contents, key points and challenges posited by the most recent Italian researches on landscape changes, entails a patchwork of different frameworks and perspectives. Such endeavour involves a specific analytical perimeter in the light of the discussed issues. As Europe may be seen as a constellation of compact cities, in-between cities and few metropolitan nodes crossed by a specifically European process of suburbanization, and Italy is embedded in such suburbanization with key specificities that shift the attention on a “diffused” dimension of suburbanization, the collection of inquiries on contemporary Italian territory may be outlined as a “non-suburban mosaic” that hold together research pieces revolving around the heterogeneity and complexity the Italian diffused (sub)urbanization. In this respect, the delineation of a “suburban perspective” to debate around the features of the new urban question in Italy (Secchi, 2011) may be strengthened. Researches on the new Italian urbanity in the light of the formation of diffused cities and their subsequent evolution into metropolitan archipelagos entails an inquiry through the most recent contributions. However, important collective efforts have been carried out before the introduction of key concepts such as “metropolitan areas”, “regional urbanization” or simply “suburbanization” in the Italian debate. Thus, before grounding the reflection on the recent innovations in the observation of urban/suburban and metropolitan Italy, some backward steps are needed. Differently from the inquiry around Italian (sub)urbanization, the overview of national researches is reduced to a time-scale that goes from the 1970s, i.e. when the diffused landscape gradually began to emerge one the one hand, and – for the sake of this dissertation topics – when the fair welfare provision began to collapse due to the well-known crisis of “Thirty Glorious” [see chapter 3] on the other hand. The focus on this time-scale facilitates the construction of a mosaic in view

of the features of that urban explosion that nowadays sparks a broader attention on suburbs, urban edges or urban realms beyond the city-scale.

Three main national researches addressed a systemic observation of forms, features and functions of the Italian landscape, together with its increasing urbanization. The three identified researches are *It.Urb* (1982-1988), *ITATEN* (*Rapporto sullo stato dell'urbanizzazione in Italia*) (1996) and “Post-Metropolitan territories” (PRIN 2010-2011), as indicated in the timeline [see Figure 11]. At first, the research *Progetto '80*, *Rapporto preliminare al programma economico 1971-1975*, elaborated by a pool of experts for the Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning during 1965 with the aim of defining the “territorial projections” (*proiezioni territoriali*) able to operate on the territorial imbalances. The research was criticized for its simplistic rationale, as several scholars considered it an ideologic document, rather than strictly technical. However, two main findings have been helpful for further investigations: first, the research revealed an Italian territory where scattered “pieces” were unevenly distributed, “like chess pieces on the board” (Dematteis, 1996: 70). Such pieces were identified with cities, midtowns, industries, supra-municipal services, infrastructural nodes, etc. Second, *Progetto '80* revealed the emerging concept of “metropolitan system” by encompassing a regional and sub-regional overlapping of scales beyond the traditional “metropolitan area” – albeit this latter concept is dominant at present days – towards a reticular connection of a number of differently sized cities within socio-economic balancing pathway. The following analytical step was *It.Urb*.

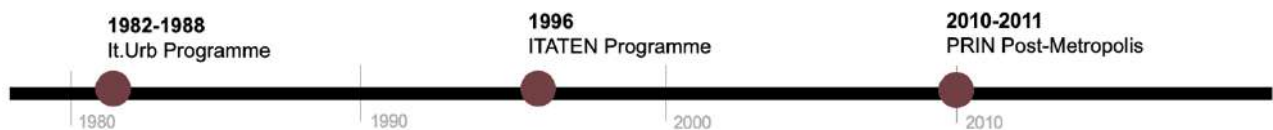


Figure 11. Timeline of the three main national researches regarding urbanization from the crisis of “Thirty Glorious”. Source: author’s construction

4.1 Investigating urbanization in the 1980s: *It.Urb*. research

The *Rapporto sullo stato dell'urbanizzazione in Italia* (henceforth *It. Urb.*) was released in “Quaderni di Urbanistica Informazioni, 8, 1990” and it was carried out from 1982 to 1988, under the coordination of the urbanist Giovanni Astengo. It is a relevant research for three main features (Gambino, 1996): (1) it represents a systemic documentation of the whole Italian territory since the Second post-war, by tackling the physical outcomes of the urbanization occurred during the post-war decades (i.e. the thirty years between 1951 and 1981); (2) it is the product of a collective academic effort that involved 12 universities, 16 think-tanks and almost hundred researchers; (3) it well resumes the point, the need and even the limits of a longstanding research phase.

It. Urb., as argued by Astengo, was born from the failed attempt to involve ISTAT (Italian Statistic Institute) in an adjustment programme of the upcoming national census of 1981 with the need of a broader knowledge of Italian urbanization, after the verification of such urgency in an international comparison. The aim was that of describing, instead of evaluating, the regional framework through specific “regional fiches” (*schede regionali*), in order to identify the most significative areas of urbanization. Therefore, the research revolved around two main analytical issues: the measurement of soil consumption, and the observation of the emerged settlement patterns (so called *forme insediative*). On the twenty-five investigated areas, in view of 34% demographic increase, the urbanized land swelled 114%, from 92 to 146 square foot per inhabitant (1951-1981), recording the highest variability at the outskirts of Naples and Milan. The watershed of such research is embodied by the awareness of the ending of any urban-centric viewpoint in favour of an expanding “extra-urban” territory. Although its dense description

of post-war urbanization towards diffused urbanization, *It. Urb* is considered an outdated research since the 1990s, due to its analytical perspective, which hamper a meaningful understanding of the multidimensional diffusion process. The overlapping amid linear densification from centre to periphery evocative of the Anglo-Saxon conurbation (Geddes, 1915) and reticular counter-urbanization processes (Dematteis, 1985) was less explored. Furthermore, the manifold key aspects of Italian urban phenomena, from new territorial hierarchies beyond urban cores to the reconversion of abandoned places, from the densification of coasts and valleys to “rurbanization”, were not adequately addressed in their complexity (see Gambino, 1996). Indeed, some other researches of the eighties tackled those neglected aspects, to reveal in particular both national and local city-networks. This is the case with the CNR (National Research Council) project *Struttura ed evoluzione dell'economia italiana*, sub-project of the national *Diffusione territoriale dello sviluppo*, directed by the economist Giorgio Fuà. Lastly, environmental changes issues introduced in the second half of the 1980s were not so deepened.

Therefore, the territorial mechanisms introduced by *It. Urb* required further research steps, even in view of an emerging scenario of additional local authorities, after the first two decades of Regional development. Between 1980s and 1990s new “geometries of power” (De Rita, 1996) raised attention around the evolving horizontal setup of territorial government, even in order to responding to increasingly differentiated social demands on the one hand, and to cope with the emerging competitiveness among cities for alluring investments. The following decade, ITATEN represented a key watershed of Italian urban research.

4.2 Reporting urbanization among contemporary changes: ITATEN

Outcomes of the national research ITATEN, *Rapporto sullo stato dell'urbanizzazione in Italia*, were published in 1996 at a time of encouraging planning period both from the urban and the welfare organization sides. Furthermore, the research brought out a first national overview of a national crossed by the formation and transformations of diffused cities models in Northern and Central regions, together with an expansion of metropolitan areas, not only as a territorial conformation around the few big cities, but also as institutional player. In the background, reforms towards localization of services were facing an igniting attention that will reach a peak in the early 2000s. ITATEN was directed and funded by DICOTER (Direzione Generale per il Coordinamento Territoriale from the Minister of Public Affairs) and it represented a watershed in the inquires of contemporary urban Italy, for a number of reasons. First, ITATEN is the first national research aimed at intertwining physical landscape and social background within the contemporary Italian territorial transformation (Clementi et al., 1996b). Second, to identify the constellation of relevant clusters emerged in Italy, ITATEN introduced the notion of *ambiente insediativo locale* (i.e. “local pattern of settlement”) to define the relationship among different environmental contexts, territorial configurations, urban fabrics and settlement patterns. Such structure refers to an open-viewed territorial nucleus that evolve over time, thus assuming volatile boundaries according to the different developmental, governmental and local processes (ibidem). This notion revealed the diversification of the Italian landscape, by acknowledging that Italy composed by productive districts and local systems. Furthermore, the research disclosed a territorial reconfiguration beyond the consolidated perspective of “the three Italies” – based on the concept of *Terza Italia* (Bagnasco, 1977) – through the identification of *ambienti insediativi locali*, [see Figure 12]. Third, ITATEN acknowledged an observation on national scale of the new emerging patterns of *città diffusa*, by pointing out three main features (Barbieri, 1996): (1) a hybridization among territorial forms and functions, as well as an interplay between consolidated and emerging practices of the use of territory (cfr. Crosta, 2010); (2) a reproduction

of urban facilities in low-density contexts developed on productive districts and through heterogeneous “scattered” households; (3) a combination of “horizontal” connections within overlapped territorial hierarchies that spiral out of the centre-periphery and urban-rural dichotomies. Such features introduced the shifting on a more recent dualism embodied in the dualism between a traditional metropolitan pattern, and an emerging metropolitan archipelago evolved from the diffused city model.

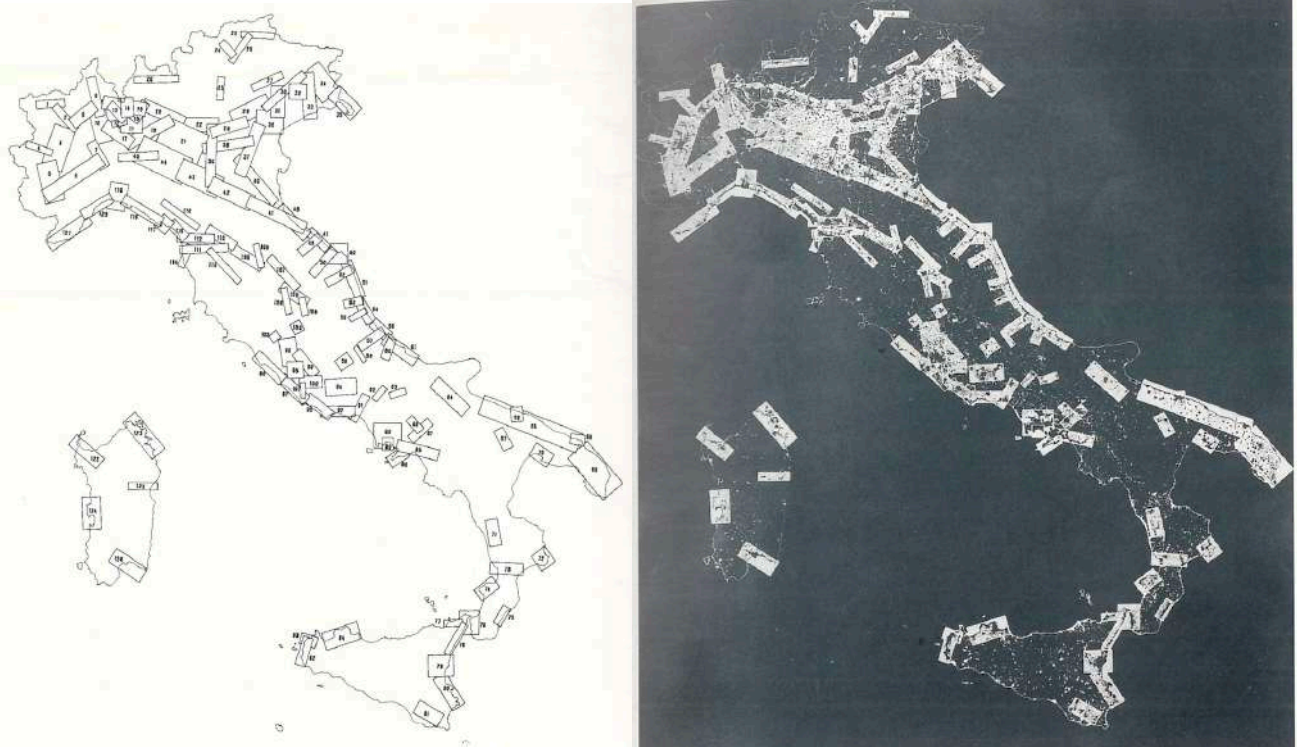


Figure 12. Map of “ambienti insediativi locali” on Italy territory and on urbanization pattern (1991). Source: ITATEN (1996)

On this threefold basis, the research unveiled the complex picture of a country that was running into a multifaceted territorial reorganization in view of a diverse territorial pattern, that took place in early 2000s. The research enhanced four rising knots in territorial government (Cempella, 1996): (1) the mutation of decision-making between subsidiarity and complementarity of different authorities; (2) the need to recast the system of financial resources due to the growing State budget deficit; (3) the issue of the effectiveness of public expenditure according to three emerging dictates: economic growth, competitiveness and employability; (4) the pursuit of new ways of development in view of the infrastructural weaknesses among the different *ambienti insediativi locali*, to foster a development based on regeneration and reorganization of the emerged settlement structures and the consolidated infrastructures.

Such guidelines were aimed at following the international debate towards a more comprehensive policy-making for sustainability, as indicated by two main documents of that time: *Agenda XXI* and *Europa 2000+*. In a nutshell, ITATEN identified those key issues that distinguished the first decade of 21st century: the need to build an interplay between national and local governments; the importance of infrastructural developments on a national scale (even through major projects, such as the high-speed railway system), and the quest for territorial policies able to define a set of strategic priorities over the interwoven supra-national, national and local scales.

The description of the territorial configuration depicted through the *ambienti insediativi locali* concludes the overview of ITATEN. Primarily, by overcoming the threefold subdivision of Northern, Central and

Southern Italy, the research identified two linear systems extended in the whole peninsula: the “Tyrrhenian city” and the “Adriatic city” (Purini, 1996), linked in Northern Italy by the Turin-Milan-Venice bloc. An additional interpretative model was based on the territorial clusters related to specific micro-regions according to some local features, such as the main productive activities or the supra-municipal agreements, within a processual identification that weakens administrative boundaries. Then, a morphological difference of Italy depicted by ITATEN is what has been analyzed in the previous section, by differentiating the few metropolitan forms, concentrated around the big cities of Rome, Milan and Naples, and the pluralistic forms of diffused city embodied in the low-density urban and peri-urban formations resulted from the nexus between exogenous processes of urban dispersion, and endogenous processes of the exploitation of local resources (Palermo, 1996). The latter were related to those traces of *città diffusa* depicted through the country (i.e. in regions as Veneto, Marche, Emilia Romagna, Tuscany). The first, instead, defined a number of “territorial figures” embedded in the interplay between sprawled and dispersed pathways of urbanization, and identified as follows (Clementi, 1996):

- “Po region”, divided into: the pre-Alpine arch extended from Cuneo in Piedmont (North-West), to Udine in Friuli-Venezia Giulia (North-East), the Apennine foothills, that from Piacenza (on the Po shore, in the Northern part of Emilia-Romagna region) reaches Rimini (on the Adriatic coast) and continues at the bottoms of Marche and Abruzzo Apennines, and the irrigated
- “Adriatic ridgeline”, characterized by the extended conurbation that goes from Rimini to Puglia region, where Gargano peninsula break the urbanized coastline continuum
- “Ligurian-Latin arch” extended from Genoa gulf to the estuary of Arno river
- “area of Rome”: at the outskirts of Rome, an extended urbanization is still occurring nowadays, after a longstanding expansion of the 1990s till 2000s. This is a heterogeneous area, as manifold morphological and settlements structures, included the *ambienti insediativi locali*, may be identified
- “area of Naples”: the largest conurbation of Mediterranean Europe is settled at the edges of Naples, where patters of edge cities have emerged since 1970s. This area comes as the proper urban archipelago of different urban “islands” within a complex, albeit not so successful, infrastructural transport network
- “Etnean arch”, identified with the conurbation extended from Messina to Siracusa, on the Oriental coast of Sicily, exploded in an urban concentration around Catania, at the bottom of Etna volcano.

Alongside the “territorial figures”, ITATEN acknowledged the plurality and diversity of the local constellations scattered among the whole country. Such localizations –researchers argued – are embedded in common categories (such as “metropolitan areas”, “touristic cities”, “industrial cities”) as well as in the dominant interpretative theories, such as *città diffusa* or “web of cities” (*ibidem*). Thanks to the conceptualization of *ambienti insediativi locali*, ITATEN empirically revealed the diversity of the local contexts in Italy, but it also posited the partial inadequateness of regional boundaries to observe the urban changes. Indeed, the *ambienti insediativi locali* were not designed for specific operational purposes, rather they were aimed at defining an updated portrait of the new urban conditions among the Italian regions (Clementi, Dematteis & Palermo, 1996a). ITATEN has contributed to define the increasing blurring of regional boundaries on one hand, and of centre-periphery and city-countryside dualisms on the other hand. Furthermore, the research tackled the typologies of spatial organized led by the model of *città diffusa*, albeit such concept has been improperly adopted during the 1990s for any new urban realm of Italy (Indovina, 2006). Finally, ITATEN anticipated the analytical step from diffused cities to the metropolitan archipelago (Indovina, 2005), seen as the new urban condition of 21st century that calls for novel territorial organization of services, activities and the accessibility to them (Indovina, 2009). As a consequence, issues

of spatial justice (see Soja, 2010) raised within this shifting from urbanization to metropolitan archipelago, by introducing the new urban question. Between late 1990s and early 2000s, the transformation of both urban areas and metropolitan archipelagos introduced new societal challenges by inquiring the features of an “urban citizenship” (Donzelot, 2009).

4.3 Investigating the new urban question in Italy: PRIN Post-Metropoli

More than ten years after ITATEN, an inter-departmental research pursued the research on urban Italy at a time of consolidation of some key-terms mentioned several times on these pages, such as “planetary urbanization” or “post-metropolis”. The national research *Territori post-metropolitani come forme urbane emergenti: le sfide della sostenibilità, abitabilità e governabilità* (“PRIN Post-Metropolis” from now on) financed by MIUR (Minister for Education, University and Research), has widely explored the new urbanity in Italy, inspired by the multi-scalar processes of regional urbanization observed by Edward Soja (2012, 2013) by addressing (1) the flattening and shrinking of the urban density gradient, (2) the erosion of boundaries between urban and suburban, and (3) the homogenization of urban landscape together with the increasing differentiation of the suburban, as observed by the manifold configurations of diffused city model in Italy. Soja (2012) listed three effects of such epiphenomena: (1) the emergence of a different suburban ways of living, framed here as “suburbanisms” (Walks, 2013; Keil, 2017a); (2) the mixing of urban and suburban forms, resulted in the raise of “urbanities” in formerly non-urban areas; (3) the combination of decentralization and recentralization, tied to the expulsion of some urban functions (and populations) in peri-urban contexts, thus generating new centres and clusters on the one hand, and to the shaping of new geographies of urban-suburban on the other; and (4) the emergence of a widely discussed polynucleated urban forms in the globalized city-regions (see Scott, 2001). In this respect, post-metropolis comes as the concept that systemize the regional urbanization process, observed by PRIN Post-metropolis through a focus on the emerging socio-spatial differences that recognized the new pluralistic “urban forms”, towards a comprehensive support to decision-makers in shaping a more consistent urban governance agenda (Balducci et al., 2017b).

PRIN Post-Metropolis is the first national research that addressed the evolving process of regional urbanization, as it has also been developed when the institutional reform promulgated by the Law 56/2014³² was put in place, based on a view of urban regions, but built on a metropolitan rationale. Nevertheless, the institutional building of “metropolitan area” was initiated long before, with the Law 142/1990 (*Ordinamento delle Autonomie Locali*), and it has so far animated the political agenda, although the current state of the art still shows a slow implementation of this new institutional level (see De Luca & Moccia, 2015; Fedeli, 2016). Such institutional change was due to the formation of an inter-municipal and inter-dependent territory seen as a city *de facto* (Calafati, 2014), a realm resulted from conurbations and dispersed spatial organization shaped by spatial and social proximity amid residents and municipalities, slightly different from a generic “functional urban area” (FUR) or metropolitan area (Parr, 2007). In this respect, PRIN Post-Metropolis acknowledged the persistent distance, in Italy, between the *de facto* city (i.e. the functional interdependence of municipalities) and *de jure* city (i.e. the political-administrative structure) (Calafati & Veneri, 2013; Calafati, 2014), by fostering the construction of an interpretative framework able to describe the contemporary socio-spatial changes in view of the multi-scalar processes of “regional” urbanization. In view of the tricky EU identification of new urban forms

³² L. 7 April 2014, n. 54, the so called “Legge Delrio”, established the “Metropolitan City” to replace the provinces of 14 specific urban areas, listed here on a demographic basis from the most inhabited onwards: Rome, Milan, Naples, Turin, Palermo, Bari, Catania, Florence, Bologna, Venice, Genoa, Messina, Reggio Calabria and Cagliari.

into “cities”, “towns and suburbs” and “rural areas” [see section 2], PRIN Post-Metropolis investigated the new urban geographies, as some consolidated terms no longer seem enough adequate: the industrial triangle amongst Turin-Milan-Genoa is constantly being eroded, as well as a *Terza Italia* (Bagnasco, 1977) is less identifiable. Moreover, the forms of *città diffusa* have turned into metropolitan archipelagos that calls for novel governmental approaches towards large-scale planning (Fregolent, 2005; Indovina, 2006). As a consequence, the investigation on plural condition of urbanity in Italy guided the research effort of PRIN Post-Metropolis, even to pursue the debate around the new epistemology of the urban (Brenner & Schmid, 2015) [see chapter 1, section 2.2].

Furthermore, Post-Metropolis embraced the contemporary methodological challenges that nurtured the implementation of quantitative methods, as enhanced by Michael Batty (2013) in *The New Science of Cities*. In this respect, the research devoted a particular attention to implement methodological innovations able to represent flows and socio-spatial changes rather than stocks (Brenner, 2014a). The result is the “Atlas of post-metropolitan territories” (*Atlante dei territori post-metropolitani*)³³, an interactive web atlas that integrates maps, data, graphs and rankings, in order to “produce geographic representations of the main phenomena mapped through the collection and integration of data and indicators, selected on the basis of their relevance to the research hypothesis” (Balducci et al., 2017b: 16). Therefore, the whole research is engaged in the sustained research exploration on new ways and methods to observe contemporary planetary urban processes (Brenner, 2018). In so doing, the *Atlante* worked on four main goals (Balducci et al., 2017b):

It experiments with the new geographies of analysis, by proposing to look at urban areas through 100 x 100 km “square” and “corridors” [see Figure 13]. In particular, squares are aimed at to zooming

³³ Link for the *Atlante*: <http://www.postmetropoli.it/atlante/>. The Atlas is subdivided into nine macro-categories: (A) morphologies and settlements patterns, (B) land use and covering, (C) socio-demographic and housing dynamics, (D) economic processes, (E) allocations and polarizations, (F) mobility and flows, (G) urban metabolism, (H) politics and government, (I) synthetic indicators.

out from central cities and urban cores and emancipating both from metropolitan hierarchies and administrative boundaries (see Soja, 2012).

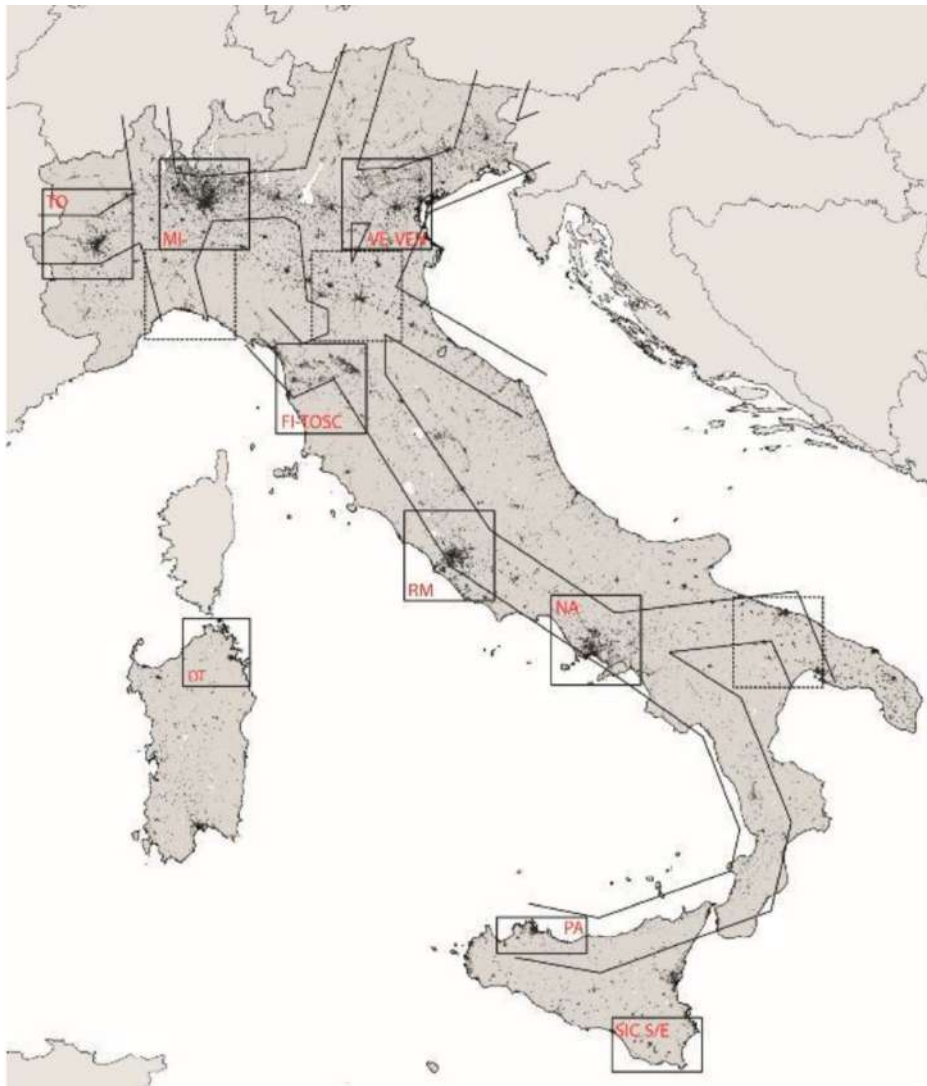


Figure 13. Squares and corridors explored by PRIN Post-Metropolis. Source: PRIN Post-metropolis (2015)

It experiments with a transdisciplinary perspective, to measure the complexity of urbanity. For this reason, the Atlas is organized in different sections according to spatial, socio-demographic, economic, environmental, energetic, political and institutional processes, and it works on crossing traditional and less traditional urban data towards a measurement of new forms of urbanity. It experiments with the use of new data beyond the census data, such as Italian Revenue Agency, ISPRA, SNAI (*Strategia Nazionale per le Aree Interne*) data, which looks helpful due to their transcalar nature. The Atlas is an open resource available online for any research purpose, and it differs from a traditional repository, as it produces geographic and infographic representation in the light of specific theoretical assumptions. For these reasons, Post-metropolis Atlas comes as a helpful tool for this dissertation goals, as the hypothesis behind it agree with the research framework of the thesis. By facing the complexity of urbanized Italy, the Atlas, together with the whole research, disclose a number of key contemporary issues for the urban regions.

First, a tension between fragmentation and cooperation in the governance of urban regions is addressed. Although the weak role of new governmental levels (i.e. the metropolitan area), the analysis of voluntary relations generated over the last twenty years shows pluralistic and variable spatial patterns (Fedeli, 2017). In this respect, new governance models – Fedeli argues – shall be developed, as spaces of

governance outside, alongside or in-between the formal statutory scales of governments, from masterplans to multiregional growth strategies (Haughton, Allmendinger, & Oosterlynck, 2013). Second, the research observed the erosion of “urban citizenship” (Donzelot, 2009). When main social issues gained an urban dimension during the 1990s, the idea of a citizenship strictly connected to an urban dimension looks less adequate, in face with the new regional dimension of the urban (Fedeli, 2017). Indeed, portrait of post-metropolitan government of contemporary Italy (see Balducci et al., 2017a) appears fragmented amongst different levels of subsidiarity, frictions between “centralism” and “self-centredness”, absence of long-term policies, redundancy of institutional roles. As a consequence, citizens representativeness and issues regarding justice (see de Leonardis, 2002) for the “urban citizenship” are weakened. Furthermore, the extended forms of regional urbanization put in motion a scalar restructuring that clinched a crisis of urban and regional governance (Brenner, 2004a).

Third, PRIN Post-Metropolis enhances the long-standing role of “s-regulation” in the Italian urban development, understood as “the combination of weak territorial control and inadequate regulations and laws by government, together with the deep rooted presence of criminal organization, facilitating exploitation and illicit businesses” (De Leo & Palestino, 2017: 274). The effects of such interplay trigger the socio-ecological vulnerability of several territories. This evidence is based on the Elster’s insight on the “Italian anomaly” (Elster, 1989): an excess of individual rationality and a disaffection in respecting the rules, thus resulting in a lack of civic conscience. According to such phenomena, the Atlas shows a system of overlapped individual choices (i.e. illegal buildings), institutional fragility (the numerous commissioned municipalities) and Mafia-Camorra properties and investments. S-regulation comes as a changing relationship between what is legal and what is illegal, led by corruption of technical and political staff (De Leo & Palestino, 2017). The Atlas, through several indicators, confirm the continuous presence of this phenomena in Italy.

Fourth, and foremost, Post-Metropolis Atlas deeply describes contemporary typologies of Italian (sub)urbanization. In so doing, PRIN Post-Metropolis captures the alteration of the Italian landscape amidst changes and path-dependences that constantly modify the Italian urbanity (see Balducci et al., 2017a). The heterogeneity of regional portraits (i.e. the “squares”) shows the extensive insertion of urban patterns in non-traditionally urban places. In this view, contemporary urban Italy cannot be treated without looking at the complex and intense relations that today connect midtowns and cities within an interplay between urban regionalization and planetary urbanization dynamics (*ivi*: 302). In this respect, different morphologies of “concentrated” and “extended” urbanization (Brenner & Katsikis, 2014) are detectable in Italy (see Fregolent, Vettoreto, Bottaro & Curci, 2017). According to Brenner and Katsidis (2014: 434), concentrated urbanization “refers to the perpetual and crisis-induced restructuring of densely concentrated agglomerations”, whereas extended urbanization denotes the continued reorganization of operational landscape that result from dynamics of urban agglomeration in infrastructures, food, water and energy production, waste disposal, etc. As a consequence, new urban medium-density spaces with a variety of “suburbanisms” are still taking shape in Italy amongst metropolitan and large urban polarities arisen from the new socioeconomic and physical consequences of globalization (Fregolent et al., 2017). Therefore, the fragmentation of the Italian landscape is once again legitimized (*ivi*: 284-290): Milan and Rome, for different reasons, are the two major metropolitan centres included in the international network, and Milan in particular, represents a case where the urban fringe – thanks to the high level of infrastructure facilities and accessibility and the high presence of advanced services and activities – enables to recognize the Soja’s post-metropolitan features. In addition, other differentiated polycentric regions include a variety of urban situations that entrench the shift from *città diffusa* to the metropolitan archipelago (Indovina, 2005), i.e. Milan-Venice, crossing Northern Italy, and Milan-Rimini corridors,

crossing Emilia-Romagna region, or the Adriatic coastline already identified by ITATEN (1996a). The Italian patterns of extended urbanization are also characterized by the extensive and intensive agro-industry technological advancement, which amends the innovations introduced several decades before (Lanzani, 2003). Finally, PRIN Post-Metropolis acknowledged the contemporary transformation of “the country of hundred cities” (Clementi, 1996) towards an abandonment of the traditional binary categories (metropolitan-non metropolitan, urban-rural, city-countryside) (Balducci et al., 2017a; Fregolent et al., 2017), by also shedding light on the further governance challenges for such a complex urbanity. Aspects related to governance may be involved in this chapter with a focus on the Italian local welfare.

5. The Italian local welfare framework

All over Europe, the reorganization of social policies saw a territorial recast emerged from endogenous and exogenous changes. Here, national welfare systems started to experience difficulties in addressing an increasingly differentiated and fragmented need scenario (Moreno & McEwen, 2005). Cities and regions acquired increasing significance, so much that local welfare has resulted into in both the input and the outcome of the development of cities and regions as political spaces (Bifulco, 2016). Italy is a valuable observatory to the process of subsidiarization, rescaling and localization – through the five pillars [see section 1.1] – that introduced local welfare regimes. As a result of a long reform process, local governments in Italy have constantly gained responsibility for the implementation of social policies, turning into crucial actors vested with the new challenge of making the delivery of localized and integrated services (Heidenreich & Graziano, 2014). Normally included among the Mediterranean models, the Italian welfare system is historically characterized by fragmentation, familism, uncertainty of rights, discretionary interventions, prevalence of monetary transfers over services, territorial inequality (Bifulco, 2018). In general, the Southern, or Mediterranean welfare regime (see Andreotti et al., 2001), is known to be less generous and very unbalanced in the provision of monetary benefits, which anyway prevail against in-kind services (Kazepov & Sabatinelli, 2006). Families are typically overloaded with social caring, so much that caregiving to elders leans on informal familiar supports. Furthermore, in line with all the South European countries, policies are highly fragmented and targeted to particular categories in a landscape of high degree of local variation, with geographical reference to the regional arrangements in the governance and organization of social care, well resumed by Lumino and Pirone (2013).

A first wave of “decentralization” appeared in late 1970s when the Presidential Decree 616/1977 decentralized competences on social policies to the regions – the sub-national institution established in 1970 – by actually institutionalizing the sub-national disparities in resources and welfare planning activities. Nonetheless, since 1980s the need of structural reforms in welfare provision – even in view of the EU framework – has been mirrored in Italy by a vibrant planning activity during the 1990s (Kazepov, 2009). In a nutshell, the pillars (i.e. activation, integration, territorialisation, participation and contractualisation) and the principles of local welfare (i.e. the governing action through instruments and the development of local welfare systems) were considered in the Italy during reforming time, as drivers for recasting welfare systems towards an universalistic model grounded on the full recognition of social citizenship, on the capillary diffusion of services subjected to minimum standards and social services allocation, and on the territorialisation process in social policies delivery (Ranci et al., 2005). Overall, the territorial and local recasting of welfare and social policies in Italy strongly stands on the subsidiarization process, which has encouraged the development of new welfare arrangements combining the territorial reorganization of powers with the multiplication of actors (Kazepov, 2008; Bifulco, 2017). However, such good intentions collided with the fragmentation of local systems of social policies in Italy (Saraceno,

2005; Mirabile, 2005; Barberis & Kazepov, 2013) and its rudimentary organization of assistance. A turning point towards a local reorganization of welfare, aimed also at tackling the policy fragmentation when meeting citizens' demands, was the institution of the National Funds for Social Policies (FNPS, *Fondo Nazionale per le Politiche Sociali*) in 1997, which represented an attempt of rationalization of the national funding of social policies. The economic resources of FNPS are directed to the Regions on the varying fields of intervention, and they are largely transferred to the municipal authorities (Arlotti, 2013).

Yet, the rescaling process launched in 1990s reached a momentum in the early 2000s thanks to the social services and intervention reform set off with the National Law 328/2000, "the first organic measure adopted in this sector at the national level since the so-called Crispi Law of 1890" (Bifulco, 2011: 306). This law, also known as *Legge Quadro* (Framework Law), was considered a path-breaking novelty due to its role in re-equilibrating the tendencies towards the territorial differentiations of rights in a frame involving different territorial levels in the design and implementation of social policies (Kazepov, 2008). The framework law 328/2000 is applied by regional authorities through an "Act of Enforcement" that introduces the key principles of the law in the regional local welfare planning, as will be examined in detail afterwards, when introduced the research analyses [see chapter 4, section 3]. Policy integration was the guiding idea of such reform, seen as a means to achieve the major objectives, i.e. the promotion of the well-being of all citizens. Two main interwoven axes of change set out the legislative pathway to attain such objectives of universalistic well-being (Bifulco, 2011).

The first axis interests the guarantee of certain basic social benefits to all citizens, and to this end, the framework law introduced the LIVEAS, i.e. the essential and uniform levels of social services, to be ensured on a national basis. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that such essential standard levels have not been fixed and their development has been problematic over the years. This slowness is prompted by the regulatory framework of L. 328/000, which leave a reasonable room to the regional and sub-regional choices with regard to the typology of services and interventions, as LIVEAS only refers to basic services, without paying attention to the effective social demands and rights to fair welfare services. Furthermore, a constitutional reform set off in the name of "devolution" process (see Leonardi et. al., 1981), was promulgated in 2001 by reinforcing powers and responsibility of the Regions through the introduction of subsidiarity principle in the Italian Constitution³⁴. As a consequence, the balance between national and local levels turned out to be fragile, to such an extent that in Italy the argument on "regional welfare(s)" is consolidated, even to advocate the encouraging results achieved by some regions, usually located in the North, such as Emilia-Romagna, Lombardy and Friuli-Venezia Giulia, with referring to the virtuous process ignited in socio-health policies and citizens' activation in the latter case (Bifulco et al., 2008a, 2008b). On this basis, as pointed out by Moini (2015), the national reforms of welfare are expressions of a neoliberalization process that takes place not as the implementation of an explicit and organic political program, but rather according to variegated, hybridized, incremental logics oscillating between radical or nuanced forms of neoliberal re-organization of public action [see section 2.2]. The reform of social assistance and that of Constitutional modifications embedded two different synergies when focusing on the territorial and local dimension of social policies, and in view of the territorial heterogeneity of regional contexts, they collided with one another jeopardizing the opportunity to pursue an Italian local welfare reform based on social justice. On the one hand, the framework law pursued an intervention on the national scale to tackle imbalances and territorial inequalities when recognizing the social rights of citizenship, whereas on the other hand, the 2001 constitutional reform altered the

³⁴ The reform of Constitutional Title V, modifications introduced with the Constitutional Law 3/2001: <http://www.parlamento.it/parlam/leggi/01003lc.htm>

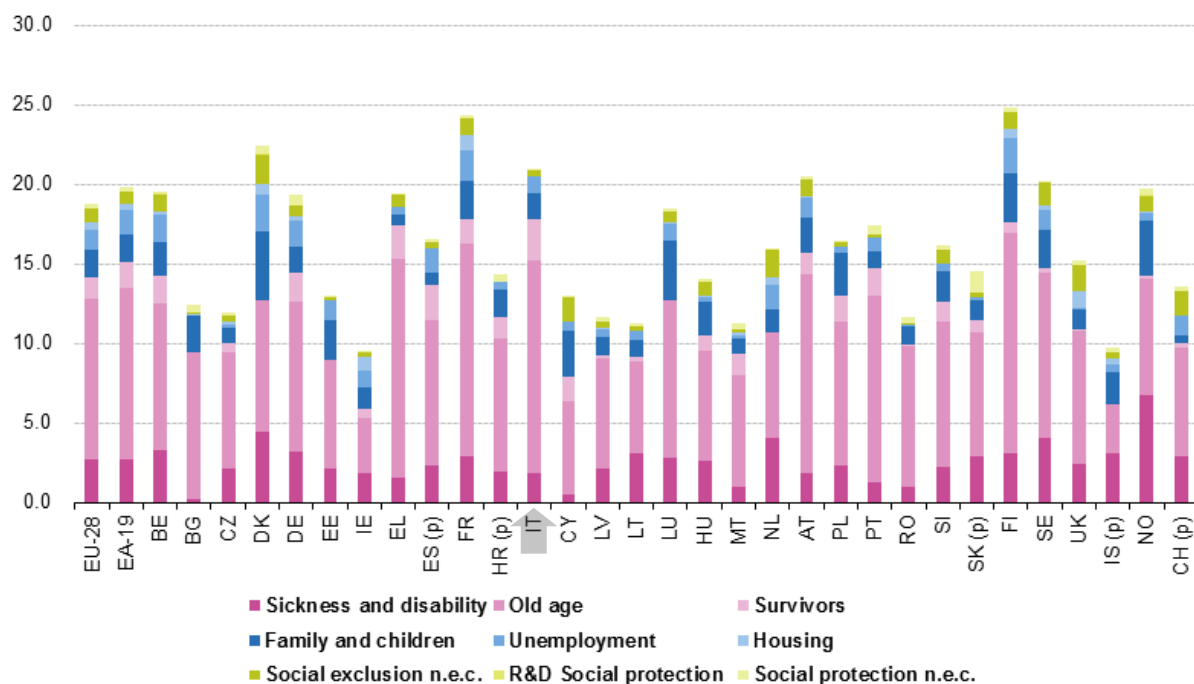
equilibrium in the distribution of power and competences, by shifting the emphasis on the sub-national scales of government (Sabatinelli, 2009).

The second axis fostered with the framework law is the implementation of a model of local governance based on citizens' activation and participation, by delegating the integration of social services with health, education, employment and urban policies to the municipalities and local authorities, even promoting synergies with the third sector. Moreover, social cohesion was also framed as interdependent objective to foster the well-being of territories and their' inhabitant (Catalano et. al., 2015). In this vein, the main policy instrument is the *Piano di Zona* (Area Social Plan) wherein the law identified the structure for the associated planning of services and social interventions on specific portions, or a group of a municipality, normally identified with an area covering 90.000 inhabitants. According to the Art. 19 of the framework law, Area Social Plans are aimed at "favouring the development of local intervention systems based upon services and performances that are complementary and flexible, in particular while stimulating local resources of solidarity". Area Plan epitomizes (1) the pillars of integration calling for the engagement between municipalities included in the same territorial area to coordinate themselves through a formal agreement for the development of a unitary well-being programme", (2) the inclusion of local communities (increasingly identified with actors or organizations from the third sector) in the design and implementation of policies, towards citizens' participation, and (3) the steering of a coherent and long-term framework for institutional structures, commitments and operations (see Bifulco, 2011). In this scenario, "welfare mix" has established itself as an intriguing frame of action where to include third sector and manifold actors in the governance and delivery of social services (Ascoli & Ranci, 2002, 2003).

Area Plan are inserted in a process of development of territorialisation, where many other programme played a significant role, such as the Neighbourhood Contracts, introduced in 1998 by the Ministry of Public Work to (partially) regenerate public housing neighbourhoods of cities. Also, the promulgation of framework law – as well as the constitutional reform – ignited integration between policy fields, together with contractual forms of socio-health assistance (Bifulco & Vitale, 2006). The resulting scenario from this broad body of innovations was a national fragmentation of working via "organ pipes" (Catalano et. al., 2016), into a patchwork of regional governances (Barberis & Kazepov, 2013) that unfolded a certain weakness of the framework law in steering local welfare. Such fragmented outline has also consolidated – not only in Italy – the rationale of governing through projects as policy instruments, with a particular boost at the urban scale. The notion "metropolis by projects" (B. Dente, 1990; Pinson, 2009; Boltanski & Chiapello, 2014) entered in the scholar vocabulary to address the direction undertaken by local government when public-private and human resources are available for a specific intervention, with a special focus on large-scale urban developments (Swyngedouw et. al., 2002).

In this framework, regionalization – referred to the governmental local units – today strongly influence local welfare governance, in connection with public-private relationships affecting governance in their turn. Generally, the provision of social services on the local scale of regions is organized through *Ambiti* (Ambits) targeted according to specific territorial rationales [see chapter 6 and 7].

Concluding remarks of the Italian framework summarize the contemporary scenario at a glance. The political crisis occurred in line with the global economic crisis, with a peak in 2011 (when the pro tempore “technical” government guided by the economist Mario Monti), reduced the central resources in welfare planning, by leaving room to local innovations and opportunities. In 2016 Italy allocated 29,5% of its GDP to social protections, i.e. more than the average for EU-28 countries (28,1% of GDP)³⁵, but such expenditure is unbalanced, as pointed out by Bifulco (2018), as Italy is in first place among the 34 OECD countries in providing monetary transfers, but it is amongst the latest for social and health services provision, together with Portugal, Eastern European countries and Turkey. Moreover, the growing poverty amongst middle classes shall be stressed and tackled, although specific instruments cope with this problem, such as the “Inclusion income”, replaced by the “Citizenship income”. In general, in 2016, 30% of Italians were at risk of poverty and social exclusion, compared to the 23,1% of the eurozone³⁶.



Source: Eurostat (gov 10a exp)
(p) provisional



Figure 14. Total government expenditure on social protection, 2017 (% of GDP). Source: Eurostat (2018)

Unbalances are also evident when unpacking the different fields of social intervention. As illustrated in Fig. 14 (Eurostat, 2018), interventions for the old age take up the large majority of the governmental expenditure in social protection, whereas little resources are dedicated, for instance, to social exclusion, R&D or housing. The emerging scenario also led to a contemporary re-labelling of local welfare mix, through some elusive concepts such as “second welfare” (Ferrera & Maino, 2011; Maino, 2012) to advocate the inclusion of private actors and new key actors in the governance arena (such as third sector

³⁵ More info about the public expenditure on social protection in EU-28 countries: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tps00098/default/table?lang=en>

³⁶ Eurostat data and reports about people at risk of poverty (2018): http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion.

organizations, bank foundations) not only in the implementation, but also in the funding of social policies.

6. Socio-spatial inequalities at the Italian “urban edges”: a suburban perspective

The pathway through the three most significant national research on urban Italy shows a mosaic of single pieces that – when assembled – reveal an urbanization process similar to the European one, albeit different in time and space. The focus on local welfare enhances the contemporary transformation in the provision of well-being services.

From a territorial viewpoint, Italian urbanization may be conceived as the sequence of formation, evolution and modification of diffused cities, in a context made by three heterogeneous metropolitan nodes (i.e. Milan, Rome and Naples), a constellation of “urbanoid galaxies” (Fregolent et al., 2017) within highly populated, developed and accessible smaller metropolitan nodes (such as Turin, Florence, Bologna) and a constellation of extended forms of urbanization in former non-urbanized areas (such as Alpine foothills and coastlines). Given the complexity of Italian urban landscape, specificities of the diffused model entail a deeper contextual understanding of “suburban traces”. In so doing, three concepts are useful: “place-based”, “suburban-as-perspective” and “urban edge”. They enable to sort out the conceptual tensions that travel through the contemporary “suburban debate”, in view of the dissertation territorial scopes (i.e. municipalities located outside of an urban core but within a metropolitan area) and policy field (i.e. local welfare).

PRIN Post-Metropolis, as the last piece of the Italian non-suburban mosaic, stresses the importance to work on new governance models for such a complex and “constellated” (sub)urban environment, even in the light of a more nuanced difference between “the urban” and “the suburban” (Balducci et al., 2016). The study of governance entails an in-depth consideration of the contemporary spatial implications of poverty and inequalities, particularly at a time when peripheral locations are pushed beyond the urban core. Indeed, as stated by Calafati (2017), the innermost territorial disbalances that are today missing adequate interpretations and regulations mechanisms are not located within the administrative boundary of the main Italian cities, but at their edges, within the “metropolitan areas” emerged since Second postwar.

In this respect, issues regarding “placing” new governance solutions looks urgent. Neil Brenner (1998) referred to global city formation and State re-scaling as two dialectically intertwined moments of a single dynamic of global capitalist restructuring in contemporary Europe. As a consequence, socio-spatial polarization emerged from the unevenness of such trajectories occurred in European cities. More recently, such research attention grew into the systemic investigation on “regional inequalities” (Rodríguez-Pose, Rovolis, & Petrakos, 2005; Iammarino, Rodríguez-Pose, & Storper, 2018). To face this regional development, even in metropolitan areas, a reasonable answer is the place-based approach (Barca, 2009; Barca, McCann, & Rodríguez-Pose, 2012) opposed to a place-neutral (or “spatially-blind”) approach resulted from globalization dynamics. In a nutshell, place-based policies are grounded on the idea that “most of the knowledge needed to fully exploit the growth potential of a place and to design tailor-made institutions is not readily available and must be produced anew through a participatory and deliberative process involving all local and external actors” (Barca et al., 2012: 147). This approach differs from a spatially-blind perspective insofar it considers path dependency, institutional issues and territorial systems as fundamental aspects to tackle the persistent underutilization of potentialities and to reduce social exclusion (Barca, 2009), whereas place-neutral eliminates such contextual features, hence lending itself to a simplification which often drive in less efficient policies (Barca et al., 2012).

Beside place-based approach, a step back to the suburban debate is necessary. As introduced, the suburban acts here as a perspective constructed upon a plethora of recent studies. However, the clue of “suburban-as-perspective” needs clarification. In a recent article, Roger Keil (2018) points out lineaments of strategies for research and action on suburbanization and suburbanisms at the complex post-suburban time. “Assuming that life on the global urban periphery is changing rapidly in a set of post-suburban constellations that provide novel insight into the urban condition” (Keil, 2018: 2), the dissertation rationale revolves around the attempt to frame “the suburban” as a key dimension to understand the contemporary complexity of suburbanization process in its heterogeneity. Therefore, a suburban perspective enables to focus on “new peripheries” by avoiding binary ways in observing the societal changes in the most inhabited environments not only in Italy, but throughout the world. Suburban perspective entails a “placing” process that focus on specific settlements that are far beyond the urban cores and the (former) peripheries, where urbanities are experiencing new forms and features. Therefore, although the suburban is still perhaps misunderstood (Keil, 2018), the large body of studies, researches and contributions dedicated to contemporary urbanization, reveal a growing attention on large-scales, city-regions, metropolitan areas which engulf suburbs. Indeed, governance of extended urbanization is today on a number of local and regional jurisdictions’ agendas. A perspective that researches on urban, societal and governmental changes on suburbs through a “place-based” approach looks urgent to intensify the growing attention on settlements at the edges of urban cores, particularly after decades of little exploration.

To conclude, the “suburban perspective” in Italy needs little caveats. The historical overview, as the “mosaic” through the national researches, and the focus on local welfare shed light on the difficulties to see Italian contemporary urban peripheries as suburbs. As argued by Francesco Indovina³⁷, sub-urban looks a “deterministic” concept related to a specific urban form, rather than a “descriptive” concept of a particular area emerged from an evidence of the landscape, as occurred in the Anglo-Saxon contexts instead. In this respect, I adopt a word that fits with the target-areas of the empirical activities carried out in this dissertation: “urban edge”. Such analytical concept is adopted to break free of any conceptual tension around the notion of “suburb”, as well as to legitimize a specific attention on those places within a metropolitan context but apparently located at-the-edge of the city and metropolitan policies, for manifold reasons. “Urban edge” is therefore helpful for a descriptive matter, albeit it represents a weak concept. The use of “edge” to explain a “governmental distance” is not necessarily congruent with a geographic identification (for further studies on cities edges, see Gambi, 1990). By relying on “Global Suburbanisms”, on the place-based approach, as well as on the evidences from the Italian post-metropolis, the term “urban edge” primarily refer to the less explored places by governance, planning and local development policies. “Urban edge” could be rather understood as conceptual attempt within a process of “unpacking the suburban” for a global understanding of suburbanisms through the manifold contextual and national peculiarities. Moving from these final clarifications, Figure 15 illustrates the analytical relationship between local welfare, seen as the contemporary rationale to deal with citizens’ well-being, and the call for research related to the new urban question and to suburbanisms.

³⁷ The statement comes from the seminar “Urban edges. Questioni emergenti nel contest italiano”, held at Politecnico di Milano, November 12th, 2018

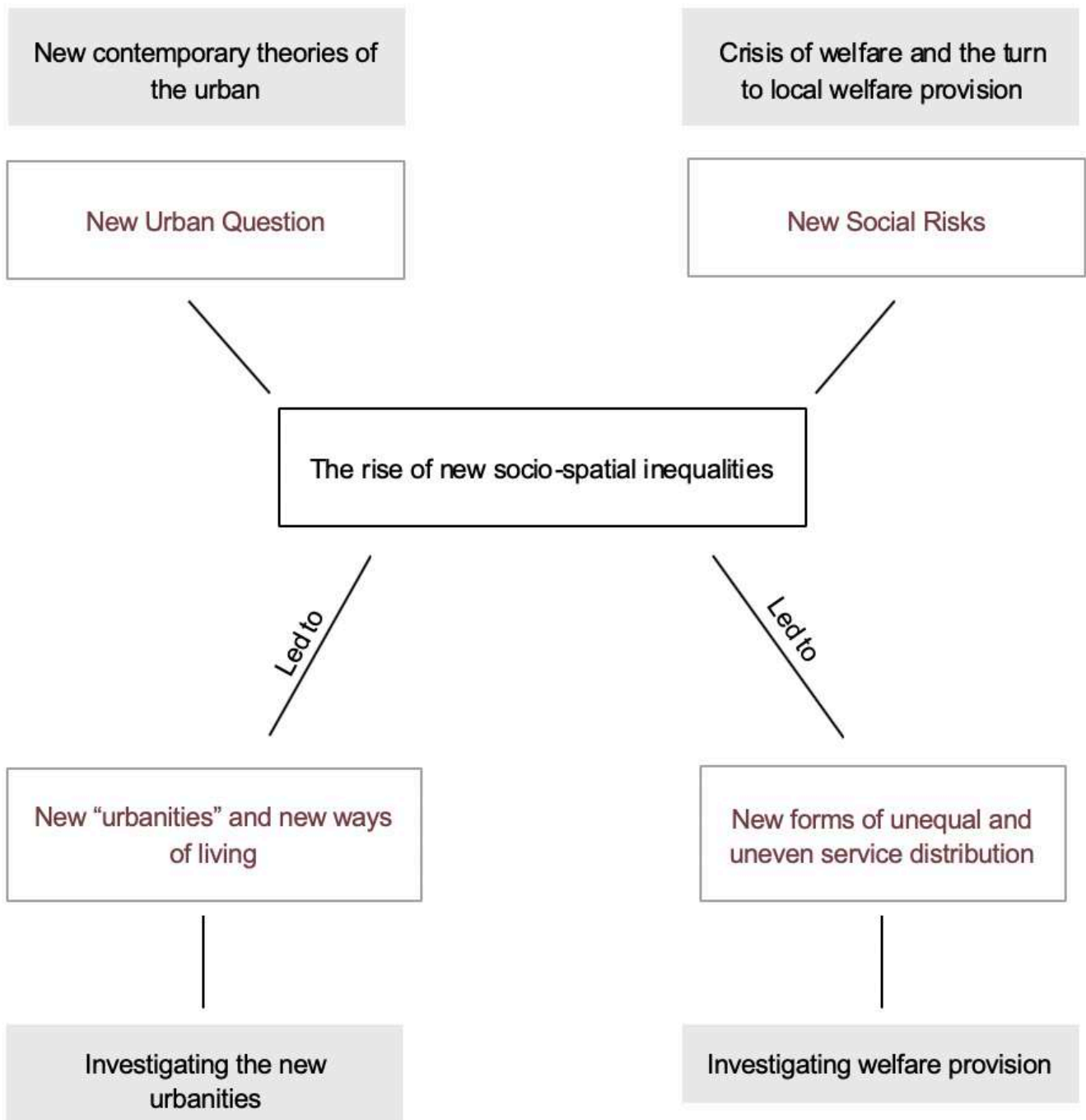


Figure 15. The interplay between “the urban and the welfare”. Source: author’s construction

PART II

Findings from three Italian suburbs

Chapter Four

Introducing fieldworks: a threefold investigation

Abstract

This short chapter introduces the second part of the dissertation. The research theoretically bridges a gap through three pillars: the importance of investigating on suburbs, the focus on new (sub)urban patterns of Italy, and the policy-field of local welfare as a key topic to address emerging social needs and inequalities in less explored contexts, as suburbs in Italy are. Such theoretical framework comes as an informative basis for fieldwork activities. Outcomes of a threefold qualitative-led research represent the main body of the second part of the dissertation, whereas this chapter introduces the three researches through three sections: first, a motivation the rationale behind the threefold analysis; second, an introduction of three analytical keywords (governance, land and infrastructure); third, a presentation of welfare services on which the investigation is calibrated.

1. Motivating the threefold analysis

The second part of the dissertation illustrates and discusses the outcomes of the fieldwork activity by presenting the findings from empirical analyses. The thesis entails three different researches within the Italian context focused in particular on three areas selected at the edges of an urban core. In so doing, the investigation grounds its reflection into three specific municipalities, or a group of two municipalities, located in the most populated “metropolitan cities”³⁸ of Italy: Rome (4.352.359 inhabitants, year 2018), Milan (3.244.365 inhabitants, 2018) and Naples (3.085.225 inhabitants, 2018)³⁹. The rationale behind such selection may be resumed in two main aspects.

First, the decision to concentrate on the largest Italian “urban areas” lies with the aim of providing a reasonable policy-implication framework on the national scale. From a geographical side, the three cities – as well as the metropolitan areas – embed the traditional Italian subdivision: the highly-productive North, embodied by Milan, the Central Italy narrowed between locally-based productivity and historical preservation, represented by Rome (both as Capital city and the cradle of the ancient Italian history), and the vulnerable and less-developed South, well expressed by the governing complexity of Naples and its large urban edges. Although these mere geographical interpretations no longer works as in the past [see chapter 3], they can still play a role in the understanding of new (sub)urbanities in Italy, even according to the diffusion of novel theoretical approaches (see Balducci, Fedeli, & Curci, 2017, 2017a, 2017b). However, the historical Italian interplay between geographical position and vulnerability – where the South is extremely more fragile than the North – looks unwieldy, as no city should be presumed to be more modern or dynamic than others (Peck, 2015), and hence, it is important to see “all cities as ordinary part of the same field of analysis” (Robinson, 2006: 109). Yet, as illustrated in chapter 3, urban forms of Italy are extremely heterogeneous, as a higher dynamism in Northern Italy is historically acknowledged, and the pathway to open up new urban theories require a robust analytical connection with contemporary contributions. Here, neo-Lefebvrian approaches enable to unpack “planetary urbanism” by rejecting consolidated distinctions of North-South, urban-rural, centre-suburb and centre-periphery, “in favour of a dialectical reading of “the urban” as a systemic and contradictory social condition” (Peck, 2015: 167). In this respect, the collection of case-studies from the metropolitan cities of Rome, Milan and Naples accounts for a contemporary investigation on “suburban Italy” towards an in-depth comprehension of

³⁸ “Metropolitan cities”, as seen in chapter 3, are the main implication of Law 56/2014 *Legge Delrio*, which established 15 Italian “Metropolitan cities” as a new institutional level replacing the former “provinces” of those cities

³⁹ Source of the three data about inhabitants in Metropolitan Cities: demographic data by Demo.ISTAT (2018)

what is occurring right next to the largest Italian cities in terms of ways of living (suburbanisms), socio-economic changes, and the consequent organization of welfare provision in responding to the uneven (sub)urban development. In other words, the threefold investigations seeks for a certain completeness to address a “suburban question” for a possible update of urban agendas in Italy (see Urban@it, 2017, 2018) dealing with fragilities, budget reductions and societal changes.

Second, the decision to focus on the three main Italian urban areas comes as an analytical challenge to cope with historical differences and complexities of diffusely urbanized Italy. According to the first point, but in particular to the discussion around the delicate clue of a “suburban Italy” [see chapter 3], the dissertation addresses a threefold investigation through a detailed focus on specific municipalities, in order to unfold a novel understanding of the unstopped post-suburbanization process in Italy, which still looks little explored in the national debate, particularly if connected to the policy-sphere of welfare. In so doing, the attention on “the suburban” also attempts to tackle contents, pillars and principles of local welfare paradigm in the view of fast and tumultuous transformations in welfare provision after a decade of global crisis. Such focus on the suburban scale does not entail a systematic comparison, although any act of urban theorization from somewhere is by necessity a comparative gesture putting a perspective informed by one context or outcome into conversation with concepts invented and circulated elsewhere (Robinson, 2011). In this view, the threefold research stretches theoretical concepts between the emerging field of suburban studies and the challenging policy field of local welfare, in order to breaking point required for the reinvention of urban studies, rather than reinforcing parochial and limited understanding (Pierre 2005 in Robinson, 2016).

With regard to the territorial scopes of the threefold analysis, the comparison among Milan, Naples and Rome is anything but new. Recently, a confrontation of socio-economic inequalities within the three administrative perimeters of the urban cores have been carried out by the research group “Mapparoma” (Lelo, Monni & Tomassi, 2018a, 2018b). The researchers shed light on the new patterns of socio-economic inequalities within the three municipalities, by revealing a substantial difference in terms of salary and “opportunities” between Milan and the other two cities, Naples and Rome. More importantly, some remarks from “Mapparoma” introduce a number of inspiring points for the research framework of this dissertation. The researches stress the importance to integrate the traditional classification criteria (dimensions, density, spatial continuity and urbanization, concentration of economic functions) with analytical criteria able to grasp the emerging socio-economic problems, such as the presence of high instruction, occupation, “urban facilities”, tools to contrast to poverty, accessibility to basic services for the most fragile populations (Lelo et. al., 2018a: 18–19). Such integration is very encouraged in this research, although possible implications mostly rely on qualitative “contextual” findings. Furthermore, the attention on urban edges is also prompted by concerns regarding the recent crisis experienced by Italian metropolitan cities, where new poor classes are existent not only in peripheries and in traditional low classes, but also amongst mid-classes (*ivi*: 33). Insights from “Mapparoma” call for novel investigations on welfare provision at the urban edges, by raising the importance to recast a framework of analysis firstly oriented on the “existing needs” through an adequate informational basis able to provide the forms and features of real existing social needs to the local administrations. These “real existing needs” entail an attention on welfare in its broad terms.

Through different investigations in three specific municipalities selected from the edges of the three main Italian cities, the attention on local welfare seek to figure out the organization of “public utility services” pursuant to the complex process of (sub)urbanization which transformed – at different times and scales – the outskirts of Milan, Naples and Rome. In this vein, the research meets the heterogeneity and diversity in the development of the main Italian metropolitan nodes, well embodied by the difference

in chronological order of suburbanization phases. As introduced in chapter 3, urbanization proceeded much faster in Northern Italy than elsewhere along the peninsula. In particular, the expansion of Milan gained its momentum during 1960-1970s, in a process initiated in early 1950s, whereas the urbanization occurred in Rome – through different less-planned forms – began to significantly increase during 1970s, by seeing a more concrete wave of expansion outside the huge administrative area in 1990s until now, well after compared to the case of Milan. In this regard, it must not be forgotten that Rome presents a much wider administrative perimeter (1285,36 km²) than that of Milan (181,67 km²) and Naples (117,27 km²). However, the only 24,5% is urbanized⁴⁰. This aspect unfolds an insight on the particular expansion of Rome in the so-called *Agro-Romano*, where the rural is a wide landscape facing an ongoing transformation towards a more urbanized context [see section 5.1], albeit in a scattered way. With regard to Naples, its process stands chronologically halfway through the expansions of Milan and Rome. Whilst the current suburban areas of Rome are results of a still ongoing process, the massive suburbanization of Naples [see chapter 5] exploded during the 1980s, as a consequence of the Irpinia earthquake, which condemned many buildings of the historical centre. In general terms, expansion of Naples saw a period of a great transformation from 1980 to 2000s (di Gennaro, 2014), when the hinterland turned increasingly urbanized. Unlike Rome, the expansion of Naples over the last two decades has resulted in a consolidation of the urban continuum around the city, rather than in the outbreak of different heterogenous constellations. The metropolitan dimension is therefore diverse amongst the three biggest Italian cities, although some common points may be identified between Milan and Naples, whereas in Rome the huge municipal perimeter and the absence of an urban continuum differentiate the metropolitan area from the other two.

On this general framework, it is possible to notice that suburbanization of Milan historically occurred as first, in a timeline drawn from the years of economic-industrial development onwards. In a similar way, suburbanization of Naples can be placed as second, whereas that of Rome is the most recent in time and scale. Such outline introduces the three target-areas investigated in this research: Pioltello, located in the Eastern edges of Milan, Villaricca, in the North-Western suburbia of Naples, and the two municipalities of Fiano Romano and Capena, at the Northern edges of Rome. The three cases reproduce the sequence of suburbanization in history amongst Milan, Naples and Rome, and they shall be treated as three individual cases bringing along a history of suburbanization related to the wider urban region's areas. In this respect, Pioltello is part of the massive urban growth occurred in Milan during the decades of economic boom, when many citizens moved to Northern Italy due to its industrial progress. The case of Pioltello represent the first phase of suburbanization in the sequence amongst the three cases. The second case within such sequence is that of Villaricca, the selected target-area in the urban region of Naples, located in an area called "Comprensorio Giuglianeso", at the North-Western edges of Naples. The expansion of Villaricca took place from the second half of 1970s to the first half of 1990s, although the suburbanization of Naples continued until 2000s. The third and, sequentially, most recent case involves the towns of Fiano Romano and Capena, at the Northern edges of Rome. Figure 16 illustrates this succession of suburbanization phases in the target areas. Due to this timeline over history, the cases are presented by following this rationale. The first illustrated case is that Pioltello [see chapter 5], followed by the case of Villaricca [see chapter 6], even in view of the closer similarities between the suburbanization process of Milan and Naples, whereas the third case devotes the attention to Fiano Romano and Capena

⁴⁰ Source: Roma Capitale, dossier "Consumo di suolo. Analisi dei principali dati sul consumo di suolo nel territorio di Roma" (2015): https://www.comune.roma.it/web-resources/cms/documents/Consumo_suolo_2015.pdf

[see chapter 7]. This study at the edges of Rome raises the more insightful issues for a suburban debate tailored for Italy.

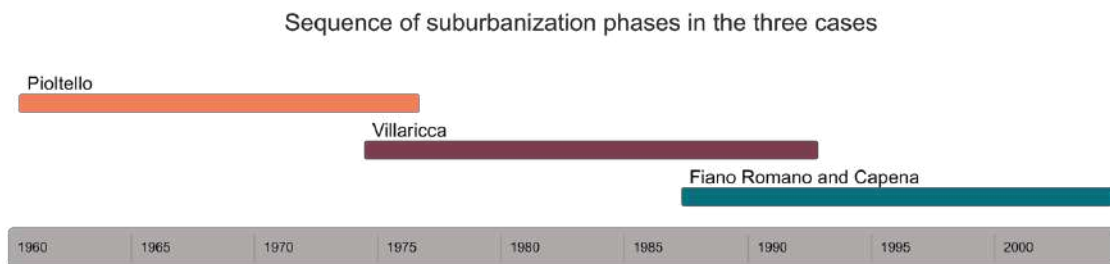


Figure 16. Timeline of suburbanization processes in the three cases studies.

According to the differences amongst the three metropolitan “histories” and the specificities of the three selected cases, the red thread connecting the three individual investigations is composed by methods [see chapter 0] and research framework, where three analytical dimensions of governance, land and infrastructures set the configuration.

2. Three keywords: governance, land and infrastructures

Governance, land and infrastructures are the core focal themes driving the presentation of qualitative fieldworks’ outcomes. The three aspects must be read in an interplay between them, where the theme of governance stands at the forefront. However, each of the three analytical lenses research into a specific context-related aspect of each single case-study.

Debate and components of suburban governance has been introduced in the first chapter [see sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4] by indicating how coping with them involves a plethora of issues that stand beyond the physical dimension of suburbs and the manifold processes driving suburbanization. Suburban governance can be primarily defined as a mechanism of regulation dealing with issues of territorial integration at a metropolitan, city region, or mega-city region scale (Hamel, 2013). When framing the suburban, the governance of suburbanization takes place around institutions, practices, discourses, ideologies and representations that affect how different spaces and processes are produced, contested and experienced (Ekers, Hamel, & Keil, 2012). The contemporary post-suburban phase characterising studies on suburbs at the 21st century [see chapter 1, section 3.3] shift the focus of suburban governance on three sources of tension (Phelps, Wood, & Valler, 2010): (1) provision for collective consumption, particularly in those nations most committed to equality and welfare (2) environmental and residential amenities, not without contradictions between environmental conservation and pro-growth interests for newer settlements; (3) governmental amalgamation and secession in suburbia, in view of intergovernmental relations. To walk around the multitude of spatial and socio-spatial aspects behind suburban governance, the contents of researches are framed on specific policy-fields of welfare governance: the social services provided on a municipal or inter-municipal level (family supports, contrast to poverty, social assistance, labour market supports); the education services (schools and integrative assistances in education) and, more importantly, the emergent themes from the discourses on policy-making by local administrators, and on the social demands and experienced deprivations by the inhabitant. In other words, a reasonable attention is given to what is considered important in the

governance of welfare by local actors, by also observing whether innovations, policy-integrations or specific programmes have been launched.

Suburban governance and processes of suburbanization are dependent upon land and its availability, particularly in the heterogeneous Italian landscape [see chapter 3]. Land may be seen as the witness of the constant transitions running through suburbs as transitional spaces in historical terms (McManus & Ethington, 2007). In the complex trajectories of suburban expansion, key issues revolve around who owns and who controls land at the urban periphery (Harris & Lehrer, 2018). Regulation, ownership and transformation behind the transitional aspect of suburban land, where the aspect guiding the transformation from rural to urban over time is land market (Harris, 2013). Suburban land transformation occurs in many ways, from illegal to informal to planned through zoning, and by also exposing suburban development and redevelopment to interests and investments. Suburban land, as analytical piece, acknowledge diversity and hybridity of global, national and local expansion of suburbia through manifold building or infrastructural typologies. With reference to research contents, attention to land is aimed at unveiling the patterns of land transformation in three contexts different one from another in built environment. How suburbanization proceeded in the different contexts? In which forms of built environment different typologies of suburbanisms take place at the urban edges of Milan, Rome and Naples? Zoning and planning of suburban development characterized such growth, or rather more unregulated trajectories shaped the three suburbs? In this vein, suburban land is strictly connected to governance processes by involving many stakes affecting well-being of inhabitants of suburbs and their livelihood in constantly transitional spaces.

Finally, infrastructures set the context for processes of suburbanization and suburbanism as a way of life (Phelps, 2017). This concept has been little taken for granted in the first pages [see section 0.2], and it need to be made forcefully in the present research. Infrastructures play a role in shaping suburbs that extend well beyond their specific functions, de facto contributing to the suburban lifestyle (Filion, 2013). At the very core of the concept is the role of infrastructures in supporting the functioning of different aspects of society, including supplying the necessities of human life in urban environments. Infrastructures are, therefore, not an end in themselves. They are enablers, providing conditions to make other activities possible (Filion & Keil, 2016), they are a key factor shaping people's direct relationships both with each other and with their environment (Rodgers & O'Neill, 2012). Infrastructures act as place-makers that embed flows in particular places, render social structures and relations proximate (see Jessop, Brenner, & Jones, 2008). Uneven access or non-access to infrastructures discloses socio-spatial inequalities in terms of accessibility, which represent a process undertaken by citizens thanks to infrastructures. In this view, suburban infrastructures may be portrayed as contested stakes between conflicting constituencies, and major sources of influence on the definition of social norms and, thereby, as powerful instruments of social regulation (Filion & Keil, 2016). As Addie (2016) argues, suburban infrastructures present theoretical and methodological challenges for critical and comparative urban studies around a multifaceted concept. Although theorization of suburban infrastructure by J. P. Addie would deserve more attention, it might be resumed how he acknowledged how suburban infrastructure emerges as a crucial context underpinning the progressive polycentric suburban spatial polity within processes of global urbanization (Addie, 2016). As Filion and Keil (2016) point out, organization of suburban infrastructures is linked directly to the governance of suburbanization through state, capital accumulation and private authoritarian means (see also Ekers et al., 2012; Hamel & Keil, 2015), as well as to the production of suburban land. Suburban infrastructures networks are of all sort – from transport to water and energy supply – and they respond to the plethora of basic needs addressed by policy field of welfare. A differentiation divides into “hard” and “soft” infrastructures. Whilst “hard” infrastructures

are planned, generally dispensed in buildings and delivered through professional and organized standards, “soft” infrastructures refers to a more nuanced and less formal delivery in a self-help arrangements typical of the poorer areas of Global South cities (see Filion & Keil, 2016). Nevertheless, amongst the sorts of infrastructure crossing and shaping suburbs, the present research framework is rather oriented on the “hard” side for two reasons. First, to employ a redefinition of welfare services according to suburbanisms by viewing how municipalities are organized in facing social needs of suburban populations. Second, because the draw of a governance arena, and the identification of main strengths and weaknesses in service provision are better identifiable moving from the hard infrastructures, albeit posing the importance of further attention to soft infrastructures within uneven and differentiated processes of suburbanization. In other words, hard infrastructures emerge more clearly as “embedded instruments of power, dominance and (attempted) social control” (Graham & Marvin, 2001: 1), but they play a prominent role in the framework of local welfare provision. Although very important in shaping suburbanisms, soft infrastructures escape the governance and the planning framework tailored for the hard infrastructures instead. Research focus lies with social infrastructures, i.e. those deputed to provide public utility services responding to the social needs [see section 3] and transport infrastructures in view of the peculiarities of the suburban areas, that require adequate connections to the urban cores. A spatial distribution of social infrastructure is provided for each of the three investigations.

These three key research drivers – governance, land and infrastructures – serve to highlight a constant of the research findings mirrored in the diversity of governance arrangements, the land and spatial features, and the infrastructural provision in the three areas. The interplay among these three analytical tools capture a number of specificities that differ from one case to another: the social fabric, from the cosmopolitan Pioltello to the low-income families of Villaricca; the diversity of urbanization processes, resumed through the help of international theories and national studies [see chapter 8, section 1], and the unbalances of welfare provision, observed both comparing the three cases and within each context. In the first cases, differences and mismatches are just seen with reference to the magnitude of current difficulties in welfare services’ delivery due to the economic downsize, and the local solutions to cope with. In the second case, such aspects are unfolded locally, by seeking the main social demands in each urban edge.

3. Selecting welfare services: which ones?

The three keywords of governance, land and serve as analytical tools to frame welfare provision in the less explored urban edges. Although local welfare still represents the adequate frame to tackle equity and justice in the allocation of public services, it looks too grounded on the way to deal with vulnerabilities, fragilities and policy innovation process on the consolidated urban scale. Yet, suburbs may act as places that raise novel perspective on current challenges and transformations of local welfare. In this view, the seek for an updated understanding may involve issues and fragilities in both accessibility to and organization of welfare services provision. As local welfare rationale in Italy is strongly focused on the field of governance of social policies on local scale (Barberis & Kazepov, 2013; Bifulco, 2003, 2015), the analytical trajectory that needs to be fostered begins from such area of investigation.

Although the governance of welfare entails well-being services and facilities in their complexity – i.e. health services, education services, social services, labour market support services and the whole array of governing instruments to contrast poverty – this section delineates a first specific perimeter in view of the most recent reforms of welfare services in Italy. In so doing, governance of welfare in this dissertation is firstly investigated by tackling how local administrators have planned for welfare after the watershed

of National Law 328/2000 [see chapter 2], which introduced the “integrated system” of social services towards the localization of welfare facilities. In this view, the inquiry on local welfare governance unfolds challenges and tensions according to the specificities of the “suburban scale” at the urban edges. How is local welfare organized in those “flexspaces” (see Lehrer, 1994) where rural and urban intermingle, in view of the innovations introduced by the Law 328/2000?

For introductory purposes, it should be noted that Law 328/2000 – also known as *Legge Quadro* (Framework Law) – is applied upon the specificities of each regional context through the enactment of a Regional Law, as an “Act of Enforcement” of the national law. Essentially, the national “Framework Law” ascribed more responsibilities to the local governmental authorities – i.e. the Regions – in the provision of social services, particularly by introducing the new tool of “Area Plans” (*Piani di Zona*). In so doing, Italian regions act through a regional law with its own components. However, the constant reduction of national economic resources dedicated to the social and well-being services, financed through the National Funds for Social Policies (FNPS), has affected the application of the principles of Law 328/2000. The “socio-health district” (*distretto socio-sanitario*) is the territorial scope that underpin social and health programmes in general, and it can bring together a number of municipalities, as illustrated by the target-areas of this dissertation. It goes without saying that the single town borough organizes its own social services to support citizens’ needs. The application of Law 328/2000 guidelines is rather related to the pursuit of territorialisation of social policies.

This legislative and normative framework of the governance of social services constitutes a pillar from which to move towards a comprehensive understanding of social needs and welfare provision at the urban edges. As the case studies will illustrate, whilst social services (i.e. families support, social assistance, contrast to poverty, etc) are fairly organized in contexts facing the negative impacts of economic crisis on the public expenditure, some other issues related to the public utility services aimed at satisfying basic social needs, are raising at the urban edges. Such evidence leads the attention to a broader field of “social infrastructures”. The research entails a selection of those services that may be reasonably considered as fundamental in the field of welfare provision. Hence, welfare services are firstly considered as public services, provided by public authorities (i.e. local administrations) through the multilevel governance arena, related to the “social” sphere characterizing suburbanisms: education services, health services, social services as aforementioned, but not only. Welfare infrastructures, as aimed at satisfying basic social needs, entails also deeper “material” services seen as public facilities: pharmacies, cultural sites, key commercial activities (if relevant as indicated from the case at the edges of Rome). Furthermore, the field of infrastructures may not to avoid considering equity and accessibility to transit networks and the related issues in transport planning (see Fillion, 2013; Martens, 2016; Pucci & Vecchio, 2019).

To integrate these components of welfare infrastructures, a particular attention is also devoted to a sphere of public utility that comes as a less tangible aspect, which rather involves the “mundane but essential services” (Foundational Economy Collective, 2018: 11) that entail a continuity of supply through pipes, cables, networks, such as water, energy, electricity, food and basic goods. These aspects may be read in an integrated framework that involves social infrastructures for health, education and social care, and they have been observed as emerging needs depicted from the territories, i.e. from the talks in the interviews, the on-field observations and the constant search of both media and academic references. In this respect, these mundane “welfare-critical activities” (Foundational Economy Collective, 2018) are considered as welfare infrastructures. Drawing on Pierluigi Crosta, it is fair to say that as “the territory is its use” (Crosta, 2010), social needs are what raised from the use of that territory by citizens, and welfare is the collective sphere where the public provision (as well as the lack of it) meet such needs. In this view,

lacks in the access to specific basic services may raise novel social needs. They may be water provision as well as energy supply or it may also refer the absence of public spaces for daily liveability (a square, a park, a larger presence of commercial activities, etc). The attention to a large body of mundane but essential services (Foundational Economy Collective, 2018) stems from the decision to pursue a comprehensive framework where infrastructure “consists of all of those objects that allow human beings, cars and trucks and boat and planes, water, sewage and other waste, oil, electricity, radio signals, information, and the like to flow from one place to another, to become mobile, to circulate” (Amin & Thrift, 2017: 47). For a better framework of such blurring definition of infrastructures and their importance in welfare framework, the keyword “welfare urgencies” is here coined to address the issues behind those not fully satisfied social demands, according to what investigated on-field. The term “urgency” is adopted by seizing the suggestion from Alex Schafran (2014) in his article *Debating urban studies in 23 steps*, when he argues that we must develop a stronger sense of urgency to rethink our collective institutional structure, by establishing the individuals and the institutions as more central in the production of space in the 21st century. Therefore, to grasp this call for a collective rethinking, “welfare urgencies” are defined referring to the shortage of adequate infrastructures or networks of provision for those essential services that are not conventionally framed within the rationale of local welfare and social policies (see Bifulco, 2003, 2015).

A final addendum about the selection of welfare services entails also what has not been involved in the researches. Firstly, I refer to some key aspects related to the “material” products and artefacts that ameliorate public services in urban contexts, such as equipped green areas, sports facilities, public spaces and open spaces. Italian scholars from urban studies framed these services as representative of “material welfare” (see Secchi, 2011), as physical and tangible outcomes of the public provision of facilities. Over the last decades Italian urbanists dedicated a specific attention these “spaces” for welfare provision (see Tosi & Munarin, 2011; Caravaggi & Imbroglini, 2016) [see chapter 3]. Without considering them as less important in local welfare framework, in this research framework such elements are relegated to second place for a number of reasons. First, they entail considerations of spaces production and spatial planning that fall outside the dissertation framework. Second, they are less depictable in a research effort focused on the governance of “welfare services” and infrastructures, as they represent single physical urban artefacts escaping from the understanding socio-spatial inequalities, and their related challenges, at the urban edges. Third, the role of public actors in the development of such material aspects of welfare is less fundamental, at times, particularly at a time of economic downsize. Nonetheless, the organization of social services, education services or infrastructures such as pipelines for water supply, entails a necessary intervention by public authority. When put in this way, the question may look simplistic and it would deserve a deeper attention. Given these criteria regarding which welfare services has been included in the analysis and which not, Table 3 resumes the services investigated in the threefold analysis.

Welfare service	Description
Education services	Nurseries, primary schools, lower secondary schools and high schools, both public and private
Health care services	Hospitals, clinics, healthcare centres, private centres providing healthcare services
Social services	Public based social services, municipal or inter-municipal based: helpdesks for family supports, contrast to poverty, social assistance, public housing, etc.
Facilities	Pharmacies, key commercial activities in the area (for e.g. supermarkets if highly diffused), cultural sites
Public transports	Features and distribution of public transport in the transit network

<i>Welfare urgencies</i>	Emerging needs from problems of deficiencies in the public provision of a basic service (such as water, electricity, energy, street maintenance, etc).
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Table 3. Main welfare services investigated in the case-studies. Source: author

The decision to include also the nuanced category of “welfare urgencies” in Table 1 is due to the need for an appropriate description of the whole services for public utility that contribute to provide a reasonable framework of local welfare in the selected target-areas at the edges of Rome, Naples and Milan. In this view, by addressing welfare infrastructures as the large body of services enabling human being and daily life, a specific map resuming the distribution of welfare services together with specific place-based issues raised from contextual fieldworks, is provided in the section related to “infrastructures” within each case-study. In particular, it must be specified that these maps are based upon field observations (drawn upon the contents of the interviews) and legitimized by further desk-researches.

Each map is aimed at recording the existing welfare services on the municipal scale and its surroundings, where relevant, in view of what has been reported by privileged informants (local administrators as first). Connections with the contents from the texts are reported in these maps through exclamation marks [see Figg. 44, 80 and 123]. Such maps are constructed in a non-exhaustive manner, but rather, they aim at indicating the spatial distribution of public social infrastructures within a dissertation oriented to the identification of the reasons behind emerging socio-spatial inequalities at the urban edges. The cases will illustrate how such inequalities are rather different from those conventionally experienced by inhabitants of urban peripheries and fragile public housing neighbourhoods, a spatial representation of provision and allocation of the main welfare infrastructures mixed with an identification of main welfare urgencies, may strengthen forms and peculiarities of the socio-spatial inequalities embedded in suburbanisms at three specific edges of the three main Italian cities.



Figure 17. Metropolitan area of Milan: first overview

Chapter Five

At the Eastern edges of Milan: Pioltello through a focus on Satellite

Abstract

The case-study at the urban edges of Milan initiates the part dedicated to the empirical activities. The target-area selected within the urban region of Milan is Pioltello, located in the in-between territories at the eastern edges of Milan. The key issues addressed in this case consistently differs from the two previous cases. This case presents several differences in contrast with the contexts at the edges of Rome and Naples. In Milan, an increasing attention to the local welfare field is dedicated through a connection with the themes of urban regeneration, as illustrated by the focus on a specific cosmopolitan neighbourhood of Pioltello, i.e. Satellite. The outcomes of qualitative research are therefore divided in two strands: a specific focus is dedicated to Satellite, the ongoing planning activities and the cosmopolitan suburbanisms raising from that context, whereas a broader overview of welfare governance and land transformation in a constant suburbanization are also highlighted. Final discussions unfold a process of “offloading” the current welfare tensions from the city to its edges occurring within the urban region of Milan, a territorial unit that is largely introduced in the first section.

1. Background

1.1 Milan: the urban region beyond the metropolis

Traditionally considered as the Italian capital city of economy (Dalmaso, Caizzi & Gibelli, 1972), fashion and design, Milan is today playing a prominent role in Italy, since it became the theatre of the most important urban transformations occurred in the country since the beginning of the 21st century. The successful result of the nomination as host city of the Winter Olympics 2026 (together with the mountain town of Cortina d’Ampezzo, in the Dolomites) is only the last piece of a patchwork composed by many programmes and projects that – it may be declared – turned Milan into the most international city of Italy. After the decreasing time of de-industrialization distinguished by a dramatic demographic decline, Milan opened up a new phase of vibrant socio-economic changes and urban transformations, as demonstrated by the renovated Porta Nuova area shaped by Gae Aulenti square, Unicredit Tower and Vertical Forest, or even CityLife, raised from a renovation of the former Exhibition Area (*Zona Fiera*), to not mention the cultural-led events that bring a large number of tourists and temporary workers to the city. I do not refer particularly to the “exceptional routine” (see Basso, 2017) put in motion for the mega-event of Expo 2015, but rather, to the annual weekly events of “Milan fashion week” and “Milan design week” (today divided into *Salone del Mobile*, at the Rho Fiera hub in north-western edge, and the *Fuorisalone* scattered in the city of Milan). In this transformation, the recent notion of “Milan model” is today adopted to indicate a well-governed urban change (Andreotti & Le Gales, 2019). The sum of these features tells a story that differs from the contexts of Rome and Naples, as well as from Italy as a whole.

Manifold studies and interpretation of the contemporary urban see Milan as a pivotal case in the Italian context. From the urban planning viewpoint, a number of scholars have deeply investigated history, features and key issues of spatial development (Campos Venuti et. al., 1986; Oliva, 2002; Bolocan Goldstein & Bonfantini, 2007). Other recent contributions addressed the contemporary changes in Milan from many different perspectives, by observing it, for instance, as a downtown of an urban region crossed by significative heterogenous transformations of public spaces in view of real estate alterations (Bricocoli & Savoldi, 2010), or rather by studying narratives and policy trajectories related to the innovations shaped by new manufacturing, creative classes and tertiary sector (D’Ovidio & Ponzini, 2014; Armondi & Di Vita, 2017), or again, by interpreting the city as the place of new inter-institutional coalitions aimed at developing large-scale urban projects fueled by international capitals (Vicari & Molotch, 1990; Anselmi

& Vicari, 2019). This latest direction is also encouraged by the increasing pivotal role played by large-scale development in driving urban transformations (see Swyngedouw, Moulaert, & Rodriguez, 2002).

The overwhelming attention is also prompted by the evidence that Milan is most likely the Italian city that have experienced an outright process of metropolization since early 1900s and in the Second post-war period (Balducci et. al., 2017). Furthermore, it also has been an observatory for the complex process of regionalization of the urban, encapsulated by the notions of *regione urbana milanese* (Lanzani, 1991; Balducci, 2004) and *città infinità* ("endless city-region", see Bonomi & Abruzzese, 2004). On this strand, over the decades many researches advocated urban changes and governmental challenges through the analytical frames of city region (De Carlo, 1962) and urban region (Ardigò, 1967; Pastori et. al., 1987; Morandi & Pucci, 2005; Lanzani, 2005). Moreover, polycentrism is depicted as a key feature both of the city of Milan in terms of economic functions and urban development (Colleoni & Scolari, 2017) and of the whole urban region, as a space of interactions amongst different cities (Balducci et al., 2017). The leading role of Milan in the international scenario is also legitimized by its condition of global city (see Magatti, 2005), even according to the latest "Globalization and World Cities" (GaWC) ranking by Loughborough University, which places Milan amongst the main global cities in the world⁴¹.

Therefore, Milan and its urban region represent a particular point of observation to test and discuss the recent perspectives of post-metropolis and planetary urbanization [see chapter 1, section 2.2] as it embodies evident signs of the new patterns of homogenization of the urban landscape, erosion of urban-rural and urban-suburban boundaries, and the flattening of the urban density gradient (Balducci, Fedeli, & Curci, 2017a). In this vein, the urban region of Milan – as well as the PRIN Post-Metropolis identification of 100 × 100 square – appears as a sort of urban continuum resulted from a lack of morphological obstacles to urbanization and a centrality in the context of Northern Italy. Balducci et. al. (2017a) identify three elements of path-dependency shaping regional urbanization processes: (1) a geophysical North-South divide, as to the North the highly urbanized area of Brianza divides from the Alps whereas to the South the "greenbelt" of *Parco Agricolo Sud Milano* affects a different form of urbanization; (2) a historic polycentric regional structure made by nodes across the urban region, where mid-cities supported processes of urban and economic growth within the metropolization of Milan; (3) a radiocentric shape model of expansion, communication and connection between Milan and other territories, strengthened by an enduring infrastructural development. As a consequence, a saturation of the city and first-ring municipalities produced thick demographic density and urbanization patterns.

When observing the evolution of Milan urban region, also framed within city-region perspective (Hall, 2001; Scott, 2000, 2001, 2019), two key features must be taken into account: the very small territorial extension of the municipality of Milan (181,7 km²), particularly if compared with the huge dimension of Rome (1.287,36 km²), and the massive demographic decrease resulted into decentralization processes, as confirmed by the leaking out of 25% of inhabitants between 1970 and 2000, together with the crisis of industrial productive basis (Balducci, 2003). The territory emerged from such changes is the contemporary city region, where urban sprawl processes shaped different building typologies – i.e. apartment buildings and single or double family houses – as well as the consolidation of many different (sub)urban formations around the main urban core, where the demographic decrease has stopped more recently): the North-Western axis towards Malpensa Airport, the urban continuum of Northern area and Brianza, the web of conurbated urban centres, such as the Vercatese in North-Eastern, the Magentino to the West, the poles in the direction of smaller cores of Varese and Como (such as Gallarate, Legnano,

⁴¹ "The world according to GaWC" (2018): <https://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2018t.html>

In their global cities ranking, Milan is placed in the third cluster of the macro-group "Alpha", just behind some of the biggest metropolises in the world, such as London, New York, Paris, Hong Kong, Singapore, Shanghai, Tokyo.

Busto Arsizio, Saronno, Cantù and Erba) and smaller development in the Southern areas (San Donato Milanese, Rozzano, Fizzonasco, until Pavia). This scenario led to a divergence between residents in Milan and its city-users living at the outskirts.

As the development of the city-region in Milan took place more steadily than in the cases of Naples and Rome, a comprehensive framework of such evolution entails the attempts to establish a unitary government. The Milan urban region is a relevant case study due to its numerous historical experiences in metropolitan policy-making (Gualini, 2003). In 1950s, the proposal of an inter-municipal masterplan represented a first regulatory step, then converted into the PIM (*Piano Intercomunale Milanese*) in 1959, organized by an Assembly of Mayors and an executive committee, including 94 municipalities in 1963 (Balducci, 2003). Although the document attempted to be a solution for the cooperation amongst municipalities, it was not legally binding and most of its contents were not successively implemented (Del Fabbro, 2017). The only subsequent document related to PIM was the Plan of 1967 (“General Scheme of Plan and Priority Implementation Guidelines”), which remained a general statement without any formal decision (Balducci, 2003). After liquidating PIM, the experience of *Comprensori* in the 1970s was aimed at creating an intermediate institution, although it delivered new metropolitan spatial development schemes in 1975 and 1982 without encountering greater success (Del Fabbro, 2017). At this stage, Milan began to face depopulation, by also coping with challenge of the increasing European competitiveness (Balducci, 2003; Salet et. al., 2003). Meanwhile, the core city saw a new phase characterized by planning through individual projects (Dente, 1990, 2005) encouraging public-private synergies and new governance arrangements. Nonetheless, beside many successful projects, the diffusion of these projects faced a number of difficulties at times (Fareri, 1991). The road towards an adequate government of the whole urban region changed in 1990s, when Law 142/1990 brought up the issue of supra-municipal scale of policy-making by establishing the planning competences of the Provinces and the *città metropolitana* (metropolitan city), the new institution replacing provinces (Balducci, 2003). However, no *città metropolitana* was constituted until the Law 54/2014. Indeed, the tools enhancing inter-governmental negotiation on specific issues (e.g., a new infrastructure), sketched out an institutional trajectory with a low level of integration (Del Fabbro, 2017), by entrusting mostly to self-regulating dynamics. To unfold this novel condition, in 2006 the (former) Province of Milan launched the programme *Città di città, un progetto strategico per la regione urbana Milanese*, in an attempt to grasp problems, opportunities and further challenges of the urban region, by pursuing an inter-institutional collaboration (see Gasparini, Saporito & Balducci, 2006). The constant attention from Milan in defining strategies of metropolitan and city-region governances led to the present days that indeed portray an urban region framed in the city-region perspective (Balducci, 2003) where boundaries – both municipal and geographical in terms of urban-suburban dualism – are more nuanced (see Bolocan Goldstein, 2007). As argued by Del Fabbro (2019) no administrative jurisdiction corresponds with the city “de facto”, as the municipality of Milan is too small, yet the metropolitan city of Milan is too large. The same rationale exists with respect to the “travel-to-work area”, as the metropolitan area of Milan according to OECD definition (see OECD, 2006), includes some town that are not included in the functional scale of Functional Urban Area (FUA) (see Calafati & Veneri, 2013), and OECD sees an extension of socio-economic linkages far beyond the boundaries of the former Province of Milan (the today *Città Metropolitana*). As a result, the urban region of Milan is thus a territory composed by many interlinked territorial systems around the urban core of Milan, inhabited by more than 4 million people, and embedding many provinces (Monza and Brianza, Varese, Como, Bergamo, Lecco, Lodi, Pavia). Therefore, the contemporary city-region may be observed looking beyond the metropolis and its enduring planning history (see Oliva, 2002).

Although the reproduction of a metropolitan model, the urban region of Milan unfolds an unpredicted phenomena embedded in the twofold direction of “implosion-explosion” (Brenner, 2014): on one hand, the “explosion” of the central city not circumscribed to the population spread and the traditional North-American suburbanization; on the other hand, an “implosion” driven by a new attractiveness for Milan as well as for emerging territories (especially in the Eastern and Southern areas) which are increasingly dense, infrastructure, dynamic and connected with the urban core, capable of attracting new dwellers and new innovative sectors (Balducci et al., 2017a, 2017b). The context of Milan encompasses the new theories of the urban, from post-metropolis to planetary urbanization. Nevertheless, it does not represent an exceptional case in Europe insofar as numerous urban regions – such as that of Naples as well – may be characterized by multiple territorial development patterns (Del Fabbro, 2019). In the case of Milan, the interplay between “path-dependence” and contemporary innovation is enhanced (Balducci et al., 2017b).

1.2 The target-area: Pioltello, at the eastern urban edges of Milan

To grasp the specificities of the new urban question in Milan, the attention shifts to the selected target-area among the municipalities of the urban region, restricted to the suburbs belonging to the *Città metropolitana di Milano*. Within the relation between path-dependence and current innovations, scholars from PRIN Post-Metropoli identify four profiles of socio-spatial differentiations within the urban region of Milan (Balducci et al., 2017a, 2017b): (1) a central city, together with other mid-sized regional cities affected by consistent processes of social polarization; (2) a first ring of municipalities, originally places of concentration of new families in the 1950s and 1960s, and now engulfed in typical urban processes, such as ageing population, economic restriction and social fragility; (3) a second ring of municipalities, distant 14-15 km from the city, attracting middle-classes for different reasons, today are a sort of edge cities (although smaller than Giugliano in Campania); (4) an urban continuum with more suburban patterns, shaped by a higher rate of home property than in the cities and ring municipalities, with large residential spaces, but also affected by patterns of urbanity, such as unemployment and socio-spatial polarization.

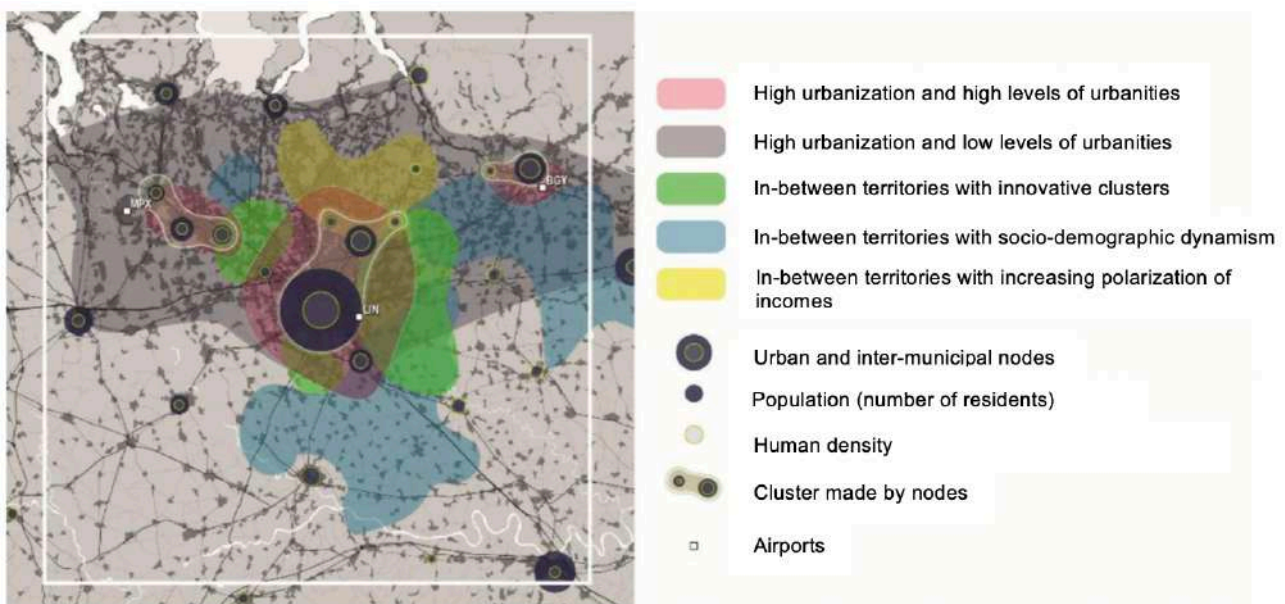


Figure 18. Synthetic map of the urban region of Milan according to the PRIN Post-Metropolis research framework. Source: PRIN Post-Metropoli (2015; 2017)

On a broader area, the synthetic map in Fig. 18 illustrates the unit of analysis from PRIN Post Metropoli. Although there is no clear reference to the fourfold subdivision, the map reproduces an interpretation of the area where the central city, the first and second ring municipalities, and the urban continuum, are distributed. Within the context of Milan's urban region, scholars from PRIN Post-Metropoli questioned whether citizens profiles and daily lives are the same within the wide urban region of Milan or differs between the central city and its surroundings, by noticing a number of differences, albeit in a context of increasing urbanities, even in suburbs. In this respect, the selection of Pioltello as a case-study aims to corroborate such differentiation, pursuing the research questions of Post-Metropoli. However, an overview of the whole area is needed, even according to the indications from Fig. 18 which describes the eastern edges of Milan as an in-between territory (Sieverts, 2003) crossed by innovation, socio-demographic dynamism, and high levels of urbanity, particularly for what concerns the first-ring of municipalities. In this vein, the PRIN Post-Metropoli unfolded some key specificities of the eastern urban edge of Milan.

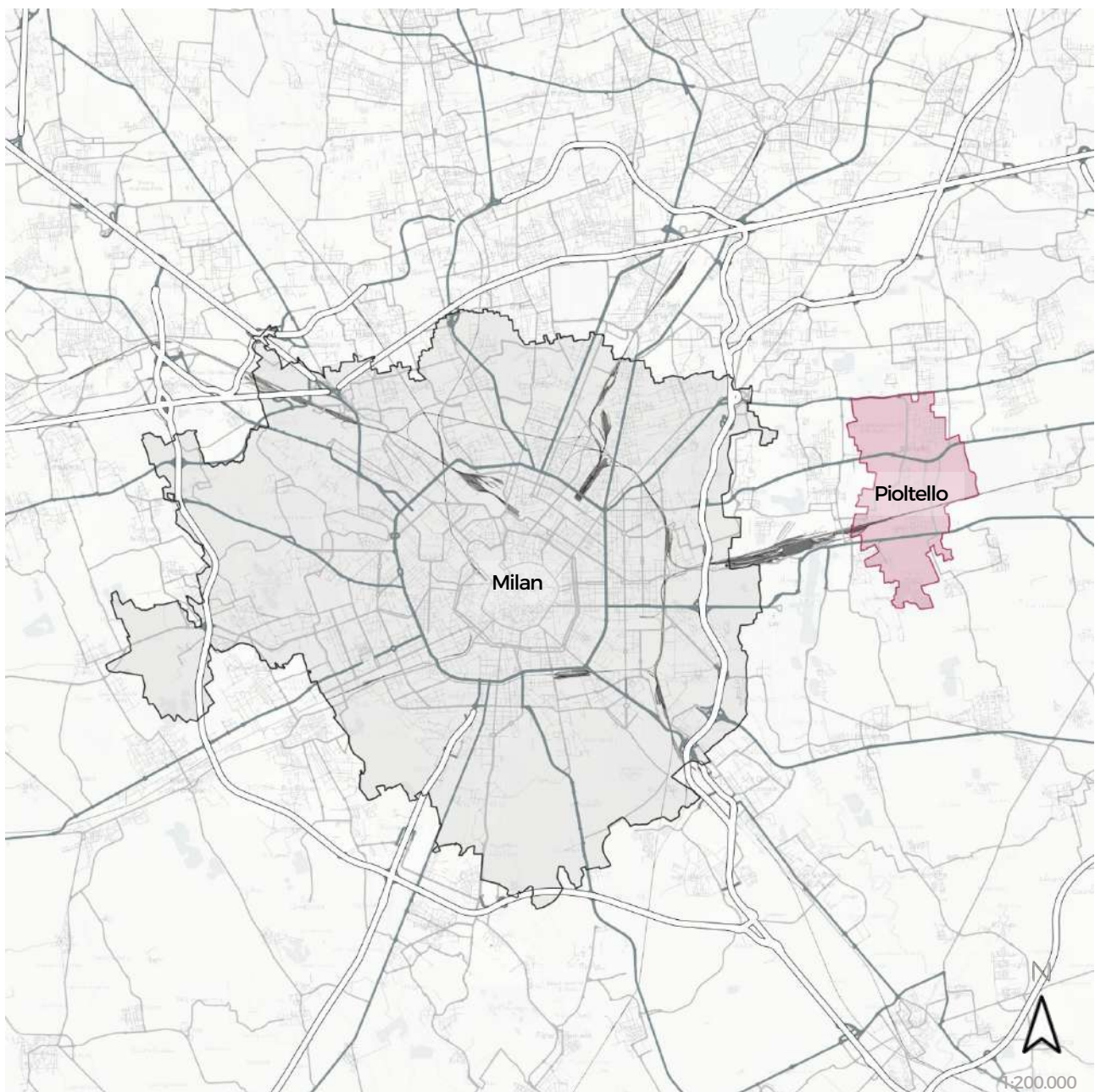
First and foremost, the analyses show a dynamism of the in-between spaces characterized by a dense network of municipalities in the sector between the first ring municipalities and a large area distant 30-40 km from the core of Milan. The intensity of flows shows a fragmented pattern of multiple centralities exceeding both radiocentric and polycentric hierarchies (Balducci et al., 2017a: 38). This interconnection is highly fundamental in this research framework, as it serves as an inspiring point to focus on suburbanisms in such in-betweenness. With reference to the eastern area – Balducci, Fedeli and Curci maintains – home property is particularly consistent along the infrastructural axis (Balducci et al., 2017a), as well as the concentration of immigrant population. Moreover, the new bypass road *TEEM – Tangenziale Est Esterna* confirms a strategic importance of the eastern sector resulted from an intense urbanization in such in-between territories. Yet, a growing strong differentiation is emerging in the urban region of Milan from a concentration of specific fragile social conditions. Consequences entail a new urban question and geography of social problems that is different from that affecting the city (Balducci et al., 2017a). In this regard, the case of Pioltello helps in navigating in these key issues raised from the implosion/explosion dual movement occurred in the urban region of Milan, by focusing on some peculiarities of a suburban constellation within the second ring belt of municipalities.

Pioltello is a town of 37.002 inhabitants (data ISTAT, 2018), distant 15 km from the centre of Milan. Its territory is entrenched between two transit Provincial roads, n. 11 *Padana*, and n. 14 *Rivoltana* along the North-South axis, with an East-West width of 2 km only [see Fig. 19]. This stripe conformation is the result of the amalgamation of two municipalities in 1870: Pioltello and Limite. The latter hosts the train station, an Eastern gateway for the railway system of “suburban lines” (*Linee S, Servizio Ferroviario Suburbano*)⁴². The town experienced a great urbanization since the 1960s and 1970s, although it still preserves some green plots, where the flagship is represented by the forest of Besozza Park, located in the southern part.

The preservation of a slight agricultural areas determines a geographic condition of high urbanities but not fully urbanized landscapes, thus positioning the town of Pioltello in the Eastern area of *Martesana*, a name inspired from the river crossing Cernusco Sul Naviglio, a middle and upper-classes suburb neighboring Pioltello to the North and East. The mention of this municipality enables to unfold the reasons behind the decision to focus on Pioltello as target-area. The two towns present different socio-economic background and condition, as will be described afterwards [see section 2].

⁴² Lines S, TreNord – Line S5: <https://www.trenord.it/it/circolazione-e-linee/le-linee/linee-s/s5.aspx> and Line S6: <https://www.trenord.it/it/circolazione-e-linee/le-linee/linee-s/s6.aspx>. The station is also an important stop in the regional rail network along the Milan-Venice axis.

Pioltello faced a great demographic growth between 1961 and 1971 (the years refer to the national censuses), when the population increased from 13.803 to 28.566 units. Whilst the demographic advance of Villaricca began from the 1970s and, in particular, between 1981 and 1991, and that of Fiano Romano and Capena is even more recent, the expansion of Pioltello, both in its population and built environment, is dated back to the period of industrialization and economic growth, when the urban region of Milan saw its greatest expansion into the polynucleated (see Batty, 2001) urban continuum of different poles and connections, resulted from an implosion/explosion process. Furthermore, Pioltello is the second town of the Metropolitan City of Milan in terms of foreign population (24% of the whole population)⁴³, second only to Baranzate (33%). This is a key feature of suburbanisms in Pioltello and, in particular, in a specific neighbourhood.



⁴³ Information about foreigners: <http://demo.istat.it/str2016/index.html>

Figure 19. Location of Pioltello in the Eastern in-between area of Milan urban region. Source: author

Pioltello is also the site of several productive activities. The suburb hosts the main headquarter of *Esselunga* (most likely the most important supermarket chains in Northern Italy and one of the most productive Italian companies), as well as the Italian branch of the multinational company *3M* and the headquarter of *Neutro Roberts*. In the past, it was the center of *SISAS*, a chemical industry settled in the area of Limito, bordering the railway. Although inserted in a suburban patchwork inhabited by middle to upper classes, Pioltello always experienced a more heterogeneous and less rich socio-economic condition compared to that of its neighbours, such as Cernusco sul Naviglio and Segrate. This aspect is stressed by the high presence of foreign population, as well as by the heterogeneity of residential forms, where single or double family houses are mixed with patterns of higher urbanity exemplified by condominiums. Such heterogeneity is visible through a confrontation among the small historical core centre, which preserved some building typologies of the agricultural past shaped by farmhouses (*cascina*) and courthouses (*cortè*) [see Fig. 20], and the more recent settlements of typically urban condominium, developed in small-sized typologies [see Fig. 21] and larger complexes [see Figg. 22 and 23].

The anticipated presentation of the forms of residential built environment – which is instead addressed in the section dedicated to “land” in the two previous studies – aims at introducing the spatial features of Pioltello from the very beginning, to advocate the specificities of suburbanization process in Milan urban region, occurred through the urbanization of small poles that maintained the legacy of their rural past, as indicated by Figure 98. The differentiation of building typologies is so much evident that a small plot of the residential complex *Milano San Felice* – which may be seen as a gated community with luxury condominiums – falls within the administrative competence of Pioltello, with particular reference to the area where one of the two locations of the high school “Niccolò Machiavelli” is settled. Today, Pioltello is fully engulfed in the urban region of Milan, facing a constant infrastructural development particularly focused on the road systems, as confirmed by the upcoming transformations caused by the coming of a new big “Westfield” shopping mall in the municipality of Segrate, foreseen by the year 2022. Additional motivations behind the selection of Pioltello are addressed in the following section in an overview of the area through data, enriched by comparisons with the cities of Milan and Cernusco sul

Naviglio, i.e. the neighbouring suburb with a different socio-economic condition, which serves as an intervener variable in the deployment of the features from the in-between eastern Milan.



Figures 20-23. Patterns of residential typologies in Pioltello. The preserved courthouses in the city centre [20], the small-sized condominium echoing the family-house [21] and the urban condos, more dated, settled in the historical core [22] and more recent, settled in Seggiano, in front of the train station [23]

2. First glance through data

Before moving to the qualitative findings from the fieldwork, a statistical overview of the two areas is provided by collecting information from two main sources: (1) the *Atlante* produced by the PRIN Post-Metropoli, and (2) the open database “Urban Index” (created by the Ministerial Department for Planning and Coordination of Economic Policies)⁴⁴ [see Table 4], following the sequence provided by the ministerial database. These two databases enable to provide a first “analytical portrait” of the contemporary socio-spatial changes and the infrastructural provision. In other words, the overview through data aims at providing a first outline about the living conditions in the in-between territory of Pioltello. The collected data do not refer to the same year. Although this misalignment affects the overview, it does not directly affect the outcomes of the research, as the core of the findings comes from

⁴⁴ “Urban Index. Indicators for urban policies”: <https://www.urbanindex.it/>

the fieldworks carried out on-site. Most of data refers to the latest national census (ISTAT, 2011), hence changes may be already occurred over the last years. The section is concluded by the subdivision of data in five analytical macro-categories [see Table 5] that helps in driving the navigation into the governance, land and infrastructure, towards an understanding of suburbanisms beyond Milan. The five analytical groups are resumed as follows: (1) Socio-economic conditions, involving social, demographic and economic trajectories; (2) Housing, with reference to residential and real estate patterns; (3) Land and Mobility, where in a not so systematic rationale are merged mobility issues emerged from transport infrastructural developments and land use transformations; (4) Economic Dynamism, observing local economic vitality a glance; (5) Facilities, referring to service provision in general terms.

Differently from the other two cases, Pioltello presents a different socio-economic scenario. Firstly, the demographic increase over the 1991-2011 period was very low (3%) [see Fig. 24] and has occurred in a minor extent compared to some neighbouring municipalities, such as Cernusco sul Naviglio (13%), Peschiera Borromeo (20%) and Vignate (28%). The situation slightly changes when enlarging the timescale to 1971-2011. In this larger period, Pioltello faced a 23% of population growth, but resulting the lowest amongst eastern in-between suburbia of Milan. In the same period, Segrate, located between Milan and Pioltello, had an 84% increase, 24% for Cernusco, and values higher than 100% in the other suburbs (as Peschiera Borromeo, Vignate, Rodano). It may be stated that the formation of a suburban fabric inhabiting Pioltello is rooted since the 1960, hence being chronologically the first suburb facing suburbanization amongst the three target-areas of the research. The sphere of family conditions unfolds, a first difference is the little higher values in Pioltello for the rate of young couple with children (9,9) than in Milan and Cernusco (5), as well as the presence of families exposed to economic hardship (1,6 in Pioltello, 0,8 in Cernusco sul Naviglio and 1,2 in Milan). The situation is more flattened between Pioltello and Cernusco for what concerns the incidence of elders alone on the whole number of families, as it presents almost same numbers: 26,5 (Pioltello) and 25,2 (Cernusco). The 33,7 value of Milan little helps in this regard. In terms of unemployment and labour market, data shows a dramatic condition: the 8,8% of unemployment rate in Pioltello significantly increases when shifted to the youth unemployment: 28,3%, and a 10,8% of NEET rate. Nonetheless, number in Cernusco are much lower: 4,9% and 25,8%, as well as in the cases of Segrate (5,6% and 22,4%) and Vignate (6,4% and 23%). Pioltello presents an unemployment rate ever higher than that of Milan (6,9%), being one of the most critical towns in the Eastern area. The Gini index of 0.1915 is the lowest among Pioltello, Cernusco, Segrate and Milan, by revealing more homogeneity in income distribution.

In the field of housing, within a context of low presence of inappropriate dwellings (0,2 rate), Pioltello shows some signs of distress. The variation of average price in housing purchase in the period 2007-2012 decreased (-13,3%) more than in Cernusco (-10,9%) and Segrate (-12,2%). The confrontation with Milan is unhelpful with the available time scale from OMI (Revenue Agency), as real estate in the capital city of Lombardy as dramatically changed after 2012 and further investigations would unfold a complete disparity between Milan and Pioltello. Furthermore, Pioltello holds one of the lowest rates of residential attractiveness in the Eastern Milan area for the year 2011 [see Fig. 31]: 5,8. Cernusco sul Naviglio (13,4) on other suburbs presents values around 10, with the exception of the declining Segrate, affected by the depopulation of the gated community "Milano 2". Equally, Pioltello experienced a lower building expansion over the last decade, as certified by the ratio of constructions built over the two decades. The 6.4 ratio of Pioltello is much lower than that of Cernusco (18.3), albeit higher than that of Milan (3.9) where fewer land was available as long as two decades ago. The low building expansion over the two decades is legitimized by the percentage of variation of dwelling (1991-2011 [see Fig. 25]: 12%, a very limited variation compared to that of Cernusco (38%), Peschiera Borromeo (36%), Vignate (41%).

Again, Segrate is the only Eastern suburb sharing some features with Pioltello, although the socio-economic conditions are historically considered different.

The observation of the macro-category of Land and Mobility corroborates what deployed by housing field. The variation of anthropized surface is minimal, as for the case of Villaricca. The only 3% variation from 2000 to 2006 [see Fig. 26] is amongst the lowest of the whole in-between of Milan urban region, oscillating from 0 to 5%, as in the case of Cernusco (4%) and the urban core of Milan (1%). With reference to land consumption, the value per capita (year 2015) is much higher in the cases of Cernusco (196,5 square meters per inhabitant) and Segrate (262,7 sqm per inhabitant) rather than in the case of Pioltello (155,8) and Milan (77,8). Building typologies play a key role in this regard, although data of Edge Density (index of urban splintering) presents almost the same situation in Pioltello (163,1 meter over sqm) and Cernusco (160,8), whereas it particularly increases in the case of Segrate (233,6). Most likely, the spread of typical *villette a schiera* (family terrace-houses) is more diffused in Cernusco than in Pioltello, hence affecting the land consumption per capita, whereas in Pioltello the higher presence of condominiums reduces such element. By grounding the reflection on mobility, the inquiry may be carried out in a two-indicators tandem. First, the 0,9 value of mobility index, related to commuting from the town to elsewhere for labour reasons, reveals that the majority of the inhabitants of Pioltello travels to work to other towns. Such condition is common to many other settlements, included Milan (0,83). The self-containment index, on the contrary, is very low both for Pioltello (0,21) and Cernusco (0,36), whereas, naturally, increases in the case of Milan (0,68), acknowledging the reduced inner movements within the town four labour in constellations of Eastern edges. This is a confirmation of the dense network of relations and connections crossing the urban region of Milan (see Balducci et al., 2017a, 2017b). Second, the ratio of people moving daily with a private transport unfolds a dependency in the case of Pioltello (53,8%) confirmed in the case of Cernusco (56,6%) and Segrate (62%). The dense transit network of Milan, which actually involves both Pioltello and Cernusco, reduces such private-mobility orientation (37% in the city of Milan). To the opposite, the percentage of public transports users is much lower in the case of Pioltello (18,3%), Cernusco (20%) than in Milan (36,8%). The focus on infrastructural challenges in Pioltello sheds light on this automobile dependence afterwards [see section 3.3]. Third, in terms of accessibility both to railway stations and urban nodes through roads [see Figg. 28 and 29], Pioltello is reasonably served as it hosts a railway station belonging to the transit railway network, it is engulfed by two Provincial Roads and it is also located at a little distance to TEEM (*Tangenziale Esterna Milano*). The whole scenario unveils a diffused landscape of transit connections and networks that hardly leave behind suburban municipalities of the first and second ring belts.

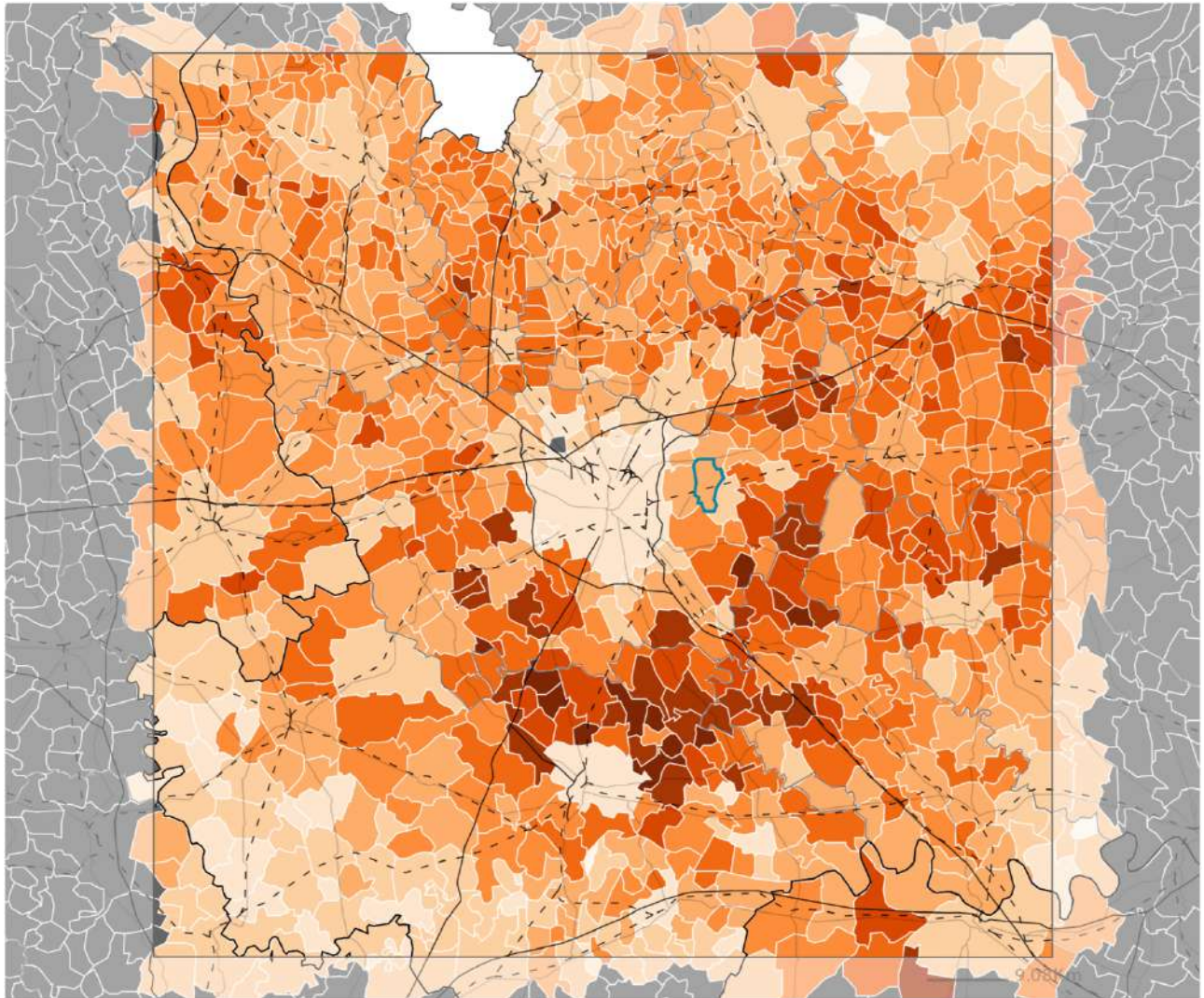
The macro-category of economic dynamism – where all data refer to year 2011- illustrates a situation where Pioltello seems further behind compared to its neighbours. The general index of economic dynamism synthetically resumes the average of workers in agriculture, manufacture, retail and services. Pioltello presents a lower rate of dynamism (0,33) to those of Cernusco (1,37), Segrate (1,94) and Milan (1,58). Furthermore, the commonly used indicator of the percentage of workers in APS (social promotion activities) and KIBS (Knowledge Intensive Business Services) companies stresses a minority condition for Pioltello: 9,135% over the whole workers, versus the 16,106% of Cernusco, the 32,411% of Segrate, and 28,033% of Milan. Yet, the presence of important companies in Pioltello looks incongruent with such condition that call for deeper investigations on local labour market and the main typology of workers in Pioltello, as APS and KIBS are much less diffused productive activities than in the surrounding areas. Moving to public institutions, in the target-area considered for this confrontation, Pioltello, again, holds the lowest ratio: 0.06, where 0 indicate no dynamism. The scenario slightly changes in Cernusco (0.65) and sees a transformation in the case of Milan (2,36).

Concluding remarks through data addresses – through five indicators – the field of public facilities by introducing a key issue investigated in the fieldworks, i.e. service provision. First, the index of peripherality and centrality in the access to services (year 2013) [see Fig. 27] shows the same level of accessibility from whole the municipalities in the second ring-belt, with values oscillating from 3 to 4, indicating thus an in-between condition of non-peripheral and non-central level. Then, three indicators address three different topics. From the viewpoint of facilities, the diffusion of pharmacies per 10.000 inhabitants is also homogenous amongst Pioltello, Cernusco, Segrate and other towns, with 0,2 pharmacies each 10.000 inhabitants, whereas in the case of Milan this data reaches a 0,3 value. For what concerns water provision, the fed into drinking water system per capita (year 2012), resulted lower in Pioltello (117,9 cubic meter per inhabitant in year 2012) and Cernusco (121,9) [see Fig. 32] than in the case of Segrate (165,5) which presents a provision closer to that of Milan, where a broader catchment of user needs to be satisfied. Although the ATO (Optimal Territorial Ambit) is the same for the whole Metropolitan city of Milan, providers in water supply may change from municipality to municipality. For instance, *Amiacque* from *CAP* Group is the provider in Pioltello but is not the one supplying Milan. A third indicator focuses on services regarding recycling. In 2013, the percentage of waste separation was much lower in Pioltello (49,8%) rather than in Cernusco (62,9%). Data from Pioltello is rather more similar to that of Milan (24,5%) although the provider is different as it is organized on a municipal base. Segrate, Vignate and Peschiera Borromeo. Finally, the index of general infrastructural provision calculated on a range value from 0 to 1000 by observing the number of roads, railway stations, highway exits and eventually harbours and airports, a strategic position for Pioltello, legitimized by the value 68 (year 2014), which is one of the highest among the Eastern edges, differently from that of Cernusco (26) [see Figure 30]. Although many lacks, Pioltello is embedded in the network of Milan urban region.

Indicator from Urban Index database	Year	Source	Measure unit	Pioltello
Ten-year average rate of change in resident population	1991-2011	ISTAT	%	3
Percentage of variation of average price in housing purchase	2007-2012	OMI	€/sqm/month	-13,9
Private mobility (use of private vehicle)	2011	ISTAT	%	53,8
EG – Edge density (index of urban landscape splintering)	2015	ISPRA	m/sqm	163,1
Building expansion index in residential areas over a decade	2011	ISTAT	%	6,4
Rate of residential attractiveness	2001-2011	PRIN PM	Index	5,8
Rate of young couples with children	2011	PRIN PM	%	9,9
Mobility index (commuting for employment purposes)	2011	PRIN PM	Index	0,9
Self-containment index (internal commuting for employment purposes)	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,21
Economic dynamism index	2011	PRIN PM	Index	0,33
Rate of public authorities' dynamism	2011	PRIN PM	Index	0,06
Pharmacies per 10.000 inhabitants	2011	Health Minister	Number per 10.000 inh.	0,2
Public transportation (ratio between public transport and non-public transport users in commuting for employment purposes)	2011	ISTAT	%	18,3
Unemployment rate	2011	ISTAT	%	8,8
Youth unemployment rate (age 15-24)	2011	ISTAT	%	28,3
Rate of NEET (age 15-29)	2011	ISTAT	%	10,8
Rate of families in a potential economic hardship	2011	ISTAT	%	1,6
Rate of elders alone	2011	ISTAT	%	26,5
Housing exclusion index (rate of inappropriate dwellings)	2011	ISTAT	Index	0,2
Gini index	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,1915
Land consumption per capita	2015	ISPRA	Sqm/inhab.	155,8
Drinking water fed into the municipal grid system per capita	2012	PRIN PM	M ³ /inh. year	117,9
Percentage of waste separation (recycling)	2013	ISPRA	%	49,8
Percentage of workers in companies APS and KIBS (ATECO sectors J, K and M) on the total amount of workers	2011	ISTAT	%	9,135

Table 4. Information box on Pioltello. Source: Urban Index database (Dept. of Planning and Coordination of Economic Politics).

*PRIN PM: Data from *Atlante PRIN* Post-Metropoli



Demographic increase (1991-2011). Pioltello: 3%

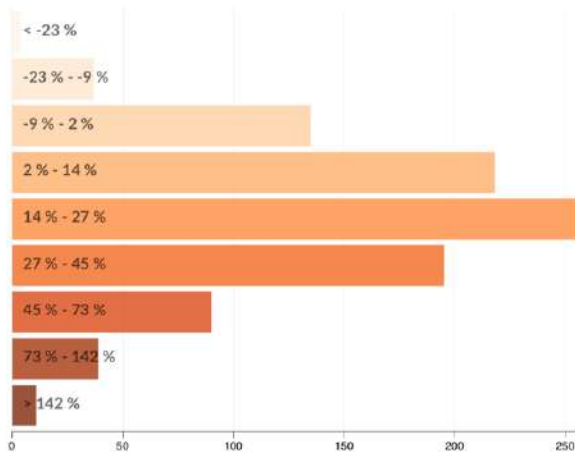
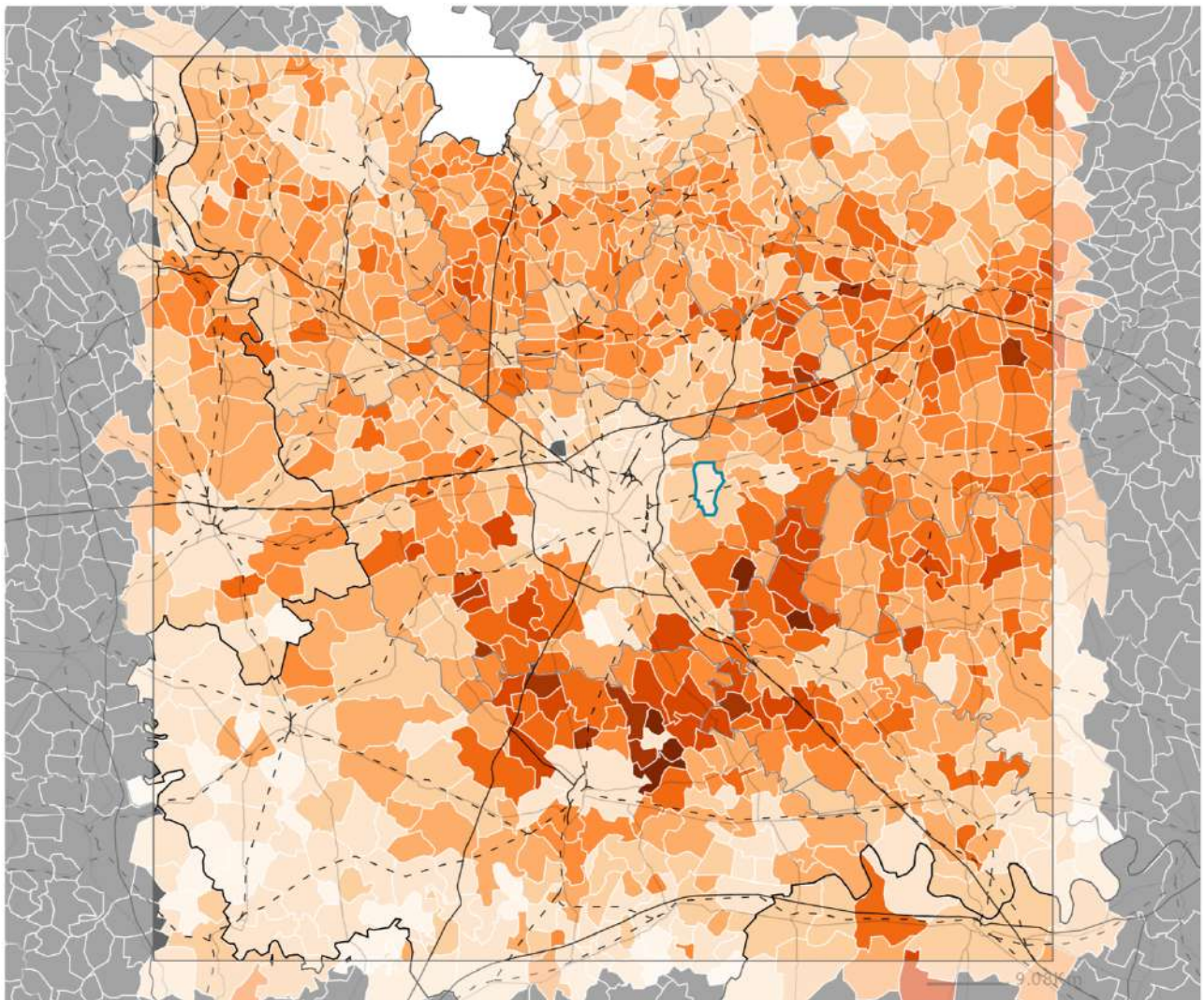


Figure 24. Demographic increase in Pioltello (1991-2011). Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*



Variation of dwellings (1991-2011). Pioltello: 12%

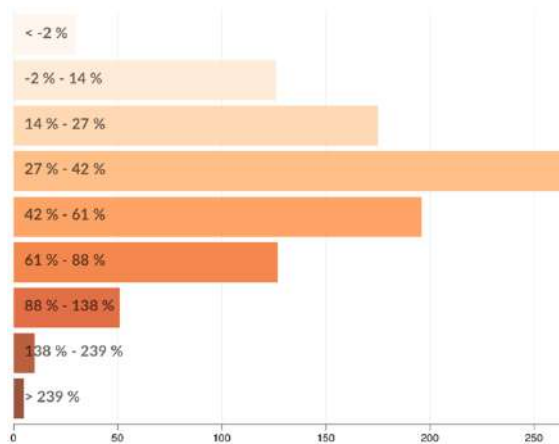
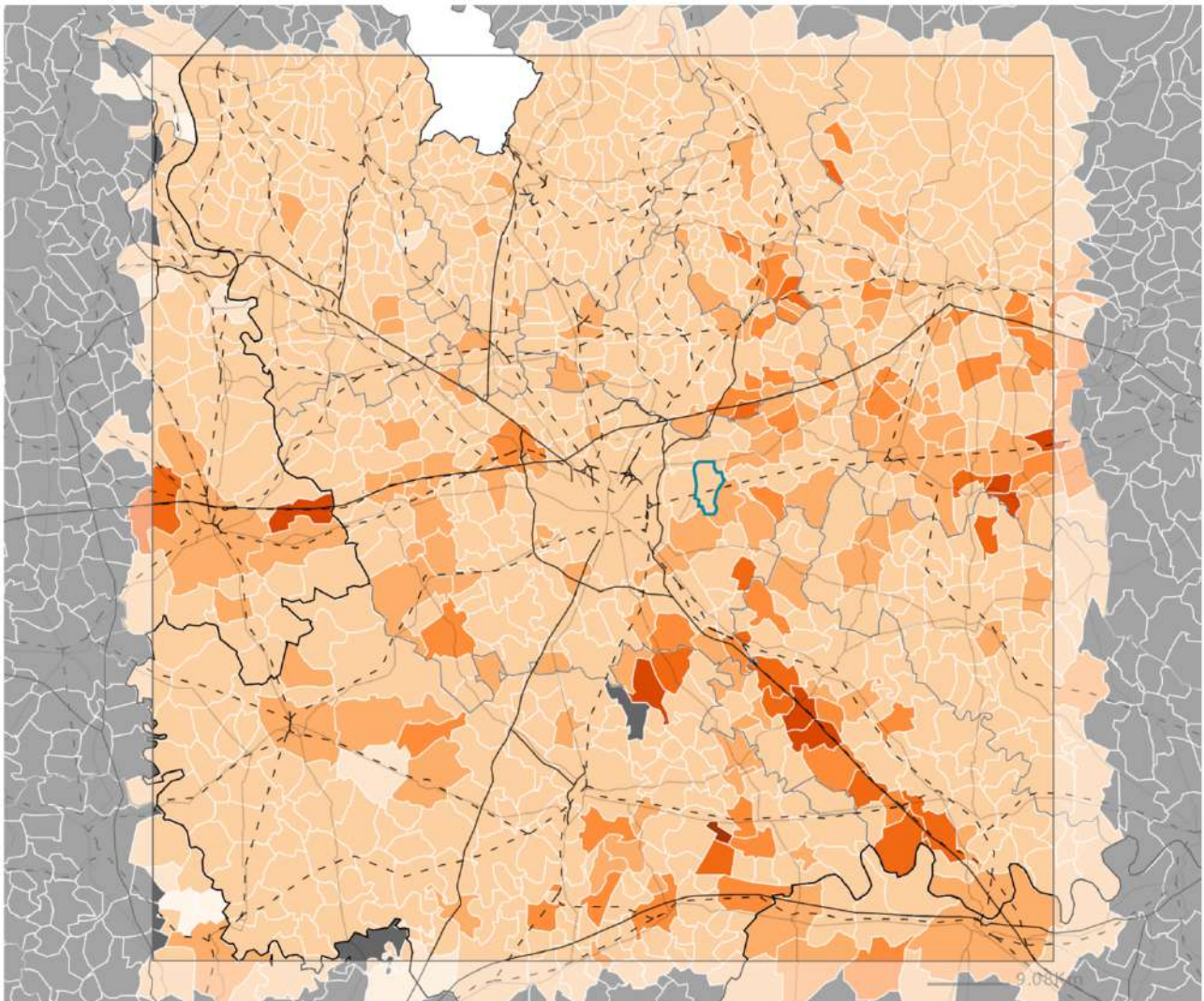


Figure 25. Variation in the number of dwellings in Pioltello (1991-2011). Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*



Variation of anthropized surface (2000-2006). Pioltello: 3%

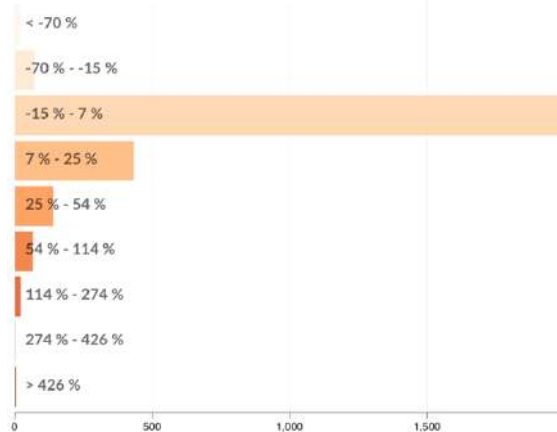


Figure 26. Variation of the anthropized surface in Pioltello. (2000-2006).
Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*, based on CORINE Land Cover



Index of Peripherality/Centrality in services provision (2013). Pioltello: 3

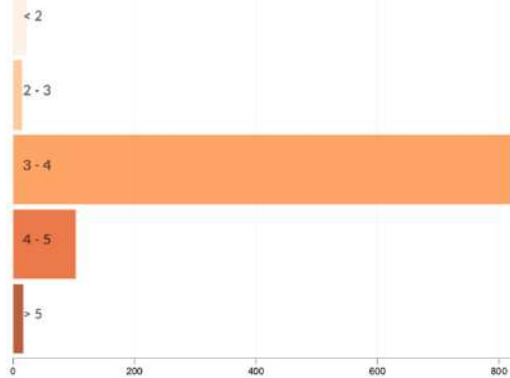
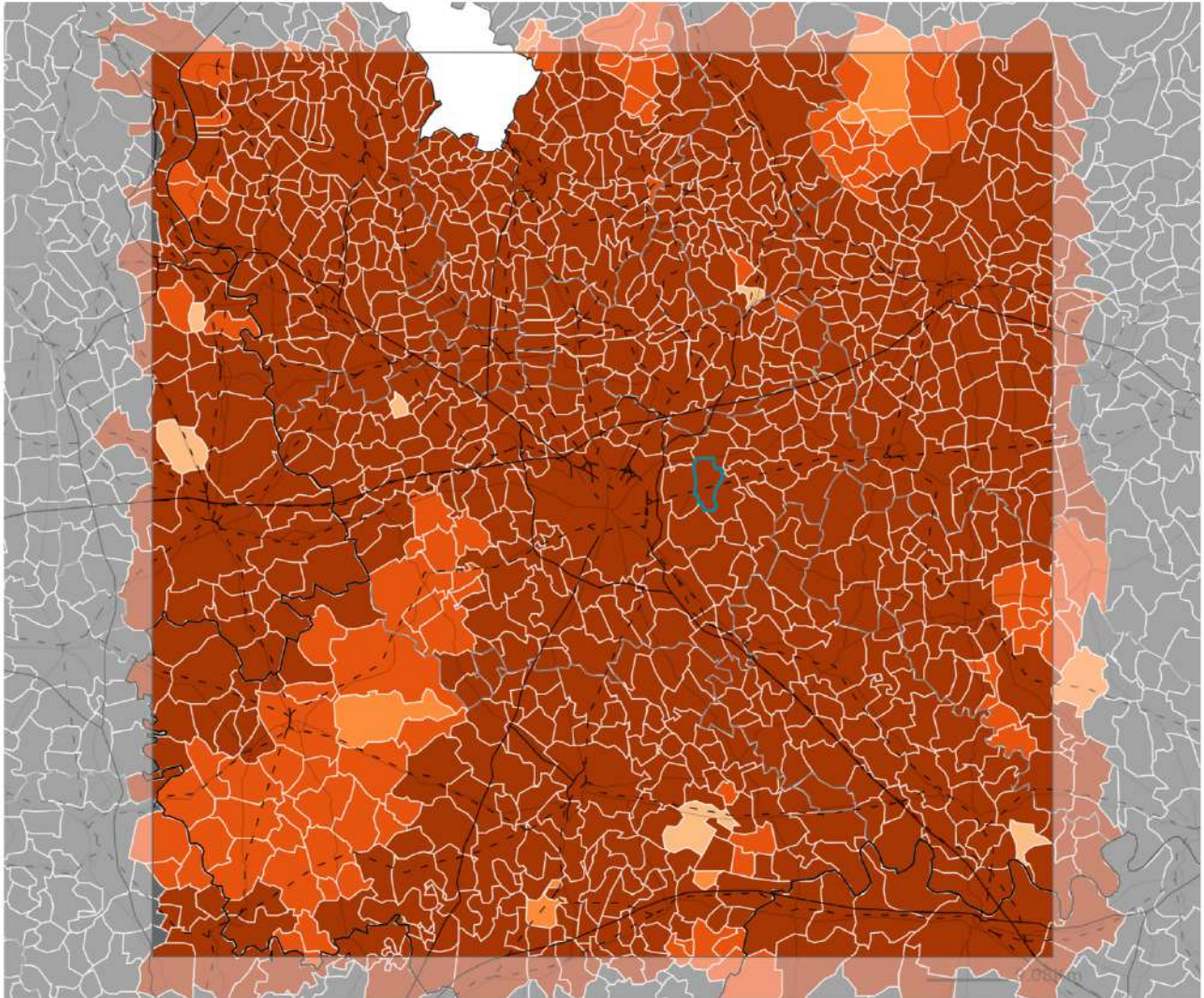


Figure 27. Index of peripherality-centrality in services provision in Pioltello (2013). The higher is the value, the more peripheral is the municipality in the access to services.

Source: *Atlante* Post-Metropoli, based on data from the Minister of Health and Education, Department of Development and Economic Cohesion – National Strategy for “Inner Areas”.



Index of accessibility to railway stations (Grandistazioni and Centostazioni) (2014). Pioltello: 4

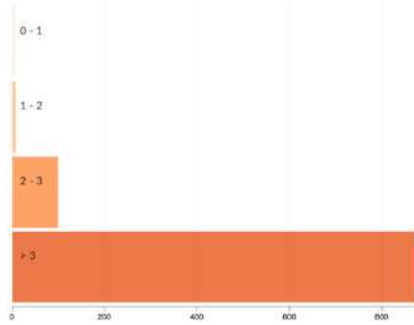
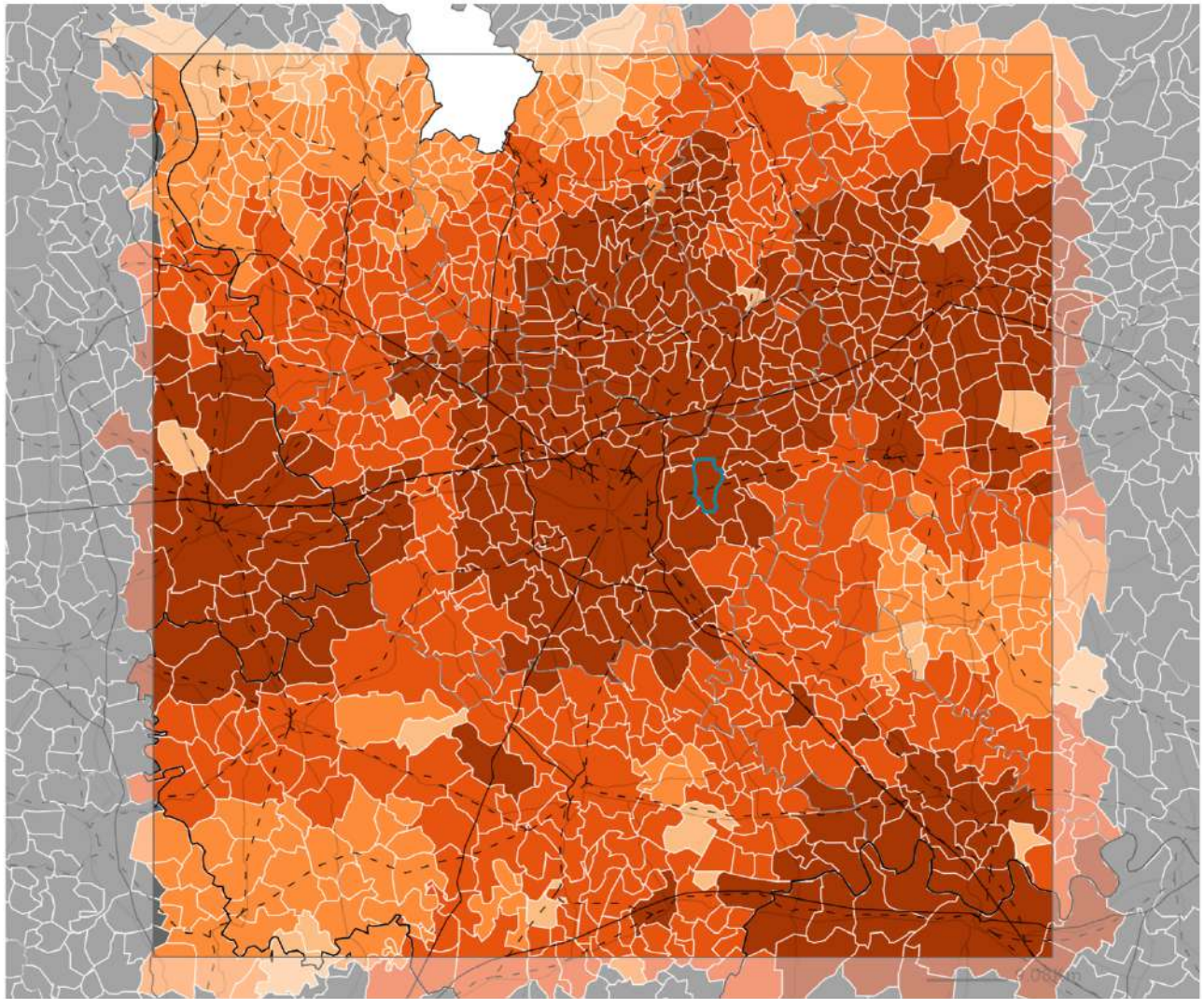


Figure 28. Index of accessibility to railway stations (*Grandistazioni* and *Centostazioni*) from Pioltello (2014).
Source: *Atlante Post-Metropolis*

Note: The index is calculated using a sampling function of the isochrones in which is included the “centroid” of each municipality, by selecting the isochrone corresponding to the lowest travel time. The index classifies the capacity of municipality’s inhabitants to reach railways stations of *Ferrovie dello Stato* (*Grandistazioni* and *Centostazioni*) through transit roads systems.

Classes subdivision:

Class 0 (<1) = average travel time above 60 minutes	Class 3 (2-3) = average travel time between 15 and 30
Class 1 (1-1) = average travel time between 45 and 60 mins.	Class 4 (>3) = average travel time lower than 15 mins.
Class 2 (1-2) = average travel time between 30 and 45 mins.	



Index of accessibility to urban nodes through roads (2014). Pioltello: 3

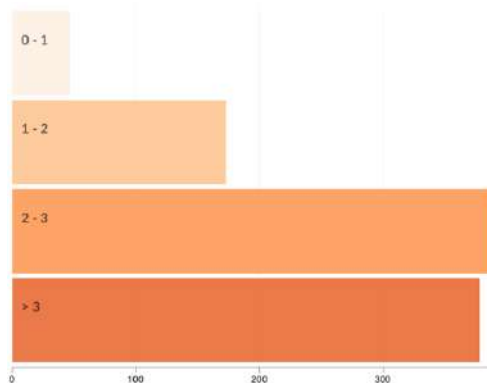


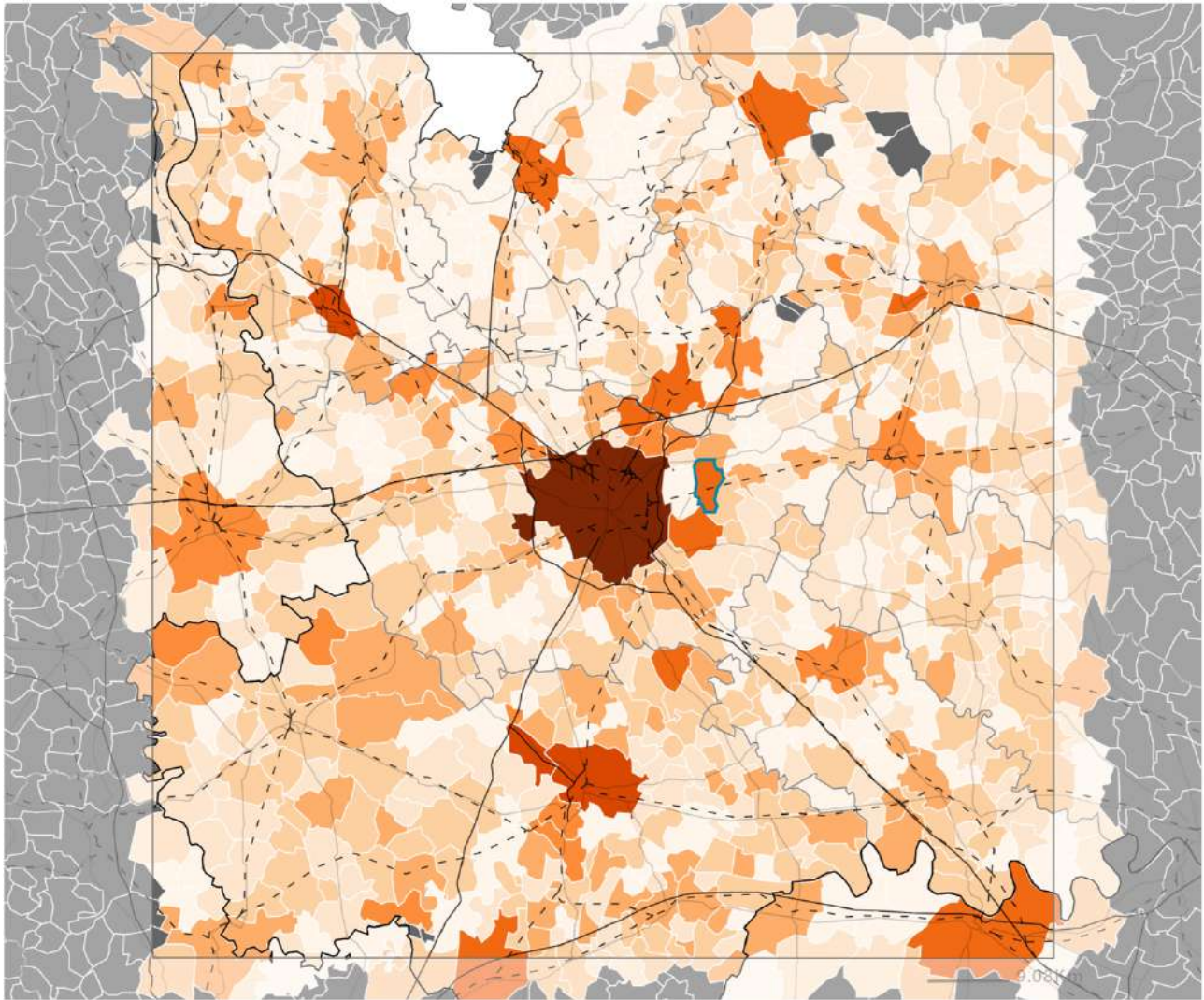
Figure 29. Index of accessibility to urban nodes through transit roads systems Pioltello (2014).

Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*

Note: This synthetic index is calculated using a sampling function of the isochrones in which is included the “centroid” of each municipality, by selecting the isochrone corresponding to the lowest travel time. The index classifies the capacity of municipality’s inhabitants to reach urban nodes (DPS, *poli urbani*) through transit roads systems.

Classes subdivision:

Class 0 (<1) = average travel time above 60 minutes	Class 3 (2-3) = average travel time between 15 and 30
Class 1 (1-1) = average travel time between 45 and 60 mins.	Class 4 (>3) = average travel time lower than 15 mins.
Class 2 (1-2) = average travel time between 30 and 45 mins.	



Index of general infrastructural provision (2014). Pioltello: 68

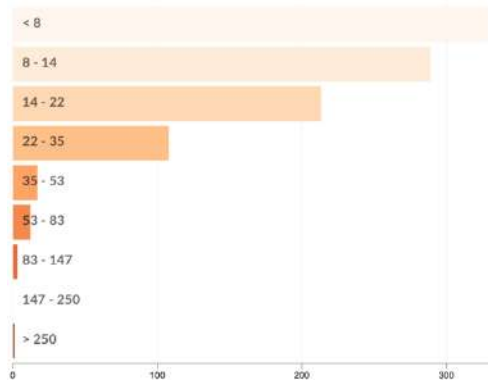
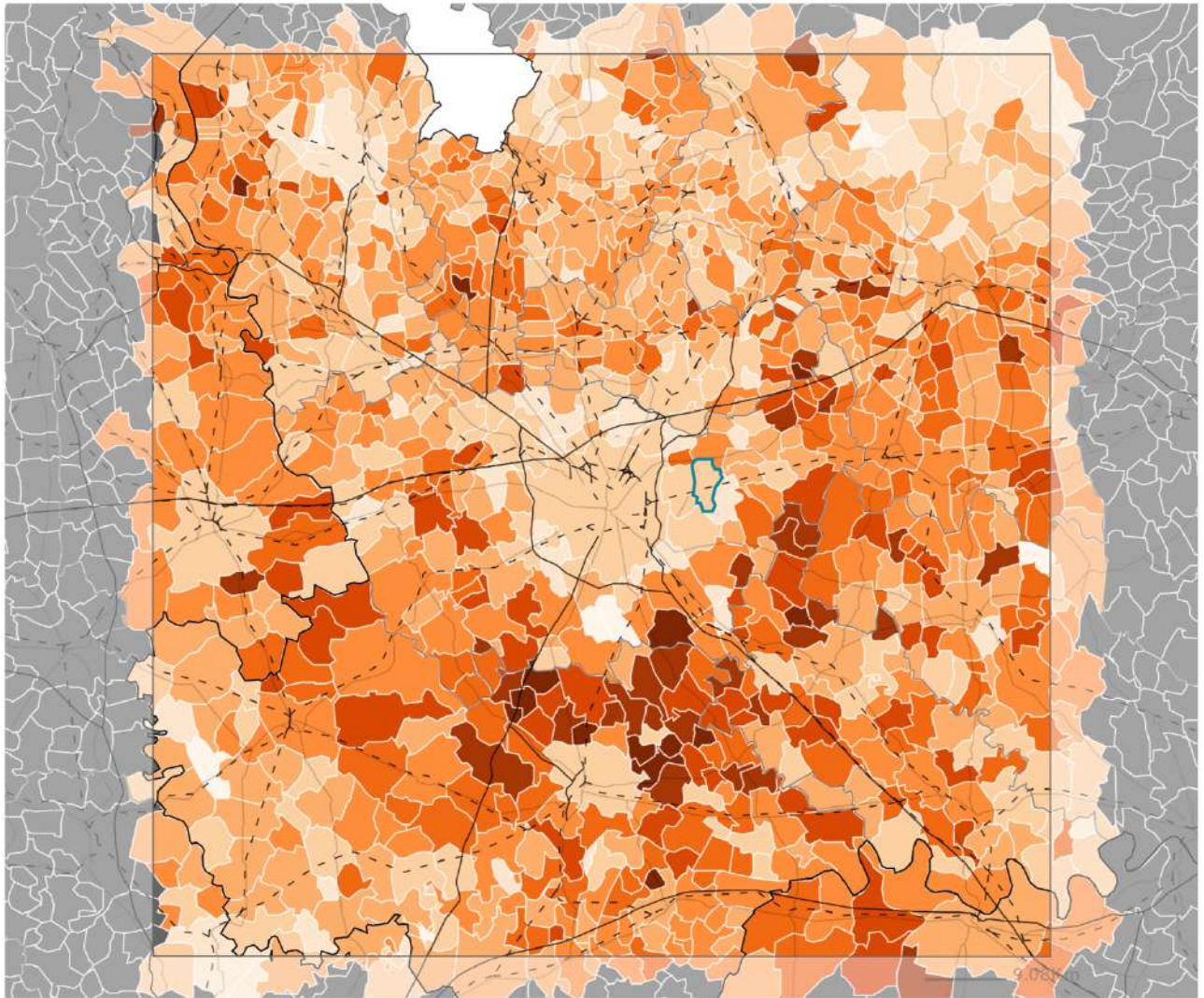


Figure 30. Index of general infrastructural provision in Pioltello (2014). Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*

Note: the synthetic index of comprehensive infrastructural provision is constructed by summing-up the standardized values (Z-score) of the following indicators:

- Kilometres of State and Provincial roads per square kilometres of the municipal area
- Number of railway stations equivalent for each municipality
- Number of highways exits
- Number of harbours per each municipality / 2
- Number of airports per each municipality / 2

The result is re-classified on a range of values comprised between 0 and 1000



Rate of change in residential attractiveness (2001-2011). Pioltello: 5.81

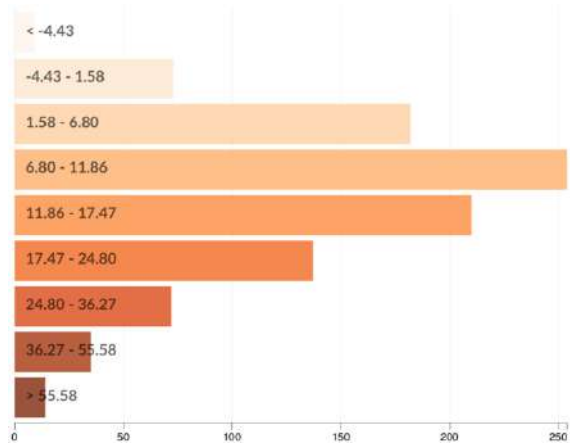
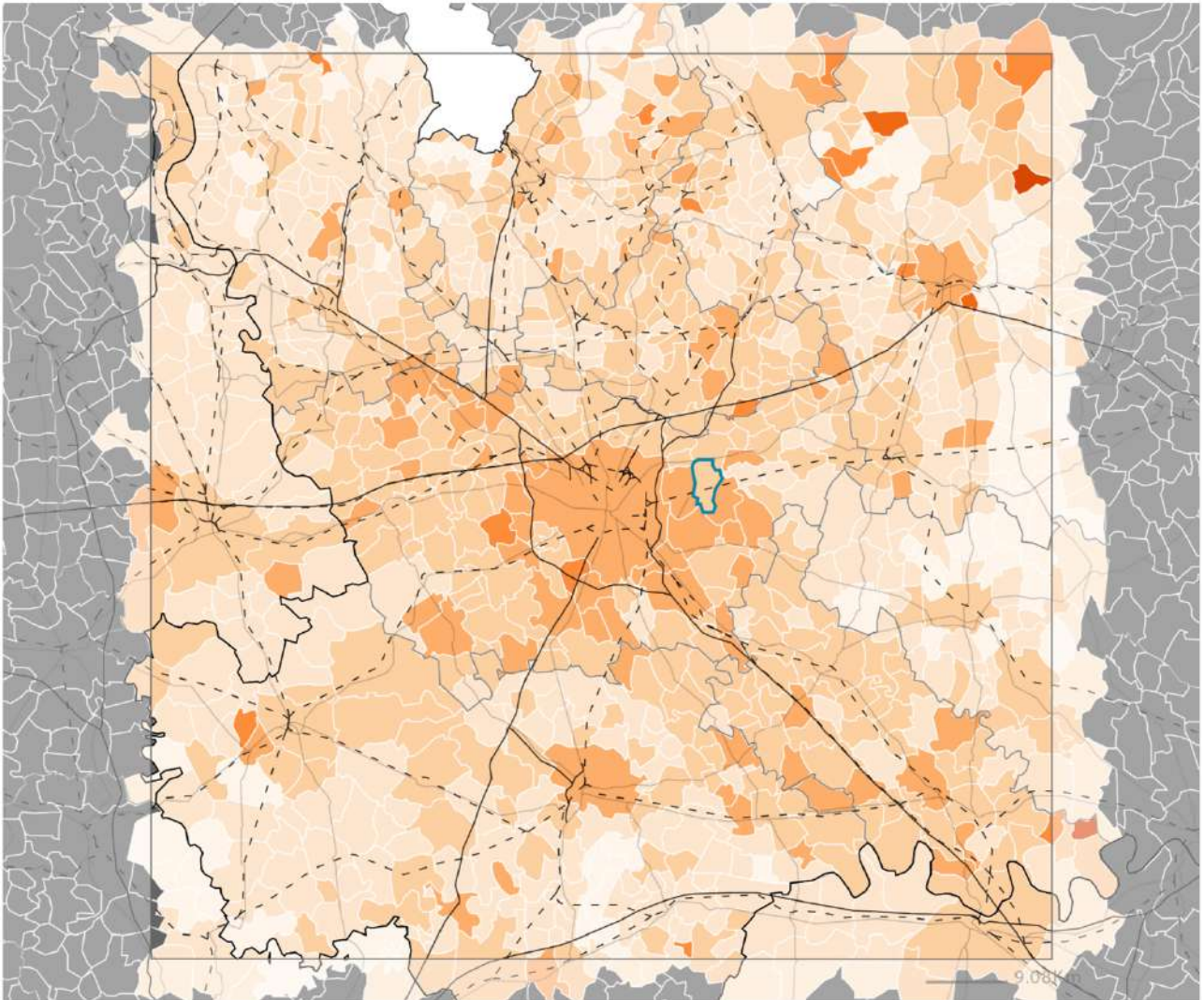


Figure 31. Rate of change in residential attractiveness in Pioltello (2001-2011).
Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*

Note: The rate represents the net migration over a decade each 100 residents at the year 2001. It has been calculated through the sum-up of nets migrations per year from 2002 to 2011 (i.e. by observing the subscriptions and deletions on municipal master data due to the effective change of address) divided for number of residents in 2001 and multiplied by 100.



Drinking water fed into the municipal system per capita (2012). Pioltello: 117.92

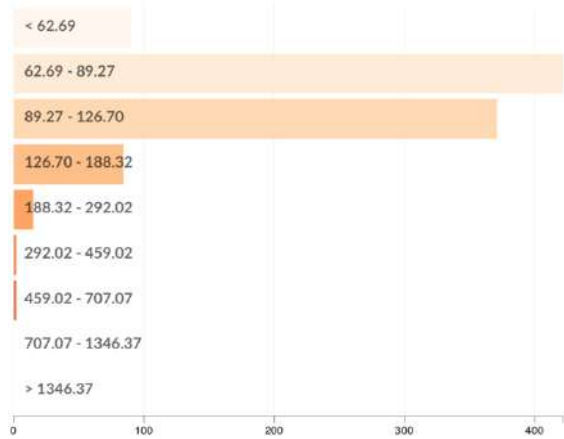


Figure 32. Drinking water fed into the municipal grid system per capita in Pioltello (2012).
 Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli* based on ISTAT, census of drinking water for residential use. Measurement unit: cubic meters per inhabitant every year.

Macro-category	Selected indicators	Year	Source	Measure Unit	Pioltello
	Ten-year average rate of change in resident population	1991-2011	ISTAT	%	3
	Rate of young couples with children	2011	PRIN PM	%	9,9
	Unemployment rate	2011	ISTAT	%	8,8
	Youth unemployment rate (age 15-24)	2011	ISTAT	%	28,3
	Rate of NEET (age 15-29)	2011	ISTAT	%	10,8
	Rate of families in a potential economic hardship	2011	ISTAT	%	1,6
	Rate of elders alone	2011	ISTAT	%	26,5
Socio-economic conditions	Gini index	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,1915
	Percentage of variation of average price in housing purchase	2007-2012	OMI	€/sqm/month	-13,9
	Variation of dwellings	1991-2011	PRIN PM	%	12
	Building expansion index in residential areas over a decade	2011	ISTAT	%	6,4
	Rate of residential attractiveness	2001-2011	PRIN PM	Index	5,8
	Housing exclusion index (rate of inappropriate dwellings)	2011	ISTAT	Index	0,2
Housing					
	Variation of anthropized land	2000-2006	PRIN PM	%	3
	Private mobility (use of private vehicle)	2011	ISTAT	%	53,8
	EG - Edge Density (index of urban landscape splintering)	2015	ISPRA	m/sqm	163,1
	Land consumption per capita	2015	ISPRA	sqm/inhab.	155,8
	Mobility index (commuting for employment purposes)	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,9
	Self-containment index (internal commuting for employment)	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,21
	Public transportation use	2011	ISTAT	%	18,3
	Index of accessibility to railway stations	2014	PRIN PM	Classes (0-4)	4
	Index of accessibility to urban nodes through roads	2014	PRIN PM	Classes (0-4)	3
	Land and Mobility				
	Economic dynamism index	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,33
	Rate of public authorities' dynamism	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,06
	Percentage of workers in companies APS and KIBS (ATECO sectors J, K and M) on the total amount of workers	2011	ISTAT	%	9,135
Economic Dynamism					
	Index of peripherality/centrality in services provision	2013	PRIN PM	Classes (0-5)	3
	Pharmacies per 10.000 inhabitants	2011	Health Minister	N. x 10.000 inh.	0,2
	Drinking water fed into the municipal grid system per capita	2012	PRIN PM	Cubic meter/inh. x year	117,9
	Percentage of waste separation (recycling)	2013	ISPRA	%	49,8
	Index of general infrastructural provision	2014	PRIN PM	Range value (0-1000)	68
Service Provision					

Table 5. Reorganization of data according to five macro-categories (Pioltello). Source: *Atlante PRIN* Post-Metropoli and Urban Index database

3. On field: Pioltello and Satellite neighbourhood, when the city offloads welfare tensions on suburbs

From October 2018 to April 2019, alongside the researches at the edges of Naples, the qualitative observations devoted particular attention also to the case of Pioltello. The fieldwork has been punctuated by nine field visits marked by walks, interviews and meetings to both experts and local inhabitants from the target- area. Field visits lie in a sequence of nine site visits carried out both for interviews and observations, and they have been planned according to the availability of privileged informants and local administrators to be interviewed⁴⁵.

Nonetheless, the introduction of the outcomes from this case study entails a remarkable feature that affect the whole research, from the questions to the final outcomes. The data collected in the previous section disclose a more vulnerable socio-economic condition for the town of Pioltello in contrast to other neighbor municipalities such as Cernusco sul Naviglio. Fieldworks aims at deepening these perceptions by addressing the governance of welfare, the spatial features and the infrastructural development of the town. However, first research steps unfold a key path-dependence that modify the unit of analysis. To better describe this shifting, little bit extra must be added about the demographic trend and the (sub)urban development of Pioltello. Drawing on the evidences of a low population increase between 1990s and 2000s, the first phase of demographic explosion occurred from 1960 to 1975, when population jump from 10.000 to 30.000 inhabitants and the town faced a dramatic mutation of its agricultural nature (Granata, 2004). As a result, Pioltello expanded in the betweennesses of a highly urbanized and anthropized agricultural area, turning into a municipality divided in four areas, two centuries after the unification of Pioltello and Limoto: the historical centre [see Fig. 33]; the more recent settlements close to the centre, corresponding to the neighbourhood called “Satellite”; the area of Seggiano, located between the railway and the Provincial Road n. 103 *Cassanese*, and Limoto, in the Southern part, between the railway and Provincial Road n. 14 *Rivoltana* [see Fig. 111]. This expansion was the outcome of an increasing housing demand by new inhabitants moved from Southern Italy, in particular from Sicily, during the 1960s and 1970s. Such demographic and housing boom transformed the former farming village in a dormitory city (Granata, 2004) with fever farming areas. In this connection, in 2000 the administration asked for the recognition of the “city” status to legitimize the complete shifting into a context of urbanity four decades of (sub)urbanization. The history of building expansion in Pioltello [see section 3.2] is characterized by suddenly developed constructions amongst the four areas which differs from the expansion of neighbouring suburbs such as Cernusco sul Naviglio and Segrate, planned in a rather different way of varying sized *villette* and small condominiums to attract upper classes in greener places, less urban although influenced by urbanities. Rather, the socio-demographic history of Pioltello is more imbedded in working-classes movements following two key periods of modern history: the economic boom of 1960s and the new migration trends from “Global South” and “Third World” to Western countries. Indeed, from 1990s the migration flow saw a replacement, when records about foreign population significantly increased in a varying composition of manifold ethnicities. In 2017 (demo ISTAT) 24% of

⁴⁵ For the sequence of field visits, see Appendix A. For the list of interviews, see Appendix B.

population was foreigner (9.009 units) and today – as stressed by the Mayor Ivonne Cosciotti, interviewed on October 9th, 2018 – hundred different ethnic groups live in Pioltello.

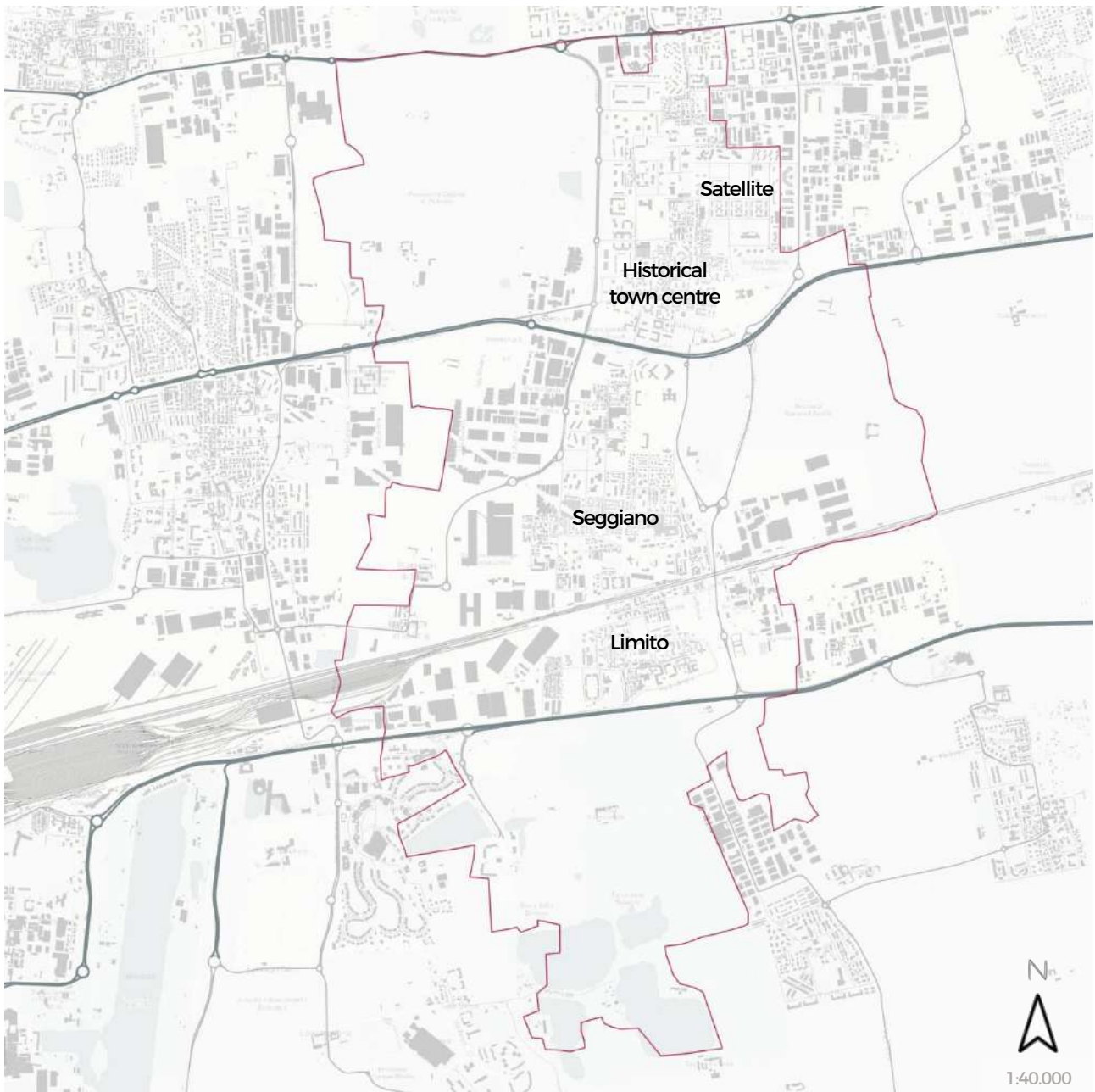


Figure 33. Subdivision of Pioltello neighbourhoods. Source: author

Although this double sequence of migration flows has interested Pioltello as a whole, it nevertheless found a territorial core in a specific neighbourhood: “Satellite”, the settlement raised beside the historical core in 1960s, built between 1962 and 1964. Frictions have consistently and steadily emerged from this twofold process, and over the decades Satellite has turned into an enclave of overlapped fragilities and vulnerabilities in a highly cosmopolitan context affected by a concentration of the numerous migrants based in Pioltello. Today, inter-institutional eyes are focused on this neighbourhood, and a planning activity has been launched. “Satellite” has been selected in 2017 as one of the target-areas involved in the national *Bando Periferie*, a State-based call for urban regeneration project financed by the Italian

government⁴⁶ and implemented by an inter-institutional governance [see section 3.1]. Furthermore, an ongoing academic research from the Department of Architecture and Urban Studies of Milan Polytechnic launched in December 2017 investigates Satellite as a “metropolitan periphery” raising novel challenges for the urban planning. In terms of time schedule, both this research, entitled *M.O.S.T. (Migration Over the Satellite Town) of Pioltello*, and the beginning of *Bando Periferie* programme, travels parallel to the present research. Therefore, this peak of the increasing attention on Satellite as a fragile area of the Eastern in-between of Milan urban region, serves as a source of inspiration to drive the attention on suburbanisms in Pioltello. In a nutshell, the current planning phase involving the area of Satellite is fundamental to focus on local welfare and public utility provision in Pioltello. On such basis, an investigation reframes assigns a pivotal role to Satellite, which becomes a point of observation for the understanding of the organization and the current challenges for the local welfare of Pioltello, the priorities in the agenda of local welfare governance, also in spatial and infrastructural terms, and, above all, the features of a highly heterogeneous suburban fabric distinguished by multiethnicity. Such premises indicate a complex situation both in terms of ethnic socio-spatial polarizations, and in terms of governance challenges within a metropolitan context governed by an aggregate plurality of actors where institutional changes are historically undertaken (see Del Fabbro, 2017).

3.1 Governance: welfare provision in Pioltello and spotlights on Satellite

According to the introductory lines of this fieldwork, the analysis of governance of local welfare in Pioltello shall be divided in two strands: on the one hand, governance of social services as described in the two previous cannot be overlooked, whereas the inter-institutional governance arranged for the implementation of *Bando Periferie* at Satellite necessitates an overview, by also involving the academic research *M.O.S.T. of Pioltello*.

Local welfare in Pioltello

The legislative framework behind the governance of social services, as for the other cases, is sustained by National Law 328/2000, and in the case of Lombardy, by two specific Acts of Enforcement: the Regional Law 3/2008⁴⁷ regulating the network of interventions and services to citizens in social and socio-health fields, and the subsequent Regional Law 23/2015⁴⁸, which intervened to update the integrated socio-health regional system. Co-planning, pluralization of the arena, and organizational plans to pursue the integration of social and health issue in an all-encompassing welfare provision are key pillars of the recent innovation of welfare systems in Lombardy (see Ghetti, 2016). In Milan, a nurtured innovation of social services towards policy integration is confirmed by the recent programme entitled *WeMi* (“Welfare-Milano, “We-Milano), launched in 2015 within a broader innovation of the Municipal Services Plan (see Bricocoli, 2018; Bricocoli & Sabatinelli, 2018b, 2018a). It may be stated that Milan, its urban region, and the whole Lombardy have constantly sought to encourage a fair and updated local

⁴⁶ The institutional document of *Bando Periferie* at a glance:

http://www.governo.it/sites/governo.it/files/Bando_periferie_urbane_testo.pdf

⁴⁷ Regional Law 3/2008, *Governo della rete degli interventi e dei servizi alla persona in ambito sociale e socio-sanitario*:

http://normelombardia.consiglio.regione.lombardia.it/NormeLombardia/Accessibile/main.aspx?exp_coll=lr002008031200003&view=showdoc&iddoc=lr002008031200003&slnode=lr002008031200003

⁴⁸ Regional Law 23/2015, modifications of Titles II and III of the Law for Regional health (L. 33/2009):

<http://normelombardia.consiglio.regione.lombardia.it/NormeLombardia/Accessibile/main.aspx?view=showdoc&iddoc=lr002015081100023>

welfare system. With particular reference to Pioltello, a first remarkable point is the alignment to such constant innovation effort, detectable in few words of the Mayor, Ivonne Cosciotti:

“From the administrative viewpoint, we conceive welfare in a broad sense stemming from the social services but including other key services such as transports and public spaces, like in an *urban welfare*. For what concern social services, what firstly comes to mind is the watershed between the 27.000 inhabitants which live in a periphery with a medium-high income, and the other 10.000 inhabitants with low-incomes which make Pioltello one of the suburbs in the metropolitan belt with the lowest pro-capita income, particularly settled in the multi-ethnic context of Satellite” (Ivonne Cosciotti, Mayor of Pioltello, October 9th, 2018)

This statement from the mayor unfolds two issues: the interpretation of welfare in Pioltello as an “urban welfare”, influenced by urbanities such as a higher use of public transports, and the enhancement of Satellite as a place that grasps the institutional attention of welfare governance and planning. As for other Regional scenarios, the field of social services is regulated by the supra-municipal organization summing a number of municipalities. In this case, *Distretto Sociale Est Milano, 3* (henceforth “District 3”) [see Fig. 34] is the governmental actor of social services provision, involving Segrate, Rodano, Vimodrone and Pioltello as front-runner municipality hosting the “Plan Office” (*Ufficio di Piano*), the technical-operational structure for the implementation of the triennial “Area Social Plan” (*Piano di Zona*). Plan Office carries out the functions of District 3, by managing communication and project proposals between municipalities and the other institutional governance actors, i.e. the Region, the Metropolitan City, and the health services authorities. Key elements of planning activity for the Area Plan have been discussed with Chiara Poli, director of the Plan Office, through an analysis of the latest Area Social Plan, for the 2015-2017 period. As firsts, general guidelines are disciplined by the *Azioni di Sistema* (“System Actions”), resumed as follows (*Piano di Zona 2015-2017*, 2014): improving coordination amongst the municipal-based “social secretariats”, strengthening the planning activity between municipalities and the District 3, expanding the associated management of social services through strategic pillars discussed by all the municipalities of District 3, elaborating a regulation in monitoring the indicators of socio-economic conditions (the so-called *ISEE*), and pursuing the socio-health integration. Besides, contents of planning activity foreseen by the Area Plan are organized in four macro-areas of intervention [see Table 6].

Such areas of social services shall be seen as a key pillar integrated by the zonal health planning of health authority, i.e. the former ASL, now divided into ATS, *Azienda Tutela Salute*, strictly dedicated to health issues, and ASST, *Azienda Socio-Sanitaria Territoriale*, focused on the socio-health integrated system, as a result of the Regional reform of health system introduced by the Law 23/2015. Although a consolidated governance oriented to the development of a local welfare system on one hand, and a constant seek of innovation, the Plan Office is recently facing a number of issues. Chiara Poli from the Plan Office, enhances the main tensions of welfare planning in District 3:

“From the financial viewpoint we are placed under the regional system, whereas non-self-sufficiency, one of the most expensive areas, receives funds from the constantly reduced National Funds for Social Policies. [...] As the Plan Office is inserted in a system of control and accountability, I feel the sensation of being a bureaucrat at times, and the rigid controls on three-months basis cut down the time available for the social planning. Hence, we do our best to work on a shared basis of goals between the municipalities, but the development of new projects is not easy. [...] The “Office Plan” activity costs 130.000€ per year, to forehead of 1,6 million from National Funds for Social Policies, PON Metro and other national-based disbursements. Although the quite adequate funding, some areas such as the contrast to poverty struggles a lot” (Chiara Poli, April 24th, 2019).

Area Social Plan [2015-2017] – Fields of social intervention

- 1 Non-self-sufficiency:
 - support to parental networks in family care
 - regulating the private-based social care, in accordance with its constant diffusion
 - developing a territorial system of social services to meet the diversified emerging social needs
 - 2 Mental health:
 - pursue and develop a voluntary-based network for socio-health services with reference to mental health
 - 3 Families, minors, early childhood and youth policies:
 - Family and minors: ameliorating the network of services for the protection of minors
 - Childhood: actions to support parenthood
 - Youth policies: improving the network to meet requests by the youths – actions to contrast dependencies, compulsive gaming and bullying – support to youth occupation programmes
 - 4 Social inclusion, marginalisation, poverty and migration
 - Social inclusion and poverty: transpose the national economic actions to low-incomes – educational actions in family support – co-housing and social housing
 - Marginalisation and migration: help-desk for migrants (*sportello stranieri*), linguistic and cultural mediation, contrast to gender-based violence
-

Table 6. Fields of social intervention in District 3. Source: Area Social Plan 2015-2017)

Inquiries on the municipal scale of Pioltello shed light on the governance of social services at a very local scale. The encounter with Stefania Bini, head of social policies office at Pioltello, is very fruitful in this regard, as it helps in resuming a situation where contextual deficiencies such as those related to schooling in Villaricca or the downsize of resources between Fiano Romano and Capena are present, albeit less crucial. In Pioltello, social services are organized on an omni-comprehensive rationale, through a territorialisation that finds a breeding ground in the field of multiculturalism, pursued through two main interventions: a helpdesk services for foreigners (*sportello stranieri*) and the inter-cultural council (*consulta interculturale*) to gather the philanthropic actors involved in pathways for integration of foreigners (particularly from North-Africa) in the local fabric. Other areas of intervention meet the constant municipal efforts. For what concerns childhood, three public nurseries are located in Pioltello, and the broader area of instruction sees reasonable economic resources, as highlighted by the amount of € 5.390.239,39 dedicated to the area “instruction and right to study” in 2017, albeit reduced to 4,39 million in 2018⁴⁹. Contrast to poverty handles the national economic supports, such as the “Citizenship income” and the previous *REI* (“inclusion income”), but in particular, many attentions is devoted to housing distress, as – Serena Bini argues – new social risks and new poverties are strongly interwoven with housing, which in Pioltello finds a terrain of tension. Evictions, late payments of mortgages, and the consequent non-authorized occupations of dwellings (i.e. squatting practices) are the key features of a governance arena that unveils the main urgencies for the local welfare agenda, as stressed both by the Mayor Ivonne Cosciotti and Serena Bini. Although this problem is highly concentrated in the neighbourhood of Satellite, it is a cross-cutting issue in the whole territory of Pioltello. The key governmental action to tackle such issues is the supporting fund for tenancy, with a grant of no more than 50% of rental fee to the most vulnerable families. In general terms, housing is seen as a key local

⁴⁹ Amounts extracted from the official document of the Municipal Budget (financial year 2018): <https://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/streaming/BILANCIO%20DI%20PREVISIONE%202018.pdf?nonce=45ADPJR2MSXGDFMA>

welfare sphere in Pioltello, where local economic resources are regularly provided and attempts for innovative housing solutions such as social housing, are fostered.

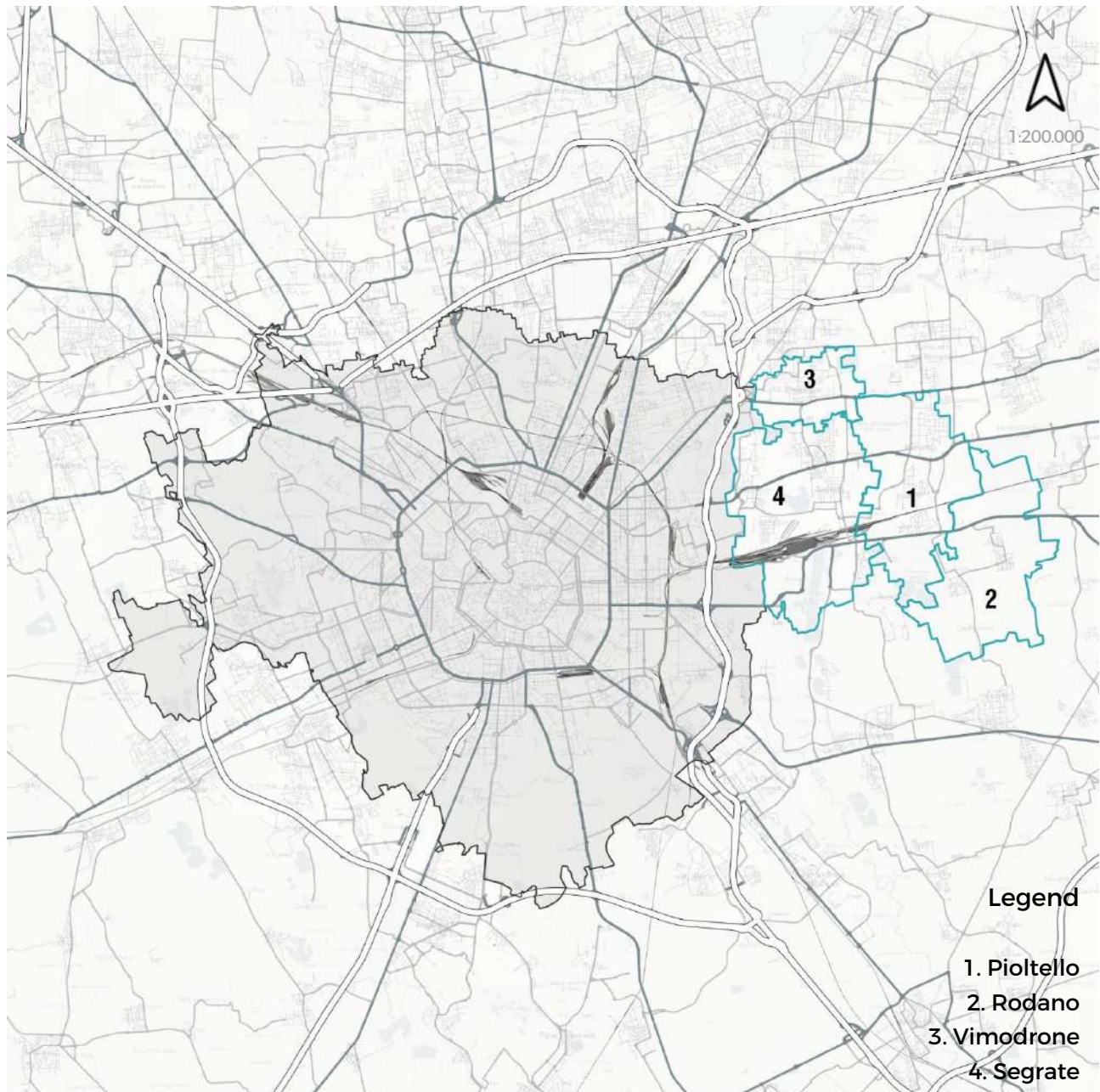


Figure 34. Municipalities managed by Social District 3 "Est Milano". Source: author

Pioltello faces a lack of personnel resulted from recasts within the national financial economic manoeuvre. To face the reduction of human resources, governance agenda for welfare have been reorganized upon the main priorities, in order to guarantee responses to citizens in need. However, some grey area persists. Policy integration is fostered but not enough developed, if not for particular programmes such as the ongoing call of *Periferie al Centro*. Inter-institutional relationships are sought by the social policies offices of Pioltello, but beyond agreements between the Municipality and third sector, a less fragmented funds would improve the development of a local welfare system, especially at the present time when the metropolitan configuration of the "homogenous zone" *Adda Martesana* implies new governance arrangements in view of the amalgamation of the Social District in the Eastern, North-

Eastern and South-Eastern areas of Milan urban region. Serena Bini emphasizes the capacity of the administration to seek a solution even at the present times of general economic downsize. For instance, to integrate the regional funding for the health system, the implementation of socio-health policies is sustained by a reasonable municipal support that exceeded 1 million of euros in 2017, and reduced the 733.435,08€ in 2018, dedicated mainly to non-self-sufficiency and childhood. Furthermore, pathways for greater efficiency of public expenditure are put in motion, as exemplified by the project *Decidilo tu*, a reproduction in Pioltello of the *Bilancio partecipativo* (participatory budgeting) experimentation carried out in Milan to promote citizens' inclusion in local welfare decision-making⁵⁰. In general views, all the aforementioned amounts are resumed in Table 7, illustrating the whole public spending for the *Missione 12 – Diritti sociali, politiche sociali e famiglia*. The amounts are more or less the same expended by the municipality of Villaricca [see chapter 6, section 3.1], although the focus on the specific actions reveals a deeper institutional effort in Pioltello for the fields of childhood, disabilities, elders, socio-health services and right the housing. With reference to the latter, the research moves its attention to the specificities of Satellite neighbourhoods, which will be addressed also in the first part of the next section dedicated to the built environment in land patterns.

Governance actions from “Mission 12”	Fixed cash flow forecast [€]	
	2017	2018
Actions for childhood, minors and nurseries	2.180.326,04	2.162.317,10
Actions for people with disabilities	2.007.526,85	2.114.880,65
Actions for elders	411.389,99	402.114,39
Actions for people vulnerable to social exclusion	1.500.497,90	1.662.740,04
Actions for families	678.237,04	640.306,11
Actions for the right to housing	188.735,64	139.367,92
Actions for the network of socio-health and social services	1.291.274,17	733.435,08
Cooperation and philanthropy	1.000	1.000
Cemetery services	312.131,33	255.690,63
Total “Mission 12 – Social rights, social policies and families”	8.571.041,06	8.111.851,92

Table 7. Summary of the public expenditures per actions in the field of social policies, Municipality of Pioltello.
Source: Public Budget of Pioltello (2018)

Spotlight on Satellite neighbourhood

As introduced, a revitalization phase is ongoing in Satellite neighbourhood, as part of the wider programme promoted by the Metropolitan City of Milan, *Welfare metropolitano e rigenerazione urbana*, organized to provide a closer connection between the national *Bando Periferie* and the local contexts of metropolitan Milan. Although Plan Office – as stated by Chiara Poli – little knows about such programme, the specific project for the Satellite neighbourhood is currently involving a number of actors in an inter-institutional governance arena composed by the Municipality of Pioltello (encouraged by the Metropolitan City), the Court of Milan, the Prefecture (with which it has been arranged an institutional table of confrontation to observe illicit in Satellite area), and the third sector (specifically, a group of social cooperatives) delegated by the Municipality of Pioltello to implement the project *Periferie al Centro*

⁵⁰ *Decidilo tu* is the name of the first proposal of participatory budget in Pioltello. The project is drawn upon the successful experimentation of *Bilancio Partecipativo* in Milan. 5.449 inhabitants of Pioltello voted the thirty proposals by citizens about environment and mobility, welfare, culture and sports, and schools. More info: <https://www.decidilotu.it>

in Satellite area. This neighbourhood present very peculiar socio-economic and socio-demographic conditions, which echoes the fragilities overlapped in the public housing neighbourhoods typical of the urban peripheries. It hosts approximately 9.000 inhabitants, although institutional census data counts only 5.600 inhabitants (demo ISTAT, 2017). Such misalignment results from the diffused irregular presence of a number of people. As stated, a key feature of the area is the acknowledged presence of numerous foreigners (8.947 inhabitants, equal to 24% of the whole population)⁵¹, in a quantity that gather more than hundred different nationalities. In particular, the largest foreign community is that from Romania (12,7% of the whole foreigners), followed by the Ecuadorian (11,6%) and that from Pakistan (10,6%). Remarkable data concerns the variegated presence of citizens from many North-African and Sub-Saharan countries, where people from Egypt represent the 9,9% of the whole foreigners, followed by Morocco (3,97%). In this scenario, research exchanges with a master student in anthropology who focused his thesis on Satellite reveal the key role assumed by the migration trends that brought, for instance, a number of migrants from the same region of Morocco. In a macro-subdivision, in Satellite, and in Pioltello as a whole, five very representative ethnic groups may be identified in accordance with their geographical (or rather, continental) origin: Latin America, North-Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern Europe (also known as Post-Soviet countries) and South-Eastern Asia. Such overview enables to grasp at a first glance the main challenges undertaken by the project *Periferie al Centro*. Information about such regeneration project have been collected in an assemblage of interviews, both to local administrators, in particular to Serena Bini, and to the social operators delegated by the Municipality for the implementation: Claudio Palvarini, Francesca Campolungo and Valentina Giunta. Both administrators and operators agree on the idea that *Periferie al Centro* works as a lens of investigation upon the phenomena occurring in Satellite, even researching hidden aspects and rising needs in a cosmopolitan context. Before presenting the main goals and contents of the regeneration of Satellite, the constitution of such project towards a deeper focus on Satellite may be resumed in a scheme [see Fig. 35].

The current attention devoted to Satellite aims at putting in motion a regeneration process but, as stated by Serena Bini, outcomes are not punctual and detailed as *Periferie al Centro* is firstly an observatory on the phenomena running through Satellite after decades of fragilization, to integrate the institutional arena of the Municipality, the Prefecture and the Court of Milan in tackling illicit situations, particularly related to unauthorized occupation of dwellings, late payments and delinquency. The call for tenders promoted by the Municipality of Pioltello ensured the development of three areas of intervention out of ten proposals. Three different social cooperatives won the call and they are now collaborating in a co-planning of a number of activities. The areas are subdivided into (1) labour market and technical support to the Municipality in accountability practices, managed by Claudio Palvarini (from the social cooperative *Lavoro & Integrazione*, within *Consorzio CS&L*), (2) housing, managed by Francesca Campolungo (social cooperative *Fuori Luoghi*) and (3) social cohesion, managed by Valentina Giunta from the social cooperative *Arte e Mestieri*. The first outcome from this threefold arrangement of third sector actors is the opening of three headquarters in Satellite area where to develop specific projects to meet the social

⁵¹ Data from Demo.ISTAT (2017), reproduced by UrbiStat:
<https://ugeo.urbistat.com/AdminStat/it/it/demografia/stranieri/pioltello/15175/4>

needs of inhabitants of Satellite, the so-called *Negozi Sociali*, one for each area of intervention: *Lavorare* (“working”), *Abitare* (“dwelling”) and *Fare e Desiderare* (“Making and wishing”).

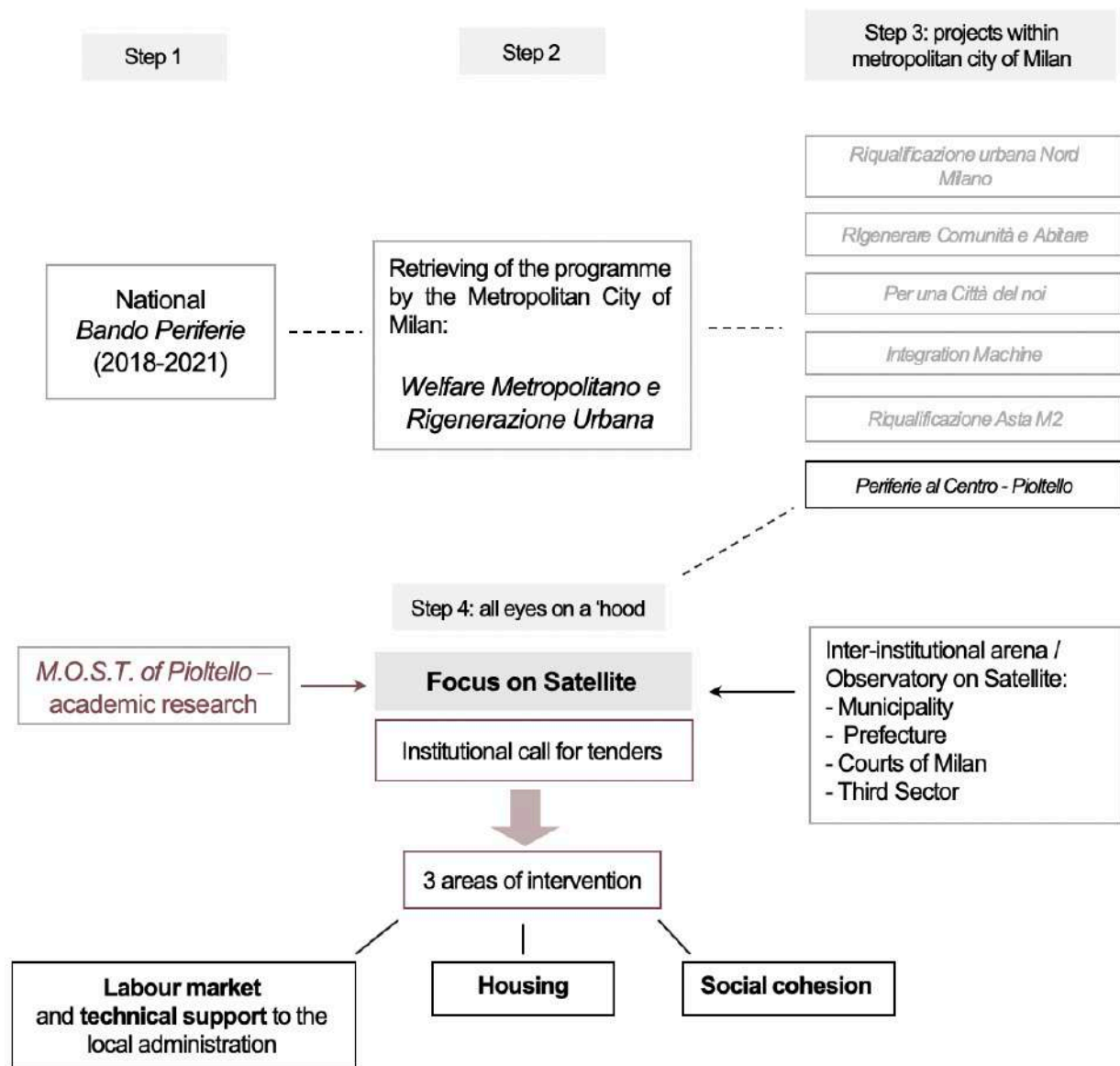


Figure 35. Organizational scheme of the regeneration process launched in Satellite (Pioltello). Source: author

In general terms, operators of *Periferie al Centro* foster the achievement of a twofold goal, enhanced by Claudio Palvarini⁵²: on the short to mid-term, the aim is to alleviate housing distresses, whereas on the mid to long-term, the forecasts concern the development of a new policy phase where to attract investors, recast the housing stock. Within this framework, the social inclusion of fragile inhabitants is a pillar. In this respect, the experimentation of “Family Work Hub” anticipated the planning phase of *Periferie al Centro*, by working on the conciliation between parenthood and job insertion, particularly destined to foreign mothers left alone in the family care. A remarkable comment by Valentina Giunta discloses a key feature affecting the (sub)urban fabric of Satellite:

⁵² Interview to Claudio Palvarini, November 29th, 2019

“Informal access to an apartment, renting under the table and a diffused condition of illicit characterize the area. The problem of housing travels in parallel with that of job, because there are many foreign single-income families, with a low salary. Thus, housing remains the key issue, although some other needs are very present, particularly in the fields of youth education and social inclusion, but in this case, there is a social fabric to be stimulated” (Valentina Giunta, January 30th, 2019).

To foster social cohesion, a broader governance arena is under construction, by involving also researchers from University Cattolica of Milan. In this respect, Satellite is receiving an increasing scholarly attention, as *M.O.S.T. of Pioltello*, the ongoing research by Milan Polytechnic demonstrates. The research, launched in December 2017, aims at facing the current situation in Satellite, also in view of the other inter-institutional experimentations. The scientific director Andrea Di Giovanni, in the interview carried out on May 16th 2019, posits the importance of a multidisciplinary approach to identify and isolate the main urgencies, issues and the local resources that can be activated, while recognizing the inertia of a regeneration process in a local context that will not change in the near future. Di Giovanni sees Satellite as “a neighbourhood that not collapses but rather absorbs and reacts to the attentions on it”. Moreover, the scholar enhances how Satellite is now “draining” the public resources, while also raising a distinction that emphasizes the different societies within Pioltello, by clearly distinguishing Satellite from the rest due to its cosmopolitan feature. In this framework, the existing condition that shape the daily life of the heterogeneous migrant community of Satellite needs further investigation, even in view of a social fabric that saw a complete replacement, where few Italian families remained in Satellite. All the experts involved in the planning strategies for Pioltello agree about the key importance of housing issues. The spotlight on Satellite unfolds a parallel governance organization to that of conventional social services and welfare services provision. In a context of fairly developed – albeit under reconfiguration – social provision, Satellite raises new social demands and hence new patterns of suburbanisms. Furthermore, the ongoing planning phase lands in Satellite after the vibrancies of a long period of programmes, projects and citizens’ inclusion towards the regeneration of urban peripheries within Milan, while leaving behind those “metropolitan” peripheries located in the suburban constellation of first and second ring-municipalities. It may be argued that Satellite embeds the new social demands of a context that receives “offloads” from the consolidated welfare governance targeted on the urban core of Milan. However, before substantiating this “offloading” process shaping governance of suburbanisms in Pioltello, the field of housing necessitates further attention as a key welfare issue. Thus, questions regarding “suburban land” shall address this theme, as with the case of Villaricca.

3.2 Land: shapes of Satellite and patterns of urbanity in an in-between fragment

Governance inquiries have cleared up the parallel pathways of local welfare within the reorganization of system on the metropolitan scale on one hand, and the inter-institutional eyes focused on Satellite neighbourhood on the other hand. Largely shared viewpoints concur that housing is the key problem raising an overlapping of fragilities in a cosmopolitan context, with specific reference with Satellite. The area, built between 1962 and 1964 besides the historical core, is characterized by a very typical urban shape that partially echoes that typical condominiums scattered in the city of Milan. The area embedding housing issues refers to four blocks [see Fig. 36]. The buildings shaping the four blocks [photo overview, see Figg. 37-39] are located in an area equipped with open public green spaces [see Figg. 37 and 40], schools and a number of facilities and commercial activities, with a high presence of ethnic food shops. The whole area of Satellite has no public housing stock. Although other condominiums are present in the area, the intervention of *Periferie al Centro* is focused on the four blocks where the key problems are

concentrated, and where 5.600 inhabitants live, although, as stated earlier, unofficial data reveal a higher presence (approximately 10.000). Some facades look deteriorated [see Fig. 41] and they are placed very close to each other within the same block [see Fig. 42].

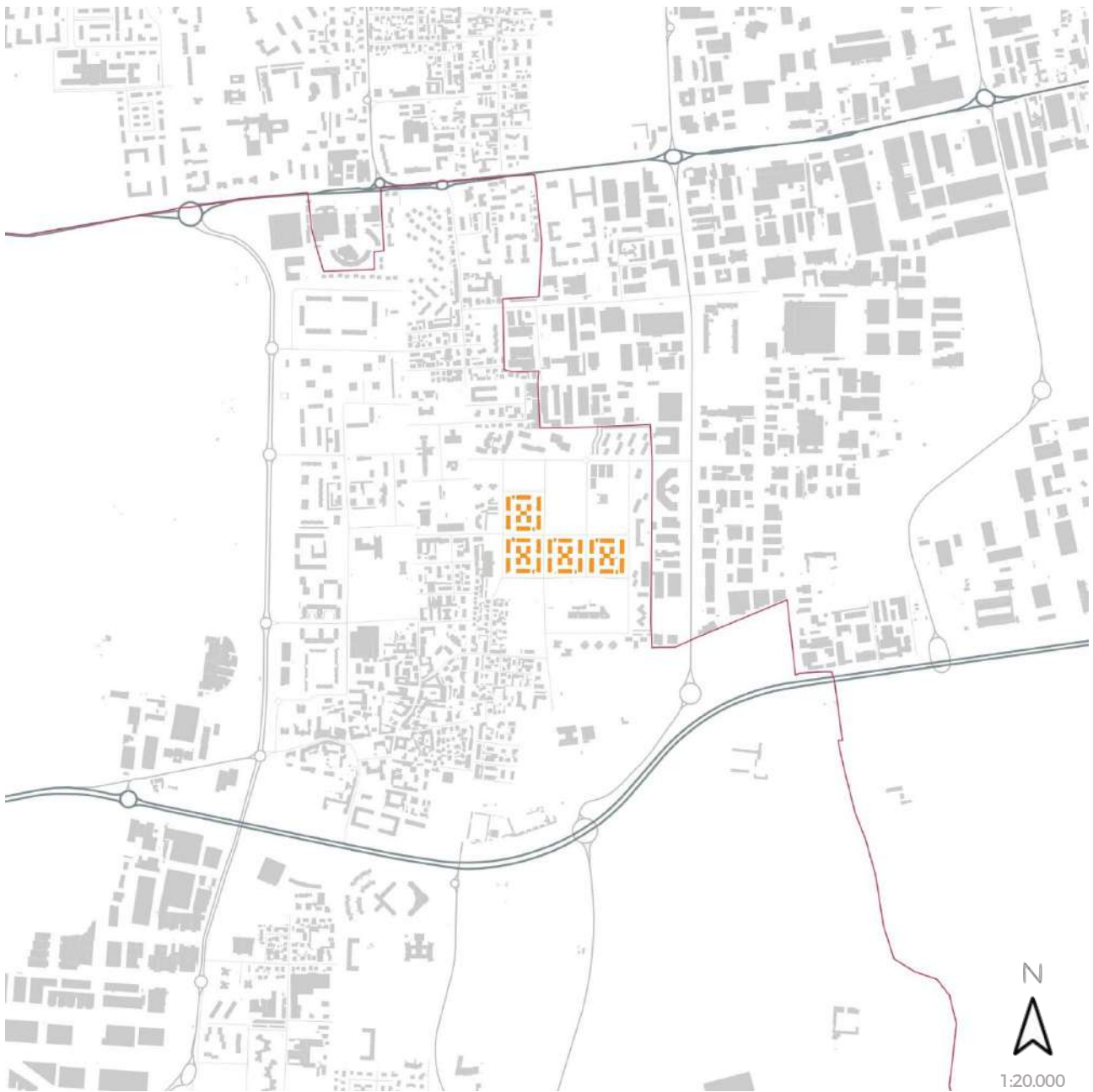


Figure 36. Location of Satellite neighbourhoods and identification of the four vulnerable blocks. Source: author

The reasons that led to the current fragile situation lie in the uneven arrival of many migrants as well as in their access to an apartment. Furthermore, presence of crime and illegal situations weighed on a diffused deprivation that, nonetheless, shall not be seen superficially. In a nutshell, associating the cosmopolitan condition to a situation of diffused poverty and illicit is not appropriate. The recent history of housing distresses has been reconstructed with the particular support of Claudio Palvarini and Francesca Campolungo, from the third sector involved in *Periferie al Centro*. The watershed is chronologically identified in mid-1990s, when the neighbourhood saw a great transformation of

population, experiencing the escape of families from Southern Italy replaced by a number of different migrants' communities.



Figures 37-39. Satellite. Images of the housing stock under the lens. Source: author

From early 2000s, many migrants moving to Satellite got a mortgage to purchase an apartment in the area. However, the openness to mortgages occurred in a very unruled way, with little attention paid by real estate companies. The global crisis of 2008 exacerbated such situation, leading to the suspension of mortgages payments by the several foreign families. From that moment, fragilities and overlapped problems emerged in the area, in particular within the field of housing, where the rampant precariousness of families favoured the raise of informality in the access to a dwelling, through squatting activities or overcrowding in a single dwelling. The Mayor Ivonne Cosciotti counts today 1.000 houses under judicial procedure in Satellite. The late payment of mortgages, and the increased poverty after the global crisis led to a critical condition characterized by a large lack of maintenance, evictions of families with minors, and illicit organizations to informally obtain an apartment, in a context completely turned into a cosmopolitan enclave within the in-between context of Pioltello. In this respect, for what concerns liveability, a native of Satellite mentions the numerous ethnic tensions he noticed in the area until the middle of 2010s:

“Sometimes the situation was crazy. From my balcony I saw Romanians fighting against Moroccans. I saw flying glass bottles, and very few interventions by the Police. Then, I figured out such tensions were related to the control of the area, or rather, of the drug dealing in the area. People were used to come here from other suburbs to buy hashish. It was cheap, honestly. [...] Today, I could not say I like living in Satellite, but it’s a

pity, because there are many potentialities. Look at the *qasba* of Via Mozart [see Fig. 43], is a vibrant place until night, no other like that in this suburbia, where I can also interact with many different ethnic communities. Basically, it could be a better place, as there also many green plots and facilities” (G., April 10th, 2019)



Figure 40. An example of the numerous open public spaces in the area of Satellite. Source: author

Although not very visible, criminality is an issue that still weighs on the fragilities of such cosmopolitan enclave that became a fertile area for businesses of organized crime. However, the inter-institutional effort to tackle this fragile condition have today portrayed an adequate framework from where to develop new housing solutions, as first. Francesca Campolungo from the social cooperative *Fuori Luoghi* is working on the complicated interventions on the housing stock, to promote social housing or co-housing solutions. Nonetheless, the task is very challenging, as legitimized by the intervention of judicial authorities on the housing stock, and the broad amount of renovations and reorganization that the four-blocks necessitate. Differently from Villaricca, where housing issues are framed in view of the uneven and chaotic heterogeneity of non-authorized and self-led housing developments, the case of Satellite in Pioltello is extremely place-based, as the problem of housing goes to the fore of governmental agenda in view of the uniqueness of Satellite in the built environment of Pioltello and its surroundings. In other words, no other places are like Satellite nearby, with the only exception of Piazza Garibaldi, a small square very close to the train station experiencing basically the same fragilities and features of Satellite, but in a very lower extent.

Patterns of built environment in Satellite reveal a rather different building typology from the rest of Pioltello [see Figg. 20-23], which transforms Satellite as a vulnerable enclave in a middle-class suburb, where issues and fragilities typical of the urban peripheries of Milan are reproduced, albeit belatedly faced compared to urban peripheries. This evidence remarks the “offloading process” weighing on Satellite, where the projects involving the poorest areas of Milan over the previous years were absent until recently. Beside forms and functions of the built environment of Satellite, land transformation in the in-between territory of Pioltello may be investigated at a glance through an overview of the current planning challenges faced by the Masterplan, resumed in a discussion with Vittorio Longari, responsible of the Town Planning office in Pioltello.



Figure 41. One of the most deteriorated facades of the critical housing block of Satellite. Source: author



Figure 42. Innards of the critical blocks of Satellite. Source: author



Figure 43. Via Mozart, the *gasba* of Satellite, where many different shops are located (both ethnic as well as the typical Italian groceries) and people from many different nationalities share the same public space. Source: author

Driving the suburban transformation: a commentary to the current Masterplan

A wider overview of the territorial transformations in Pioltello after decades of constant suburban changes integrates the targeted focus on Satellite through a quick glimpse at the most recent Masterplan, dated 2011 with subsequent amendments in view of the Regional Law 31/2014 dedicated to the containment of soil consumption⁵³, which confirmed the areas of possible land transformation. The documentation of the Masterplan is retrievable from the public institutional website, but due to space constrains the most interesting tables are not reported in this text⁵⁴. A first look into the past reminded by Vittorio Longari⁵⁵ identifies the main residential development in the large time-frame between late 1950s and early 2000s, when in view of the stagnation of real estate market, latest constructions kept on but with a greater attention to industrial revitalizations, driven in particular by the expansion of the *Esselunga* (the supermarket chain) headquarter, located in Limoto, the same area of Pioltello that hosted until few years ago the chemical industry *SISAS*. As a consequence, today *Esselunga* acts as magnet for employments. Although the in-between territory of Pioltello is strongly urbanized and fully engulfed in the widespread Milan urban region, different land uses coexists in the municipality. Whilst new sites of construction are regulated by the legislation to reduce the soil consumption, agricultural and mining areas

⁵³ Regional Law 31/2014, *Disposizioni per la riduzione del consumo di suolo e per la riqualificazione del suolo degradato*: <http://normelombardia.consiglio.regione.lombardia.it/NormeLombardia/Accessibile/main.aspx?iddoc=lr002014112800031&view=showdoc#n9>

⁵⁴ 2011 Masterplan (*PGT*) of Pioltello. Due to space constrains, table are not reported here, but rather I redirect to the following link: https://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/CadmoDriver_s_116472.

For the dissertation framework, two specific documents of the Masterplan are remarkable: the “Plan of services”:

https://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/CadmoDriver_s_115102,

with a particular eye to the latest version (2016) reporting location and different typologies of service:

https://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/streaming/Agg%202016_TAV%205%20-%20LOCALIZZAZIONE%20E%20TIPOLOGIA_def.pdf?nonce=N47X5Q52JXGJSSC7.

In addition, the general territorial framework helps in identifying the main road infrastructures and the typologies of

urbanized areas: <https://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/streaming/Tav%201%20-%20Inquadramento%20territoriale%2010000.pdf?nonce=AD7SS4TJQSP5SJEJ>

⁵⁵ Interview to Antonio Longari, March 28th, 2019

persist, with presence of rice and fodder cultivation as well as monocultures of sunflowers, soybean and maize, whereas gravel mining continues in the Southern area of the suburb, to sustain the developments of road infrastructures. Any transformation of the built environment, Longari argues, is on private hands, with the exception of specific projects (see Dente, 1990; Pinson, 2009) where the public-private direction must be clarified. Hence, third sector plays today a pivotal role in the development of built environment, particularly towards a current challenge: the regeneration of dismissed areas through a “functional mix” promoting private services and small productive activities in a win-win rationale that provides benefit to the investors. A remark involves the “Urban Standards” regulated by the Ministerial Decree 1444/1968. In the case of Pioltello, the average of 35 square meters per inhabitant of standard areas reveals a great adaptation, in contrast to the 18 square meters foreseen on the national level. In this respect, the regional legislation affects this higher sizing, as it established a minimum standard of 25 sqm, as well as the presence of green areas facing constant improvements into more equipped open spaces. As argued by Longari, in any transformation area the municipality of Pioltello ensure a minimum urban standard per inhabitant. Whilst the Region disciplines the land transformation through the indications of no new soil consumption, the Metropolitan City of Milan rules the specific renovations of (sub)urban facilities. In a nutshell, any variation to the Masterplan necessitates the binding opinion from the Metropolitan City in view of the building density within a single “homogenous zone”, by observing at the same time the regional regulation on soil consumption. In this vein, Longari enhances the ways in which Pioltello is strongly embedded in the multi-layered system of vertical and horizontal subsidiarity that delegates a key role to the Metropolitan City.

Beyond the regeneration of dismissed areas, the reduction of soil consumption, and the ensuring of urban standards, the suburban changes involving Pioltello also concerns the transformation of road systems. Whilst railway saw a recent improvement with the upgrading of the railway station of Pioltello-Limito as a doorway to Milan in 2010, the road networks constantly face a number of transformations. On the very local scale, the General Plan of Urban Traffic” (*PGTU*)⁵⁶ fosters the introduction of limited-traffic zones one the one hand, and the improvements of the 37 kilometres bike paths system, towards a strengthened connection to the nearby suburbs, on the other hand. On the supra-municipal scale, the transit nodes crossing Pioltello are under a provincial or national regulation. Over the last three decades, many roads faced a number of renovations, where the latest occurred in 1997 to the Provincial Road n. 14 *Rivoltana*, and in 2014 to the n. 103 *Cassanese*, interred in the vicinity of Pioltello due to the connection system with the new highways *BreBeMi* (from Eastern Milan to Brescia) and *TEEM* (*Tangenziale Est Esterna*). The upcoming construction of a “Westfield” shopping mall in the neighbor-suburb of Segrate will bring a new wave of road transformations.

In addition, a particular attention is devoted also to social infrastructures, with the envisioning of an implementation of some facilities, with particular references to schools. It follows that Pioltello is putting in motion a number of attempts to drive the “suburban change” of the area occurred since the first important periods of expansion (1950s-1960s) until present days. The current law on soil consumption impedes any new development, and the areas of transformations in built environment are circumscribed. In other words, the Municipality of Pioltello works for keeping an in-between condition by working on the pathways of renovating the dismissed areas, pursuing an expansion of productive activities (with *Esselunga* as forefront), and preserving its natural resources, green plots and agricultural productions. Implementation of built environment is also strongly oriented on the social infrastructures, as the road

⁵⁶ More info about the “General Plan of Urban Traffic” (*PGTU*) of Pioltello: http://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/CadmoDriver_s_151962

infrastructures are embedded in the wider metropolitan and regional frameworks. Before moving to a closer observation of transit networks, suburban infrastructures and their spatial distribution, a comment from Vittorio Longari resumes the territorial challenges undertaken by the municipality, which present a very autonomous frame where the regeneration pathways for Satellite stay in the background hanging more on the field of governance of social services, rather than on spatial interventions:

“Pioltello meets the challenge of blocking soil consumption, pursuing also a good permeability of the soil, in view of the growth in built environment. It is important not to overload sewage and waterways in the edified areas. Luckily, having still a bit of agriculture helps in this matter. Then, the implementation of welfare services is promoted opening up the governance to private actors” (Vittorio Longari, March 28th, 2019)

In a comparison with Fiano Romano and Capena, as well with Villaricca, it may be noticed that Pioltello, as embedded in an institutional strand to foster the metropolitan expansion of Milan and its urban region, is adequately equipped to face and drive the contemporary suburban change occurring since decades. The focus on infrastructures shed light on the provision of public utility services within the in-between of Pioltello.

3.3 Infrastructures: in-between changes, challenges and local weaknesses

Land issues addressed specificities of Satellite neighbourhood on the one hand, and the municipal efforts in facing suburban transformations on the other hand. As for the other cases, the focus on suburban infrastructures has a twofold goal. First, attention is dedicated to the mobility infrastructures seen as enablers of connections to the urban core and of the whole suburbanisms. Second, the spatial distribution of suburban infrastructures in Pioltello not only categorizes the presence of public utility services in the area of Pioltello, but it also resumes the main strengths and weaknesses depicted from the whole on-field research through the interpretative map, which also places the social infrastructures scattered across the selected target-area. To anticipate this final output, the case of Pioltello needs some clarifications of its in-between condition. The notion of in-between city must be retrieved in this regard. Firstly, “in-between” territory involves the whole suburban context mainly defined as a scattered process of development where several insulated built-up places coexist with pieces of countryside (Sieverts, 2003). As previously acknowledged, the blend of land uses and activities (see Phelps & Silva, 2018) still characterizes Pioltello. In his observation of the German landscape, Sieverts (2011: 21) also describes the in-between city as “the result of countless, individually rational singular decisions from various times, which together seem to produce irrational result”. Drawing on this statement, Pioltello comes as one of the products of the constant technical and political decision-making related to the metropolitan expansion of Milan. The heterogeneity of built environment, the specificities of the vulnerable enclave of Satellite, the mixed land use between commercial-industrial and agricultural productivity enhance together the fractal character of Pioltello that, drawing on Young and Keil (2014: 1592), “poses challenges to planning, but it also offers inevitable opportunities, as the in-between city is more and more an image of the society in which we live”. In-betweenness shape the whole Eastern edges of Milan, and whilst places such as Cernusco sul Naviglio or Segrate embody the image of wealthy suburbs connected to the urban core but in a less congested environment, in Pioltello such representation echoing the North-American suburbs is less visible, in particular due to the presence of Satellite on the one hand, and due to the flow of continuous infrastructural changes occurred from 1960s to the present days, on the other hand. The implementations of highways and roads system as well as of the railway station account for the volatility and the constant reshaping of in-betweenness in Pioltello. In other words, although Pioltello

gears up for the improvement of public welfare services' provision and for spatial planning challenges driven by the control of soil consumption through a local governance agenda, the town is overwhelmingly embedded in the metropolitan politics of Milan. In light of the post-suburban framework (Phelps et. al., 2006; 2010; Phelps & Wu, 2011), this path-dependence advocates that “in-between” has become the prominent landscape of many urban regions, where societal changes are uneven and disarticulated, although subjected to continuous suburban transformations. By stressing the three-pronged force of hyper-connectivity, disconnection and vulnerability, Young and Keil (2014) state that the in-between city is pivotal ground for political battles over the infrastructural future of the urban region.

In Pioltello, such struggles revolve around two main infrastructural fields: the “hard” social infrastructures, i.e. those developed and implemented through a key public role, and the transport infrastructures as fundamental drivers of connectivity. In this first case, the abiding interest of providing adequate schools and health services stay at the forefront of local welfare agendas. Furthermore, in a softer infrastructural organization, the experimentation of *Periferie al Centro* in Satellite introduced a body of attempts to ameliorate social services in view of the cosmopolitan character. Hence, specific public services such as the “foreigners helpdesk” (*sportello stranieri*), currently integrated with the planning phase of *Periferie al Centro*, remark the importance of a place-based governance agenda to cope with the heterogenous community of migrants and their liveability in a specific neighbourhood turned into an “arrival suburb”⁵⁷ located in an in-between context that meet the basic needs requested by the manifold migrants. In this sense, Palvarini underlines that Satellite is not a “sick” neighbourhood, but rather, it is a place where problems related to housing and real estate transformed the area, which remains a rare, exceptional place of vulnerabilities amongst the Eastern edges of Milan.

In the second case, regarding transit networks, metropolitan improvements and local gaps jointly emerge. Whilst roads and railway systems are continuously implemented to fuel the flow of city-users who daily reach Milan, the local public system of connectivity face a number of shortages. In words of Andrea Di Giovanni, the scientific director of the academic research *M.O.S.T of Pioltello*, the local public transport system is not as adequate as it looks at first sight. The presence of the railway station which enable a strong connection to Milan with the “suburban lines” S5 and S6 [see section 1.2] influences the perception of a well-developed transit network, particularly if compared to the massive shortages of Comprensorio Giuglianese and suburban Rome. Nonetheless, the station is located 3 km away from Satellite and the historical core of Pioltello, and connections are ensured by a single bus line only, the Z402, which crosses Pioltello through the North-South axis, from the town of Segrate, passing by the railway station, finally reaching the subway station of Cernusco sul Naviglio, and vice versa⁵⁸. Beyond railway, the sole connection to Milan is provided by the bus company called “Star”, which connect the Eastern side of Milan to the historical core of Pioltello, by passing through Satellite⁵⁹. In any case, Pioltello comes as an interstice engulfed between two rail systems, one referred to the railway station, and the other related to the Milan subway system, thanks to the stop of Cernusco sul Naviglio, and crossed by a number of road infrastructures that steer and encourage an automobile-dependence, even on the intra-

⁵⁷ This definition is drawn upon the notion of “arrival city”. See Saunders (2011), *Arrival city. The final migration and our next world*.

⁵⁸ The route of Z402 bus line, managed by the company *MilanoSudEst Trasporti*, is depictable from the following map: <https://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/streaming/file?nonce=64C8U5ZB4DQUYRJ2>

⁵⁹ More information about the Star Line service from Milan to Pioltello and vice versa:

Winter timetables: <http://www.starlodi.it/images/orari/pioltello-milanoinverno.pdf>

<http://www.starlodi.it/images/orari/milano-pioltelloinverno.pdf>

Summer timetables: <http://www.starlodi.it/images/orari/pioltello-milanoestivo.pdf>

<http://www.starlodi.it/images/orari/milano-pioltelloestivo.pdf>

municipal scale through the North-South axe. To tackle private transport use, the Municipality launched some innovative tools such as the bike sharing, by insisting on the bike lanes system⁶⁰. Such evidences deploy a metropolitan-local dichotomy that portray the politics of the in-between. The institutionalization of large infrastructural road systems oriented to improve the connections to the central node of Milan, framed in metropolitan politics, are opposed to a local fair but weak transit network, where public and private uses are very polarized. As one of the most important areas of concern in the in-between city is the provision of infrastructure, its use and accessibility to it (Young, Keil, & Wood, 2011), the not so visible gaps and weaknesses in transit networks unfolds the conditions of in-betweenness still experienced by Pioltello. Nonetheless, suburbanisms are also strongly influenced by the provision of social infrastructures, particularly within this research framework, starting from the “hard” equipment of welfare service on the local scale of the investigated context.

The spatial distribution of suburban infrastructures in Pioltello

The debate around the in-between aimed at shedding light on the territorial conditions where the suburb of Pioltello looks inserted. Whilst Fiano Romano and Capena have been framed as patterns of an emerging suburbia, raised from the post-suburban introduction of urbanities in a still rural area through phenomena of extended urbanization (Monte-Mor, 2014), in Pioltello such circumstances are less explorable, as it is the product of a number of trajectories, of implosion/explosion dual movements that have resulted into an in-between condition largely shared by the first and second ring municipalities at the Eastern edges of the urban pole of Milan. Furthermore, such in-betweenness is strongly different from that of the hinterland urbanized of Comprensorio Giuglianese, where properly suburban constellations (Keil, 2013) are diffused around an edge city (i.e. Giugliano in Campania) and an urban core (i.e. Naples) that saw a massive yet more chaotic suburbanization process compared to that of Milan. After the focus on transit networks, the attention shifts to the social infrastructures, the staple of local welfare provision. In an in-between suburb subjected to continuous territorial transformations, especially in the improvement of road systems and metropolitan transit networks, the emerging inequalities presented in the cases at the edges of Rome are visible to a lesser extent, and where evident, they are strongly concentrated in Satellite area. However, the spatial distribution of social infrastructures involves Pioltello as a whole. In the neighbourhood of Satellite a number of difficulties showed up, generated from the increasing poverty of migrant communities, the consequent weigh of such impoverishments in the maintenance of a social right as the house is, and the impacts, in their turn, of this housing problems in the livability of Satellite, although the majority of migrant communities are pleased to live in Satellite, according to the viewpoints collected by some randomly engaged local inhabitants during a walking through the *qasba* via Mozart. In this regard, the consolidation of a cosmopolitan fabric in Satellite has encouraged the birth of a number of “soft” social infrastructures. Although such places do not provide specific welfare services as intended in this research, they play a role in characterizing suburbanisms of some migrants. For instance, the Islamic association “Al Huda” provides an informal mosque, or rather, a venue for worship by Muslim inhabitants, in a basement of a Satellite’s building. Within *Periferie al Centro*, the three *negozi sociali* settled to implement the planning activity and to provide a street-level point of

⁶⁰ Institutional information about the bike sharing service:

https://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/CadmoDriver_s_116239 and the bike lanes system, divided into existent paths, side-road bike paths and foreseen paths:

<https://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/streaming/Ciclabili-1%20def.jpg?nonce=2R9F2JWUTR4M3PSA>

contact for the fields of housing, labour market, cohesion and inclusion seek an informal support to the inhabitants. Nonetheless, Francesca Campolungo, the responsible of housing actions in the regeneration programme, notices that such informality is not perceived by the migrant communities, who instead see the social operators as fully institutional actors. In the whole town, activities targeted for the foreigners are diffused and organized as most informal as possible. This is the case of the cultural centre for the integration of youth migrants, located in the other vulnerable enclave of Piazza Garibaldi (in Seggiano), although fragilities are present to a lesser extent compared to Satellite, also due to the smaller dimension of the area, identified with a single square. In general, soft infrastructures would deserve an in-depth investigation, as they are drivers of social relationships and activators of the local society. However, the interpretative map resuming the distribution of local welfare services takes into account the hard side of social infrastructures, by unfolding a context of diffused services. Although processes of territorialisation of welfare policies looks confined to single projects and they faced a lesser development in these in-between areas compared to the fragile neighbourhoods of the urban core, with very few exceptions (for a contribution about local interventions in a public housing neighbourhood at the urban edges of Milan, see Bricocoli, Gnan, & Marani, 2018). Suburban infrastructures devoted to local welfare provision have been depicted as follows:

- Health services: infrastructures for medical services provided by the Regional public entity (ASL) and private organizations, which are settled in the target-area, as exemplified by the *Auxologico* health centre. Hospitals are not reported in the map, but for thoroughness reasons, it must be noticed that three hospitals are located at a reasonable distance. Indeed, the famed “San Raffaele” hospital, in the eastern periphery of Milan, is far 8 km, whereas the *Uboldo* hospital in Cernusco sul Naviglio is located only 3 km away from Satellite and the historical core of Pioltello. Finally, *Santa Maria delle Stelle* hospital, in Melzo (hence in the opposite direction of Milan), is 9 km away from Pioltello).

- Education services: the large presence of high schools shows up a rather different situation from that of the other two target areas. Generally, these infrastructures include the public nurseries as well as the primary, secondary and high schools.

- Social services: as for the other cases, this focus involves municipal services to support families in need. Three main places for the provision of social services and support to the inhabitants are identified. First, the Town Hall of Pioltello, where the main desk-services are ensured. Second, the local headquarter of *sportello stranieri* settled in Satellite, hence providing social services with the specific focus for foreigners. Third, the three *negozi sociali* launched in Satellite for the development of *Periferie al Centro* programme.

- Facilities: two main sorts of facilities are distinguished. On the one hand, the distribution of pharmacies as key public utility facilities for the well-being of inhabitants is reproduced also in the case of Pioltello. On the other hand, although it may not be fully considered a “facility”, the *Esselunga* hub has been included in the interpretative map, due to the importance of its settlement in the area of Pioltello, as it is one of the most important supermarket chains in Northern and Central Italy.

The outcomes of this fourfold subdivision are reported in Fig. 44. The map illustrates a large distribution of the social infrastructures and selected welfare services, with the area of Limoto lacking in pharmacies and that of Satellite equipped with different infrastructures. The presence of high-schools makes Pioltello a catchment-areas for the education services, due to the presence of *Niccolò Machiavelli* institute, a high school of two campuses: the professional and classical education campus, located at a very little walking distance from Satellite, and the scientific high school, placed close to the gated-

community of *San Felice*, in the southern part of the town right at the boundary. For what concerns health services, as aforementioned, the presence of a private health centre working in synergy with the regional health authority (the former ASL, now divided in Lombardy into ATS, for health protection, and ASST, territorial socio-health authority) [see section 3.1], strongly affects the distribution of health infrastructures, which beyond this centre, counts only two other private specialized medical centres. The presence of three hospitals located within 10 kilometers distance accounts for a fair presence of health infrastructures in the in-between territory of first and second ring municipalities. The presence of pharmacies is in line with the situations of Capena-Fiano Romano, and Villaricca. All three investigated target-suburbs share a diffusion of 0,2 pharmacies per 10.000 inhabitants. Finally, the presence of foreigners help-desk and street-level places for the social operators of *Periferie al Centro* indicates that pathways of territorialisation of social policies have been recently activated in Pioltello, although the innovation of local welfare and the development of place-based welfare projects is still lagging behind at the urban edges of Milan, particularly if compared with the vibrancies experienced by the urban core.

To conclude the focus on suburban welfare infrastructures, the topic of water provision gains centrality with some interesting insights, even in a comparison with the northern edges of Rome [see chapter 7]. In Pioltello, where “Amiacque” is the water provider since several years, a public insolvency by the Municipality vis-à-vis the provider (legitimized by a debt of €5 millions), has emerged as a consequence of late payments in the economically precarious area of Satellite. To face such great debt, the Municipality found an agreement with “Amiacque” that led to an experimentation, launched as first in the condominiums of Piazza Garibaldi. The water provider tears the debt by establishing an agreement: the single inhabitants must equip their dwellings with a single-family counter of water consumptions. This solution will give the “Amiacque” the possibility to directly request the payment to each family or inhabitant. This trial experimentation could be proposed also in Satellite area, with the proposal of a fixed-price per families of 60€ per month, to be paid in a 36 months tranche. However, this information is preliminary only, as the project is still ongoing. Nonetheless, this specific case confirms two key aspects from this research framework. First, the case of water provision confirms the idea that suburbs help in reframing some technical policy areas such as that of water supply, into fundamental fields for the suburban ways of living, as the urban edges are reached by basic services (such as energy, water, gas) through pipelines and network systems feeding areas with lesser density. Second, with reference to the case of Milan urban region, the attempts to localize and tailor-made water provision in face of a public debt, endorse – once again – the current effervescent planning activity crossing Milan, despite the grey areas in the mismatches between the urban pole and the in-between territories. In this vein, after the analyses of infrastructural provision, introduced by a legitimization of the in-between condition of Pioltello, the conclusive remarks cross back to the specificities of Satellite by framing the “offloading” processes that emerge from a critical commentary to the ongoing experimentations in Satellite. In other words, the conclusion of the case of Pioltello acknowledges the process whereby Milan, after decades of found solutions to urban societal problems, offloads the persistent fragilities on its edges, then proposing the possible solutions and frameworks to cope with such vulnerabilities. The case of Satellite is very inspiring in this regard.

OFFLOADING WELFARE TENSIONS ON SUBURBS

Insights from Pioltello and Satellite

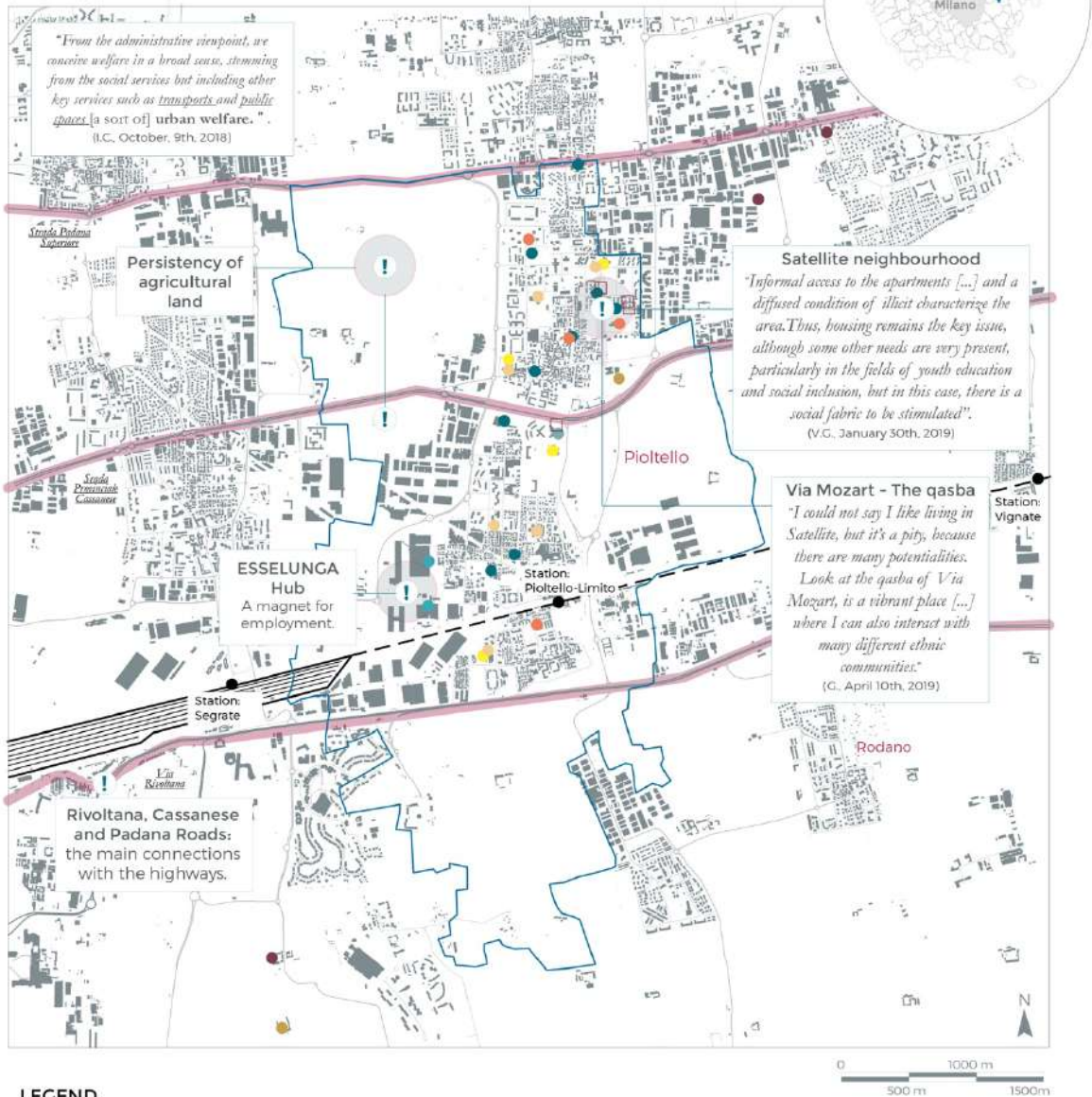


Figure 44. Spatial distribution of social infrastructures in Pioltello. Source: author

4. Cosmopolitan suburbanisms and “offloaded” welfare urgencies in Pioltello

What are the main contextual features shaping the in-between condition of Pioltello? At the present time of overwhelming attention to the regeneration of Satellite, the attention moves towards two key aspects raised from this neighbourhood. For what concerns the governance of social services, the investigations disclosed a fair provision of conventional municipal-based services, with a particular attention to the housing issues, which are at the forefront of welfare governance. The supra-municipal organization of *Distretto Sociale Est Milano* is inserted in a synergic governmental framework where supports and services are provided to all population groups, but it is currently dealing with a significative reorganization programme prompted by the innovations launched by the new institution of Metropolitan City of Milan (*Città Metropolitana di Milano*, the former province). In this respect, although technical and political proposals of metropolitan institutions in Milan have been debated over the last 70 years, empirical evidence shows that the Milan metropolitan area still lacks clear rules for political integration and effective spatial tools for policy-making (Del Fabbro, 2017). The introduction of *zone omogenee* towards a reframe of territorial units of government within the Metropolitan City of Milan accounts for this scenario of incongruities. The resulting failure in drawing the new Area Social Plan for the triennial 2018-2020 indicates that a misalignment between the former social ambits (*Ambiti*) and the upcoming *zone omogenee* affect the planning and distribution of social services on the supra-municipal scale disciplined by the regulations of the Regional Laws 3/2008 and 23/2015 [see section 3.1]. Besides, another parallel governance is focusing on the specificities of Satellite neighbourhood where, also in this case, housing is the main problem faced by inhabitants, thus having important impacts on the other fundamental spheres of livelihood: work and life-work balance. From such focus on governance, suburbanisms in Pioltello look influenced by a conventional, fair provision of social services, in a constant seek for innovations, although the overlapped fragilities of Satellite move the resources and the attention of local administrators to that specific contexts, but they also influence the image of Pioltello. Not by chance, an article of the famed magazine “Vice” entitles “Inside Satellite: the ghetto-neighbourhood on the outskirts of Milan, from which everyone wants to run away”⁶¹. Undoubtedly, this title is ambiguous and misleading. The talks with some foreigners settled in Satellite, the insights from the interviews both to the social operators of *Periferie al Centro* and the local administrators acknowledge a certain liveability, without denying the hidden presence of organized crime, illicit squats, etc. Rather, who escaped from Satellite are the Italians who moved to the neighbourhood in 1960s, due to the growing instability and the uneven arrival of migrant communities. Yet, the continuous migration flow does not confirm Satellite as a place from which everybody escapes, as a new cosmopolitan suburban fabric took shape, by influencing the representation of the whole suburb of Pioltello.

The inquiries on land issues also strengthened the dual process occurring in Pioltello. Whilst Satellite is experiencing a place-based planning oriented to the regeneration of a context shaped by typically urban condominiums, the rest of Pioltello, whose built environment results in the heterogeneity of residential patterns and (former) industrial mix, is facing the continuity of (sub)urban transformations in road systems to improve connectivity to the urban core, and to drive the shift of productive vocation of the area, where industries (in particular the chemical one) left the floor to commercial activities, with particular reference to distribution and storage of commercial goods, as exemplified by the expansion of *Esselunga* hub. Land aspects have also revealed the maintenance of some agricultural activities. Finally, the attention devoted to suburban infrastructures has firstly advocated the in-between condition of

⁶¹ Here the article by *Vice*: <https://www.vice.com/it/article/9k75z3/satellite-pioltello-quartiere-ghetto-milano>

Pioltello, where infrastructures to meet social demands and to ensure connections to the urban core and beyond the urban region literally cross Pioltello, by affecting the perpetual land transformation. Then, the spatial distribution of suburban social infrastructures showed the wide presence of many structures (such as schools or municipal desk-services for the support to families in fragile conditions), even in the area of Satellite. On the basis of this scenario, before categorizing the main welfare urgencies depicted from the field visits, two key issues deserve further attention, as they are drivers of the research findings: first the cosmopolitan character of Satellite, which not only defines the context-based suburbanisms, in the target-area, but they also affect the interpretation of Pioltello as a whole. Second, the process of “offloading” from the urban core of Milan to its edges for what concerns the problematic points of tensions in local welfare provision.

Framing suburbanisms in Pioltello entails a full embracing of the calls for broader understandings of the trajectories involving the urban edges posited by the post-suburban framework (Phelps et al., 2006, 2010; Phelps & Wood, 2011). For the authors, key dimensions to be considered in suburbs today are the shifting constellations of actors involved in the construction of (post)suburban realities (Phelps et al., 2010). The context of Satellite contributes in advocating the new “cosmopolitan canopy” (Anderson, 2004) that can be found in suburbs. In a discussion of the outcomes of a research on young migrants’ experiences in Almere, a satellite-town of Amsterdam, Tzaninis (2019) stresses the importance to incorporate “the new waves of international mobility to (post) suburbs in terms of a historical dialogue between and urban suburban cultures and ways of life (Tzaninis, 2019: 15). As illustrated, Pioltello it is also labelled “the town of hundred ethnicities”, and Satellite plays a pivotal role in defining such interpretation. Satellite does not represent an “ethnoburb” (Li, 1998) where a migrants community is concentrated. Instead, cosmopolitanism results from the assemblage of practices (Tzaninis, 2019), the flows, the relationships, the aspirations of many different citizens sharing different cultures, habits and ways of living that, once overlapped in Satellite, gave birth to a diversity of suburbanisms that on the one hand transformed the interpretation of the whole town of Pioltello, despite the broader changes to pursue its in-between connectivity, whereas on the other hand “fragilized” Satellite into an unprecedented cosmopolitan enclave in the Eastern edges of Milan. Processes of inclusion and activations of newcomers in Satellite have been extremely slow over the years. Satellite experienced two waves of migrants: the first from Southern Italy, and the second from all over the world, following some consolidated migration trajectories to Italy, but cosmopolitanism emerged more from the concentration of different nationalities amongst the same blocks, rather than from the integration of Italians and foreigners. Today, due to the precarious living conditions of these numerous and diverse inhabitants, Satellite is absorbing the majority of institutional efforts in the field of welfare and service provision. It may be stated that suburbanisms of Pioltello are strongly influenced by unprecedented cosmopolitan habits (Noble, 2013) that called for new governance challenges to drive the consequent significative transformations in the suburban fabric.

Analytically, Satellite also contributes to bring up the second key evidence from the research in Pioltello. Over the last years, some multiethnic areas of Milan have been involved into significative societal transformations. For instance, the cosmopolitan street of Via Padova (see Arrigoni, 2011; Novak & Andriola, 2008; Verga, 2016) after a long period of ethnic-based tensions (and riots) is running into a transformation driven by the arrival of new creative classes and young adults through a sort of light gentrification which has also relabeled the area into “NoLo” (North of Loreto), inspired by the Anglo-Saxon way of identifying a neighbourhood with an acronym referred to the geographical position in the urban texture. Equally, the public housing estate of San Siro, characterized by a high concentration of African families, is involved in housing regeneration processes fostered by academic efforts (Cognetti & Padovani, 2016, 2018). Such urban effervescence did not particularly affect the urban edges of Milan,

with very few exceptions related to specific projects. Satellite is not part of them, as the regeneration phase is taking place so late. Furthermore, the governance trajectories of recasting the territorial unit of interventions for the delivery of social services within the Metropolitan City of Milan involve Pioltello (as well as a number of in-between municipalities) without tangible impacts on the local welfare governance. In other words, as illustrated in the section on governance [see section 3.1], the shifting from *Ambiti* to *zone omogenee* slowed down the planning of Area Social Plan. A critical viewpoint on this territorial redefinition entails the ways in which such recast is pursued. According to the comments from the interviewed administrators for social issues, a shared consensus is not particularly fostered yet, hence rather than an involving process of welfare redefinition at the edges of Milan, the reconfiguration of territorial units looks as an undeniable transposition of new governmental arrangements from Milan “in” the in-between urban edges, rather than “for” the in-between territories. In other words, the urban edges of Milan, framed here within the in-between contextualization, are placed at the edges of the stimulating governances and innovations occurring in Milan.

In these misalignments, research findings reveal a process of “offloading” from Milan to the in-between. Today, the contemporary social challenges in the urban contexts may rely on a number of synergies, collaborations and inter-institutional arrangements, towards a (allegedly) publicly discussed solution for a specific problem. At the urban edges, the development of such governance arenas is harder, as will be shown also at the outskirts of Rome and in the deprived fragments in the conurbation outside of Naples. The suburban constellations – or, in the case of Milan, in-between territories – have fewer capacities and experiences in coping with increasing constraints resulting from the overlapped new social risks. Therefore, local welfare agendas at the Italian urban edges would need a comprehensive and significative redefinition that cannot be limited to the metropolitan governmental reorganization. The understanding of the social demand at the edges is different from that of the urban peripheries or, simply, urban neighbourhoods. The seek for strengthening a cosmopolitan social mix in NoLo is extremely different from the provision of services and decent living conditions in Satellite. Also, the social infrastructures in urban neighbourhoods can increasingly rely on the civic actions activating “soft” infrastructures, whereas in Pioltello, amongst the heterogeneous in-between landscape of the town, the first demand revolves around the public service provision, as enhanced both by Chiara Poli from Plan Office of Social District 3, and Serena Bini from the social services office of Pioltello. As a consequence, rather than a sequence of welfare “urgencies” ranked in the conclusion of the previous cases, the scenario at the edges of Milan firstly unfolds a group of “offloaded” welfare urgencies, in so far as the problematic social issues that found a reasonable organization in the urban core (such as, for instance, the social housing projects to provide a roof to families in need) face a complete lack of resources, attempts and competences at the edges. This is not a critical viewpoint to the local administrators of suburbs, rather it is an evidence of the bulky weight of new social risks and new socio-spatial inequalities in suburbs, which – in *prima facie* evidence – have constantly implemented social services and social infrastructures at a municipal scale. Thus, welfare urgencies are in this case limited to the need of fully involving in-between territories in the local welfare innovations, by ameliorating the provision of public utility services in view of the raise of new societal challenges, framed in the case of Pioltello through the issues of cosmopolitanism, embedded in Satellite.

In this respect, the place-based framework of *Periferie al centro* may be read through a reframe of the territorial identification not only of Satellite, but rather of whole Pioltello, which strongly differs from the emerging suburbia of Fiano Romano and Capena, whereas it shares instead the bulk of “sub-urbanized” social issues related to poverty and accessibility to services and infrastructures drawn in the case of Villaricca. The framework around the place-based rationale (Barca, McCann, & Rodríguez-Pose,

2012) in this case is adopted to acknowledge the current overwhelming attention on Satellite in the field of local welfare interventions. Moreover, the great attention dedicated to the ongoing planning activities for the regeneration of the area lead to question the urban/suburban dichotomy in the urban region of Milan, by pointing out instead the addressed twofold process of implosion/explosion that characterized the most recent suburbanization phases in the target-area. As a result, a situation of offloaded welfare tensions at the urban edges of Milan is embedded on Satellite and at the same time affect the identification of welfare urgencies in the whole town of Pioltello, where such urgencies are called to meet the cosmopolitan suburbanisms of one of the most multi-ethnic suburbs of Milan urban region, rather than facing the implementation of a service provision generally more adequate than in the other two cases.

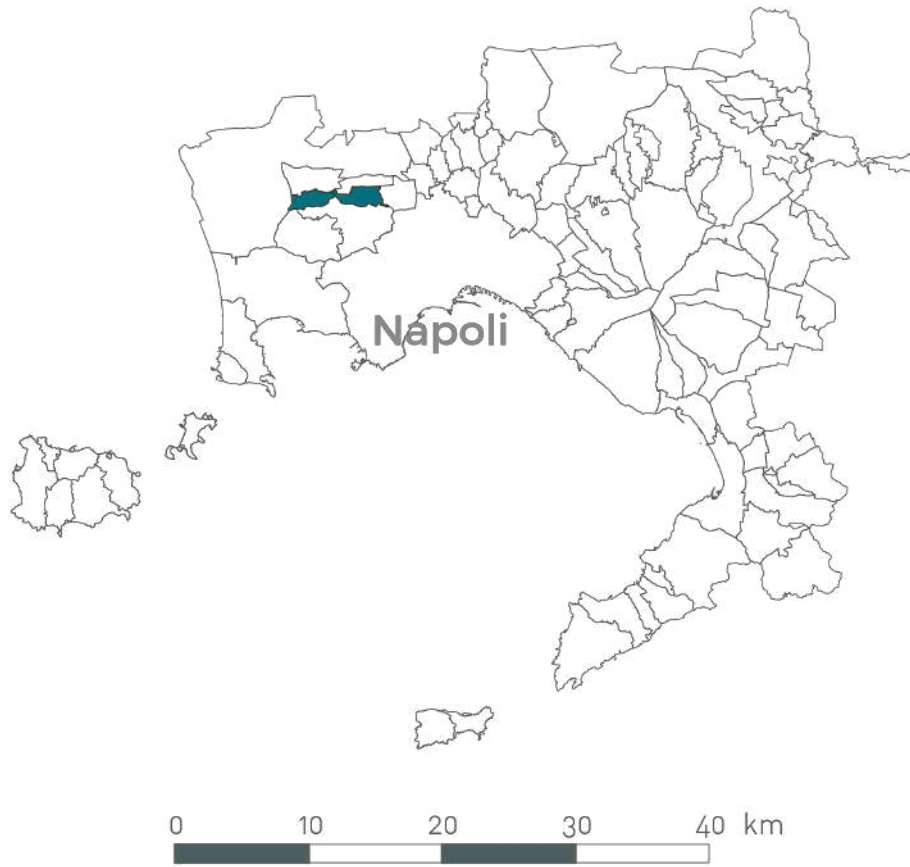


Figure 45. Metropolitan area of Naples: first overview

Chapter Six

At the Northern edge of Naples: discovering Villaricca and the Comprensorio Giuglianeso

Abstract

This chapter is dedicated to the case-studies carried out at the northern urban edges of Naples, within the area called Comprensorio Giuglianeso. The research is introduced by an overview of the whole context, with reference to the complexity of Naples and its urban region. Then, the commentary of data presents Villaricca, the selected municipality, in a confrontation with the two main cities where it is engulfed: Naples and Giugliano in Campania. The outcomes of qualitative-led fieldwork describe (1) the governance of welfare services within the field of social policies framework, (2) land issues through the specificities of a densely inhabited context with reference to housing and patterns of suburbanization, and the focus on (3) infrastructures, emphasizing the spatial distribution of welfare services as well as the weaknesses in transit network. To conclude, the chapter discusses pattern of suburbanisms in a context affected by old and new fragilities. The focus on Villaricca unfolds the complexities and the possible future trajectories for the identification of emerging social needs in a fragile (and stigmatized) context.

1. Background

1.1 Naples: a metropolitan kaleidoscope

Naples may be seen as a “plural city” (see Laino, 2017a). The history, the features, the narrations, the cultural productivity of Naples have always generated a large body of extreme interpretations and stereotypes. The plurality of this city results from a number of aspects: the composite urban fabric, the governmental weaknesses, the emerging polycentric landscape (Calafati, 2014), and the paradigmatic role in embedding issues rooted in Southern Italy (Donolo, 2015). It is safe to say that over the decades, the Neapolitan area has assimilated a condition of uniqueness, or even, of “exceptional status” (Agamben, 2005) that strengthened such recourses to extreme images. The concept of “kaleidoscope” referring to Naples firstly owes to Ramondino and Muller (1989) in recognizing the multiple interpretations of the city in their work “Dadapolis”, and also to Giovanni Laino (2016, 2017a, 2017b) who emphasized the notion while describing the complexities of contemporary transformations. Indeed, Naples – with a population of 955.934 people (ISTAT, 2018) – is located at the core of an urban area with more than 3 million (Laino, 2016; Calafati, 2017), being therefore the biggest city “de facto” in Italy together with Milan (Calafati, 2017). When considering the territorial scale of “functional urban area” (FUA) defined by OECD (2012), Naples results as one of the largest European urban systems, and the fifth city “de facto” in Europe (Calafati, 2016). From the political-administrative viewpoint, the territorial system of Naples is highly fragmented: the city “de facto” is the sum of 81 municipalities, whereas the metropolitan areas according to the OECD definition accounts for 116 (Calafati, 2016). OECD subdivides between a “central nucleus”, i.e. the sum of neighbouring towns at the outskirts of Naples dependent from the urban core on the one hand, and the “hinterland”, i.e. the constellation of municipalities outside the central nucleus. Although this categorization helps in identifying the boundaries of the “city de facto” (see Calafati & Veneri, 2013), it does not say much about the socio-spatial features of a kaleidoscope, which features, to the opposite, a very low GDP per-capita and an unemployment rate that make it one of the most backward cities in Europe (Calafati, 2016). As a consequence, a more comprehensive frame involves manifold issues with the aim of deconstructing and disarming the numerous interpretations around Naples and its edges, such as in the case of *Terra dei Fuochi* (“Land of Fires”) (see Flora, 2015;

Laino, 2017b)⁶² in the area known as “Campania Felix” (an historical name for the lowland to the north of Naples), as well as the narrative of “spectacularizing Camorra”⁶³. Yet, as Naples is one of the largest urban areas in Europe, it is fostering its own particular centrality in a whirling context of manifold local projects and innovations. In this respect, Calafati (2016) conceives Naples as a new “strategic city” called to take up the strategic spatial planning suspended several years ago (Comune di Napoli, 2006). Furthermore, Frascani (2017) enhances the importance to restart a collective and civic learning process about the state of the city, through a standpoint based on the European urban agendas.

Beside spatial planning and urban agendas, the effort of addressing the urban kaleidoscope of Naples entails an emancipatory perspective steered by three key dynamics (Laino, 2016, 2017b): territorial and socio-economic “disorder” and “s-regulation” (see also Donolo, 2001), differentiation, and resilience. In so doing, such analytical work questions the “rhetoric of futility” (Hirschman, 1991) that – as argued by Calafati (2016) – dominates the public debate on Naples hampering an overarching understanding of the developmental trajectories of the city. In terms of suburbanization – as conceived in this research – the “urban kaleidoscope” involves today a much wider urban region that extends in a continuum that goes beyond the formal boundaries of the *Città Metropolitana di Napoli*, by infringing, for instance, on the Province of Caserta to the North [see section 2]. This urban region is also defined by Di Gennaro (2014) as a “metropolitan ecosystem” raising from a rural-urban interplay which urbanized the “hinterland”. S-regulation, differentiation and resilience may be seen as the three key dynamics of the “plural” Naples.

The territorial and socio-economic s-regulations highlight considerable imbalances (Calafati, 2017). Relevant forms of social polarization emerged between the poorly equipped peripheries and the well-off areas of the city centre, hence unveiling a two-speed urban growth. Nevertheless, alongside a growing deficit of development and organizational capabilities, some social groups, companies and networks are managing to produce innovation in a highly fragmented context of micro-businesses and few companies with a substantial industrial tradition in the food and textile sectors (Laino, 2017b: 139). Such dynamism leans on a consolidated territorial capital (Calafati, 2017) that suggests a renovated innovation nourished by the growth of tourism, businesses and cultural production (D’Antonio, 2016), whereas serious unemployment coexists with dynamic sectors in the urban region. Morlicchio and Pratschke (2004) investigated the territorial profile of poverty in Naples by identifying two main features: the broad-based chronic housing shortage and misery on one hand, and the persistent unemployment on the other hand. The authors have also advocated the socio-spatial polarization between the wealthy residential neighbourhoods and the deprived North-Oriental peripheries (Scampia, Secondigliano, Miano, Piscinola,

⁶² As argued by Flora (2015), *Terra dei Fuochi* (“Land of Fires”) refers to the use of illegal waste disposal through their burning in the open air, which produced environmental, economic and health damages on local inhabitants. Furthermore, Laino (2017b) states, when serious pollution of the air, the water table and the soil of the towns in the western provinces of Naples and Caserta came to the attention of the media, a disinformation campaign was launched by casting a negative light on the agricultural products of these towns (such as *mozzarella di bufala*).

⁶³ Although the topic would deserve more attention, I hereby attempt to adequately frame the representation of Naples attached to Camorra, postulating the concept of “spectacularizing Camorra”. Amongst the numerous representations of Naples, one of the most recent revolves around Camorra and the organized crime, fueled by media and cinema. For instance, the celebrated book “Gomorra” by Roberto Saviano, then turned into a movie and a TV series (the most famous Italian series ever), contributed to inform, through fiction, about the domain of Camorra. Beyond the undeniable literary and artistic value, and the aim of condemning the cruelty of Camorra, “Gomorra”, as well as other recent movies, generated a process of “sensationalizing” the uniqueness of Naples as a land of crime. This is not a criticism to “Gomorra”, but rather, it is a medium to acknowledge the weight of a long-standing “narrative by extreme images” that reached its peak during the 2000s, when Camorra run into severe blood feuds (*faide*), which have increasingly exposed its criminality to the public debate. The consequence is a “talk” steering the narration of a city that finds an historical complexity in the illicit and organized crime.

S. Pietro a Patierno) and those of the industrial sites to the East (S. Giovanni a Teduccio, Poggioreale, Barra), with the mid-category of the historical city centres, also affected by overlapping fragilities. In sum, the Northern periphery looked the most disadvantaged⁶⁴ also due to the higher presence of public housing, although Naples is not a context of isolated deprived enclaves, but rather, it presents a coexistence of different socio-economic conditions in a specific area (Morlicchio & Pratschke, 2004). This widespread condition has become cross-cutting over the most recent years, affecting also the middle-classes. In this view, Naples is representative of a national condition of impoverishment, but due to its acquaintance in tackling fragility, it is also a repository of networks and civic actions aimed at contrasting poverty (Morlicchio & Morniroli, 2013). Such aspect warrants the idea of Naples associated to resilience, as the restart after the 1973's cholera and the 1980's earthquake of Irpinia demonstrates. The distribution of wealth and poverty depicted by Laino (2017a, 2017b) within the PRIN Post-Metropoli research framework unfolds a large area of influence of the Neapolitan urban region, which includes also other Provinces (such as Caserta, Salerno, Avellino), crossed by some corridors of economic dynamism.

Socio-economic and territorial s-regulations are fundamental to observe the other two key elements of the Neapolitan urban region: polycentrism and resilience. The scheme of the city in 1700s was already marked by a polycentric shape between the compact city, which was playing a key international role at that time, and the rural areas of scattered country houses (di Gennaro, 2014; Laino, 2017b). The compact *forma ubris* characterized the area until early 1900s, when the urban region was ready to face the transformations of 20th century, intensified during the Second post-war period, as proved by the whole Italian urbanization [see chapter 2]. From 1951 to 1981 the urbanized land of the urban region of Naples got a 150% bump, particularly led by the expansion of unauthorized buildings, a dramatic increase in land use, and a modernization of infrastructures in terms of accessibility, predominantly involving the road network. However, to adequately cope with resilience and polycentrism, an overview of the metropolitan expansion process in Naples is helpful, by also addressing the institutional arrangements.

As early as the beginning of the 20th century, Francesco Saverio Nitti (1902) envisioned the so-called *Grande Napoli* as a “small metropolitan city” mainly developed more on the coastline rather than on the Flegrean hills, seen as natural barrier hampering the expansion of the “hinterland”. Indeed, at that time the scheme of the 1700s' city was maintained, as Naples was a vibrant city surrounded by a rural fertile land with polycentric nodes. However, such landscape began to significantly change since the 1960s, when the Province of Naples doubled its population compared to the early 1900s, and the city reached 1,1 million of inhabitants. This condition led to the transformation of rural settlements into new towns inhabited by 25000 to 50000 people (for e.g. Ercolano, on the coast, Giugliano, Afragola, Casoria, Acerra) (di Gennaro, 2014). Thus, the urban region of Naples became a system of cities under constant expansion, where land and fertile soils are going to be transformed. In this respect, fragmented land property, in an increasingly polycentric context, fragilized the ecologic and territorial systems of Naples. The long period running from 1960s to 2010s is defined by di Gennaro (2014) as the “great transformation”. The first wave of such expansive period (1960-1980) saw the population increase of the “first belt” municipalities at the outskirts of Naples (i.e. Quarto, Marano di Napoli, Arzano, Casoria, Volla, San Giorgio a Cremano) and the rural settlements (Villaricca, Qualiano, Mugnano di Napoli, Melito, Casandrino). Then, the subsequent three decades (1980-2010) experienced the explosion of the

⁶⁴ Negative interpretations are recurrent here, embodied by Scampia, the “theatre” of Gomorrah. Being an inhabitant of Scampia produced social effects that have increasingly labelled families from that fragile area (Morlicchio & Pratschke, 2004), whereas the dangerousness attached to Scampia are badly reflected on the life prospects of its inhabitants, even in the labour market (Morlicchio & Morniroli, 2013; Morlicchio & Pratschke, 2004). Such negative image has an impact on the whole metropolitan area of Naples (Morlicchio & Morniroli, 2013).

cities in the lowlands, by shaping the “hinterland urbanized” detectable today. A key role in such expansion has been played by the Irpinia earthquake in 1980, which caused a large damage to the housing stock in the historical city centre, and a massive “outflow, especially towards new public housing estates. Towns at the edges of Naples increased both in population and built environment. In this period, Giugliano in Campania, settled in the Northern lowland, rapidly became the third most populated city of Campania region. The massive sub-urban expansion of Naples led to two consequences: an enhanced territorial fragmentation in terms of leadership and administration, and a key infrastructural development of road systems. The urban region results in Naples in the forms of a “conurbation” (see Geddes, 1915) that permanently modified the fertile rural lands through an uneven urbanization process. Such urban “continuum” is today extended to the province of Caserta through the town of Aversa, the province of Avellino through Nola, and the corridor at the back of Vesuvio connecting Salerno. The Neapolitan metropolitan system has turned into a conurbation of 120 municipalities, and in an urban region of 3,1 million people (ISTAT, 2018)⁶⁵.

Public policies and institutional arrangements in the domain of urban development faced several issues over the decades. By 1980, for instance, only 18% of municipalities of the Province had their own Masterplan (di Gennaro, 2014), whereas Naples gained a new plan only in 2004, concluding a process launched in 1993. Calafati (2017) and Frascani (2017) agrees about the administrative lack in tackling the consequences of deindustrialization process which started since the 1990s, acknowledging the low attention on a development strategy until 2000s, when the complex metropolitan configuration of Naples definitely called for novel interpretations and policy trajectories. Over more than a century have been converging into a representation of the problems and lack of Naples as representative not only of the peculiar issues that affect Southern Italy, but also of the more general planning and governmental situation faced by the whole nation (Nitti, 1903; Morlicchio & Morniroli, 2013; di Gennaro, 2014; Donolo, 2015; Calafati, 2017). The choice of dedicating a broader attention to the background of Naples is prompted by the fact that while studying Naples, researchers are exposed to a nurtured narration that requires a more systemic understanding. In this respect, it is necessary to isolate the overwhelming images primarily referred to a context of unsolvable complexities and difficulties. Those clear evidences stepped into the public debate should instead be considered as cultural outcomes of a “plural” and diverse urban context that finds a driving force right into its complexity, which elevates Naples as one of the largest European urban areas, where old and new national societal issues are crystalized in a vibrant urban and suburban fabric.

1.2 The target-area: Villaricca, a fragment of Comprensorio Giuglianese

The urban region of Naples may be synthetically viewed as a “conurbation” (Geddes, 1915) characterizing an urban area inhabited by more than 3 million people. In this broad area, the attention is devoted here to a particular territorial entity called “Comprensorio Giuglianese”. Also known as “Agro Giuglianese”, this name refers to an area in the lowland to the north-west of Naples, included in the Metropolitan City of Naples. The area is inhabited by almost 300.000 people where Giugliano in Campania is the main “sub-urban core”, and namely the third most populated city of the region (124.139 inhabitants, source ISTAT, 2017), after Naples (972.130) and Salerno (133.364). The “Comprensorio Giuglianese” is composed by six municipalities: Giugliano in Campania, Marano di Napoli, Mugnano di Napoli, Qualiano, Villaricca and Calvizzano. The area extends from the Domitian seas coast at the north

⁶⁵ Data from ISTAT database 2018: 3.085.225 inhabitants in *Città Metropolitana di Napoli*. This data may increase if we consider also cities from other border-provinces engulfed in the “urban region” of Naples, such as Aversa.

of Naples, to the north-western hinterland, where the suburban municipality of Melito di Napoli administratively “divides” the “Comprensorio” from the urban periphery of Scampia-Secondigliano in Naples. The large administrative perimeter of Giugliano goes along the Comprensorio, by touching the coast with the suburbs of Licola and Lago Patria, until Melito di Napoli in the hinterland. It has historically been affected by severe problems in waste management (even the informal garbage burial at a large scale), and the landscape features a large number of landfill sites as drawn in the institutional Document of Strategic Directions (Comune di Giugliano in Campania, 2013). Being part of the urban region of Naples, it represents the quintessential of the hinterland urbanization process that profoundly affected the rural areas at the edges of Naples. In this vein, Giugliano in Campania may be seen as the biggest Italian “edge city” (see Garreau, 1991), although shaped by spatially-related contextual features grounding in the agro-food productivity, as exemplified by typical products such as the *melanurra* (a special kind of apple) and buffalo mozzarella.

The “Comprensorio Giuglianese” is representative of that area defined by Nitti as a “crown of thorns” enclosing Naples, in the early 1900s (Nitti, 1902). Such metaphor envisaged the union of municipalities as precondition for any development policy in Naples. Giugliano and its “Comprensorio” saw the most significant sub-urban expansion in the three decades between 1980 and 2010, identified by di Gennaro (2014) as the second wave of the “great transformation” of the metropolitan “ecosystem” of Naples. The unintended consequence of such urbanization of the “crown of thorns” was the transformation of such towns (Villaricca, Qualiano, Mugnano di Napoli, Melito di Napoli, Casandrino, Grumo Nevano, etc.) into congested “dormitories” of Naples. The expansion did not end after 1980s, when the most recent expansionary phase led to the merging with the territory of Aversa and Caserta, hence shaping the inter-provincial conurbation that characterizes the today urban region of Naples, where particular densified urbanization shapes Northern edges (Laino, 2017b).

In more detail, the area extending between the Domitian coast and Giugliano in Campania (i.e. the “Comprensorio Giuglianese” and its northern edges) is marked by outright fragility (*ibidem*). The towns of Castel Volturno and Mondragone, for instance, are historically known for their pervasive housing informality resulted from the mass relocation of families from Naples after the earthquake of 1980. From here, crossing Casal di Principe, Villa Literno, the Agro Aversano, until Giugliano in Campania, the area faces a longstanding critical condition also affected by the intense activity of organized crime, i.e. the Camorra. A fragile condition, involving both governmental issues, is widespread. For instance, Giugliano was ruled for years by a centrally appointed prefect after the city government dissolution due to infiltration of criminal organization in the public administration (*ibidem*). A general analytic overview of the whole urban region portrayed by PRIN Post-Metropoli deploys the city de facto of Naples shaped

by clusters and axis, where axis number 4 crosses the Comprensorio Giuglianese through the key “suburban node” of Giugliano [see Fig. 46].

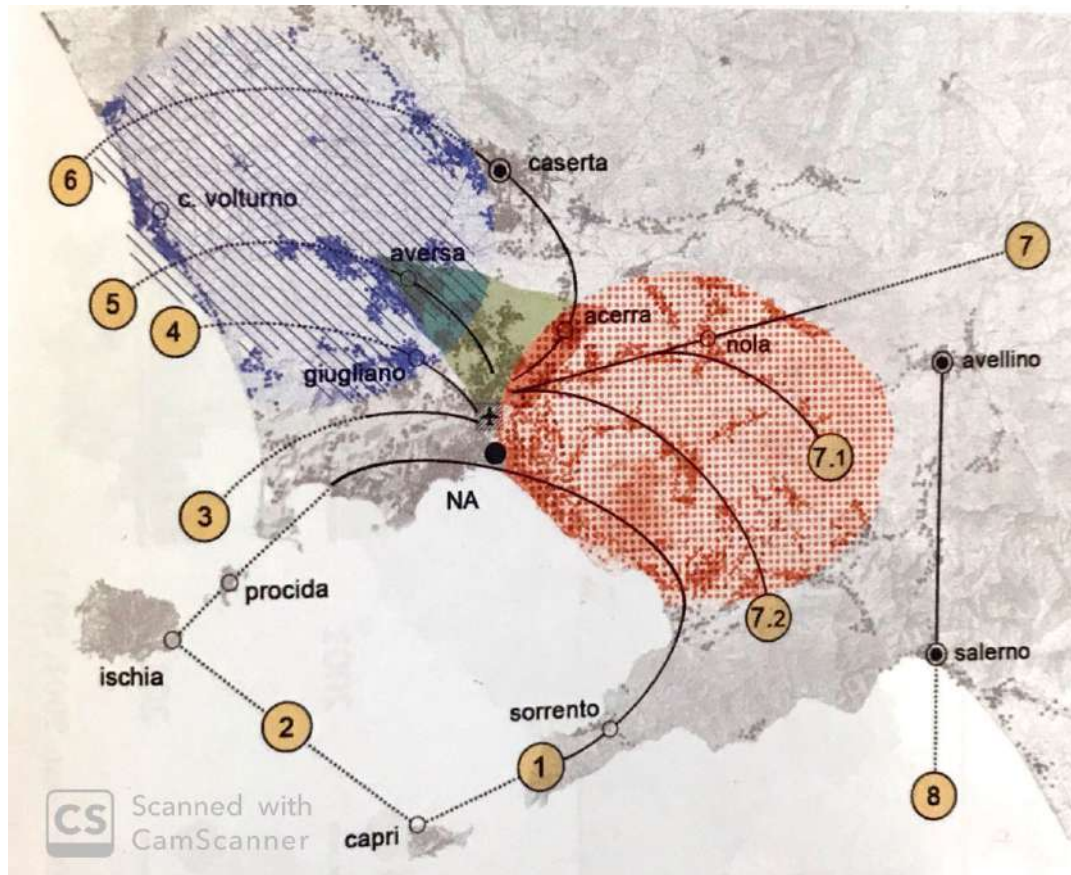


Figure 46. Analytical map of urban region of Naples. Source: PRIN Post-Metropolis, Laino (2017a, 2017b)

The target-area has been identified within the Comprensorio Giuglianese, by selecting a municipality included in the conurbation characterizing the urban edges of Naples. The choice fell on the municipality of Villaricca (known as Panicocoli until 1871), located right at the south of Giugliano in Campania, in the middle of the Comprensorio [see Fig. 47]. Giugliano and the Villaricca are literally a continuum without any natural or rural “subdivision” between the two municipalities. Moreover, the town is divided into two parts: the main core, whose historical nucleus is very close to Giugliano, and the district “Torretta-Scalzapecora, also known as “Villaricca 2”, administratively detached from the main core by the municipality of Qualiano. Villaricca increased in its population steadily and regularly since the Second post-war period, as a suburb engulfed in the process of urbanization of the Parthenopean hinterland. However, its demographic expansion reached a peak in the 1981-2001 period (the years refer to those of national census), when the population increased from 14.831 to 26.175 inhabitants and to the current 31.184 inhabitants (ISTAT, 2018).

In contrast with the selection of target-areas in Rome and Milan, the choice of Villaricca is prompted by some reasons out of the research strands. Whilst the focus on Milan revolves around some current interesting policy trajectories, the choice of Villaricca was due to the real existing feasibility of a close and effective interaction with the local context. Wicked problems and longstanding fragilities of the municipalities composing the urban region of Naples, overcomplicate the possibility of doing fieldwork. Two privileged informants played a key role in accessing to this territory. First, Leonardo Ciccarelli, press secretary of Giugliano Calcio (the soccer team of Giugliano), has been a key informant, who could offer me an overall introduction to the context of the Comprensorio Giuglianese from his own direct

experience. Second, Nicola Flora, a professor and architect native of Naples living in Villaricca with his family, extensively supported me and granted the possibility of understanding the overlap of historical and contemporary complexities shaping suburbanisms in this context. Moreover, the contact with Nicola Flora enabled interactions with some local administrators and experts. Such meetings provided a reasonable framework of the governmental complexities and public deprivation of this urban edge inhabited by more than 300.000 inhabitants. The micro-focus on the specific town of Villaricca, set out such difficulties on the local scale of a specific suburb, with the goal of tracing a pattern a slightly idealtypical pattern of suburbanisms in the Comprensorio Giuglianeso.

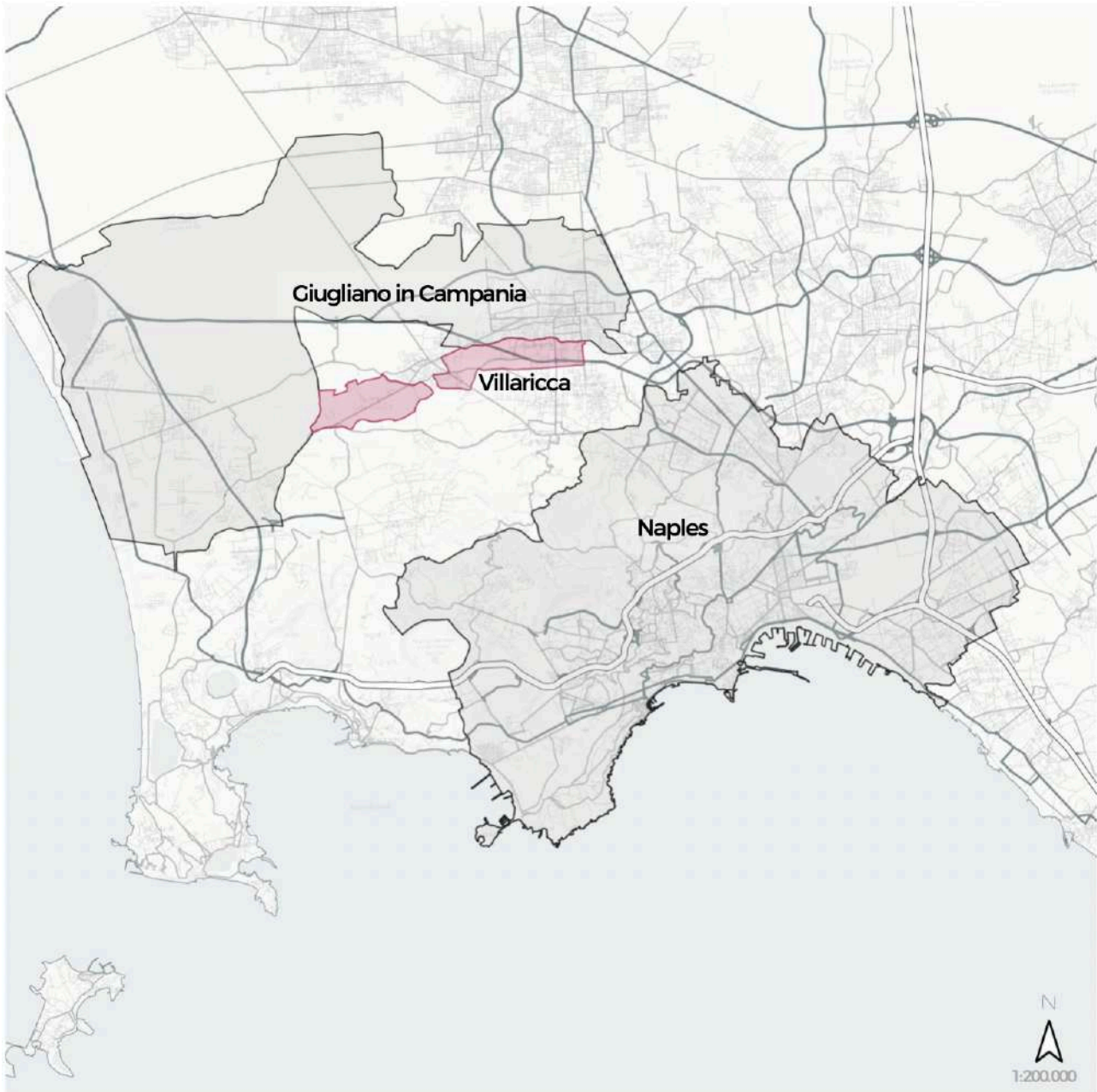


Figure 47. Location of Villaricca between Naples and Giugliano in Campania. Source: author

2. First glances through data

As for the other case studies, the outcomes from the fieldwork activity are introduced by a first overview through data of the suburb taken into account, by merging two sources: (1) the *Atlante* of PRIN Post-Metropoli, and (2) the open database “Urban Index” (created by the Ministerial Department for Planning and Coordination of Economic Policies)⁶⁶, whose selected indicators are collected in Table 8 and resumed in Table 9, following the sequence provided by the database itself. The overview through data, as for the other investigations, aims at informing about the living conditions in Villaricca by merging the Ministerial effort resulted in the “Urban Index” database, and the key information from the Post-Metropoli *Atlante*, within a research framework oriented to unveil the new forms of “urbanities” in the hinterland of Naples. In this respect, data about Villaricca are confronted with those of Naples and Giugliano in Campania, where the latter is the key city of Comprensorio Giuglianese, and the former is the urban core of the area. However, the misalignment of the gathered information in terms of time and year affects the overview. Most of data refers to the latest national census (ISTAT, 2011), hence changes may have already occurred over the last years. The section is concluded by the subdivision of data in five macro-categories [see Table 8], reproduced here as a remind: (1) Socio-economic conditions, involving social, demographic and economic trajectories; (2) Housing, with reference to residential and real estate patterns; (3) Land and Mobility, where in a not so systematic rationale are merged mobility issues emerged from transport infrastructural developments and land use transformations; (4) Economic Dynamism, observing local economic vitality a glance; (5) Facilities, referring to service provision in general terms.

The focus on socio-economic aspects discloses the fragilities of living conditions in Villaricca. As first, the average rate of change in population unveils the trend that took place after the Irpinia earthquake of 1980. The population increase in Villaricca (+36% between 1991 and 2011) [see Fig. 48] and Giugliano in Campania (+81%) corresponds to a decrease in Naples (-10%). Reasons are partially deductible from the outflow occurred after the abandonment of condemned residential buildings in Naples due to the earthquake. In addition, the difference between trends of the main city of Comprensorio Giuglianese and the urban core of Naples confirms the tendency of suburbanization of the hinterland. Differences are slightly reduced while moving the attention to the familiar and individual conditions. Whilst the rate of young couples with children in 2011 was almost the same in Villaricca (12,5%) and Giugliano (13,1%), such percentage is lower in the case of Naples (7,9%). Data about employment reveal instead a dramatic situation: unemployment rate fluctuates between the 24% of Giugliano in Campania, the 27,8% of Naples and the 28,1% of Villaricca, being therefore much more aggressive than in the areas of Rome, where unemployment variates between 9% and 11% [see chapter 7] and Milan, where it fluctuates below 10%. The scenario gets worse while enhancing the youth unemployment (age 15-24) affecting the whole Southern Italy. The harsh labour market for youths is indicated by the extremely high values: 58% in Giugliano, 63,7% in Villaricca, and 67,5% in Naples. Such rankings overturn while looking at the rate of NEET (age 15-29), as the highest percentage is that of Giugliano (28.9%) compared to the 22,8% of Naples and 23% of Villaricca. In Giugliano, 13,6% of families settled faced potential economic hardship in 2011, in contrast with the 11,8% of families in Villaricca and 9,5% of those in Naples. These differences are slightly more significant while observing the aging dimension, as it is more enhanced in the city of Naples, although it still presents a low old-age index (134,6, source Urbistat on ISTAT census data)⁶⁷.

⁶⁶ The database “Urban Index. Indicators for urban policies”: <https://www.urbanindex.it/>

⁶⁷ Urbistat web-based data gathering, constructed upon census information (ISTAT, 2011): <https://ugeo.urbistat.com/AdminStat/it/it/classifiche/indice-vecchiaia/comuni/napoli/63/3>

The conclusive indication of socio-economic conditions comes from the Gini index, which illustrates very similar data between Villaricca (0,212), Giugliano (0,218) and Naples (0,237), hence unveiling a certain homogeneity in the income distribution.

The analysis of macro-category related to housing shows a significative difference between the two towns of Comprensorio Giuglianese and Naples. First, the increase of housing stock over twenty years (1991-2011) reports the big gap between Comprensorio and Naples [see Fig. 49]. The massive increase over two decades experienced by Giugliano (+83%) and Villaricca (+65%) stands against to the limited 5% variation in Naples. However, a reduced time-scale to the first decade of the 21th century observed through the indicator of “building expansion index in residential areas”, shows a much higher growth in Villaricca (+9,5%) rather than in Giugliano (+3,6%) and Naples (+2,2%). This expansion corresponds to the residential attractiveness (2001-2011) [see Fig. 55]: the 6,1% increase of Villaricca and the 9,7% increase of Giugliano both indicate a certain affordability that is less visible in Naples, which has instead experienced a 5,2% decrease in the same time frame. Nevertheless, along general trends recorded in real estate values since the 2008 crisis, the variation of average prices in housing purchase between 2007 and 2012 unfolds a general decrease, ranging from the -18,8% of Giugliano to the -14,1% of Naples, until the lower -7,9% of Villaricca. Actually, such data shall be integrated with deeper investigations on changes in real estate market. Another key difference between Naples and Comprensorio Giuglianese, emerges with reference to the rate of inappropriate dwellings. The “housing exclusion index” is very low in the cases of Villaricca (0,1) and Giugliano (0,3) whereas it rises in the case of Naples (0,7), hence acknowledging a chronic fragility of some aged housing stock of the biggest city of Southern Italy.

The macro-category of land and mobility firstly unveils the very slight variation of anthropized land. Between 2000 and 2006, soil of Villaricca has not undergone any further anthropization [see Fig. 50], as well as two other neighbouring towns, i.e. Qualiano and Calvizzano. Differently, the broader territory of Giugliano experienced a 15% increase of anthropized land, whereas Naples saw an 8% increase. Edge density, i.e. the index of splintering in the urban landscape, reveals a key difference between Giugliano and Villaricca, as the former is extremely splintered (332,6 m/sqm) in view of the coexistence of rural agricultural land and built environment, whereas the latter is much less splintered (177,5 m/sqm), being so closer to the densified condition of Naples (150,7 m/sqm). As a confirmation, the land consumption per capita is much higher in Giugliano (210,9 sqm per inhabitant) rather than in Villaricca (110,7 sqm per inhabitant) and Naples (74,9 smq per inhabitant). Therefore, a first glance on land conformation depicts Villaricca as a densely populated area where plots of agricultural land are much less than in Giugliano in Campania. Nevertheless, such scenario is affected by the difference in dimension between the two municipalities, as the administrative area of Giugliano is very large and much bigger than the municipality of Villaricca, encapsulated between Giugliano and other towns of Comprensorio Giuglianese (Qualiano, Calvizzano and Mugnano di Napoli, specifically). For what concerns mobility, a remarkable aspect raises from two indicators: the dominance of private transport use. Indeed, percentages of private mobility are significantly high: 62,5% in the case of Villaricca, 65,2% in Giugliano and 38,2% for Naples, the urban core. To the opposite, percentages of public transportation use are much lower: 11,3% in Villaricca, 11% in Giugliano and 25,7% in Naples, where the data is vitiated by the presence of the subway. Data of mobility index (i.e. the commuting for employment reasons) is basically the same: 0,81 for Villaricca and Naples, 0,82 for Giugliano, revealing a strong dependence from the urban core. This case shows that daily commuting to other towns is common to both the urban core of Naples and the urban edges of Comprensorio Giuglianese. On the contrary, much more differences occur while moving the focus to the self-containment index, which indicates commuting within the same municipality for employment purposes. Such index unfolds high values for Naples (0,68) and much lower values for Villaricca (0,21)

and Giugliano (0.33). A final consideration about mobility involves accessibility to railway stations [see Figure 52] and accessibility to urban nodes through road systems [see Figure 53]. A general overview illustrates high levels of accessibility from almost the whole “crown” surrounding Naples from the Domitian coast to the Vesuvian area. That would arguably be motivated by the presence of two railway nodes interested also by hi-speed system: Napoli Centrale, in city centre, and Napoli Afragola, settled in the core of northern suburbs, launched on June 2017 and designed by Zaha Hadid. Moreover, Northern urban edges of Naples are crossed by the railway system reaching Caserta and Benevento. On the 0-4 scale made by “classes”, both Villaricca and Naples present level 4 of accessibility, indicating an average travel time lower than 15 minutes, reduced of an only unit in the case of Giugliano. Equally, accessibility to urban nodes through roads is enabled from Comprensorio Giuglianese (in the case of Villaricca and Giugliano) through two main nodes: the *Circumvallazione Esterna di Napoli* (Provincial Road n. 1) and the *Asse Perimetrale di Melito-Scampia* connecting the international airport of Naples “Capodichino” to Lago Patria, i.e. the coastal side of Giugliano in Campania, by crossing the northern urban periphery of Naples.

Economic dynamism unveils a suffering conditions in the overall Comprensorio Giuglianese and Naples. On the 0 to 1 index from PRIN Post-Metropolis, Villaricca and Giugliano presents negative values (-0,38 for the target area, and -0,31 in the case of Giugliano) that explains the vocation of the territory for manufacturing and agricultural activities, differently from Naples, where the value of 0,08 is slightly more encouraging. The situation changes a bit while looking at the dynamism of public authorities, which is almost absent in Villaricca (0,09) and a bit visible in Giugliano (0,22), whereas it increases in Naples (0,84) hence confirming the aforementioned vibrant condition of the capital city of Campania region [see section 1.1]. In addition, the percentage of workers in APS (social promotion activities) and KIBS (Knowledge Intensive Business Services) is much higher in Naples (13,33%) rather than in Villaricca (6,95%) and Giugliano (6,48%). This information raises a key difference between the urban core and the urban edges, by stressing the longstanding dualism that oppose high-skilled workers in big cities and low skilled jobs at its edges (Phelps, 2012).

The conclusive step of the overview through data addresses service provision, firstly seen in generic terms. Three interesting insights come from the *Atlante*. Villaricca is engulfed in a wide urban region where peripherality in the access to services is low, as acknowledged by level 3 on a 0 to 5 scale, which indicates the condition of “first belt” municipalities located not so far from the main urban core. Giugliano in Campania also maintains a centrality legitimized by its importance as main core of Comprensorio Giuglianese [see Fig. 51]. Second, the general index of infrastructural provision unfolds a quite different situation. As it is based on a municipal configuration, it reveals weaknesses in Villaricca, which presents a value of 5 on a 0-1000 scale, where 0 indicates an absent infrastructural provision, and 1000 a maximum provision [see Fig. 54]. Such condition looks common within Comprensorio, as indicated by the low level experienced also by the core of Giugliano in Campania (14), whereas Naples is more central (415). Third, the provision of drinking water [see Fig. 56] is differentiated due to the gap in cities’ dimension: 51,16 cubic meters per inhabitant per year in Villaricca, 72,9 in Giugliano and 87,9 in Naples. Furthermore, the distribution of pharmacies per 10.000 inhabitants indicates a 0,2 per inhabitant in Villaricca and 0,1 in Giugliano, whereas waste separation presents low percentages as well as the low percentage of waste separation (8,2% in Giugliano, in opposition with the 49,7% of Villaricca). However, such overview on service provision deserves a substantive focus.

Indicator from Urban Index database	Year	Source	Measure unit	Villaricca
Ten-year average rate of change in resident population	1991-2011	ISTAT	%	16,6
Percentage variation of average price in housing purchase	2007-2012	OMI	€/sqm/month	-7,9
Private mobility (use of private vehicle)	2011	ISTAT	%	62,5
EG – Edge density (index of urban landscape splintering)	2015	ISPRA	m/sqm	177,5
Building expansion index in residential areas over a decade	2011	ISTAT	%	9,5
Rate of residential attractiveness	2001-2011	PRIN PM	Index	6,1
Rate of young couples with children	2011	PRIN PM	%	12,5
Mobility index (commuting for employment purposes)	2011	PRIN PM	Index	0,81
Self-containment index (internal commuting for employment purposes)	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,21
Economic dynamism index	2011	PRIN PM	Index	-0,38
Rate of public authorities' dynamism	2011	PRIN PM	Index	0,09
Pharmacies per 10.000 inhabitants	2011	Health Minister	Number per 10.000 inh.	0,2
Public transportation (ratio between public transport and non-public transport users in commuting for employment purposes)	2011	ISTAT	%	11,3
Unemployment rate	2011	ISTAT	%	28,1
Youth unemployment rate (age 15-24)	2011	ISTAT	%	63,7
Rate of NEET (age 15-29)	2011	ISTAT	%	23
Rate of families in a potential economic hardship	2011	ISTAT	%	11,8
Rate of elders alone	2011	ISTAT	%	17
Housing exclusion index (rate of inappropriate dwellings)	2011	ISTAT	%	0,1
Gini index	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,212
Land consumption per capita	2015	ISPRA	Sqm/inhab.	110,7
Drinking water fed into the municipal grid system per capita	2012	PRIN PM	M ³ /inh. year	51,2
Percentage of waste separation (recycling)	2013	ISPRA	%	49,7
Percentage of workers in companies APS and KIBS (ATECO sectors J, K and M) on the total amount of workers	2011	ISTAT	%	6,953

Table 8. Information box on Villaricca. Source: Urban Index database (Dept. of Planning and Coordination of Economic Politics).

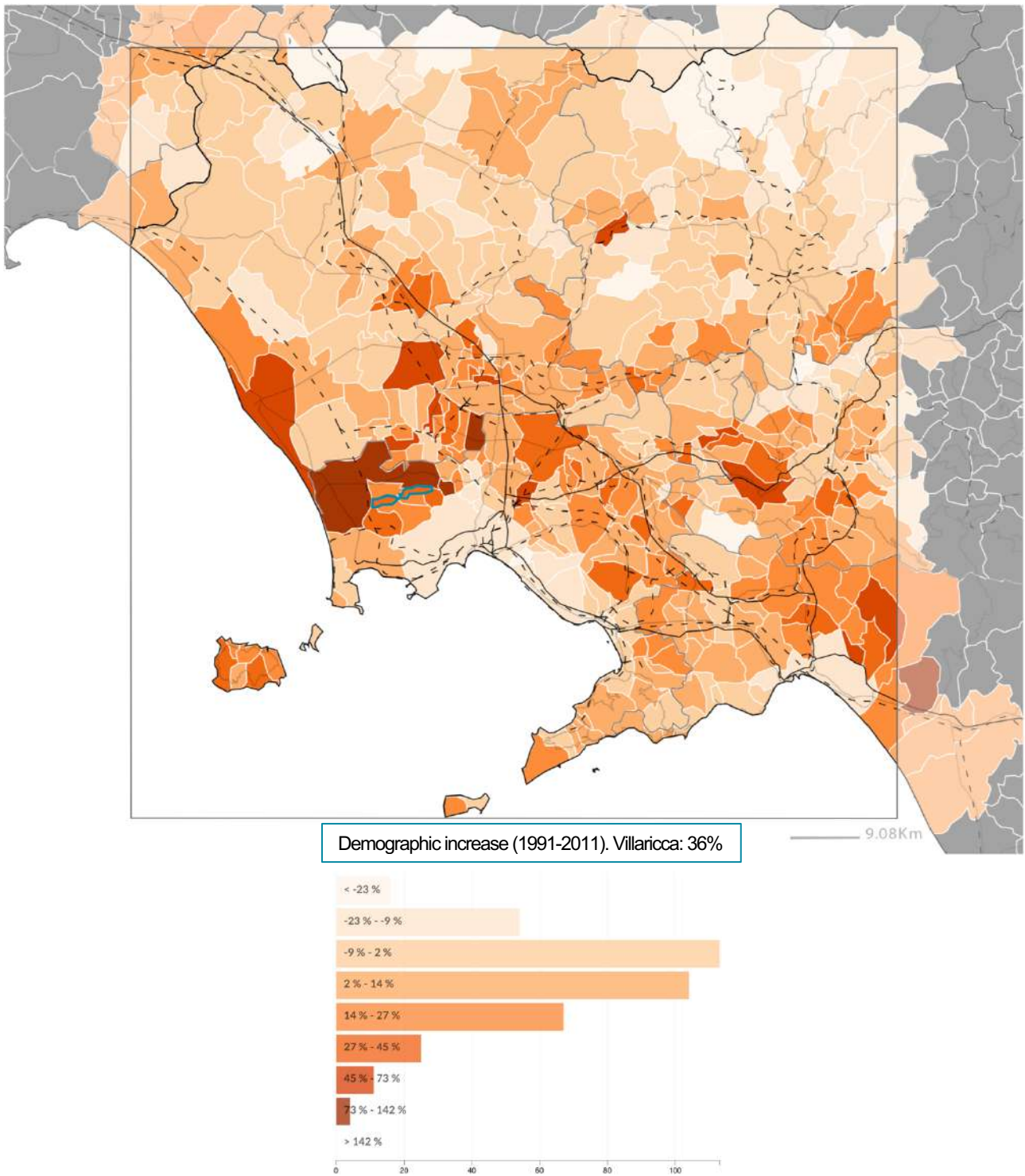


Figure 48. Demographic increase in Villaricca (1991-2011). Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*

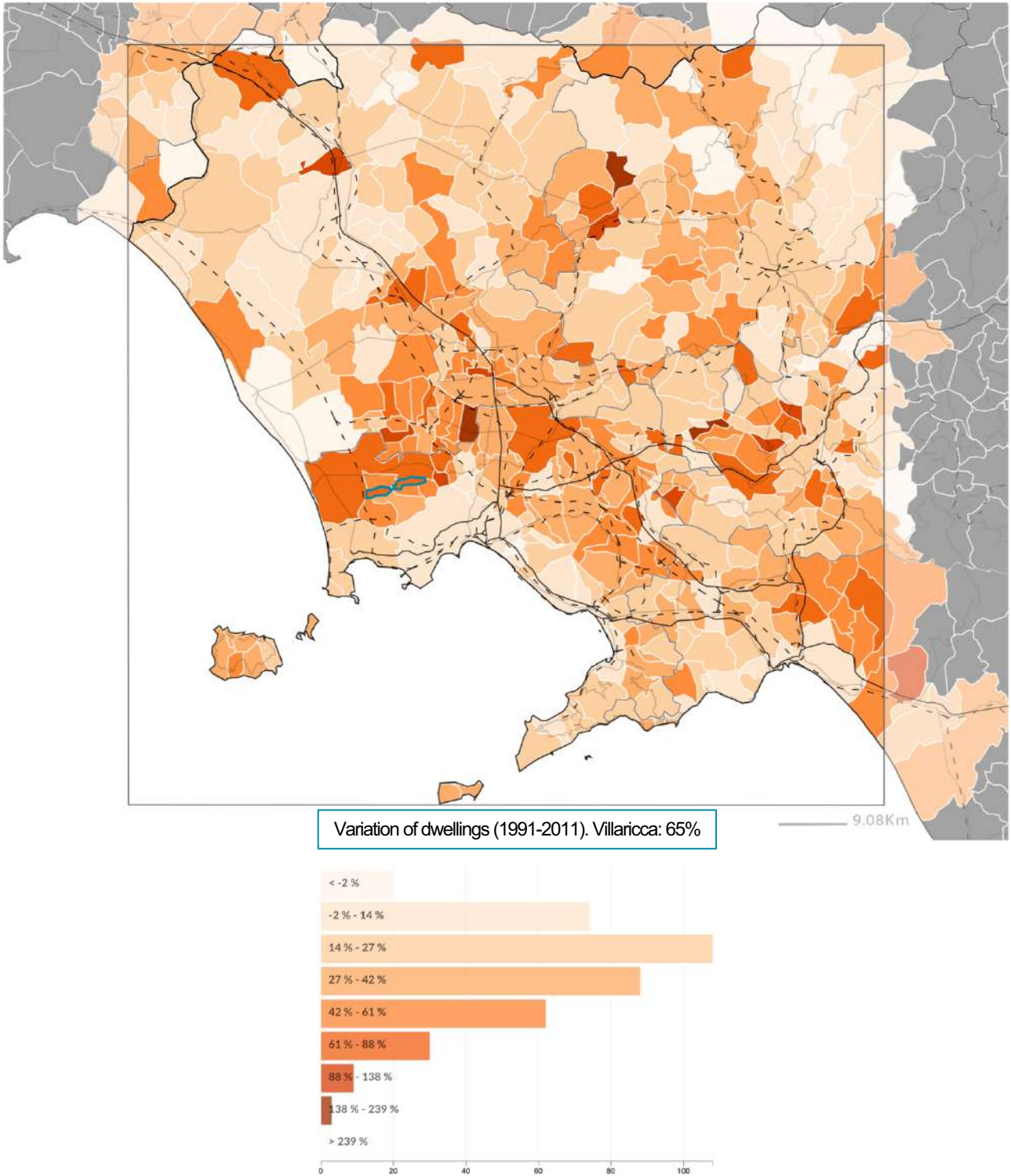


Figure 49. Variation in the number of dwellings in Villaricca (1991-2011). Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*

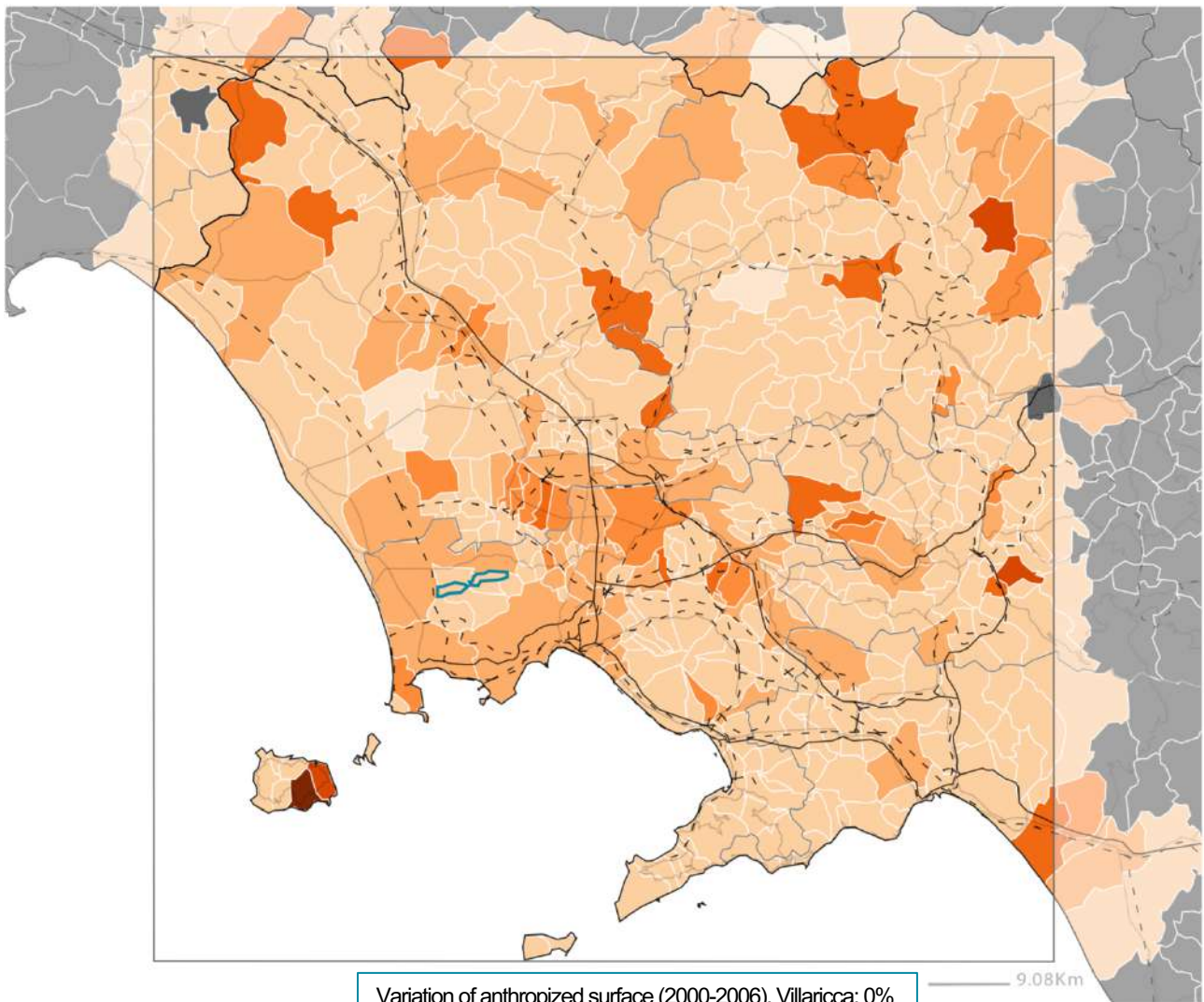


Figure 50. Variation of the anthropized surface in Villaricca. (2000-2006).
 Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*, based on CORINE Land Cover

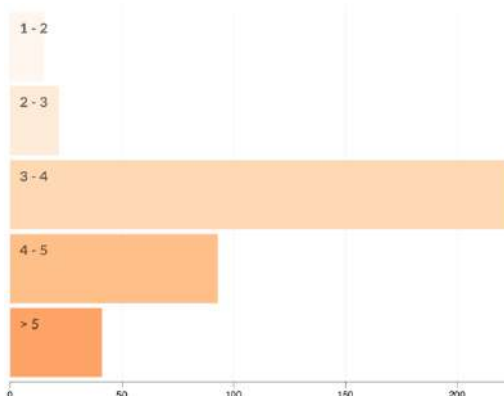
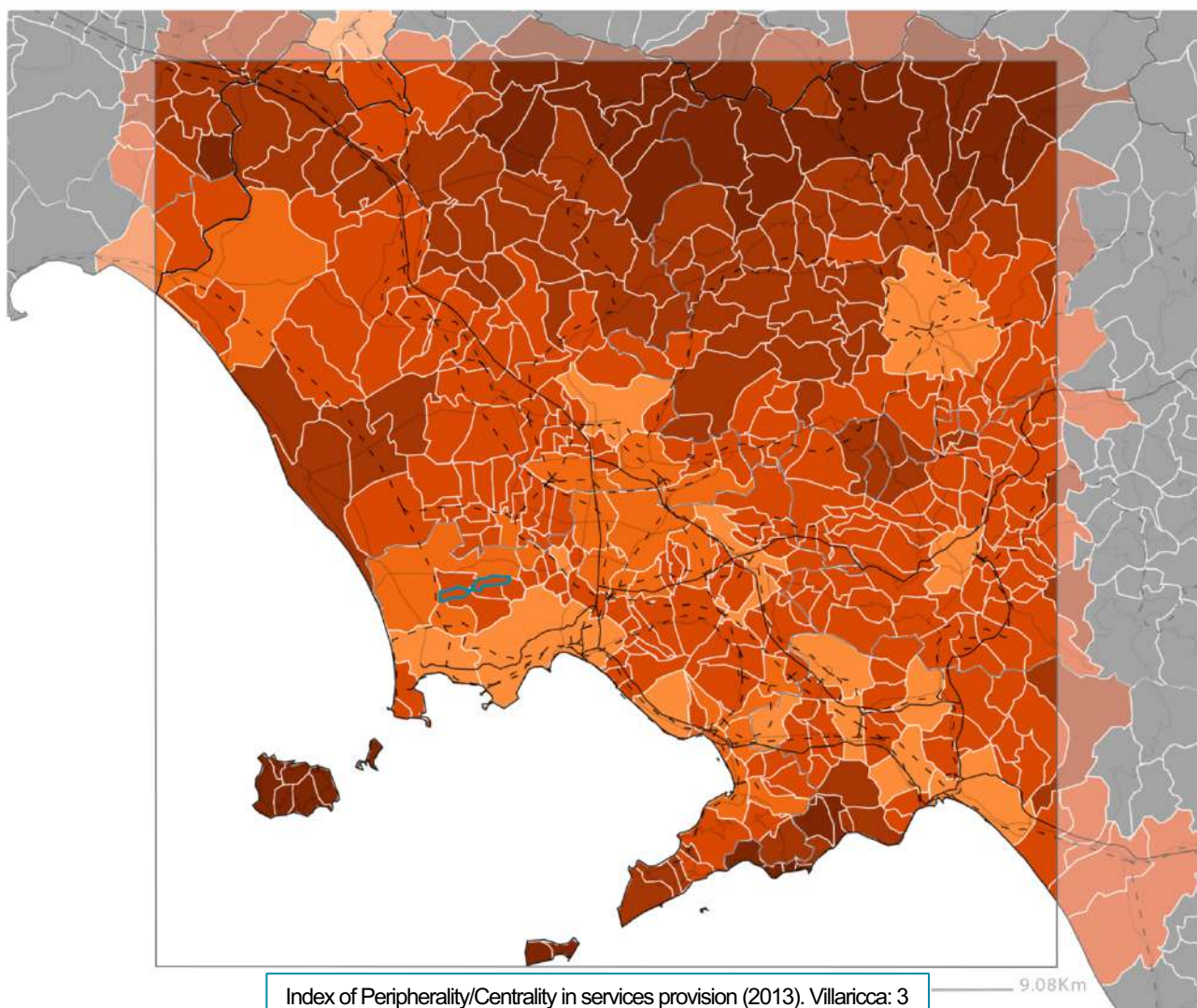


Figure 51. Index of peripherality-centrality in services provision in Villaricca (2013). The higher is the value, the more peripheral is the municipality in the access to services.

Source: *Atlante* Post-Metropoli, based on data from the Minister of Health and Education, Department of Development and Economic Cohesion – National Strategy for “Inner Areas”.

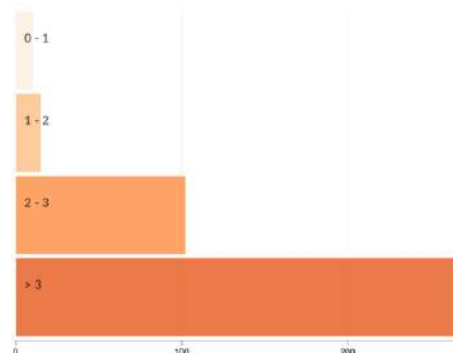
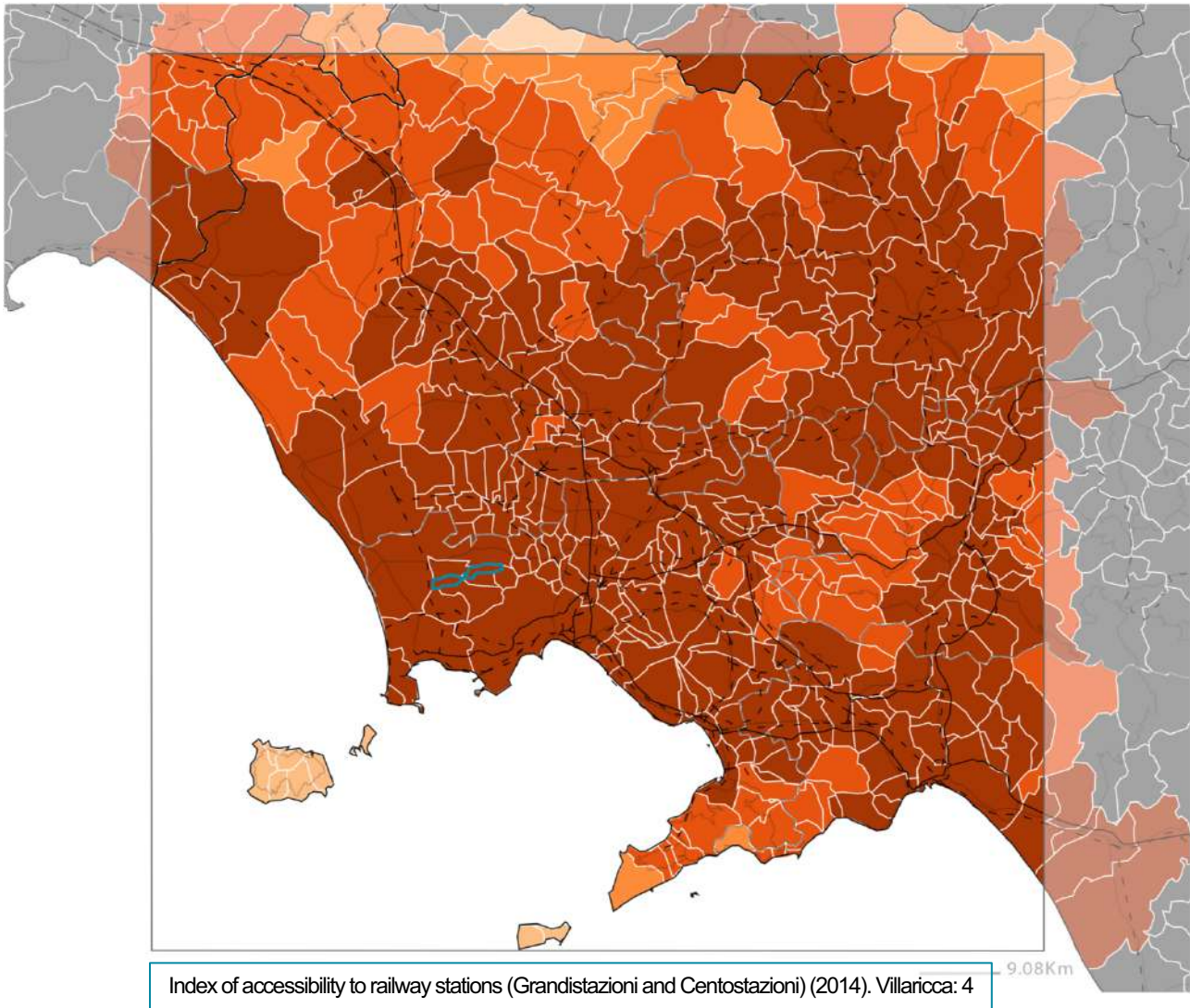


Figure 52. Index of accessibility to railway stations (*Grandistazioni* and *Centostazioni*) from Villaricca (2014).
Source: *Atlante Post-Metropolis*

Note: The index is calculated using a sampling function of the isochrones in which is included the “centroid” of each municipality, by selecting the isochrone corresponding to the lowest travel time. The index classifies the capacity of municipality’s inhabitants to reach railways stations of *Ferrovie dello Stato* (*Grandistazioni* and *Centostazioni*) through transit roads systems.

Classes subdivision:

Class 0 (<1) = average travel time above 60 minutes	Class 3 (2-3) = average travel time between 15 and 30
Class 1 (1-1) = average travel time between 45 and 60 mins.	Class 4 (>3) = average travel time lower than 15 mins.
Class 2 (1-2) = average travel time between 30 and 45 mins.	

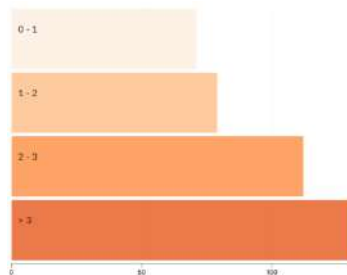
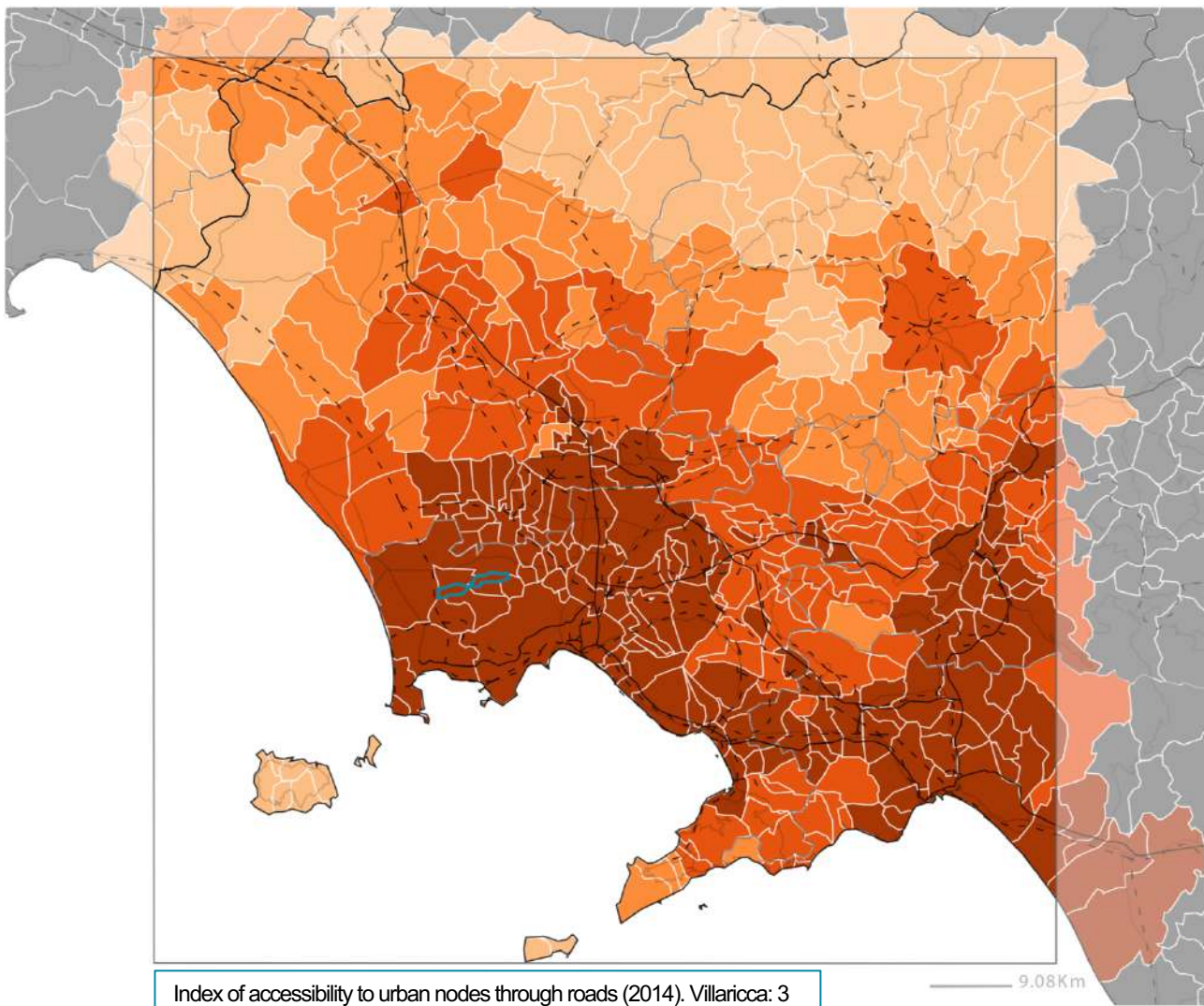


Figure 53. Index of accessibility to urban nodes through transit roads systems Villaricca (2014).

Source: *Atlante Post-Metropolis*

Note: This synthetic index is calculated using a sampling function of the isochrones in which is included the “centroid” of each municipality, by selecting the isochrone corresponding to the lowest travel time. The index classifies the capacity of municipality’s inhabitants to reach urban nodes (DPS, *poli urbani*) through transit roads systems.

Classes subdivision:

Class 0 (<1) = average travel time above 60 minutes	Class 3 (2-3) = average travel time between 15 and 30
Class 1 (1-1) = average travel time between 45 and 60 mins.	Class 4 (>3) = average travel time lower than 15 mins.
Class 2 (1-2) = average travel time between 30 and 45 mins.	

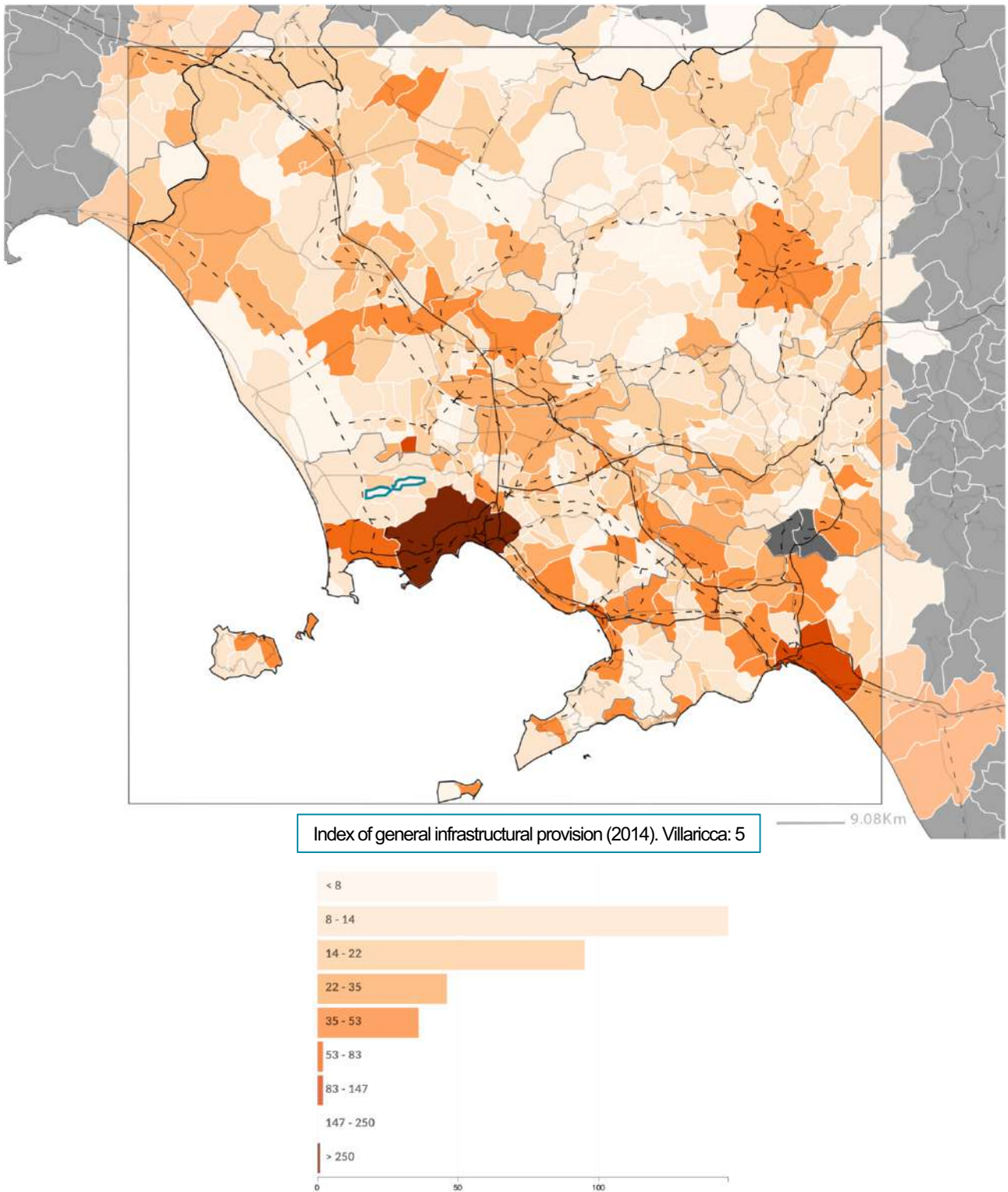


Figure 54. Index of general infrastructural provision in Villaricca (2014). Source: *Atlante Post-Metropolis*

Note: the synthetic index of comprehensive infrastructural provision is constructed by summing-up the standardized values (Z-score) of the following indicators:

- Kilometers of State and Provincial roads per square kilometres of the municipal area
- Number of railway stations equivalent for each municipality
- Number of highways exits
- Number of harbours per each municipality / 2
- Number of airports per each municipality / 2

The result is re-classified on a range of values comprised between 0 and 1000.

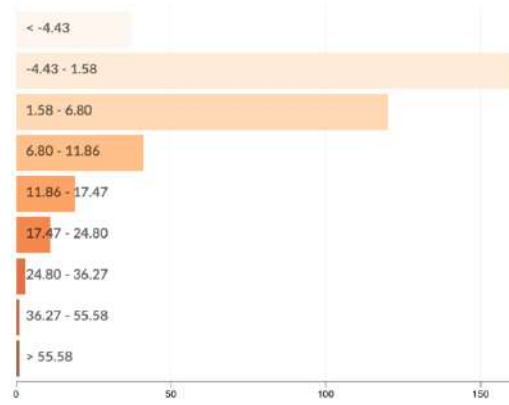
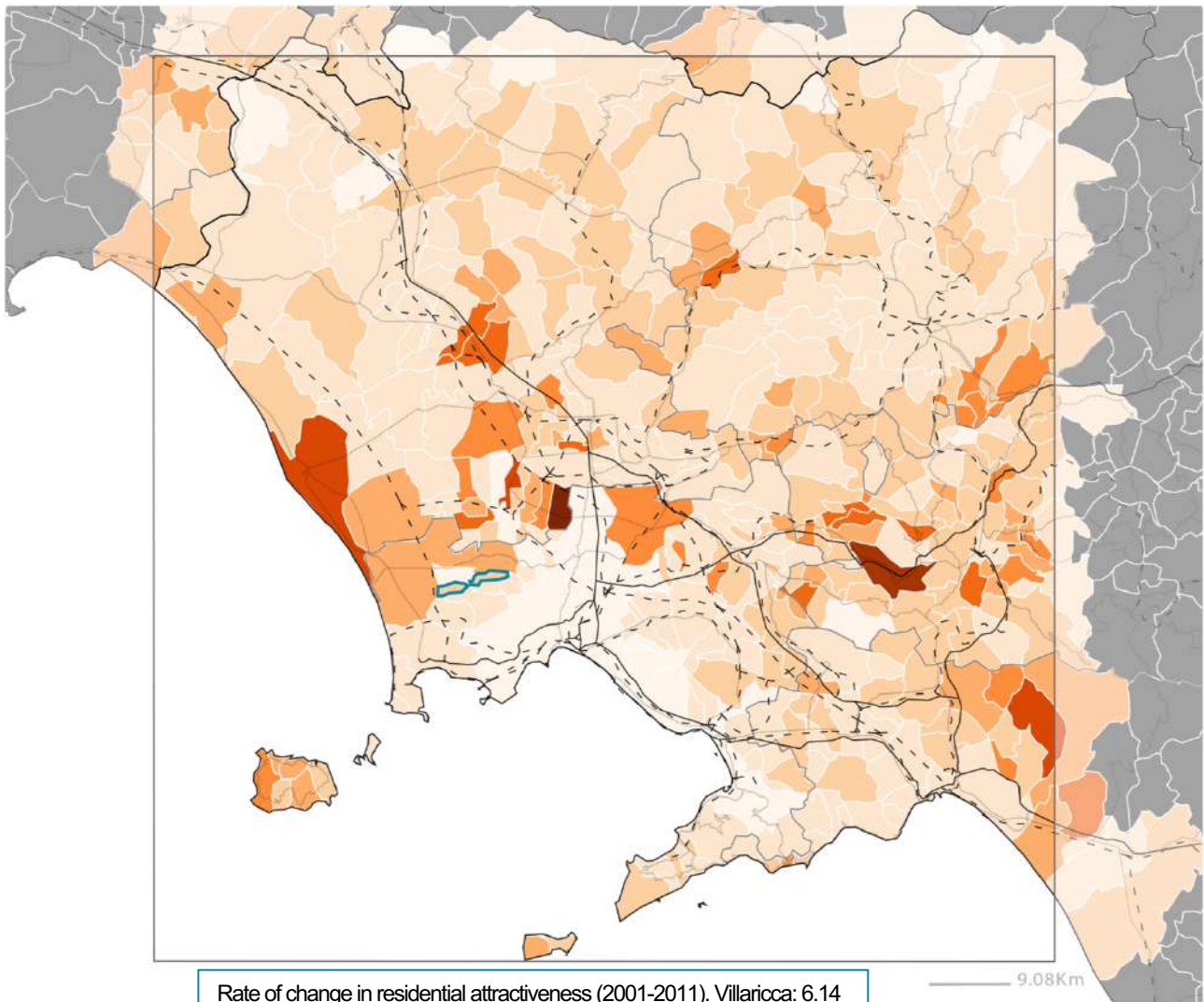


Figure 55. Rate of change in residential attractiveness in Villaricca (2001-2011).
Source: *Atlante Post-Metropolis*

Note: The rate represents the net migration over a decade each 100 residents at the year 2001. It has been calculated through the sum-up of nets migrations per year from 2002 to 2011 (i.e. by observing the subscriptions and deletions on municipal master data due to the effective change of address) divided for number of residents in 2001 and multiplied by 100.

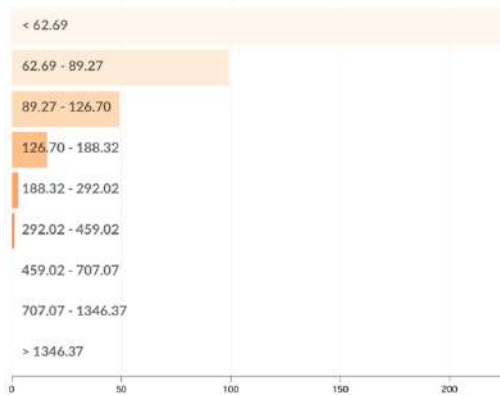
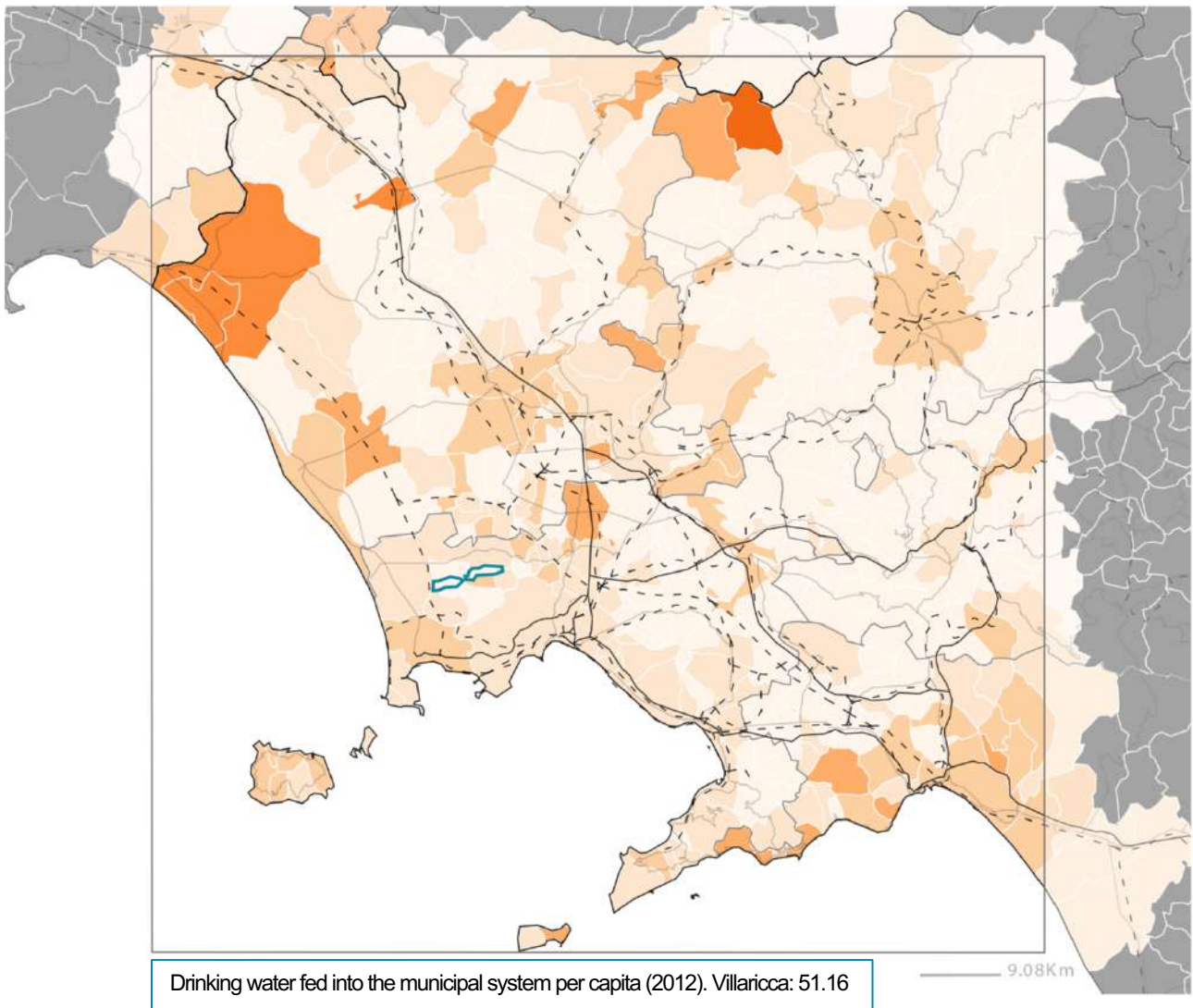


Figure 56. Drinking water fed into the municipal grid system per capita in Villaricca (2012).

Source: *Atlante* Post-Metropolis based on ISTAT, census of drinking water for residential use. Measurement unit: cubic meters per inhabitant every year.

Macro-category	Selected indicators	Year	Source	Measure Unit	Villaricca
	Ten-year average rate of change in resident population	1991-2011	ISTAT	%	16,6
	Rate of young couples with children	2011	PRIN PM	%	12,5
	Unemployment rate	2011	ISTAT	%	28,1
	Youth unemployment rate (age 15-24)	2011	ISTAT	%	63,7
	Rate of NEET (age 15-29)	2011	ISTAT	%	23
	Rate of families in a potential economic hardship	2011	ISTAT	%	11,8
	Rate of elders alone	2011	ISTAT	%	17
Socio-economic conditions	Gini index	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,212
	Percentage variation of average price in housing purchase	2007-2012	OMI	€/sqm/month	-7,9
	Variation of dwellings	1991-2011	PRIN PM	%	65
	Building expansion index in residential areas over a decade	2011	ISTAT	%	9,5
	Rate of residential attractiveness	2001-2011	PRIN PM	Index	6,1
	Housing exclusion index (rate of inappropriate dwellings)	2011	ISTAT	Index	0,1
	Variation of anthropized land	2000-2006	PRIN PM	%	0
	Private mobility (use of private vehicle)	2011	ISTAT	%	62,5
	EG - Edge Density (index of urban landscape splintering)	2015	ISPRA	m/sqm	177,5
	Land consumption per capita	2015	ISPRA	sqm/inhab.	110,7
	Mobility index (commuting for employment purposes)	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,81
	Self-containment index (internal commuting for employment)	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,21
	Public transportation use	2011	ISTAT	%	11,3
	Index of accessibility to railway stations	2014	PRIN PM	Classes (0-4)	4
	Index of accessibility to urban nodes through roads	2014	PRIN PM	Classes (0-4)	3
	Economic dynamism index	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	-0,38
	Rate of public authorities' dynamism	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,09
	Percentage of workers in companies APS and KIBS (ATECO sectors J, K and M) on the total amount of workers	2011	ISTAT	%	6,953
	Index of peripherality/centrality in services provision	2013	PRIN PM	Classes (0-5)	3
	Pharmacies per 10.000 inhabitants	2011	Health Minister	N. x 10.000 inh.	0,2
	Drinking water fed into the municipal grid system per capita	2012	PRIN PM	Cubic meter/inh. x year	51,16
	Percentage of waste separation (recycling)	2013	ISPRA	%	49,7
	Index of general infrastructural provision	2014	PRIN PM	Range value (0-1000)	5

Table 9. Reorganization of data according to five macro-categories identified by the author (Villaricca). Source: *Atlante* PRIN Post-Metropolis and Urban Index database

3. On field: discovering Villaricca and the northern urban edges of Naples

From December 2018 to May 2019, the qualitative investigation was developed in Villaricca to depict (sub)urbanities and suburbanisms of Comprensorio Giuglianese from the main governmental challenges of a specific fragment. Research activities have been organized in four field visits characterized by qualitative empirical activities between the northern periphery of Naples, where I lodged, in the so called Marianella neighbourhood, very close to Giugliano in Campania and Villaricca, where I spent days between arranged interviews and on-site observations. Field visits have been scheduled over a period that piled altogether eleven days of dense research activities.⁶⁸

As for the other two cases, the goal is to tackle the three main drivers of the contemporary “suburban investigation” invigorated by “Global Suburbanisms”: governance, land and infrastructure. Some premises for this specific case are necessary. First, contacting privileged informants from the local administration has been anything but simple. Many e-mails and phone calls to arrange interviews or meetings did not find any response. Second, as a consequence, the search for reasonable information about governance issues has fallen on experts of Comprensorio Giuglianese in broader terms, able to provide information about the main governmental programmes and projects, as well as tensions and weaknesses from Comprensorio, although not strictly involved in the local planning of welfare in Villaricca. For such reasons, a number of viewpoints from expertise are gathered in a collection of interviews to people involved in the government of the Comprensorio Giuglianese at different times and in different places (for e.g., former Aldermen or governors of Giugliano in Campania and Villaricca). As a consequence, the outcomes from fieldworks are also based on some insights from the Comprensorio as a whole. Yet, Villaricca is selected as a “suburban constellation” (Keil, 2013) of the urbanized hinterland of Naples, to lay down a baseline of the main forms and features, strengths and weaknesses, old planning difficulties and possible suburban futures in a historically stigmatized and fragile area.

3.1 Governance: welfare provision between old and new fragilities

The focus on the governance of local welfare stems from the fundamental goal of identifying how social services, as first, are organized and distributed within the municipality of Villaricca. Before moving to the contents of interviews, institutional documents and local municipal budgets, attention is devoted to the legislative framework of welfare provision, by addressing the regional and local application of principles established by the National Law 328/2000, i.e. the pillar of developing an “integrated system” of social services, made possible through the “Area Plan”. The Campania region promulgated the “Act of Enforcement” of Framework Law 328/2000 in 2007. The Regional Law 11/2007 – “Law for Dignity and Social Citizenship” – establishes principles, governmental actors on the vertical subsidiarity ladder (Region, Provinces, Municipalities and their institutional coordination) merged with the inclusion of Third Sector, and planning, coordination and implementation instruments for social policies in Campania Region. The large majority of economic resources dedicated to social policies come from the Region, as stated both by Maria Grazia di Tota, coordinator of the social policies office in Villaricca, and Francesco

⁶⁸ For the sequence of field visits, see Appendix A. For the list of interviews, see Appendix B.

Taglialatela, Deputy Mayor and Alderman for Urban Planning and Public Works in Marano di Napoli as well as former Mayor of Giugliano in Campania between 2003 and 2008.

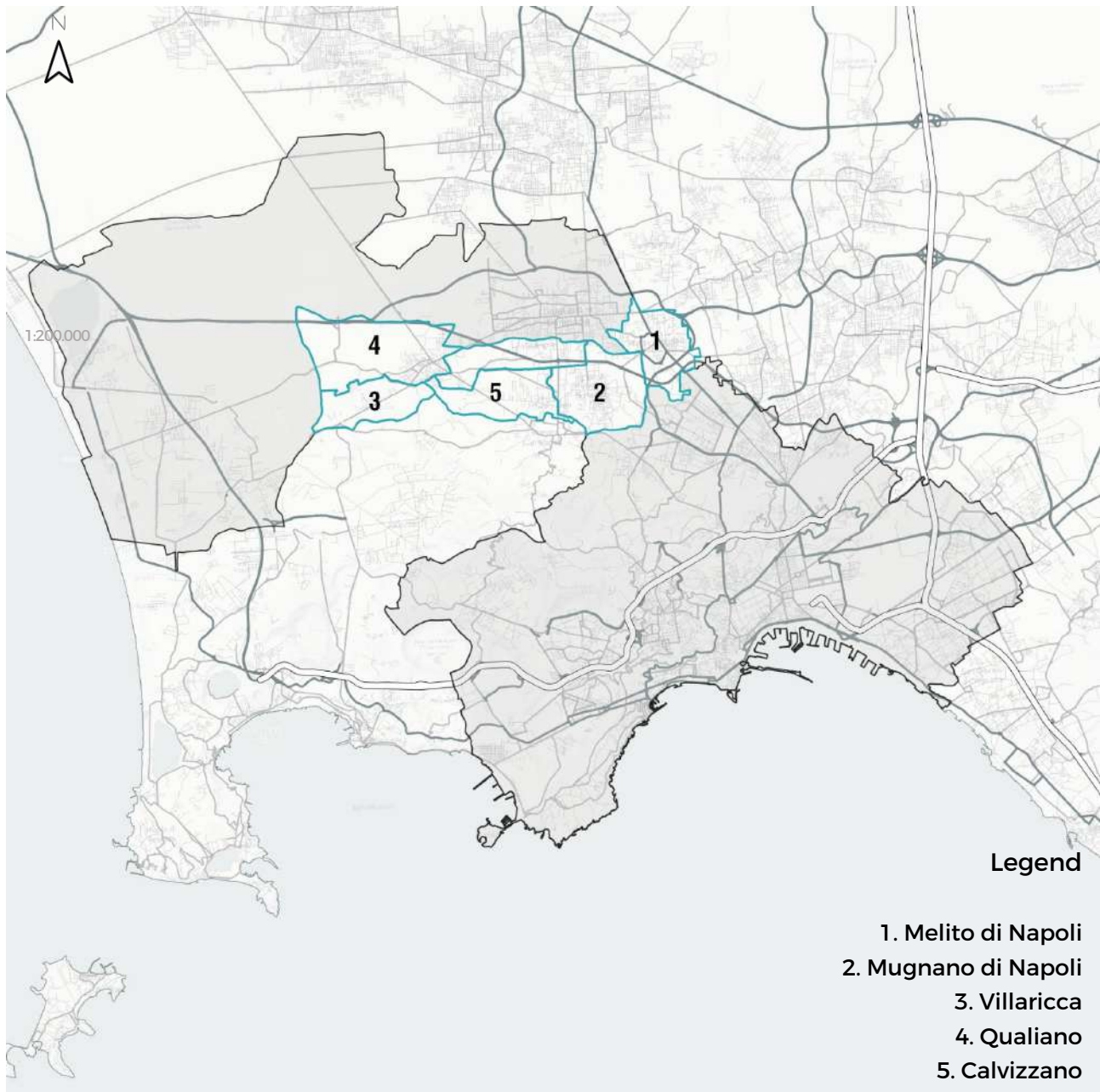


Figure 57. Location of the municipalities included within “Ambito Napoli 16”. Source: author

The regional organization of social services entail specific supra-municipal governmental units, i.e. the so-called *Ambito* (“scope” or “area”), according to contents of the Regional Law 11/2007. The municipality of Villaricca is located in the “Ambito Napoli 16” (henceforth N16), including also the front-runner town of Melito di Napoli, Mugnano di Napoli, Qualiano and Calvizzano [see Fig. 57]. By aggregating inhabitants of all the municipalities, the area of “Ambito N16” is inhabited by 141.786 people, where Melito di Napoli, encapsulated between the historical centre of Giugliano in Campania and the Naples’ periphery of Scampia, is the most populated (37.836 inhabitants, based on ISTAT 2017) hence selected as front-runner for such reason. Although the Ambito N16 organizes social policies by transposing regional funds, it faces some key deficiencies, such as the weak planning activity displayed

by the responsible office, i.e. the *Ufficio di Piano*, which is entailed by the National Law 328/2000. Indeed, despite the presence of a coordinator who resigned her role on May 2019, no contacts or interviews with civil servants from the *Ufficio di Piano* have been possible. The difficult governance and planning conditions faced by *Ufficio di Piano* raise a first friction between old and new fragilities. Due to the lack of an overall Memorandum of Understanding (*Protocollo d'Intesa*) between the municipalities in 2013-2014, a receivership has affected the whole Ambito N16. Today, due to the lack of public economic resources, *Ufficio di Piano* outsources the organization of several services to the third sector. A general inefficiency of public services is something taken for granted by inhabitants, according to what stated by Giovanni Granata, former Alderman for Social Policies of Villaricca at various times and Andrea Morniroli, former Alderman for Social Policies in Giugliano (2003-2008). This issue implies a step back before moving to the specific contents of the governance of social services in Villaricca.

First, the organization of welfare services through specific scopes such as the “Ambiti” into a conurbation is an anything but simple task. As illustrated by Giovanni Granata through an example, in the interview, the construction of a public primary school in an area adjacent to the municipality of Giugliano respond to a user-base that includes both the population of Villaricca and Giugliano, although the administration is a responsibility of the city government of Villaricca. As a result – Granata maintains – in the massive conurbation of Comprensorio Giuglianese the rationale by “Ambiti” no longer works. Instead, a coordination may be preferable on the basis of a minimum shared compatibility of the intervention among municipality.

Second, the impacts of 2008 global crisis are visible on such municipalities after a decade. From 2007, both Francesco Tagliatela and Giovanni Granata argues, a sever decrease of public economic funding has resulted into a greater lack of economic resources in the hand of municipalities. As a result, insolvencies have affected many municipalities, including Villaricca. According to the Summary of Municipal Budget for the year 2016⁶⁹, the municipality registered a public debt of € 1.745.603, 41 whereas a Town Council resolution has certified what reported by the Court of Audit about the 2011-2016 period: the absence of an adequate public accounting and a failure to repay special-purpose incomes for approximately 7 million of euros⁷⁰. This contemporary scenario weighs on historical deficiencies in coping with social vulnerabilities and different forms of poverty. In this view, Andrea Morniroli states that key aspects of the financialization of welfare are more related on the expenditure, rather than on the investment for a better management of economic resources, and therefore in a context of persistent economic downsize, interventions to improve the administrative machinery for public utility are anything but easy to be developed. For what concerns the reason behind the public insolvency, Massimo Mallardo, former Alderman for Public Affairs (2006-2011) notices two issues: first, the fiscal evasion, as confirmed by data reporting that in 2016 the only 46,9% of inhabitants declared their income, and second, an over-indebtedness of mortgages acquired through the so-called *Cassa depositi e prestiti*.

Third, the lack of economic resources goes along with that of administrative personnel. Some numbers depicted from different interviews may be helpful in this regard. Francesco Tagliatela reports a big gap in Giugliano in Campania, an “edge city” where more than 130.000 inhabitants live and only 270 public servants are permanent staff in the local administration, thus making the administrative machinery very underpowered, also in view of the other two cases. Villaricca today counts only two

⁶⁹ General overview of expenditures in Municipal Budget (2016):

<http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/riepilogo%20spese%20per%20missioni.pdf>

⁷⁰ Town Council resolution n. 19, 18/05/2018: approval of the joint statement on the condition of insolvency, in accordance with art. 246 of the legislative decree 267/2000:

<http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/delibere/2018/consiglio/19.pdf>

public-funded social workers and two administrators of the service, but paradoxically it is almost the most equipped within Ambito N16, as Qualiano, for instance, has no public-based social workers at all. Insufficiencies in personnel are related to the economic downsize (which is much more unwieldy in these areas than in the Agro-Romano), and Third Sector is also facing an indiscriminately cutting funding.

These three elements of tension may be integrated by some other spatially-based aspects, such as the role of Camorra and of organized crime in the development of the built environment on the one hand, and the peculiarities of an heterogeneous urban fabric of the Giuglianese area, where locals families coexists with newer families who moved to the area after the Irpinia earthquake hence modifying the (sub)urban fabric of the towns of Comprensorio. These two spatial-based aspects play a pivotal role in understanding the overlapped old and new fragilities in welfare planning.

More specifically, with regard to the provision of social services, two pillars introduce the specific governance aspects within Villaricca. On one hand, the Regional Social Plan aims at disciplining the governance of social services provision on the local scale, whereas on other hand, Ambito N16 provides social services in view of the principles of the National Law 328/2000 and the regional Act of Enforcement, Law 11/2007. The Social Plan for the 2019-2021 period revolves around two main “strategic pillars” (Regione Campania, 2019): first, the integration with the National Social Plan 2018-2020, hence intercepting the financialization process from the national fund (the FNPS, *Fondo Nazionale per le Politiche Sociali*), and second, the governance integration with the National Plan for Poverty, based on economic supports to the low incomes or situations of poverty (such the former “inclusion income”, *REI*, and the current “citizenship income”). Such pillars shall be read in view of former Regional Social Plan, summed up in four key principles (Regione Campania, 2016): (1) development of an “Integrated Regional System”, to meet the “Area Social Plans” (*Piani di zona*); (2) integration with the system for socio-health programmes, disability and non self-sufficiency; (3) poverty and social inclusion, (4) “prevention and interruption of the vicious circle of social disadvantage”. Although these strategic pillars serve as guidelines established by law, key aspects for the governance and planning of social services at the local scale of welfare provision are situated in the regulation of Ambito N16, which disciplines the access to the integrated social and socio-health systems of services. More specifically, Art. 3 of the regulation introduces such services, resumed in Table 10.

In addition to this regulation, the health district of the area (n. 39, organized on a regional basis) also involves policy-making for the socio-health services, by gathering psychologists, immunologists, epidemiologists, gynecologists together with a monitoring services of fragile family units indicated by the judicial authority. Such features of socio-health planning reveal the strong governmental interplay with the health authority (ASL). The public budget documentation indicates an expenditure for “socio-health and social services” of € 236.819.92 for the year 2016 and € 227.944,43 in 2017. The importance of socio-health implementation enables to move towards the local scale of welfare governance in Villaricca, enriched by statements from Maria Grazia di Tota, responsible of the municipal office for social policies:

“Social services are today organized in Villaricca through the so-called SAT (*Servizio Assistenziale Territoriale*), envisaged by the Law 328/2000, and it foresees one social worker each 10.000 inhabitants. Today – as municipality – we participate to the financing of “Ufficio di Piano” with an amount of €7 per inhabitant, and we also organize on our local scale the following services: social antennae, services for people with disabilities, tackling poverty to families facing economic hardship, although we have few funds, and support in the access to the integrated system of services, also in view of the increasing digitalization. We mainly work through specific projects in the field of education and care, but especially, we have a strong collaboration with

magistracy for the identification of problematic situations in families with minors. Here, this effort is more visible than elsewhere” (Maria Grazia di Tota, February 20th, 2019).

Service typology	
1	Social secretariat and “social antennae”
2	Foster care system for custody and children adoption
3	Tackling poverty
4	Home care assistance and integrated home care for elders, minor youths and people with disabilities
5	Service for minors: transfer to residential or semi-residential structures (such as foster homes)
6	Service for elders: transfer to residential or semi-residential structures, or in authorized and accredited structures
7	Service for people with disabilities: transfer to residential authorized and accredited structures
8	Service for people with disabilities: transfer to semi-residential accredited structures
9	Service of public transport tailor-made for people with disabilities
10	School integration for children with disabilities
11	Assistance to minors accepted only by a single parent

Table 10. Services and interventions provided by “Ambito” N16. Source: Regulation of the Ambito N16

Drawing on these statements, the in-depth observation of economic resources dedicated to social policies discloses some peculiarities affected by a general downsize. According to the documentation of public budget, the field of social policies (i.e. the budget item *Missione 12 – Diritti sociali, politiche sociali e famiglia*), the final cash flow forecasts for the year 2016 amounted € 8.934.014,97, whereas for the year 2017 it increased to € 10.232.957,12⁷¹. However, for the multiannual budget (2017-2019) the estimated amount dedicated to social policies sees a significant reduction: from € 6.0550.428,95 for the year 2017 (such amount is different from the abovementioned fixed forecast) to the € 2.115.218,42 for the year 2018, until € 1.072.218,42 for the year 2019. Such downsize is due to the situation of public insolvency currently faced by the municipality (as certified by the amount of € 1.745.603,41 of public debt in 2016). In a context where – Di Tota argues – the funding of planning activity by “Ufficio di Piano” is funded by the Region (with a cost of approximately € 700.000. per year). Nonetheless, shortages and lack of collaborative activities with the single municipalities has constantly slowed down any attempt of improvement. An in-depth observation on single welfare services may disclose more contextual features of the numerous fragilities, from both the economic side, in terms of funding, and the social side, in terms of meeting citizens’ needs and demands. Starting with the governance of education infrastructures, in Villaricca two nurseries, two primary schools, two lower secondary schools and three high school are settled. The documentation of public budget reports an investment of € 252.749,30 (year 2016) strictly for early childcare, nurseries and – in general – interventions for minors. In particular, over the last two decades, improvements for the education came from PONs (*Programma Operativi Nazionali*, i.e. national programmes financed by MIUR, the Minister for Instruction, University and Research), targeted for Campania region. This contribution is visible through some signages affixed at the entrance of the lower secondary school “Ada Negri” located right at the border between Villaricca and Giugliano in Campania [see Figg. 58 and 59]. The principal of this school – Caterina Pennacchio – identifies key features affecting schooling:

⁷¹ Documentation of public budget (2017), estimated budget in accordance with the Legislative Decree n. 118/2011: <http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/entrate%20e%20spese.pdf>

“Public funding for education infrastructures is the main absence here and in the whole Southern Italy. Although there is no shortage of social cooperatives, education services in this area are not so fostered due to the lack of economic resources. [...] PON introduced a *new wave* of planning with the help of ESF (European Social Funds) that improved the former regional-based planning (POR), even though its goal of providing skilled tutors in the education systems is not always achieved. [...] The high presence of families in economic hardship and exposed to crime complicates the role of schools as *agents of socialization*⁷²” (Caterina Pennacchio, February 19th, 2019)

In this respect, Caterina Pennacchio acknowledges the increasing gap between family and schools and agencies of socialization in educating children. On the one hand, living in this area entail a longstanding clash with the organized crime that may play a catchy role on youths. On the other hand, poverty is a feature affecting many families of the area, and if intertwined with the economic downsize faced by education infrastructures, the consequence is a widespread condition of vulnerability that weaken the key role of families and schools as “socialization agents” in the area. Such condition calls for a strong collaboration between the administrators and the magistracy in tackling the insecurity of minors in problematic families mentioned by Maria Grazia di Tota. Moving to other pillars of local welfare provision, the field of social services to support families experiences a number of specificities where rather than inequalities, poverty and vulnerabilities are the prominent aspects. In this respect, a comment of Andrea Morniroli, former Alderman for Social Policies in Giugliano (2003-2008) is entirely representative:

“When I was Alderman, 60% to 70% of inhabitants were used to contact me in search of a job, *‘a fatica*, rather than for specific social issues, because I noticed that citizens were not used to take action and foster inclusion. [...] In the face of 584 families in economic difficulties, I provided a € 350 of contribution to 95 families, hence hampering the shift of children to foster homes, and reinvigorating a bit the family unit. Vulnerabilities raise from such fragilities, and the term welfare must be intended as a pathway to be constructed coping with these fragilities, rather than the mere outcome” (Andrea Morniroli, February 23rd, 2019)

⁷² The notion of “agency for socialization” comes from the famed work of the sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966) who frame family and school amongst the main “agents” building the socialization processes the determine human beings.



Figures 58-59. Signages of PON and European funding at the entrance of the lower secondary school “Ada Negri” [58] and the street where the school is located, dividing Villaricca and Giugliano [59]. Source: author

In general, the support to families is not particularly provided through home-based services, but rather it works for an activation of citizens on the territory through specific programmes such as “Social Antennae”, laid down in the regulations, or services like the SAT (*Servizio Assistenziale Territoriale*), as well as supports to the income, ruled by the Law 2/2004. Financial supports to family are today based on few extraordinary municipal actions for very critical cases, whereas the majority of services is entrenched in the national programmes, i.e. the former REI (inclusion income), required by 1500 families in Villaricca as stated by Di Tota, and the just launched “citizenship income” programme. Beyond socio-health services, education and pathways to tackle poverty, no other particular policies or programmes are at the fore in the governance of welfare services. At a time of insolvency, the lack of economic resources and personnel slow down any possible innovation, hence leaving many families in a condition of widespread deprivation, despite the presence of cooperative and citizens involved in the search of solutions for integrating the weak public provision of welfare services. In this view, Francesco Tagliatela notices the fragility of “Ambito” as supra-municipal entity, by also enhancing the need of a stronger Regional role,

whereas Giovanni Granata sees fragilities in the application of “Area Plan”, considered too weak to address the complexities of social demands within the Ambito N16. For information, Table 11 summarizes the amounts dedicated to each sub-category of the budget item *Missione 12 – Diritti sociali, politiche sociali e famiglia*, retrieved from the Documentation of public budget.

Governance actions from “Mission 12”	Fixed cash flow forecast [€]	
	2016	2017
Actions for childhood, minors and nurseries	252.749,30	235.315,89
Actions for people with disabilities	993.253,73	1.344.945,25
Actions for elders	48.790,70	33.500,00
Actions for people vulnerable to social exclusion	79.360,27	83.743,69
Actions for the right to housing	2.734,00	4.836,90
Actions for the network of socio-health and social services	236.819,92	227.944,43
Cooperation and associationism	1.005.349,80	2.001.323,53
Cemetery services	6.314.957,25	6.203.347,43
Total “Mission 12 – Social rights, social policies and families”	8.934.014,97	10.232.957,12

Table 11. Summary of the public expenditures per actions in the field of social policies, Municipality of Villaricca. Source: Public Budget of Villaricca (2017)

Completed by these numbers, these pages addressed the difficulties faced by local administrators for the provision of social services in a context of widespread poverty. Indeed, many typologies of poverty affects Naples and the whole Campania region, where – according to an ISTAT investigation carried out in 2006 – one third of the population was poor or placed at the risk of poverty. Moreover, in Naples individual poverties raised from the effects of the global crisis add on on longstanding vulnerabilities and poverty which prevents any process of social mobility (Morlicchio & Morniroli, 2013), hence legitimizing a condition of provision hampered by the coexistence of old and new fragilities at the North-Western edges of Naples. In this condition, the frame of local welfare as a process aimed also at rationalizing the expenditure envisaged by Andrea Morniroli is anything but easy to foster. Nevertheless, besides these areas of governance and planning, the field of housing play a key role in Villaricca in the densified and congested in Comprensorio Giuglianese. As housing issues involve a longstanding legacy of the development of such territory, they are here related to the investigations on “land” in shaping suburbanisms.

3.2 Land: wandering through the conurbation

Which are the features of the built environment in the area where are investigating the governance of social policies? How can we develop some sort of understanding of the chaotic form of the built environment in the conurbation of the Comprensorio Guglianese? An excursus of the processes which led to the today conurbation may serve to develop an overall vision as well as to approach some general issues related to housing patterns. Particular attention dedicated to the ongoing urban planning programs, i.e. the preliminary version of the new PUC (*Piano Urbanistico Comunale*) may unfold fundamental features affecting suburbanisms in Villaricca.

By drawing an historical timeline, before the watershed of Irpinia earthquake the first steps of the urbanization appeared in the immediate Second post-war period due to the effort by the US Army settled

in Naples, who built a road to connect Qualiano, at that time a village outside of Naples, with the military basis in Lago Patria. The so-called *Strada degli Americani* or two-way road (see Marotta, 2009) has strongly determined the configuration of the Neapolitan metropolitan area, so much that an improvement proposal designed in 1955 was realized in 1970 to convoy the great growth of that era, until turning into the today *Circumvallazione Esterna di Napoli* (SP - Provincial Road 1). In 1980, the construction of the elevated highway *Asse Mediano* led to a road network connecting the area of the airport, the Naples Business Centre (*Centro Direzionale*) and the nodes to Vesuvian areas, to the transit networks in North-Western direction through the *Circumvallazione Esterna di Napoli*, which stretches right across the suburb of Villaricca [see Fig. 60]. As argued by Nicola Flora, the rise of this expressway brought to a forced need to redesign the spaces of Giuglianese area, although such process has never been governed:

“Neither the construction of *Circumvallazione* by the Americans nor that of the *Asse Mediano* by the Government have been democratically mediated by the municipalities of the area. Therefore, whilst Naples was already a thriving city since the Bourbons era, the development of Comprensorio started in the Second post-war in a such uneven way” (Nicola Flora, February 19th, 2019)

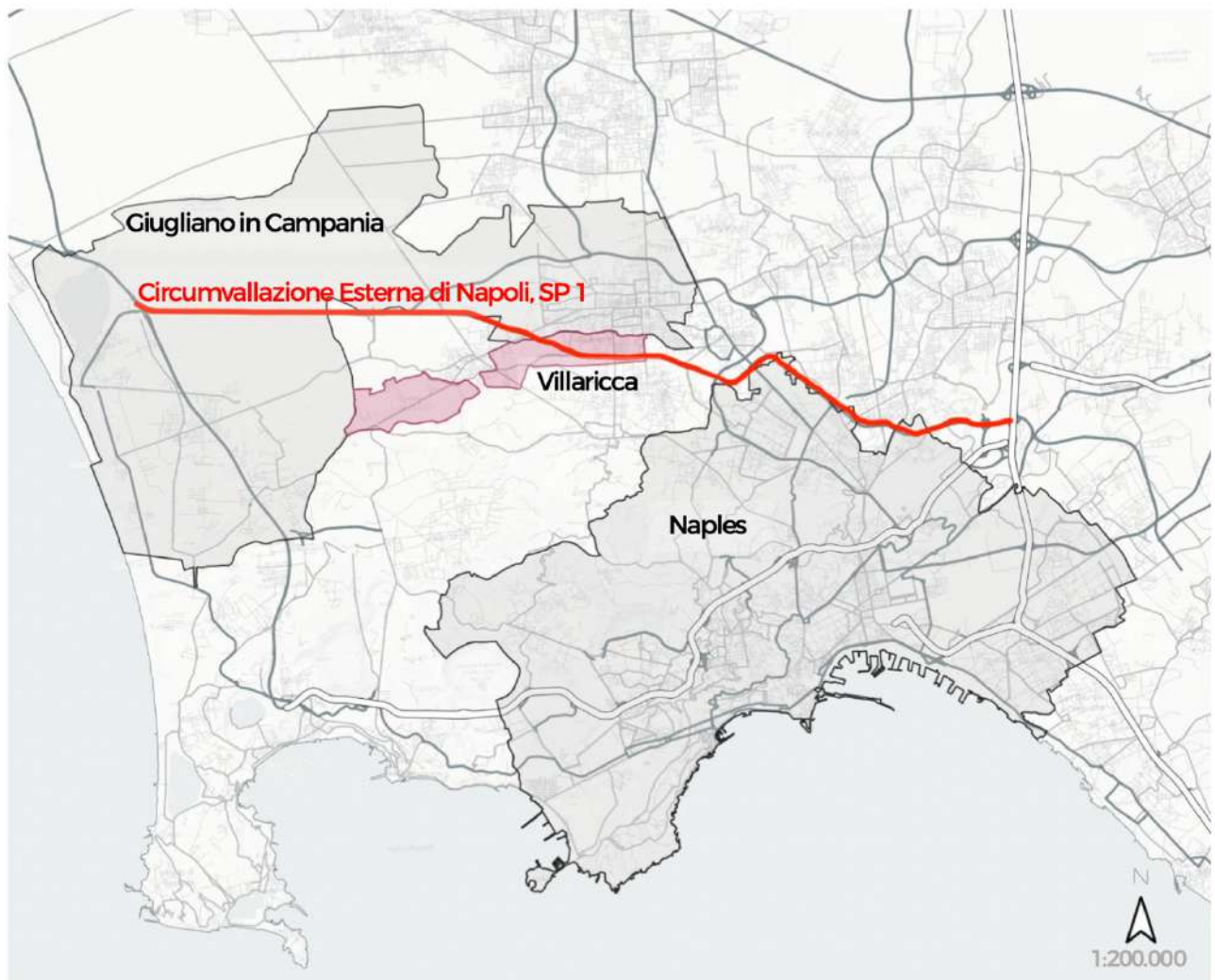


Figure 60. Route of “Circumvallazione Esterna di Napoli” SP 1 (*Strada degli Americani*, “two-way”). Source: author

The *Circumvallazione Esterna* is today considered the “market-road” (Indovina, 2009) passing through Villaricca where it is renamed as Corso Europa and where, albeit it serves as highway, a big number of

commercial activities are located. To give a highlight of this two-way road, Figures from 61 to 64 report some fragments. Along this key transit road, since the 1980s the conurbation began to take shape also as a consequence of the Irpinia earthquake who forced a fast buildings construction for new dwellers. At that time, as highlighted by Tagliatela, the splintering of landholdings led to a reorganization of land properties which has not been accompanied by governmental strategies to provide adequate infrastructures. During that decade, the first municipal Masterplans (*PRG, Piano Regolatore Generale*) for the towns of the areas were disciplined by the Regional Law 14/1982⁷³, aimed at bridging deficiencies in the local administrations when facing the urban expansion, as the majority has not provided a reasonable normative framework to go with the growth of the area.

Since 1990s onwards the consolidation of the hinterland urbanized which reshaped Giugliano in Campania as the third city of Campania Region in terms of population and its surroundings as satellites of such “suburban core”. Indeed, until 1980s Villaricca was a small rural town. In this uneven scenario of suburbanization, housing has been at the forefront already since late 1970s, when Camorra began to focus its business also in the real estate, as stated by Nicola Flora. Although a specific Plan for basic services took place slowly, housing is a local welfare issues that interested Villaricca even before the Irpinia earthquake, when the *Strada degli Americani* paved the way for concreting the Giuglianese land.

⁷³ Regional Law n. 14, March 20th, 1982, Indirizzi programmatici e direttive fondamentali relative all' esercizio delle funzioni delegate in materia di urbanistica. This has been a key Law for the urbanization of Campania Region during the 1980s.



Figures 61-64. Images from Corso Europa, *Circumvallazione Esterna di Napoli*, the “two-way” market road of Villaricca and its main transit infrastructure. Source: author

Housing is a key feature for land observations in Villaricca, as it strongly determines both suburbanisms and the use of public spaces. First, by drawing on the aforementioned role of Camorra, comments from Francesco Tagliatela and Giovanni Granata shed light on how housing development proceeded during the decades of expansion, since 1970s onwards:

“Unauthorized construction raised numerous, also with the influence of Camorra in the supply of. Building materials, but above all, the lack of governmental management caused an uneven expansion of the built environment in an area initially planned mainly for agricultural uses, as demonstrated by the 1985’s Masterplan of Giugliano, which envisaged an only 25-30% of land available for construction” (Francesco Tagliatela, December 17th, 2018)

“The agricultural tradition of the area has changed on behalf of other businesses: building construction, which launched new craftsmanship in the area. I call this process *syndrome of anodized aluminium*, which is a key material to produce doors and windows. Besides, unauthorized construction saw a great development due to the inadequacy of 1980s PRG to face the expansion of the conurbation. To make the concept clear, in Giugliano, 40.000 dwellings and rooms are unauthorized, whereas in Qualiano, which is much smaller, they are approximately 30.000” (Giovanni Granata, June 3rd, 2019).

To frame more adequately this context of housing s-regulation (Donolo, 2001) a specific attention may be initially devoted to the forms of built environment in view of the typical configuration of public spaces, where uses of public spaces and streets are nuanced:

“In the historical centre of Villaricca – which by the way was completely abandoned until early 2000s – there are no sidewalks, because here the *lucarielli* (i.e. the typical courtyards) are seen as a continuity of the streets and they form the public space as a whole, lived without any separation. This is a legacy from the Ancient Greece form of the city. Nevertheless, this use has then resulted into a complete carelessness for public spaces and their infrastructures. People here do not take care of streets due to their publicness, rather they fully live and animate their home, developed in many different typologies” (Nicola Flora, February 19th, 2019)

These physical features reported by Flora are visible in Figures 65 and 66, depicted from the core of historical city centre, although a lack of public urban standard facilities, such as sidewalks and well-paved streets, characterize almost the whole town.



Figures 65 and 66. Absence of sidewalks in the public spaces of Villaricca town centre [65] and reduced dimension which makes sidewalk non-walkable [66]. Source: author

The heterogeneity of housing typologies is influenced by such s-regulation noticeable in public spaces. To integrate the evidences of a widespread diffusion of unauthorized constructions, an overview of the main building typologies helps in unfolding suburbanisms of the Giuglianese conurbation. The document to address such uneven heterogeneity of housing typologies in Villaricca is the *Preliminare di Piano* (preliminary draft of the municipal Masterplan) foreseen by a regional Regulation for the territorial government⁷⁴ to develop the new PUC (*Piano Urbanistico Comunale*, i.e. the Masterplan), which will be further examined afterwards. Amongst the documents of this preliminary plan, the one dedicated to the identification of building typologies is helpful to identify the most common typologies [see Fig. 67], i.e. (1) the single low-quality buildings, with usually no more than two floors, remarking a self-led low-quality (sub)urbanization characterized by a diversity of patterns and styles [see Figg. 68 and 69], and (2) the “private” residential estates, called *parchi* (parks), typical in the whole Neapolitan urban area. Moreover, the most recent public housing estates, located mostly in Via Napoli, close to the historical city centre, complete the identification of remarkable idealtypes of building typologies in Villaricca. In particular,

⁷⁴ Regulation 5/2011 by Campania Region for the territorial government:
http://www.sito.regione.campania.it/regolamenti/regolamento05_2011.pdf

parco urbano, is a very spread solution of fenced and private low-density apartments, accessible during the latest decades of expansion by the middle-class who left Naples after the 1980's earthquake but had no economic resources to build their own single-family house. By providing more privacy thanks to fences, today the *parco urbano* may be seen as the place of the new middle-class of Compensorio, and in Villaricca they are manifold and diverse [see Figg. 70-73].

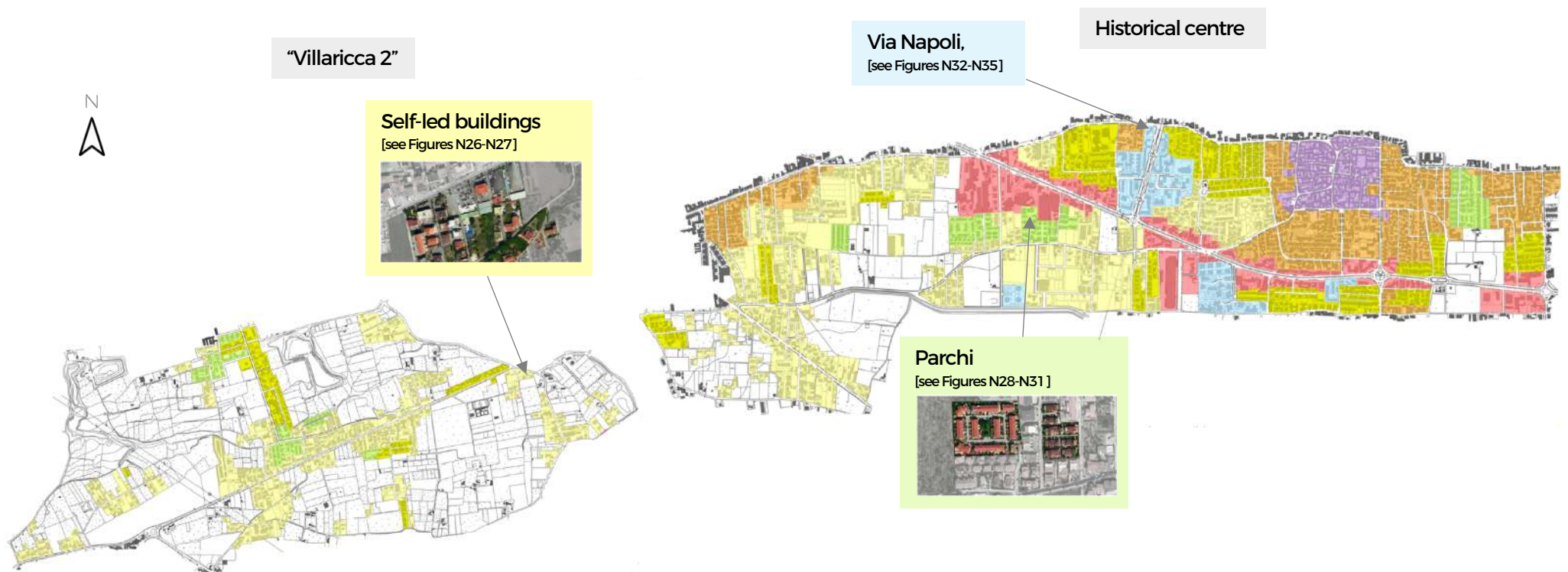


Figure 67. Building typologies of the urban fabric of Villaricca identified by the *Preliminare di Piano* of municipal Masterplan (Table 11: *Ricognizione morfologica dell'insediamento urbano*) with few additional information. Source: PUC, Preliminare di Piano (Comune di Villaricca, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II)



Figures 68 and 69. Evidences of self-led building expansion in medium-density typologies. Source: author



Figures 70-73. Patterns of *parco urbano*, both from the core of Villaricca [70 and 71] and “Villaricca 2” [72 and 73], the most recent settlement. Source: author

Although all the *parchi* of Villaricca have been visited during the fieldwork, the images illustrate only few of them. Besides, another remarkable issue, as stated earlier, concerns the field of public housing. Whilst the *parco urbano* has been settled to meeting the need of a safer place for the new middle-classes of the Comprensorio, and the self-led expansion of multi-families single houses for any social group was uneven and s-regulated, public housing in Villaricca saw some locally-based peculiarities, particularly referring to the watershed of the 1980s, as illustrated both by Giovanni Granata and Massimo Mallardo:

“The period of public housing guaranteed by IACP (*Istituto Autonomo Case Popolari*) from 1960s was disastrous here, as the rent at low-prices led to degradation, lack of care for the public spaces and late payments. Hence, families preferred the homeownership. Since 1980s, migrations from Naples – particularly of Italsider blue collars – led to new public housing in modern buildings settled in Via Napoli, by also providing that area with commercial activities and new schools, such as the Gianni Rodari primary school and subsequently the high school Cartesio” (Giovanni Granata, June 3rd, 2019)

“Public housing in Via Napoli is today managed with subsidizes as foreseen by the Area Plan. Buildings have been realized since 1980s by still observing the Law 167/1962 of national public housing. Luckily, this area presents several commercial activities at the ground floor, differently from other nearby areas, such as Scampia or Via Casacelle in Giugliano. Today, cooperatives play a key role in the management of Via Napoli houses” (Massimo Mallardo, May 21st, 2019)



Figures 74 and 75. Images of the public housing of Via Napoli in Villaricca and its public spaces. Source: author

Drawing on the statements by Giovanni Granata and Massimo Mallardo, Figures 74 and 75 show the mentioned buildings of Via Napoli, which is one of the few streets in Villaricca equipped with reasonable sidewalks and wider sections for cars. Indeed, other areas of public housing built with prefabricated buildings [see Fig. 76] and settled also in other suburbs of Naples, such as Mugnano, are much more deteriorated and poorly equipped in terms of facilities. Furthermore, in the face of the lack of public funding, the administration of Villaricca is attempting to develop modern residential solutions, such as a new social housing projects managed by social cooperatives and ruled by a targeted *PUA* (*Piano Urbanistico Attuativo*). The under-construction buildings are visible in Fig. 77, although no further information has been gathered about this ongoing project, due to the difficulties of getting in touch with the local administrators⁷⁵. Diversity and unevenness of the built environment are here stressed through the focus on housing, seen as a welfare governance aspect that strongly involve inquiries on land transformation in the process that urbanized the hinterland of Naples and, in particular, has modified the rural vocation of the Comprensorio Giuglianese into a context of increased suburbanization. In addition, to complete the analytical walking through the conurbation of Giugliano in Campania with the observation of Villaricca, the contents of the preliminary document of municipal Masterplan (PUC), have

⁷⁵ Institutional info about “Zona C2 – Social Housing”:

<http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/Procedimento%20Reitero%20vincoli/Relazione%20Preliminare%20e%20DS.pdf>

been discussed with Alessandro Sgobbo, one of the co-authors of the document, and may integrate the collected evidences.



Figures 76 and 77. Prefabricated public housing [76] and the “social housing area” under-construction [77].
Source: author

What suburban future for Villaricca? The new municipal Masterplan (PUC) at a glance

Many experts and privileged informants agree that the main reason slowing down the governance of welfare and public utility provision is the lack of a collective supra-municipal organization that integrate the agreements foreseen by law, such as the “Ambiti”. Villaricca saw a period of projects and vibrant infrastructural developments during the “phase of local welfare”, i.e. in the early 2000s, when the administration of mayor Raffaele “Lello” Topo achieved the construction of a new area for sport facilities, a garbage drop-off point – albeit affected by several difficulties – and new buildings for public institutions, such as the police station and the new ASL (regional health service) headquarter of “Napoli Nord”, located in the same plot. Alongside, a new version of the Masterplan was needed to redesign the s-regulated territory of Villaricca after the expansion occurred since 1980s. However, new planning solutions are today needed to cope with the complicated overlapping of old and new fragilities in the constellations of Comprensorio Giuglianese. The goal of discussing the main contents of the *Preliminare di Piano* for the new PUC (Municipal Masterplan) is to gain an overview of the possible future of such an increasingly urbanized context. What suburban future is going to face Villaricca and its population? In so doing, comments from Alessandro Sgobbo – academic professor and co-author of the *Preliminare di Piano*, may help in identifying the key points of the further planning proposals years after the Masterplan (PRG) drawn in 1987⁷⁶. First statements to be emphasized revolve around the economic downsize:

“Firstly, the administration has no money to be invested in urban planning. Giugliano in Campania, due to its large dimension, absorbs many resources, hence Villaricca is still a town developed along the *Circumvallazione* since the post-earthquake period, when it welcomed middle-classes that although maintaining a strong relationship with the urban core of Naples, have left the city contributing to the uneven development through

⁷⁶ PRG (Masterplan) of Villaricca: <http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/Relazione%20PRG.pdf>
Building code: <http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/Regol%20Edil%20Com.pdf> and Zoning: http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/PRG_Villaricca_1_5000_Zonizzazione.JPG

unauthorized constructions (usually single-family dwellings) and *parchi urbani*, a typical typology of the Neapolitan hinterland” (Alessandro Sgobbo, April 3rd, 2019)

In this scenario of low regulation, the preliminary document of the new PUC aims at fostering a collective discussion about the urban standards and the public provision of services, according to the morphological features of the suburb of Villaricca. Alessandro Sgobbo remarks some key proposals to be discussed for the forthcoming PUC: the pedestrianization of the historical centre and the changes along the Circumvallazione (renamed Corso Europa when crossing Villaricca), the main transit road that play a key role in the town and it cannot be seen only as an expressway. In addition, the riverbed of Camaldoli, in the southern part of the town, today acts as a landfill, a garbage dump, and its revitalization do not find the civil interest. The achievement of these goal is anything but easy. The unruled expansion of the towns of Comprensorio needs today new visions that face a long-standing condition of deprivation in terms of public facilities, as acknowledged by the great absence of adequate “urban standards” foreseen by law. The solution drawn by the *Preliminare di Piano* looks towards a process of densification, to transform the unevenly expanded built environment. Such process entails a complete redesign of the land subdivision established by the PRG of 1987. Ideally – Sgobbo maintains – new houses should be built also to pursue sustainability, but such transformation is today possible by meeting private actors. In this regard, the implementation of housing sector is a first step. Furthermore, Sgobbo notices how Villaricca today is inhabited by 30.000 people, and “its condition of small town today has changed into a small city, as it is more urbanized”⁷⁷

The forthcoming PUC, which has been discussed with a VAS (Strategic Environmental Evaluation) in late May 2019, is strongly focused on the built environment to improve the condition of Villaricca as an in-between suburb in the context of Comprensorio Giuglianese, which faces a number of other issues, such as the renovation of the coastline. In addition, any proposal of urban planning still faces the unwieldy presence of Camorra in the area, as well as the still existent illegal practice of burning piles of rubbish. The latest episode occurred on July 27th, 2019, in the area of Villaricca 2 [see section 4]. Although these illegal activities contributed in inventing the notion of *Terra dei Fuochi*, another key and unsolved problem is the massive inadequacy of garbage conferring, even from private citizens, and despite the presence of a waste drop-off point. This practice led to an overlapping of any kind of trash particularly along the main transit nodes, such as the Circumvallazione, and the ramp connecting it to the *Asse Perimetrale Melito-Scampia*. In general, *Preliminare di Piano* of the new PUC identified also the key problems in the provision of “urban facilities”, such as the lack of urban standards, in a town increasingly urbanized, where nevertheless the lifestyle are captured by specific spatially-based suburbanisms fully influenced by the idealtypical urban ways of living, but also shaped by the specificities of Comprensorio, an area that can be framed as a “suburban core” of the large urban region of Naples. To pursue such perspective through the focus on Villaricca, a specific attention is now devoted to the distribution of suburban infrastructures, by identifying the main local issues and the allocation of welfare services, as summoned in the introduction of the case studies [see chapter 4, section 3].

3.3 Infrastructures: disorder and possibility in Villaricca and the whole Comprensorio Giuglianese

In one of his most recent articles, Roger Keil calls for an approach to see suburbs as places of disorder and possibility (Keil, 2018), as life on global urban peripheries is changing rapidly into a set of post-suburban constellations that provides novel insights into the urban condition (*ibidem*). I perceive the

⁷⁷ Alessandro Sgobbo, interview, April 3rd 2019

duality of disorder and possibility as an inspiring perspective to observe the suburban constellations of Naples and, in particular, of the Comprensorio Giuglianeso. Investigations on governance of local welfare and land transformation have illustrated how the overlapping of old and new fragilities affects the vast majority of governing and planning pathways to meet social needs and to provide an adequate provision of welfare services. In this respect, disorder and possibility comes as helpful terminologies to frame the suburban future envisioned by the PUC. However, such commitment needs to face suburbanisms by seeking governance organizations and solutions that escape from the nevertheless necessary urban planning. As clearly stated by Nicola Flora⁷⁸, today street and public spaces face a collective lack of interest, and what is needed would be a watershed, a Copernican change that cannot be implemented solely through masterplan and urban planning intervention. This intervention may be read as a provocation to observe Villaricca as a suburb of disorder and possibility, moving from a first “imagining” of a suburban fabric determined by suburbanisms itself, and as a territory where possible transformative changes both in the way of coping with the provision of public utility and adequate infrastructures for such supply can be step by step initiated, by also facing longstanding fragilities and difficulties. Such research perspective echoes a key statement pointed out by Andrea Mornioli:

“welfare is not a final outcome, but rather it is a pathway, it entails construction of solutions according to the place-based variables, and any pathway of welfare may never forget the latest (*gli ultimi*) the poorest citizens who have no resources at all, also in the accessibility to a specific service” (Andrea Mornioli, February 23rd, 2019)

By drawing on the subdivision posited by Addie (2016) into hard and soft infrastructures, The focus on suburban infrastructures predominantly addresses the hard side, to capture the spatial distribution of the main welfare services as targeted in the introduction of the three cases [see section 4.3]. Moreover, before summing-up the main “welfare urgencies”, this last section aims also at addressing a key issue related to the field of suburban infrastructures which has not been involved in the previous inquiries. The role of public transport is crucial in the whole Comprensorio Giuglianeso. In a nutshell, it is not enough extended in the area of Comprensorio, where the predominant way of moving is guaranteed by the private transport, thus the car. Not by chance, any attempt to ameliorate the infrastructural network for transport devoted its attention to the development of road systems, such as the Asse Mediano, as a way to integrate the expressway role played by the Circumvallazione Esterna di Napoli. In this frame, transit networks are affected by many deficiencies.

“There was a proposal of a light tram-rail to connect the Comprensorio and Scampia but with no further implementations. The only public system crossing Villaricca through Corso Europa (the Circumvallazione) is guaranteed by EAV (*Ente Autonomo Volturno*) company with buses, but the service is very limited due to the irregularity of timetables, the low comfort and the lack of maintenance” (Alessandro Sgobbo, April 3rd, 2019)

“There is a service of shuttle-buses connecting Villaricca to Scampia-Piscinola, terminus of MetroNapoli, and Quarto, a station of the Cumana railway. Actually, Villaricca 2 should benefit more from such service” (Giovanni Granata, June 3rd, 2019)

In a context of strong automobile-dependency, there are nevertheless some key points to be fixed. The terminus of MetroNapoli, i.e. the stop Scampia-Piscinola, is settled in the most stigmatized urban

⁷⁸ Nicola Flora, interview, February 19th, 2019

periphery of Italy, the reign of Camorra. I remind some narrations from media that described it as the place where the hell begins. To the contrary, this metro station embeds my insistency of northern suburban Naples as place of disorder and possibility. Scampia-Piscinola is a key hub in the transit system at the northern urban edges of Naples, as it connects MetroNapoli to another subway line, the MetroCampania NordEst, also known as *Linea Arcobaleno* (rainbow line) due to the pigmentation of the five stations in five different colors. As illustrated in Fig. 78, the line connects Piscinola-Scampia, i.e. the northern urban periphery of Naples, with Aversa, engulfed into the urban region of Naples but involved in the province of Caserta. This is the only inter-provincial subway in Italy, and it is aimed at connecting two cores, Naples and Aversa, which is by the way largely considered as the key hub of the area for youths' aggregation, much more than Giugliano, as remarked in the interviews by Leonardo Ciccarelli and Nicola Flora.

The subway line, 10,5 km-long, has been launched in 2005, it is managed by EAV, whereas ticketing is provided by the supra-municipal service called "Unico Campania". Proposal of extension until Santa Maria Capua a Vetere, close to Caserta, and to the Airport, beyond Scampia, as well as the stop of Melito, between Mugnano and Giugliano, are projects under construction. The used convoys are twelve old trains from the Metro A of Rome. The journey, personally experienced, takes 15 minutes from Piscinola-Scampia to Aversa. The service is provided until 11:30 pm. The closest station to Villaricca is that of Mugnano, which faces underuse and a complete abandonment of its spaces, as certified by Fig. 79 showing the main square of the entrance, where no facilities are provided (such as shop, a bar, a place where to buy tickets without ticket machines). MetroCampania NordEst, although generally underused (EAV data from 2015 counted 3.084.000 passengers in that year) due to the very low integration with surface transports in stations such as Mugnano and Giugliano, represents a key piece in the public transport system of the urban region of Naples, and the whole Campania region, towards o more integrated railway-based system (see Cascetta & Pagliara, 2008). For these reasons, this subway line may be seen as a key connector for further improvement in the public transport system, at least for the Comprensorio Giuglianese, where the stops of Giugliano, connected to the centre by municipally-based buses, and Mugnano, serves as hub, as well as Scampia-Piscinola in the context of the urban periphery of Naples. The focus on MetroCampania NordEst aims at acknowledging the potentialities of these urban edges as places of future governances for the public infrastructures amongst a context of fragilized disorders and deprivations and, also in the field of public transportation. Given these evidences, the

research attention moves to the suburban infrastructures as a whole, by identifying where welfare services are located.

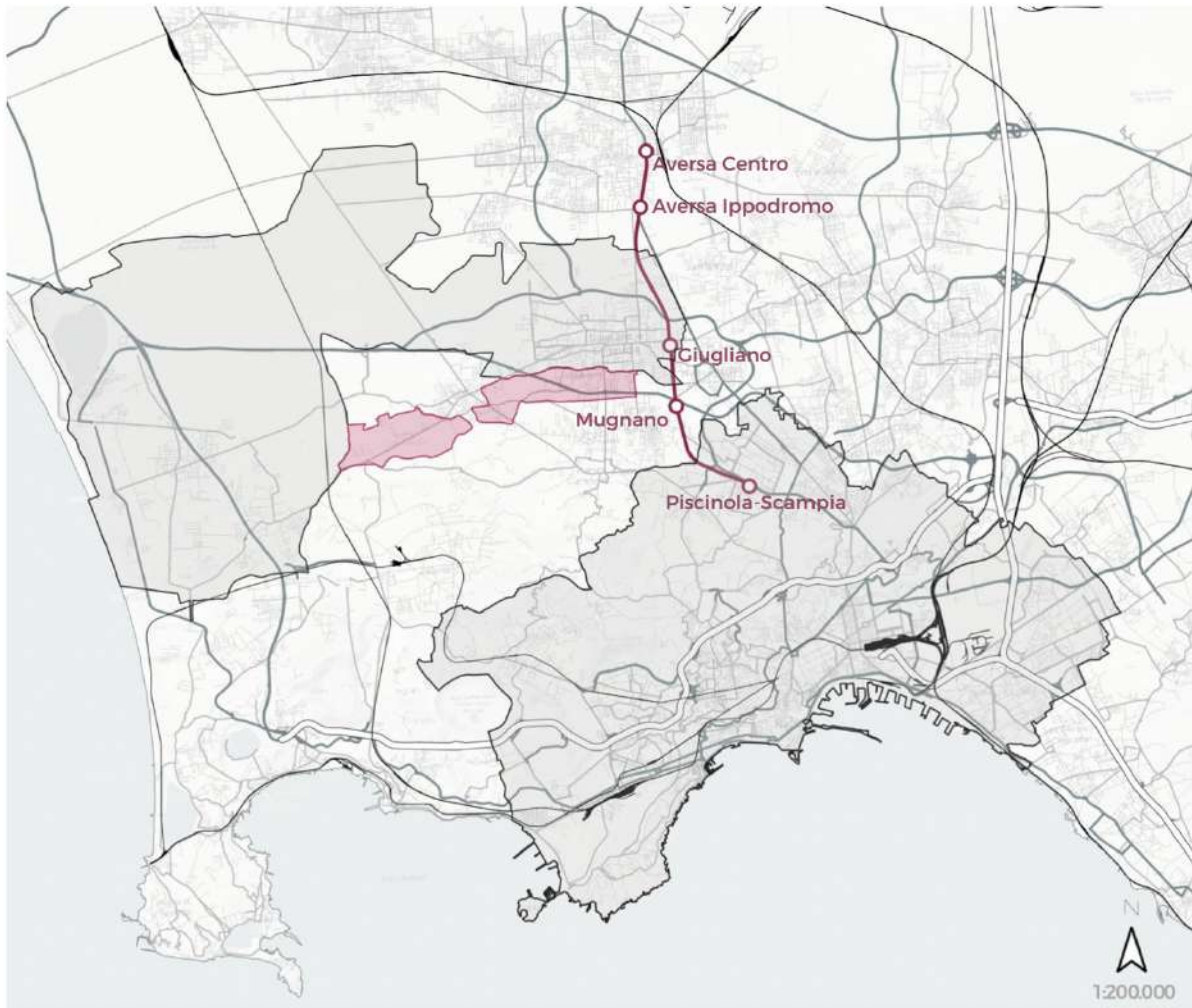


Figure 78. The path of MetroCampania NordEst. Source: author

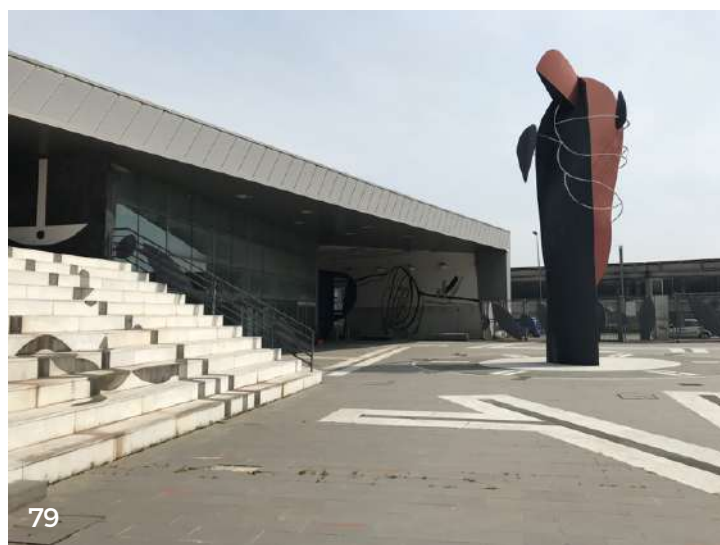


Figure 79. The square of the entrance of Mugnano station in April 2019, but new completely closed. Source: author

The spatial distribution of suburban infrastructures in Villaricca

This research frames infrastructures as a key feature determining suburbanisms and enabling the understanding of social demands by suburban fabric. This section presents a mapping activity aimed at providing the spatial distribution of suburban infrastructures on one hand, and the key issues, the narratives and the viewpoints raised by local administrators and experts of the governance of welfare in Villaricca and, more broadly, in the Comprensorio Giuglianese. Indeed, interviews in this case-study have been much more focused on the governance issues discussed with a number of experts, current and past administrators, whilst information from citizens have been collected in the interviews to Leonardo Ciccarelli, thus gathering fewer viewpoints from inhabitants in comparison, for instance with the context of the cases of Rome [see chapter 7]. Although the development of contacts and ties with local actors and administrators have been difficult, a number of useful information enable to resume, in a map, the distribution of welfare infrastructures in Villaricca. Such focus takes into account specific welfare services along the strand of what is actually and effectively needed by inhabitants and, from an administrative-institutional viewpoint, what deserves improvements through a more effective governance of a specific service. In this respect, suburban infrastructures in Villaricca have been depicted as follows, by identifying specific “basic” welfare services [see chapter 4, section 3]:

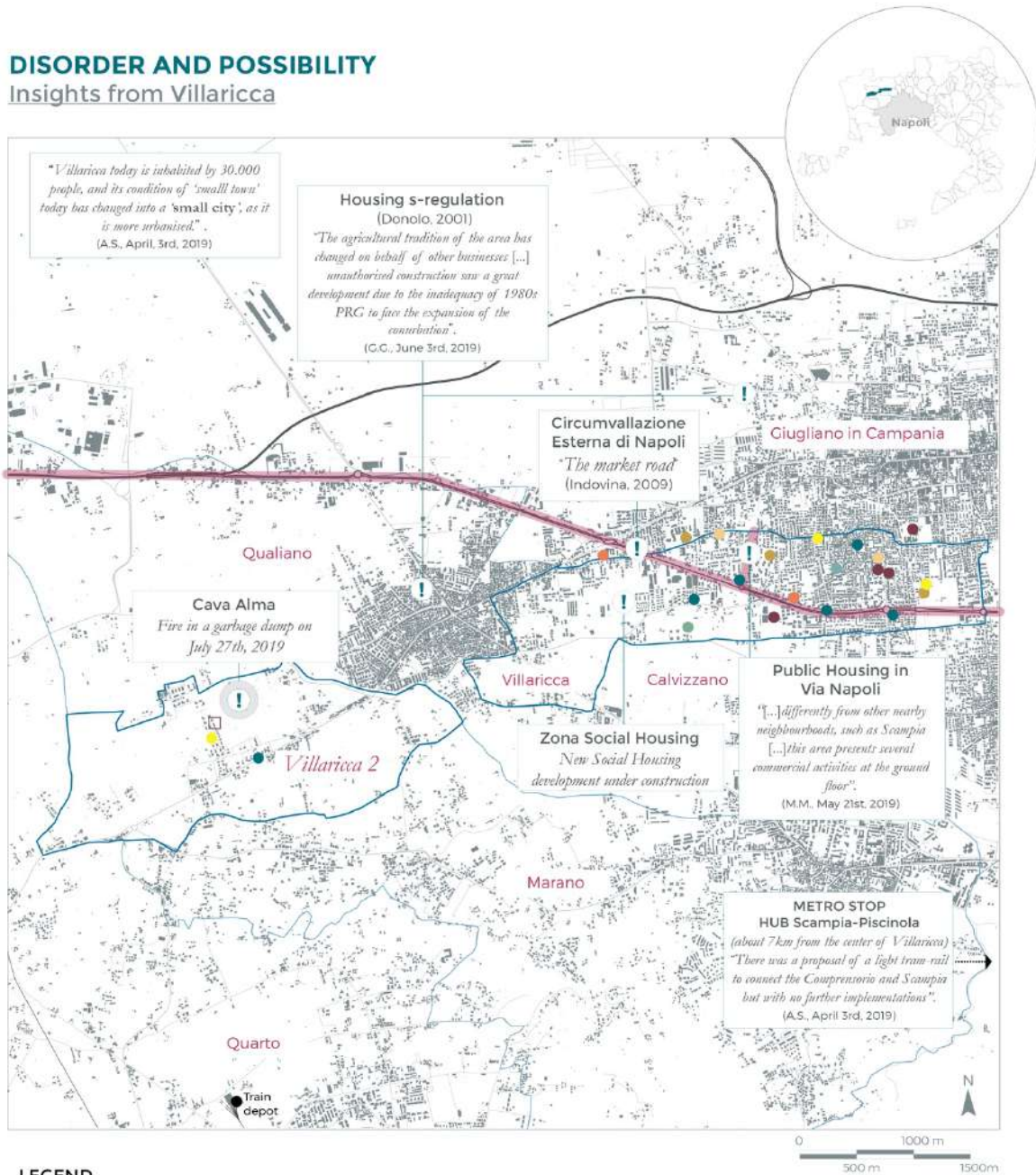
- Health services: infrastructures for medical services provided by the Regional public entity (ASL) as well as by private organizations. The hospital of Giugliano, located very close to Villaricca, has been included in the map.
- Education services: infrastructures deputed to early schooling, lower secondary and higher educations, as a high school is settled in Villaricca, whereas another high school is located right on the border.
- Social services: the focus involves municipal services to support families in need. Although the strictly considered social services are provided at the Town Hall, infrastructures that contrast poverty or economic hardship are identified here.
- Facilities: pharmacies (as they have been mentioned in section 2) and other activities or places that deserves a particular attention, if existent (such as public libraries, cultural centres, or other commercial activities). In this case, the only facilities beyond pharmacies are the public library, located in the same building of the social services office, and the sport centre.
- The site of the latest illegal burning occurred in late July 2019 [see section 4]. Although this is not an infrastructure, during the writing of this research, the burning came to the fore due to the damages caused at the air.

The outcomes of this subdivision are illustrated in Fig. 80. This interpretative map represents the conclusive step to sum-up the outcomes of the qualitative fieldwork. The first evidence from the map is the large gap between the historical core of Villaricca and the more recent settlement of Villaricca 2 in terms of welfare infrastructures. Indeed, many experts from the area acknowledge the condition of higher deprivation in the latter, as it has raised in a self-led typology that brought private houses as first, before services for public utility and basic urban infrastructures such as paved streets. For what concerns the education services, some school located right at the border between Giugliano in Campania and Villaricca have been included, albeit they belong to the former. This is the case of the high school “De Carlo”, located in Giugliano, differently from the branch of Cartesio high school, settled in the area of Via Napoli.

The morphology of a conurbation entails such exceptions. The map also reports the presence of the “San Giugliano” hospital of Giugliano in Campania, as it also right on the border between the urban core of Giugliano and its suburban constellation of Villaricca. This is a key health infrastructure for the whole area, although – as argued by Nicola Flora – for more problematic health situations, the big hospital complex of Naples “Antonio Cardarelli” is preferable. In addition, the presence of the ASL headquarter Napoli 2 Nord in Villaricca lays down a blueprint for how the local and regional administrators attempted over the last years to localize welfare services through socio-health programmes and in particular with the establishment of new clinics. However, the meeting of social demands is still difficult. In contrast to this, Fig. 80 unfolds the conventional municipal-based provision of services to families. According to the on-field observations, no other places for social services are existent beyond the municipal desk-services. Generally, the whole municipal area inhabited by 31.184 inhabitants looks poorly equipped in terms of infrastructures, hence corroborating the low publicness affecting this suburb.

DISORDER AND POSSIBILITY

Insights from Villaricca



LEGEND

Services

- Healthcare services
- Education services
- Nurseries
- Primary schools
- Lower secondary schools
- High schools

- ! Observations and references to the text
- Administrative borders

- Social services

Facilities

- Pharmacies
- Cultural facilities
- Sport facilities

Transit Infrastructures

- Key roads
- Railway lines
- Stations

Sources

Empirical observations:
www.comune.villaricca.na.it
www.datipopen.it/it/opensdata/Farmacie;
GoogleMaps.

Figure 80. Spatial distribution of social infrastructures in Villaricca. Source: author

Differently from the contexts at the edge of Rome [see chapter 7], in Villaricca water provision is not a key problem. The municipality positioned three clear water dispensers (both still and sparkling): one is located in Via Napoli, whereas the other two are settled in the only equipped green lungs of the town: the municipal park of Villaricca (*Parvo Urbano Camaldoli Sud*) launched in October 2013 at Corso Italia, the street connecting Villaricca to Qualiano and Villaricca 2, and the *Villa Comunale*, in the historical core. Moreover, as stated by Massimo Mallardo, the water pipelines of Villaricca supplied also the town of Calvizzano in the past. With regard to the green areas, albeit not included in the interpretative maps, they are two fully equipped areas with playgrounds, but they represent the only green spaces in a massively urbanized context. A mere perception denotes a deprivation of green spaces. However, some other key contextual features influence much more suburbanisms in Villaricca. In this respect, cross-reference back with the contents of interviews carried out with experts of the whole area and not specifically of the only Villaricca (i.e. Francesco Tagliatela and Andrea Morniroli) lead to a comprehensive framework where Villaricca serves as a pilot to grasp some general issues affecting the whole Comprensorio Giuglianese, although this congruence does not imply any generalization.

4. Pattern of suburbanisms from Comprensorio Giuglianese: the case of Villaricca

The conclusion of this chapter identifies the so-called “welfare urgencies”, i.e. the main issues affecting the governance and planning of local welfare in Villaricca, intended within the broad understanding of this dissertation framework. The first section illustrated why researching on Naples and its urban regions entails a confrontation with a number of narratives and stigmatizations that may influence the research phase itself. Yet at the same time, the Neapolitan kaleidoscope (Laino, 2016) raises key issues that embed long-standing both national and southerner problems. The urban region of Naples presents a complexity that is also reproduced in the Comprensorio Giuglianese, an urban edge where Giugliano in Campania is the main core, with its own sub-narratives revolving around the notion of *Terra dei Fuochi*, the presence of Camorra, and the morphological condition of an increasingly urbanized hinterland, where the agricultural tradition has significantly changed over the last decades. As argued by Kastani and Schmid (2015), “the specific dealing with nature has created an area of tension between beauty and threat that is not given by nature in itself but is a result of the way urbanization is regulated. Illegality, and hence the widespread breaching of rules and regulations that allows for higher profits, has to be understood as a constituting element of the planning system of the Naples region” (Kastani & Schmid, 2015: 32). The first glance through data integrated the territorial overview of the area by introducing a fragile condition investigated with the fieldwork as much as possible.

Before identifying welfare urgencies, some additional features affecting suburban ways of living in Villaricca should be highlighted. As for the cases of Capena and Fiano Romano, today few of the inhabitants of Villaricca are locals. In 1970s – Giovanni Granata states – the town was inhabited by approximately 12.000 inhabitants. Today, when this sum exceeded 30.000 units, almost two people out of three are not native from Villaricca, thus leading to significative societal changes. Armando De Rosa, president of the organization Pro Loco Villaricca, aimed at promoting cultural activities in the territory, enhances such changes:

“Today the society is fragmented and few cohesive. “Pro Loco” (a conventional Italian organization for local development), for instance, has few collaborations with the current local administration, even due to the economic downsize. Moreover, the chaotic development led by the illicit brought ugly buildings, and hence uncared public spaces. I always supported an ancient idea dedicated particularly to the youths, of educating

the beauties, but here there are no beauties today. Pro Loco always worked to animate this territory, working on participation with a particular focus on religious events and activities. However, today we face a general laissez-faire condition that diminished these activation” (Armando De Rosa, May 21st, 2019)

This laissez-faire situation echoes the narrative of *Terra dei Fuochi*. In a context where any sort of garbage is abandoned on the borders of highways and transit roads, the burning of garbage piles is a long-standing unwieldy evidence that increased negative interpretations about this area. Acknowledging the continuous presence of such illegal activity is not a task of this dissertation, as the theme would request a different research framework. However, consequences of such burnings are extreme for the local populations, hence it may be framed as a key aspect affecting suburbanisms. During the writing of this chapter, in late July – as stated earlier – a burning broke out in the area of *Cava Alma*, very close to the settlements of Villaricca 2, where the school Italo Calvino is located. Medias and newspapers diffused the news by indicating also the complains from inhabitants, which suffered the unbreathable atmosphere for days⁷⁹. The effects of the burnings have been disastrous, although it is not something new for the population. Fig. 81 shows the considerable dimension of the area interested by the fire, whereas Figures 82 and 83 illustrates the supposedly toxic clouds raised from the burning.



Figure 81. “Cava Alma”, the area interested by the burning from above. Few acres far, the settlements of Villaricca 2 is visible. Source: Pippo ByCapri ©

⁷⁹ References from online newspapers and media about the burning at Cava Alma occurred on July 2019.
Internapoli: <https://internapoli.it/cava-alma/>
Fanpage (national online journal based in Naples): <https://napoli.fanpage.it/nube-tossica-su-villaricca-incendio-nella-discardica-di-cava-alma/>
Teleclub Italia: <https://www.teleclubitalia.it/172413/villaricca-brucia-cava-alma-vigili-del-fuoco-sul-posto/>
CampaniaFelix TV: <https://campaniafelix.tv/la-terra-dei-fuochi-continua-a-bruciare-incendio-alla-cava-alma-di-villaricca/>

The mention of this episode has no condemning aims, and it avoids any stigmatization of the area. Instead, the fact is considered as another key evidence of the problematic overlap of old and still existent problems of the area, such as the illegal burn of garbage, and the new fragilities related to the complications in the governance of welfare primarily caused by the public insolvency. Suburbanisms of Villaricca today take for granted a condition of vulnerability where land have been and still is treated as a place of no-care, where the agricultural activities of the area left room to a chaotic urbanization made by self-led housing developments and *parchi urbani*, where the public sphere of urban spaces is left considerably in the background, by putting as first the private sphere of livability at home.



Figures 82 and 83. Images of the clouds from the burnings. Sources: Facebook profile of Giuseppe Imperatore © and CampaniaFelix TV ©

In service provision, and also in coping with persistent problems such as burnings, Comprensorio Giuglianese today needs to launch a new phase, after decades of expansion, able to deal with its own differences, as stated by Morlicchio and Morniroli (2013) by observing Naples. In this respect, it is now possible to select those aspects related to citizens' well-being that needs new strategies of implementations or rather completely novel governance pathways to construct a new suburban future. By targeting these issues on the municipal scale of Villaricca, and according to the outcomes of fieldworks, welfare urgencies may be hierarchically summed-up as follows:

- Public insolvency. The great economic downsize that is currently facing the local administration hampers any effective governance of welfare services, as well as the allocation of services on the territory. This is a key evidence that halts the development of local welfare. Therefore, the suburban agenda of Villaricca is forced to planning in the immediate, by seeing as “welfare urgencies” the immediate problems raised from a specific episode, such as that of burnings. Mid to long-term planning or governmental pathways are most likely slowed down at this stage. With regard to local welfare, a condition of stable economic shortage cannot put in motion any adequate localization of services, or even a prior understanding of the main vulnerabilities to be tackled. To exaggerate, it can

be stated that although local services are organized in a context of deprivation, local welfare in Villaricca is today considerably weakened.

- Inadequacy of supra-municipal organization in welfare provision. As stated by many interviewed experts, the rationale of social services allocation by “Ambiti” is today weak, whereas new planning solutions such as the new PUC do not affect the lack of interests in public spaces. The area of the Comprensorio requires the development of compatibilities between municipalities, rather than coping with key gaps such that between Villaricca and Qualiano in the presence of social workers. Today, “Ambiti” gather a number of municipalities where deprivation and lack of resources reach different extents. Moreover, the Ambito, financed by regional economic sources, needs an economic and governmental integration with each municipality. Villaricca raises a key evidence for the whole Comprensorio: after the consolidation of the demographic increase, of the chaotic self-led suburbanization, of the societal changes that brought new social needs, a new phase of territorialisation may be viewed by concretely adopting a “suburban perspective”, where the path-dependence to Naples today goes along with a place-based condition typical of the Giuglianese area.

- Public transport systems. Commuting to Naples and daily movements are guaranteed by the use of private transports. This is a legacy from the infrastructural development launched since the Second post-war, when most of the planning attentions were devoted to the development of roads. Although the presence of MetroCampania NordEst serves as a starting point for further possible development of public transport, today the condition is that of diffused shortage of connections to Naples, even to the peripheral hub of Scampia-Piscinola. This deprivation is shared with the cases of Rome [see chapter 7], albeit in a different configuration. The use of private transportation is considered as a daily ordinariness shaping suburbanisms of Villaricca, and most likely of the whole Comprensorio. Disorder and possibility are very visible in this area when observing the quintessential of suburban infrastructures, i.e. transit networks. Although further developments through the intensification of surface connections with MetroCampania NordEst would be needed, the key question is whether such improvements meet the social demands of inhabitants or not. Further investigations would be helpful in this regard.

- Long-standing problems related to the negative narrations and images of Comprensorio Giuglianese. The latest example of the burning is an evidence in this regard. The role of Camorra and the media affect the narrative of *Terra dei Fuochi*, the massive presence of the illegal and the illicit, even in (sub)urban planning activities (for further information, see Chiodelli, Hall, & Hudson, 2017), by strongly influencing suburbanisms on the one hand, and governance of public utility on the other hand. As argued by Giovanni Granata, the presence of Camorra enacts a parasitic system that weakens the role of the State and the public actor in general.

It may be noted that such issues do not refer to specific welfare services, but rather, they involve a broader reasoning on the issues behind the complex nexus between old and new fragilities in Comprensorio Giuglianese, observed through the case of Villaricca, where contextual latencies affect the development of public utility services. In this scenario, local administrators are aware of the main shortages, the services that would need improvements, and largely, the main needs of families which are – in general – poorer than in the other urban cores selected for this dissertation. Suburban ways of living in Comprensorio deserves further investigations as it is a densely populated area in each suburb, and where new planning and governance solution may be fostered. Whilst economic resources are lacking, human capitals, networks and agreements are existent. To conclude, this case – in a way – calls also for research and action at the edges of Naples by observing them not solely as the reign of crime and

Camorra, but as places at the core of an urban region, where vulnerable populations continues to live by shaping a daily lifestyle where local welfare basic services are guaranteed at their minimum. In this respect, the inclusion of Naples in a Horizon 2020 project entitled “Repair”⁸⁰ steers this renovated attention on Naples, as well as other recent contributions from PRIN Post-Metropoli (Laino, 2016, 2017a, 2017b), and from recent explorations of society, economy and space as three intertwined issues (Punziano, 2016). Furthermore, attention is also shifted on urban edges, as indicated by the international research “Sub>Urban. Reinventing the fringe” (van Tuijl & Verhaert, 2018) which presents, inter-alia, a case-study of the suburb of Casoria. Whilst Capena and Fiano Romano demonstrates how “suburbia” today has come to the non-suburban Italian context through contemporary transformations of the rural towards a more urbanized ways of living, Villaricca and the Comprensorio Giuglianese, where the biggest Italian “edge city” (Garreau, 1991) is located, prove that beyond the metropolitan and urban agendas, a suburban governance framework for the edges of a complex and highly densified urban region may be at least discussed and pursued. In this vein, a framework for a specific agenda for *Terra dei fuochi* has been posited (Palestino, 2015), whereas other strategies looks more oriented to strengthen the Metropolitan City (d’Alessandro & Realfonzo, 2019). The overarching issue amongst the most recent studies enhances the importance of research and actions on Naples by also involving its surroundings and the governance complexities they raise.

⁸⁰ Horizon 2020 “Repair” project, the case of Naples: <http://h2020repair.eu/case-studies/naples-i/>



Figure 84. Metropolitan area of Rome: first overview

Chapter Seven

At the Northern edge of Rome: new suburban fabrics between Fiano Romano and Capena

Abstract

This chapter illustrates the outcomes of the investigation at the urban edges of Rome, with a particular focus on two specific municipalities: Capena and Fiano Romano. A qualitative-led fieldwork activity attempted to identify the main weaknesses in welfare provision, in view of a constant growth of the built environment exploded over the last thirty years. The chapter reveals forms and features of the main socio-spatial inequalities that are emerging in the uneven suburban expansion of Capena and Fiano Romano. In particular, the case of Fiano Romano embodies the massive raise of such inequalities through the recent planning and governance history of the “Palombaro Felciare” area, where new housing reminiscent of the North American suburban model has emerged, without any service provision. Alongside, the chapter aims at illustrating the framework of local welfare governance, the distribution of social infrastructures, and, as aforementioned, the main weaknesses to be faced by local administrations. The chapter is introduced by an overview of the urban core of Rome and its (sub)urbanization process, and a data-driven overview of the two target-areas.

1. Background

1.1 Rome: the urban core and the complex metropolitan dimension

Rome is the capital city of Italy and Christianity, the cradle of ancient Roman Empire, a magnet for the inhabitants of central and southern regions, a node – together with Milan – in the international transportation system, and, last but not least, it has an administrative extension incomparable to that of other Italian large cities, certified by a surface of 1.287,36 km², seven times larger than Milan (181,67 km²). The history of Rome evokes the glorious past as well as the contemporary regime of *Urbs* based on the rationale of exchange and mutual advantage between parties, such as real estate owners and urban developers (see d’Albergo & Moini, 2015). In addition, Rome experienced a weak modernization in the 19th century not accompanied by industrial development. Local economy is structurally weak, albeit Rome has turned into the second industrial city of Italy after Milan, mainly thanks to the small or medium enterprises more dependent on the local market than the export, and where construction industry has always played a key role (Cellamare, 2017). In this respect, urbanization is a key engine of the Roman development, entrenched in the contemporary evolution of advanced capitalism that enhance urbanization as a high-value process (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). Today, “extended urbanization” (see Monte-Mor, 2014; Brenner, 2014; Keil, 2017) is representative notion of the essence of urban Rome (Cellamare, 2017) framed around three main themes (Cellamare, 2016a, 2017): (1) dwelling, by analysing housing solutions for families, trends in the real estate market and the reasons behind recent movements on the different territories at the outskirts of Rome; (2) morphologies of settlements and service provision; (3) relationship between the building-up of a recent settlement and the organization of everyday life (i.e. suburbanisms at the edges of Rome, as will be discussed at a later stage).

The attraction of Rome as a key node of central Italy characterizes a territorial “void” where no midtowns are interrelated in a reticular system with Rome, being instead subordinated to the massive influence of the Capital city (this is the case of Viterbo, Rieti, Frosinone, and the whole coastline of Lazio region). As depicted by the PRIN Post-metropoli, the regionalization of the urban (see Soja, 2012, 2013) in Rome assumes the characters of a regionalization of the suburbs with predominant residential functions, through processes of “peripheralization” of the outskirts of Rome, which are historically

characterized by agricultural uses (Cellamare, 2017). Within such process, new peripheries in and beyond the large administrative perimeter of Rome have emerged due to a recent movement by various social groups to find better residential solutions than those in the consolidated city of Rome, which it is gone upmarket in the real estate, chaotic and at times insecure particularly in the peripheries (the so-called *borgate*). A brief timeline of the urbanization of Rome over the last fifty years enables a better understanding of such recent trajectories. Relying on the resume carried out by Carlo Cellamare (2017), as late as 1970s, Rome was a big city with a concentration of activities within its vast historical city centre, surrounded by small towns with their own rural identity and few towns (for e.g. Monterotondo, Guidonia, Tivoli, Pomezia). A metropolitan dimension slightly appeared between 1980s and 1990s, albeit limited to the duties of the Province of Rome, without any strategy for ameliorating services and infrastructures of a vast territory that was shortly to grow at the outskirts of Rome.

However, during these two decades Rome witnessed a massive process of (sub)urban expansion resulted through a real “explosion” of small towns into scattered suburban constellations (see Cellamare, 2016b). Towns like Monterotondo and Guidonia continued to grow, whereas former small towns began their transformation due to new private housing investments, from the coastline (Lucciarini, 2008) to the North-East along the structural road *Tiburtina* (Maranghi, 2016). Such expansion echoes the heterogenous post-suburban landscape developed around the main national nodes of Western Europe countries (see Phelps et. al., 2006). New residential patterns have emerged, and few towns turned into centres of clusters (such as Tivoli and the Castelli Romani area thanks to their cultural heritage, Guidonia and Monterotondo in the East, and the industrial cluster of Pomezia in the South-West). As a result, a contemporary emerging polycentrism can be recognized (see Salvagni & Morassut, 2005), albeit it is not sustained by an institutional arrangement (Cellamare, 2016b, 2017). A complex combination of different local contexts in terms of accessibility, service-provision and populations account for the today suburban territory around Rome.

Generally, illegal settlements and speculative housing developments guided the urban expansion of Rome, hence generating a parallel informal housing market (Cellamare, 2017). Different ways of dwelling have emerged along with the physical set-up of territory and the changing socio-spatial relationships. In periurban areas of Rome the daily life is increasingly detached from the territory where it takes place. To cope with this mismatch between lifestyle and place of living, new trajectories as well as new territorial organizations have arisen (*ibidem*): (1) policies aimed at promoting polycentrism and the regeneration of peripheries, foreseen by the 2008 Rome Masterplan and strengthened by some positive experimentations such as the shopping centre *Porta di Roma*, in a Northern periphery (*La Bufalotta*), or the University of Tor Vergata, in South-Eastern periphery; (2) the development of new areas, often bad connected with the consolidated urban core of Rome and developed as a result of plans activated in the past but left incomplete; (3) the development of settlements frequently close to major highways or railways; (4) the emblematic development of so-called “city of the GRA” (*Grande Raccordo Anulare*) (Pietrolucci, 2012), the structural “ring-road” around Rome, which acts as a boundary between the consolidated city and the transformed countryside through extended urbanization; (5) the reorganization of urban hierarchies regarding transit networks and services, which saw the growth of centres outside the urban cores, such as Monterotondo, a catchment-area for education and health services in the Northern suburbia of Rome.

Such developments produced a new stratification of settlements amongst increasingly anthropized agricultural areas, which led to an inequality of territories, in terms of services allocation, infrastructures, political engagement and, more importantly, environmental changes (d’Albergo & Moini, 2011). These socio-spatial inequalities determined unprecedented conflicts between centre and periphery, as well as within each municipality at the urban edges of Rome, related to the environment, the inadequacy of

transit networks or well-being services, and conflicts between historic and new populations. The combination of these factors hampers an adequate frame of the metropolitan dimension in Rome (see d'Albergo, Moini, & Pizzo, 2016) for two reasons (d'Albergo, 2015): first, there is a structural issue regarding space and economics that marks a difference between Rome and its outskirts, still not seen as a part of a wider metropolitan fabric. Second, social and political aspects impeded the creation of a political leadership able to sustain the institutional and scalar change to ameliorate the complicated governance of Rome.

The selected cases are the result of the manifold contemporary changes occurred at the fringes of urban core, and they well embody the dynamics of “urban intensity” that affected the so-called “Agro Romano” over the last three decades (see Vazzoler, 2015). The term “Agro Romano” refers to the wide agricultural peri-urban territory surrounding Rome, historically identified as its *suburbio* and governed by a semi-feudal economy until early 1900s (see Lelo, 2017). Although debates about territorial changes and contemporary challenges of Rome would deserve more attention, the focus shifts on the selected areas of investigation where novel suburbanisms took place by raising new needs as well as new governmental issues.

1.2 The target-areas: Fiano Romano and Capena

Outside the GRA ring motorway, a new fabric around the urban core of Rome took shape by producing differentiated ways of living (Leonardi, 2013; Cellamare, 2016b), so much that a recent research effort endeavoured to tackle features, challenges and potentialities of Metropolitan Rome at a time of contemporary socio-spatial transition (see Coppola & Punziano, 2018). Moving to the suburban constellation entails an understanding of the new peripheries of Rome, where the traditional interpretative categories (rural-urban, city-countryside) no longer works (Cellamare, 2016b), towards a perspective grounded on suburbanisms instead. The suburban municipalities of Fiano Romano and Capena disclose the turbulence that guided the extended expansion of Rome within the institutional boundaries of the Metropolitan City, where a number of features are overlapped: migration flows from the city to the modified countryside led by the growth of single-family dwellings reminiscent of the North-American model (Fishman, 1994; Drummond & Labbé, 2013), public choices aimed at supporting private investments, and relevant societal changes occurred in these edge-territories. Towns like Fiano Romano and Capena are considered by the Roman unit of PRIN Post-Metropoli as “external post-metropolitan territories” (see Cellamare, 2016b) characterized by new ways of living in a context under non-governed spatial development. The outcome is a contemporary condition of uneven (sub)urban development where welfare organization and provision are undermined.

Fiano Romano and Capena are located in Tiber valley, in the Northern peri-urban fringe of Rome, and their connection to the Capital city is firstly guaranteed by a motorway link-road that connect A1 Milan-Naples highway to the Northern periphery of Rome. Moreover, high-speed railway (TAV, *alta velocità*) passes through this landscape. Figure 85 illustrates the location of the two municipalities. An unruly expansion affected the development of both towns, certified by a massive demographic increase. Between 2001 and 2011 national census, Capena experienced a 62,86% population increase, whereas Fiano Romano saw a 64,84% increase (ISTAT), being the only municipalities of Lazio Region that saw such progression, which is amplified when observing a larger time-scale [see Figg. 86 and 87]. Such changes inevitably entail effects on space-uses, soil consumption, as well as in terms of well-being services provision (from schools to groceries, from transit networks to health services). In a nutshell, Fiano Romano and Capena run into a significant transformation initiated by a migration flow from the

congested and overloaded peripheries of Rome⁸¹ to “greener” places for new residential solutions stem from single or double-family house. Moreover, the towns are located at a reasonable distance to the urban core of Rome, albeit it can be mainly adequately reached by private transport (i.e. by automobile).

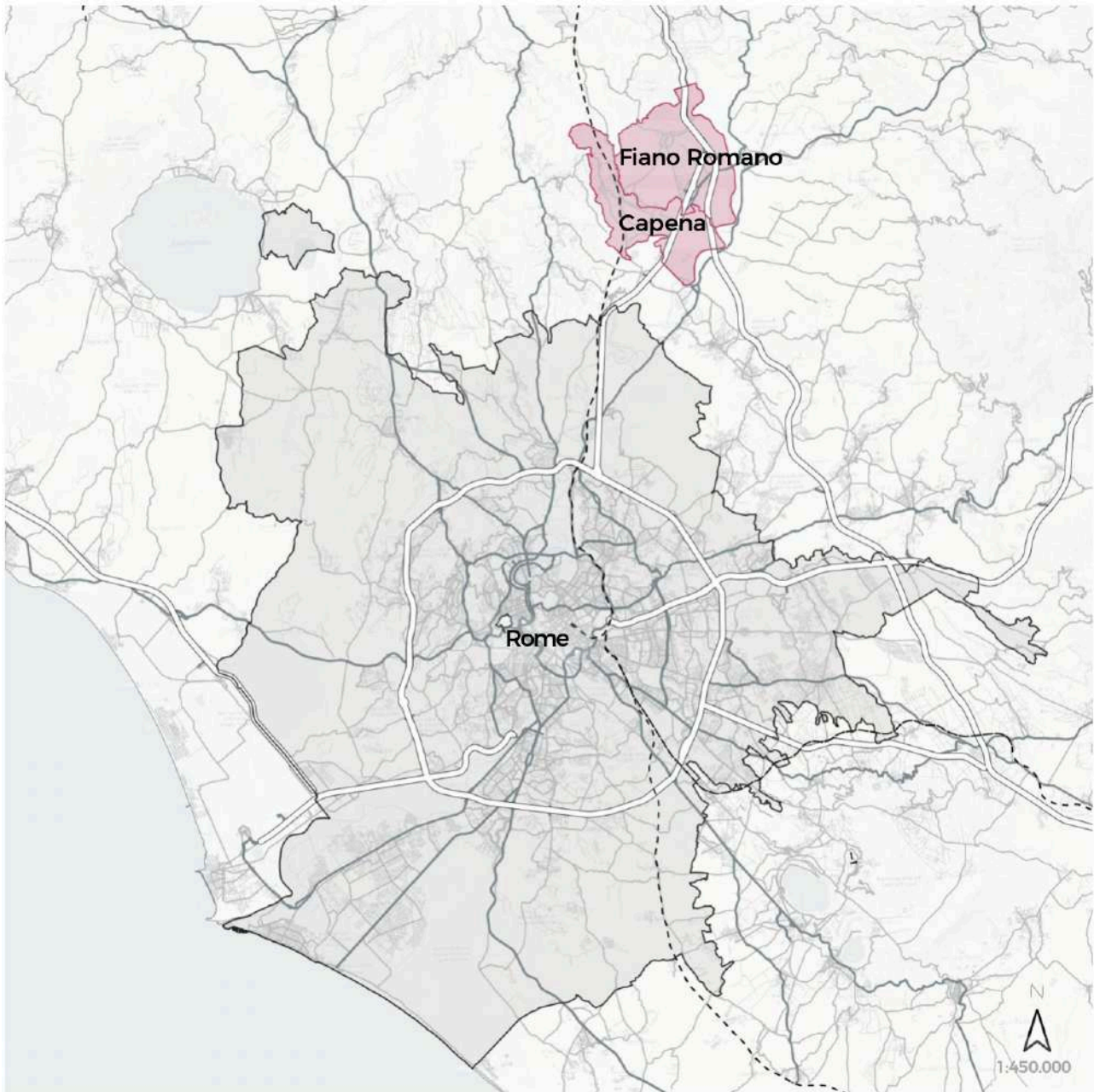


Figure 85. Location of Capena and Fiano Romano. Source: author (through ISTAT and Open Street Map)

⁸¹ The incidence rates of the deletions from the register of Rome Municipality on the number of new entrants in the Municipality of Fiano Romano show the important role of Rome: in 2003, 45,16% of new inhabitants of Fiano Romano came from Rome, whereas in 2006, the new inhabitants from Rome were the 55,57%

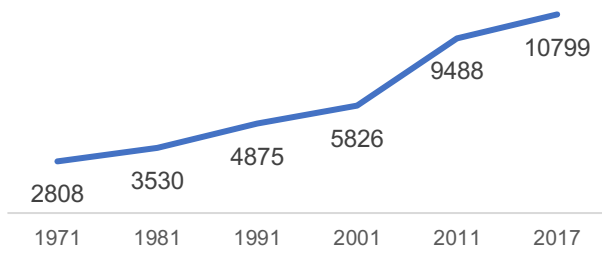


Figure 86. Demographic increase in Capena (1971-2017). Source: ISTAT (2017)

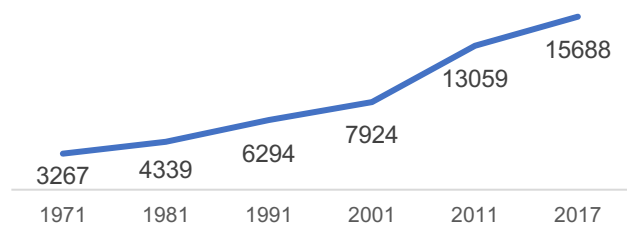


Figure 87. Demographic increase in Fiano Romano (1971-2017). Source: ISTAT (2017)

The selection of these two municipalities as case-studies is based on previous inquiries carried out on Fiano Romano by Nicola Vazzoler (2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2017), who revealed how s-regulation (see Donolo, 2001), land and housing speculation in the most recent neighbourhood of Fiano Romano, which will be introduced afterwards. In a nutshell, such researches paved the way for a deeper understanding of those emerging ways of living the new neighbourhood, by addressing processes of “urban intensity” between the rural and the urban (Vazzoler, 2015). Dealing with such “intensities” entails an understanding of the contemporary suburbanisms at the Northern edge of Rome. Capena and Fiano Romano, as part of an “urbanized valley”, may be intended as fringe-territories in the elusive frame of Metropolitan Rome, shaped by the agricultural land crossed by Tiber river; such still rural land occupy even the half of the municipal perimeter of the Capital city. More broadly, the vast Agro Romano run into deep transformations that saw the onset of numerous built environments, hence introducing urban patterns in the rural *suburbio* of Rome. Such changes – illustrated by Keti Lelo (2017) – led to new territorial organization and planning solutions aimed at steering the complex urban-countryside interplay, even in view of the emerging productive activities scattered in the Agro Romano. In this respect, the first section of PTPG (*Piano Territoriale della Provincia di Roma*, 2015), i.e. the masterplan of the former Province of Rome, identify Fiano Romano as one of the five “local systems” (SL), which includes the only municipalities of Fiano Romano and Capena. This aspect involves an inquiry within these specific “urban edge” – identified here as the sum of the two towns – which is assuming spatial dimension legitimized by the classifications from PTPG. These introductory notes meet a far-reaching description in the following section, whose goal is to illustrate an adequate first overview of the two selected suburbs.

2. First glance through data

Before moving to the qualitative findings from the fieldwork, a statistical overview of the two areas is provided by collecting information from two main sources: (1) the *Atlante* produced by the PRIN Post-Metropolis, and (2) the open database “Urban Index” (created by the Ministerial Department for Planning and Coordination of Economic Policies)⁸². The goal of this data-led overview is to inform about the socio-economic conditions of the two municipalities by means of a database that, through a Ministerial work, aggregates data from several databases. The gathered data are not as updated as possible, as they mainly refer to the latest census information (dated back to 2011). Then, it is fair to say that more recent societal changes have occurred over the last years. The following overview provide a short commentary to the maps retrieved from the *Atlante Post-Metropoli*, together with some indicators selected

⁸² The database “Urban Index. Indicators for urban policies”: <https://www.urbanindex.it/>

from “Urban Index” database [see Table 12]. In general view, the aim of this section is to provide a first capture of the target areas through secondary data even in a confrontation with Rome, by collecting both the data from Table 12 and from the *Atlante* into five generic macro-categories as follows: 1) Socio-economic conditions, involving social, demographic and economic trajectories; (2) Housing, with reference to residential and real estate patterns; (3) Land and Mobility, where in a not so systematic rationale are merged mobility issues emerged from transport infrastructural developments and land use transformations; (4) Economic Dynamism, observing local economic vitality a glance; (5) Facilities, referring to service provision in general terms.

The macro-category of socio-economic conditions firstly unfolds the massive demographic increase that involved both Capena and Fiano Romano, as illustrated by the two charts in Figg. 86 and 87, as well as in Fig. 88 (1991-2011). Over twenty-five years both the two target-areas have doubled their population (e.g. in Capena it has increased from 4875 in 1991 to 10799 in 2017, whereas in Fiano Romano such growth is much more significant, as it has increased from 6294 in 1991 to 15688 inhabitants in 2017). Beyond this, with reference to the census year 2011, the socio-economic situation reveals some key aspects. First, the rate of young couples with children (9,6% in Capena and 10,1% in Fiano Romano) is the double than in the urban core of Rome (4,4%). Such percentage bond with the massive increase of residential attractiveness (+61,1% in Capena and +68,3% in Fiano Romano, between 2001 and 2011), by disclosing a nexus between the presence of young families and the housing expansion. Second, the unemployment rate is little higher in Capena (11,6% over 9,3%), whereas such difference is slightly reduced considering the youth unemployment rate (32,2% in Capena and 31,4% in Fiano Romano), while it increases a bit in Rome (35,8%). In contrast, the percentage of NEET is higher in both target-areas (13,6%) than in Rome (10,7%). A similar scenario concerns the rate of elderly living alone (24% in Capena, 22,9% in Fiano Romano, and 6-7% higher in Rome). The Gini index, adopted to measure the inequality of income, shows a low inequality in both Capena (0,198) and Fiano Romano (0,2064)⁸³. This means that distribution of richness is homogenous.

The macro-category of housing, in the light of the substantial variation of dwellings (117% in Capena and 124% in Fiano Romano, 1991-2011), reveals a general housing expansion confirmed by the 30% in building expansion of residential areas over a decade (ISTAT, 2001-2011) in both municipalities. As aforementioned, residential attractiveness [Fig. 95] has strongly swelled, although prices in real estate did not follow such growth. Indeed, data from Revenue Agency (*Agenzia delle Entrate*) shows a 7,2% decrease of prices in Capena, a tiny 0,7% increase in Fiano Romano between 2007 and 2012, and a 13,2% decrease in Rome. The impacts of the global crisis that broke out in 2008 have most likely affected such trend in real estate market. 0,3% represents instead the low housing exclusion index in 2011, confirming that – regardless typologies, developments or un-authorizations – between Capena and Fiano Romano is possible to have an allegedly decent dwelling.

Land and Mobility enable to grasp a number of indications regarding the land transformation and the infrastructural development. First, also in view of housing expansion, the variation of anthropized land (2000-2006) [Fig. 90] has been much more significant in Fiano Romano (62%) than in Capena (14%), whose administration perimeter is today unbuilt. In this respect, a specific attention is devoted to the Edge Density, an index provided by ISPRA⁸⁴ aimed at measuring the urban landscape splintering through the ratio between the total sum of the lengths of built areas (in meters) and their corresponding surface (in square meters). This index reveals a higher (sub)urban splintering in Capena (482,5) rather than in

⁸³ The more Gini index is close to 0, the more homogeneous the distribution of “richness” is, or rather, the inequality of income is low.

⁸⁴ ISPRA, Institute for the Environmental Security: <http://www.isprambiente.gov.it/it>

Fiano Romano (448,4), whereas Rome is much less splintered (250,3). Comments to this index revolves around the emerging suburbanization process that is occurring between Fiano Romano and Capena. Another indicator from ISPRA, which shed lights on density of each municipality is the land consumption per capita [see Table 12] showing 341,1 square meters per inhabitant in Capena, and a more significative 383 square meter per inhabitant in Fiano Romano. Unfortunately, no historical overview is provided about this data. Issues regarding land transformation to improve mobilities are summed up through a number of indicators. First, from the *Atlante*, the index of accessibility to railway stations (calculated from 0 to 4) [see Fig. 92] and the accessibility to urban nodes through road systems [Fig. 93] uncover an average travel time of 30-45 minutes (Class 2) in both accessibility typologies. This condition is common to mainly most of the suburbs at the Northern edge of Rome [see Figg. 92 and 93]. In addition, four data from Urban Index database unfold patterns of mobility. Two indicators acknowledge the automobile-dependence of the two target-areas: the use of private vehicle on the one hand (69,8% in Capena and 73,2% in Fiano Romano in 2011, ISTAT), and the public transportation use on the other hand, measured through the ratio between public and non-public transport use in commuting for employment reasons (only 15,1% in Capena and 13,8% in Fiano Romano, 2011, ISTAT). Two indexes corroborate such trends. First, the “mobility index” (i.e. the ratio between inflows and outflows for employment purposes and the municipal population in a specific year)⁸⁵ is high (0,82 for Capena and 0,85 for Fiano Romano), hence revealing a high commuting for working reasons, reproduced also in the urban core of Rome (0,82). Second, the “self-containment index” (the ratio between internal flows within a municipality for employment purposes and its population)⁸⁶ reflects a low satisfaction in terms of employment within each municipality (0,25 in Capena and 0,35 in Fiano Romano). As a consequence, suburbanisms between Capena and Fiano Romano looks strongly influenced by daily commuting for employment purposes.

The macro-category of Economic Dynamism provides insights on economic vigour of the two target-areas at a glance, even observing the efficiency of the administrative machinery. The “economic dynamism index”⁸⁷, from the *Atlante Post-Metropoli*, unfolds a general condition of the entrepreneurial fabric which characterizes the local economic system. In this respect, due to the presence of several activities (such as the industrial-commercial site of “Prato della Corte” in Fiano Romano, or the companies, such as Würth and Nissan located along via Tiberina at “Bivio di Capanelle” in Capena) this index sounds encouraging in Capena (0,61) and Fiano Romano (0,89), which were paradoxically more vibrant than Rome (0,51) in 2011, albeit comparisons would take into account manifold factors. Indeed, the percentage of workers in companies ABS (*Associazioni di Promozione Sociale*, thus social promotion activities) and KIBS (Knowledge Intensive Business Services), belonging to ATECO⁸⁸ sectors J (financial activities) K (real estate, renting and business services) and M (professional, scientific and technical

⁸⁵ Mobility index is retrieved from PRIN Post-Metropolis, although it was decided to not include its graphic representation. It is measured on a 0 to 1 scale, where 1 indicates a very high outflow of inhabitants for employment purposes, and 0 indicate a low outflow.

⁸⁶ Self-containment index is also retrieved from PRIN Post-Metropolis, and it reflects the degree of satisfaction within a municipality in the employment. It is measured on a 0 to 1 scale, where 1 represents a high satisfaction.

⁸⁷ It is a synthetic index calculated as the arithmetic average of standardized values (Z score) of the following indicators: workers in agriculture on total resident population × 100; workers in manufactory on the total resident population × 100; workers on commerce and trade on total resident population × 100; service workers on total resident population × 100.

⁸⁸ ATECO is the ISTAT classification (2007) of economic activities for statistic surveys in the economic field.

More info on the classifications of ATECO sectors:

https://www.istat.it/it/files//2011/03/metenor9_40classificazione_attivita_economiche_2007.pdf

activities) [see Table 12], is decisively low in Capena (5,718%) and Fiano Romano (4,918%) compared to that of Rome (21,135%), where business and high-skilled activities services are larger. Lastly, the index of public authorities' dynamism⁸⁹ shows a gap between the target-areas, as in Capena such institutional dynamism presents a negative trend in 2011 (-0,07) that may be increased according to the recent economic difficulties in facing social and, in general, welfare services, whereas in Fiano Romano a slightly positive trend is visible (0,64), positioned near to the value of Rome (1,32). Indeed, as the next section will show, Fiano Romano is conceived as the driver of welfare and social planning in Tiber Valley.

Service provision is the last macro-category (although it is not in terms of importance) of this overview, aimed at providing the presence of heterogeneous public facilities at a glance. In a way, such macro-category introduces the governance challenges depicted through the field visits. As first, a key index refers to the level of peripherality and centrality in service provision [Fig. 91], constructed by PRIN Post-Metropolis on data from the Minister of Health and Education (Department of Development and Economic Cohesion). On a class-based scale (0-5 where 0 indicates a high centrality and 5 indicates the highest peripherality) the two target-areas are located on a peripheral level (4) that enable to grasp a first evidence about the weaknesses in welfare services. In addition, the index of generic infrastructural provision [Fig. 94], which indicates the comprehensive presence of highways, railway stations, airports and harbour through a statistical operation, corroborates such peripheral condition, as Capena and Fiano Romano present a significantly low value (respectively 15 and 18) on a scale from 0 to 1000, where Rome reaches the highest point, due to the presence of all the considered infrastructural nodes. Three more indicators integrate this general outline. First, in Capena and Fiano Romano 0,2 pharmacies are distributed each 10.000 inhabitants (2011, Health Minister data source). Second, recycling process for the year 2013 (ISPRA source) informs about 57,2% of waste separation in Capena (awarded as one of the main municipalities devoted to recycling in Lazio for the year 2017), opposed to the 38,2% of Fiano Romano. Third, the amount of drinking water fed into the municipal pipelines system (measured through the ratio between cubic meters per inhabitants in a specific year) shows the amount of 133,9 cubic meters and 56 cubic meters in 2012 [Fig. 96]. As illustrated afterwards, water provision is a key issue both in Fiano Romano and Capena, although the first suffers a more structural weakness.

This first glance aimed at providing numbers and percentages of the two suburbs before moving the attention to less systemic investigations based on qualitative findings to focus on experiences, viewpoints and challenges identified by local administrators and inhabitants. Table 13 summarizes this commentary of maps and data by reorganizing index and indicators according to the five macro-categories.

⁸⁹ It represents a synthetic index calculated as the arithmetic average of standardized values (Z score) of the following indicators: workers in public administrations on total resident population $\times 100$; workers in public education system on total resident population $\times 100$; workers in public health on total resident population $\times 100$.

Indicator from Urban Index database	Year	Source	Measure unit	Capena	Fiano Romano
Ten-year average rate of change in resident population	1991-2011	ISTAT	%	41,2	45,4
Percentage variation of average price in housing purchase	2007-2012	OMI	€/sqm/month	-7,2	0,7
Private mobility (use of private vehicle)	2011	ISTAT	%	69,8	73,2
EG – Edge density (index of urban landscape splintering)	2015	ISPRA	m/sqm	482,5	448,4
Building expansion index in residential areas over a decade	2011	ISTAT	%	30,5	30
Rate of residential attractiveness	2001-2011	PRIN PM*	Index	61,1	68,3
Rate of young couples with children	2011	PRIN PM	%	9,6	10,1
Mobility index (commuting for employment purposes)	2011	PRIN PM	Index	0,82	0,85
Self-containment index (internal commuting for employment purposes)	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,25	0,35
Economic dynamism index	2011	PRIN PM	Index	0,61	0,89
Rate of public authorities' dynamism	2011	PRIN PM	Index	-0,07	0,64
Pharmacies per 10.000 inhabitants	2011	Health Minister	Number per 10.000 inh.	0,2	0,2
Public transportation (ratio between public transport and non-public transport users in commuting for employment purposes)	2011	ISTAT	%	15,1	13,8
Unemployment rate	2011	ISTAT	%	11,6	9,3
Youth unemployment rate (age 15-24)	2011	ISTAT	%	32,2	31,4
Rate of NEET (age 15-29)	2011	ISTAT	%	13,6	13,6
Rate of families in a potential economic hardship	2011	ISTAT	%	3,4	2,9
Rate of elders alone	2011	ISTAT	%	24	22,9
Housing exclusion index (rate of inappropriate dwellings)	2011	ISTAT	Index	0,3	0,3
Gini index	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,198	0,2064
Land consumption per capita	2015	ISPRA	Sqm/inhab.	341,1	383
Drinking water fed into the municipal grid system per capita	2012	PRIN PM	M ³ /inh. year	133,9	56
Percentage of waste separation (recycling)	2013	ISPRA	%	57,2	38,2
Percentage of workers in companies APS and KIBS (ATECO sectors J, K and M) on the total amount of workers	2011	ISTAT	%	5,718	4,918

Table 12. Information box on Capena and Fiano Romano. Source: Urban Index database (Dept. of Planning and Coordination of Economic Politics).

*PRIN PM: PRIN Post-Metropoli

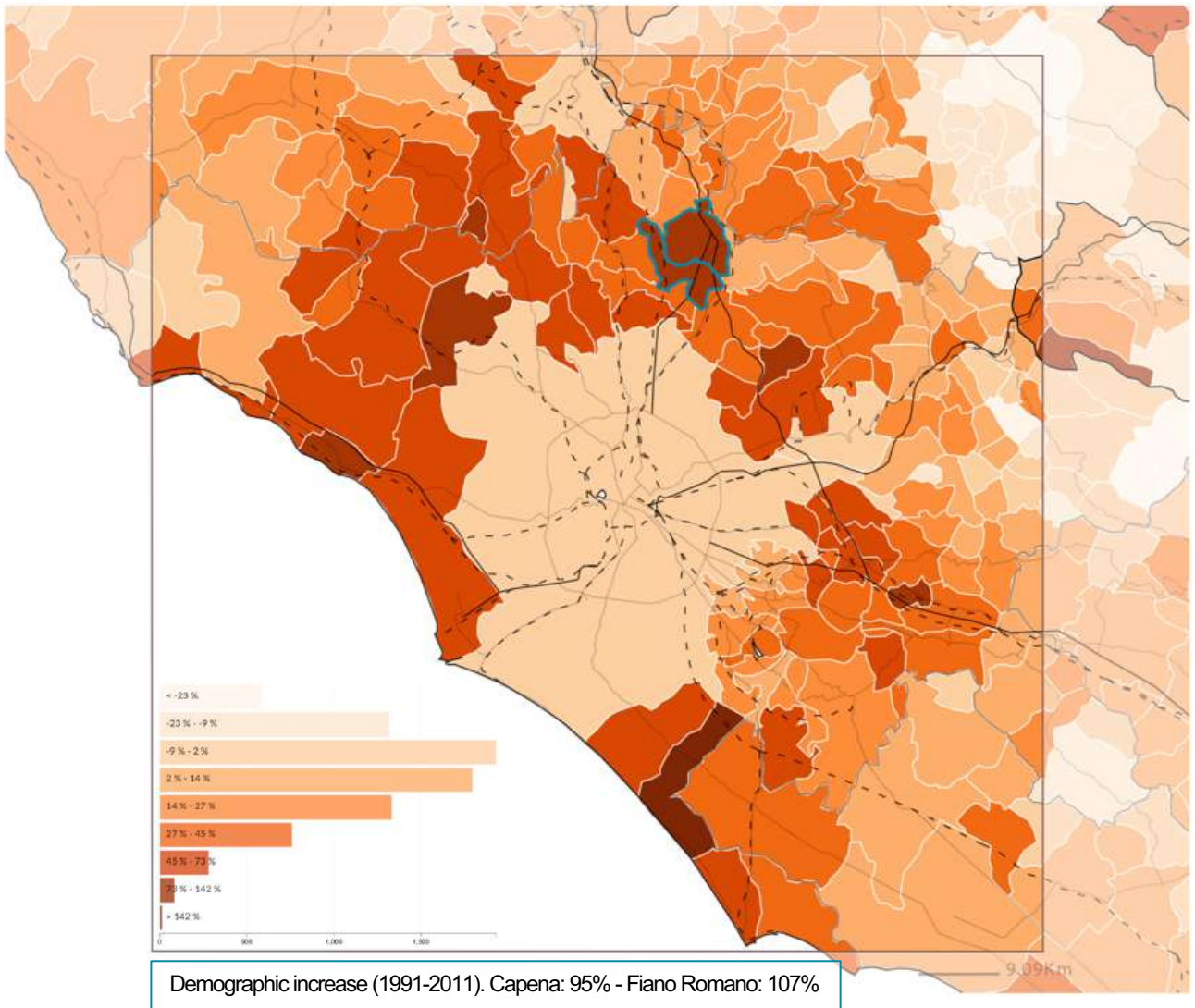


Figure 88. Demographic increase in Capena and Fiano Romano (1991-2011). Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*

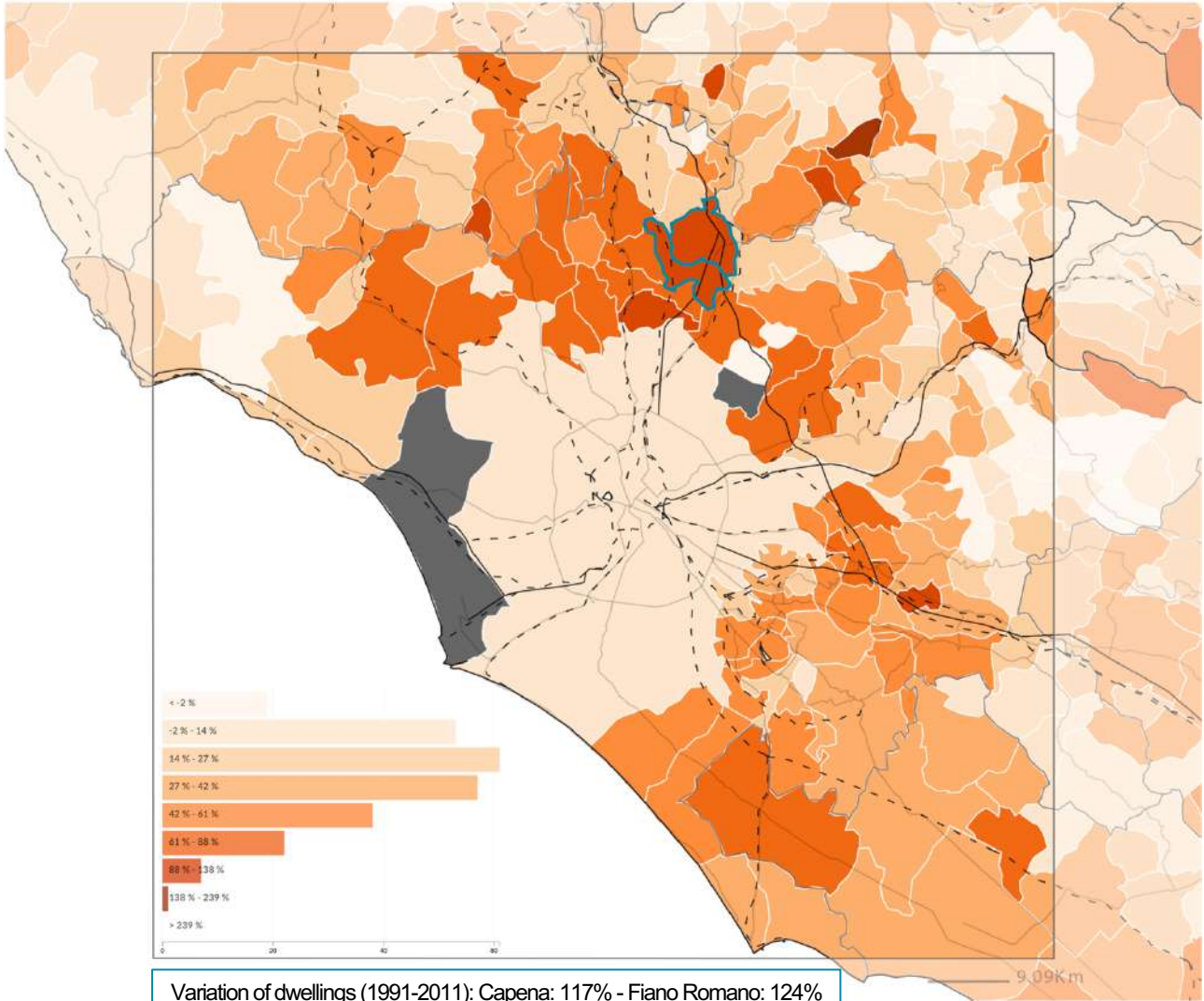


Figure 89. Variation in the number of dwellings in Capena and Fiano Romano (1991-2011).
Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*

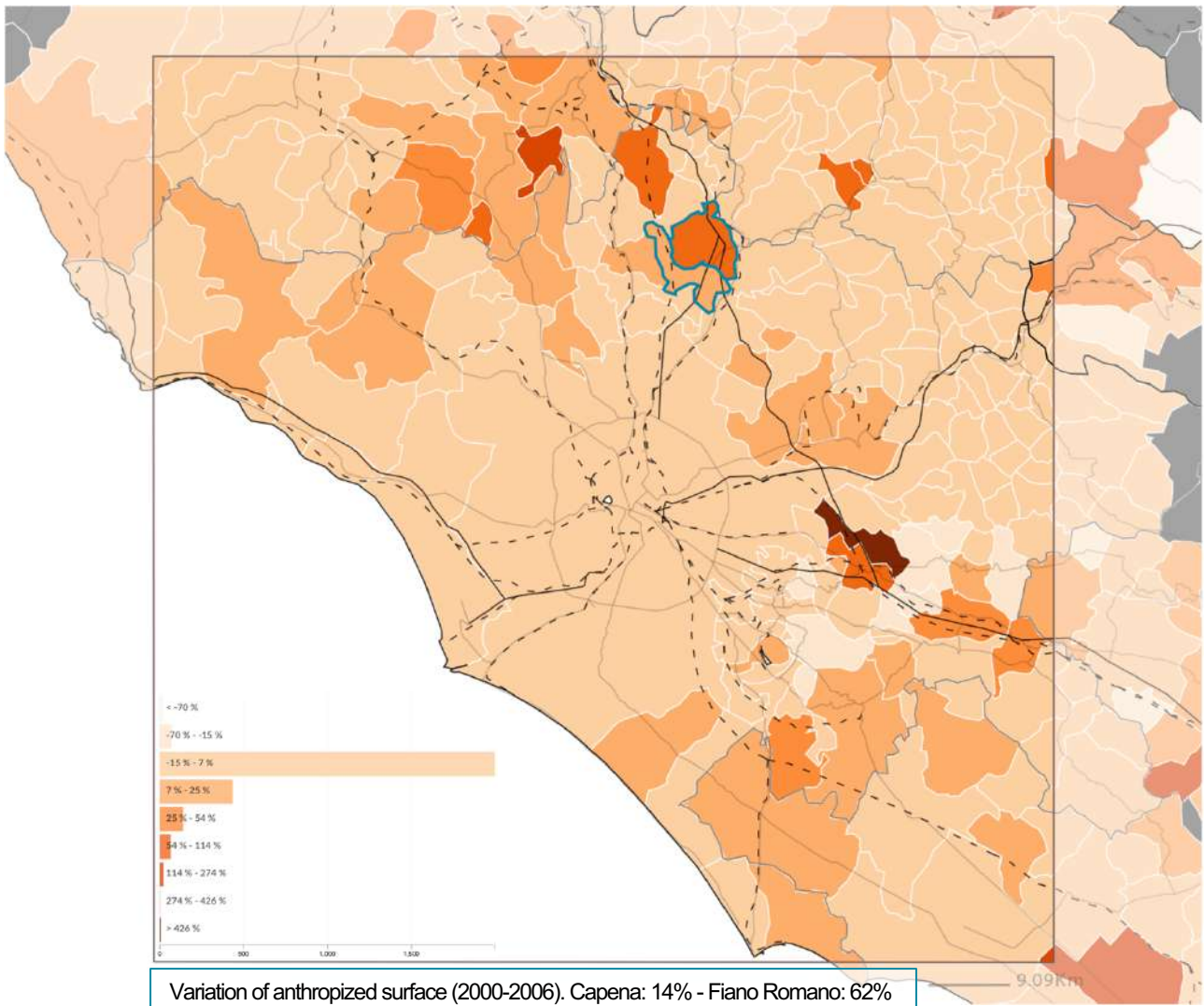


Figure 90. Variation of the anthropized surface in Capena and Fiano Romano (2000-2006).
 Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*, based on CORINE Land Cover

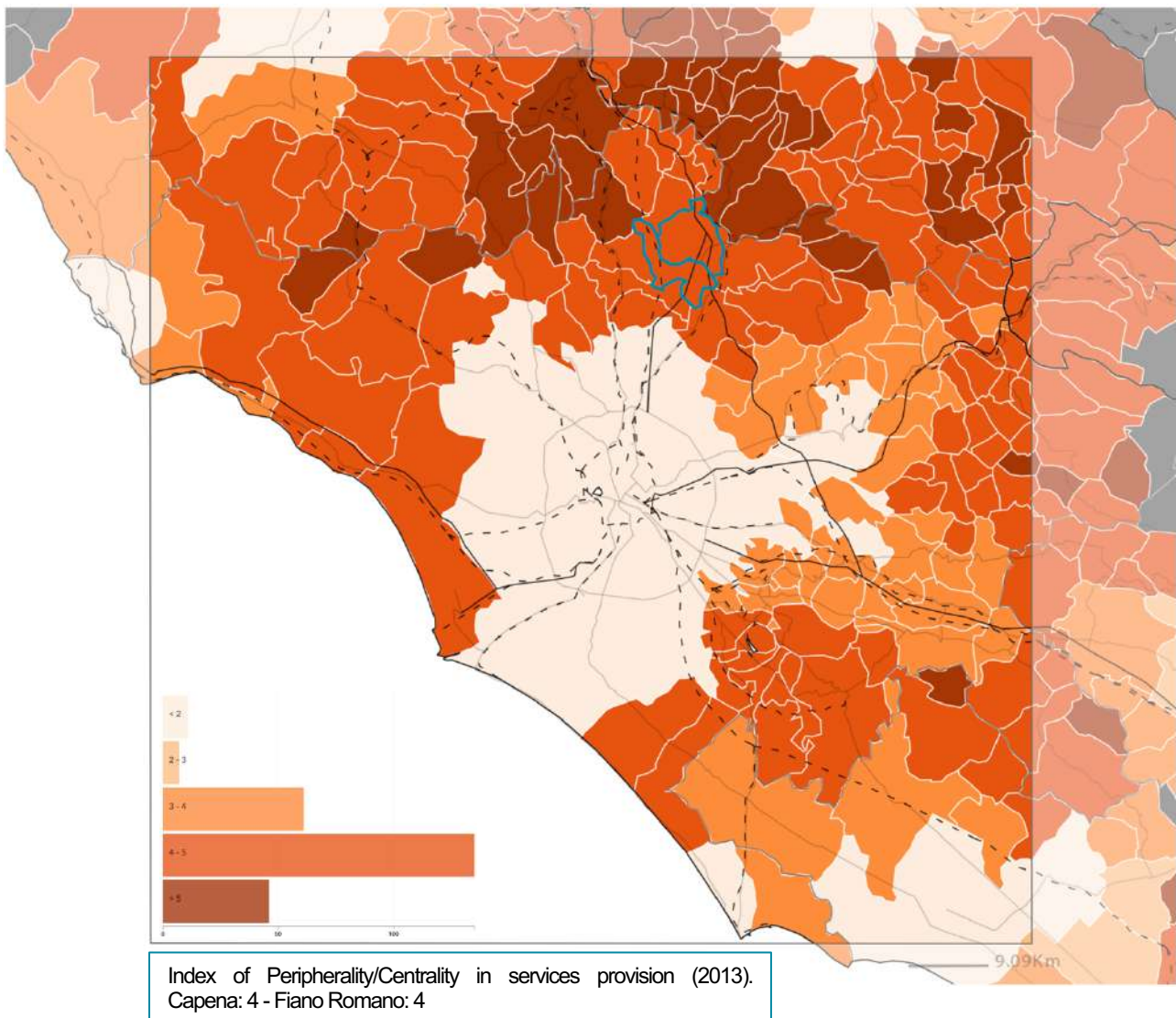


Figure 91. Index of peripherality-centrality in services provision in Capena and Fiano Romano (2013). The higher is the value, the more peripheral is the municipality in the access to services.

Source: *Atlante Post-Metropolis*, based on data from the Minister of Health and Education, Department of Development and Economic Cohesion – National Strategy for “Inner Areas”.

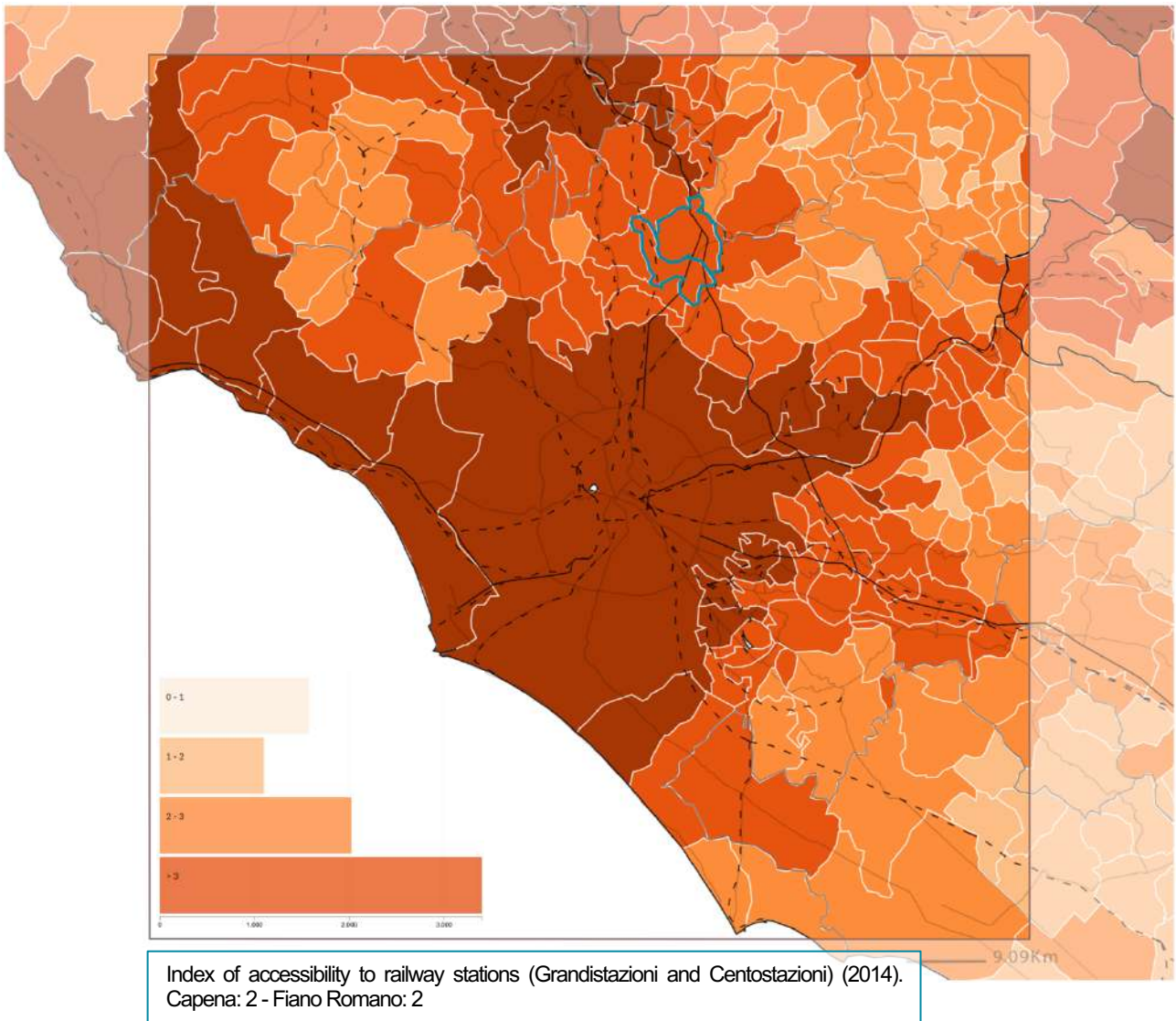


Figure 92. Index of accessibility to railway stations (*Grandistazioni* and *Centostazioni*) from Capena and Fiano Romano (2014). Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*

Note: This synthetic index is calculated using a sampling function of the isochrones in which is included the “centroid” of each municipality, by selecting the isochrone corresponding to the lowest travel time. The index classifies the capacity of municipality’s inhabitants to reach railways stations of *Ferrovie dello Stato* (*Grandistazioni* and *Centostazioni*) through transit roads systems.

Classes subdivision:

Class 0 (<1) = average travel time above 60 minutes	Class 3 (2-3) = average travel time between 15 and 30
Class 1 (1-1) = average travel time between 45 and 60 mins.	Class 4 (>3) = average travel time lower than 15 mins.
Class 2 (1-2) = average travel time between 30 and 45 mins.	

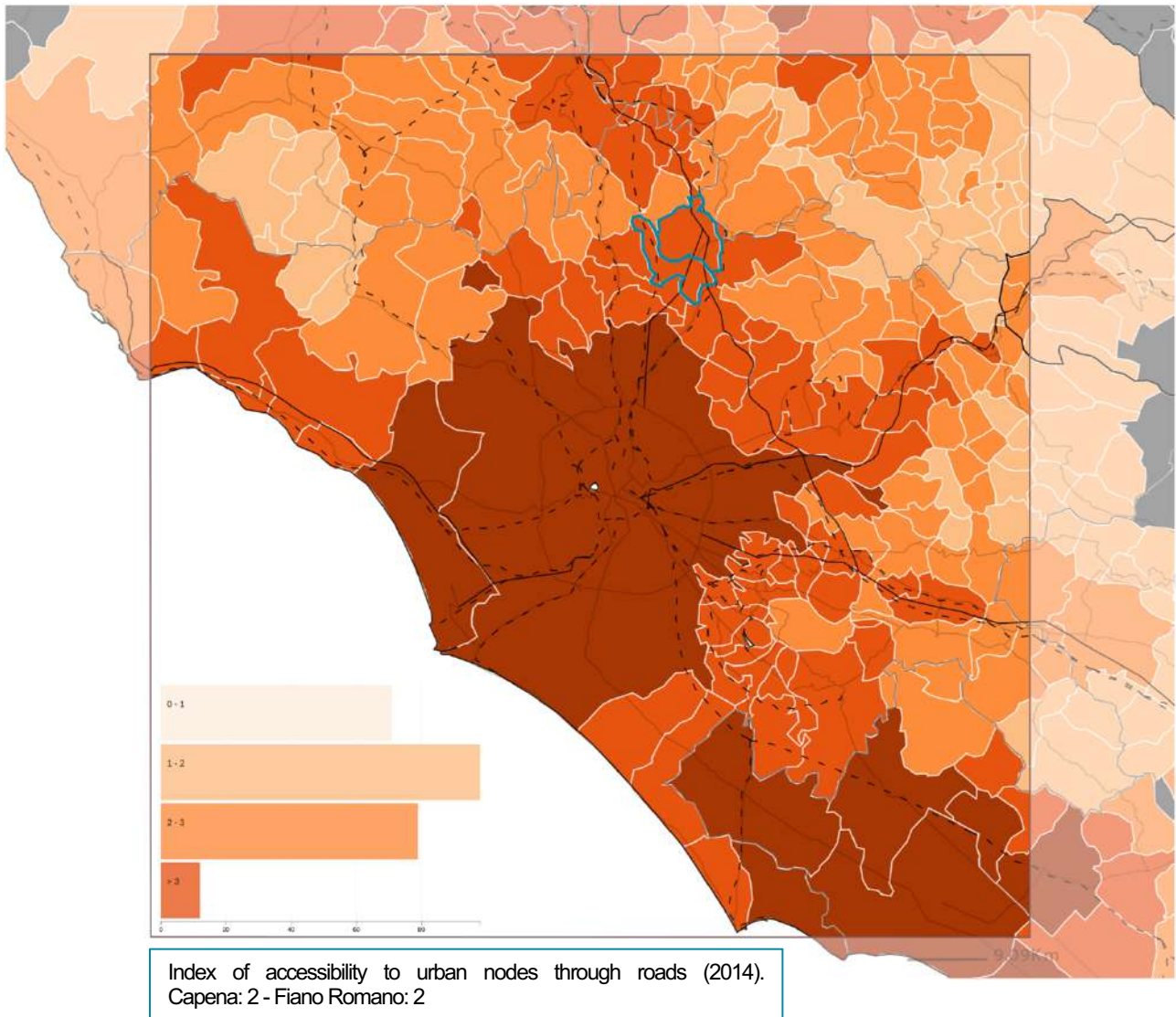


Figure 93. Index of accessibility to urban nodes through transit roads systems from Capena and Fiano Romano (2014). Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*

Note: This synthetic index is calculated using a sampling function of the isochrones in which is included the “centroid” of each municipality, by selecting the isochrone corresponding to the lowest travel time. The index classifies the capacity of municipality’s inhabitants to reach urban nodes (DPS, *poli urbani*) through transit roads systems.

Classes subdivision:

Class 0 (<1) = average travel time above 60 minutes	Class 3 (2-3) = average travel time between 15 and 30
Class 1 (1-1) = average travel time between 45 and 60 mins.	Class 4 (>3) = average travel time lower than 15 mins.
Class 2 (1-2) = average travel time between 30 and 45 mins.	

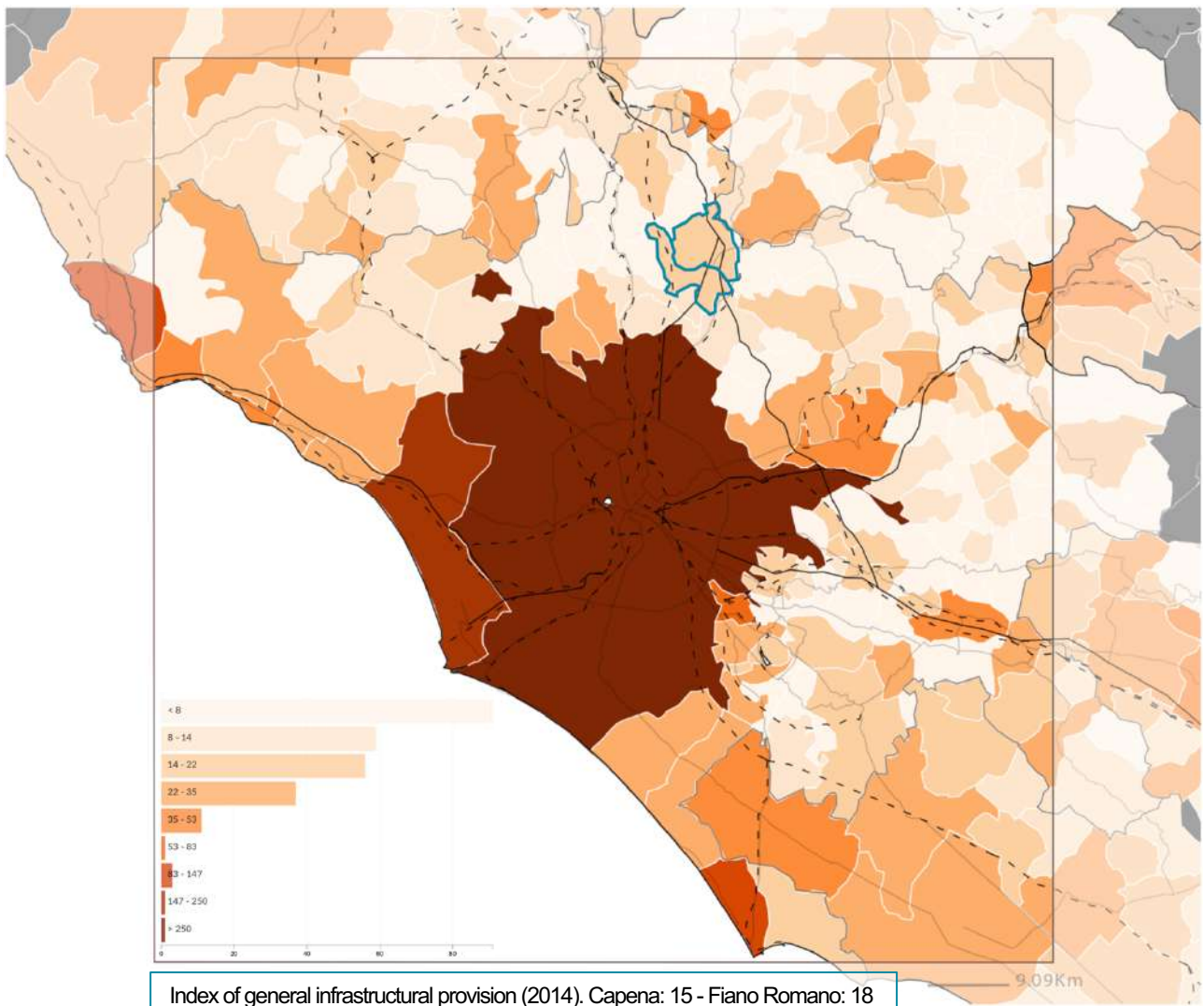


Figure 94. Index of general infrastructural provision in Capena and Fiano Romano (2014).
Source: *Atlante Post-Metropoli*

Note: the synthetic index of comprehensive infrastructural provision is constructed by summing-up the standardized values (Z-score) of the following indicators:

- a. Kilometers of State and Provincial roads per square kilometres of the municipal area
- b. Number of railway stations equivalent for each municipality
- c. Number of highways exits
- d. Number of harbours per each municipality / 2
- e. Number of airports per each municipality / 2

The result is re-classified on a range of values comprised between 0 and 1000.

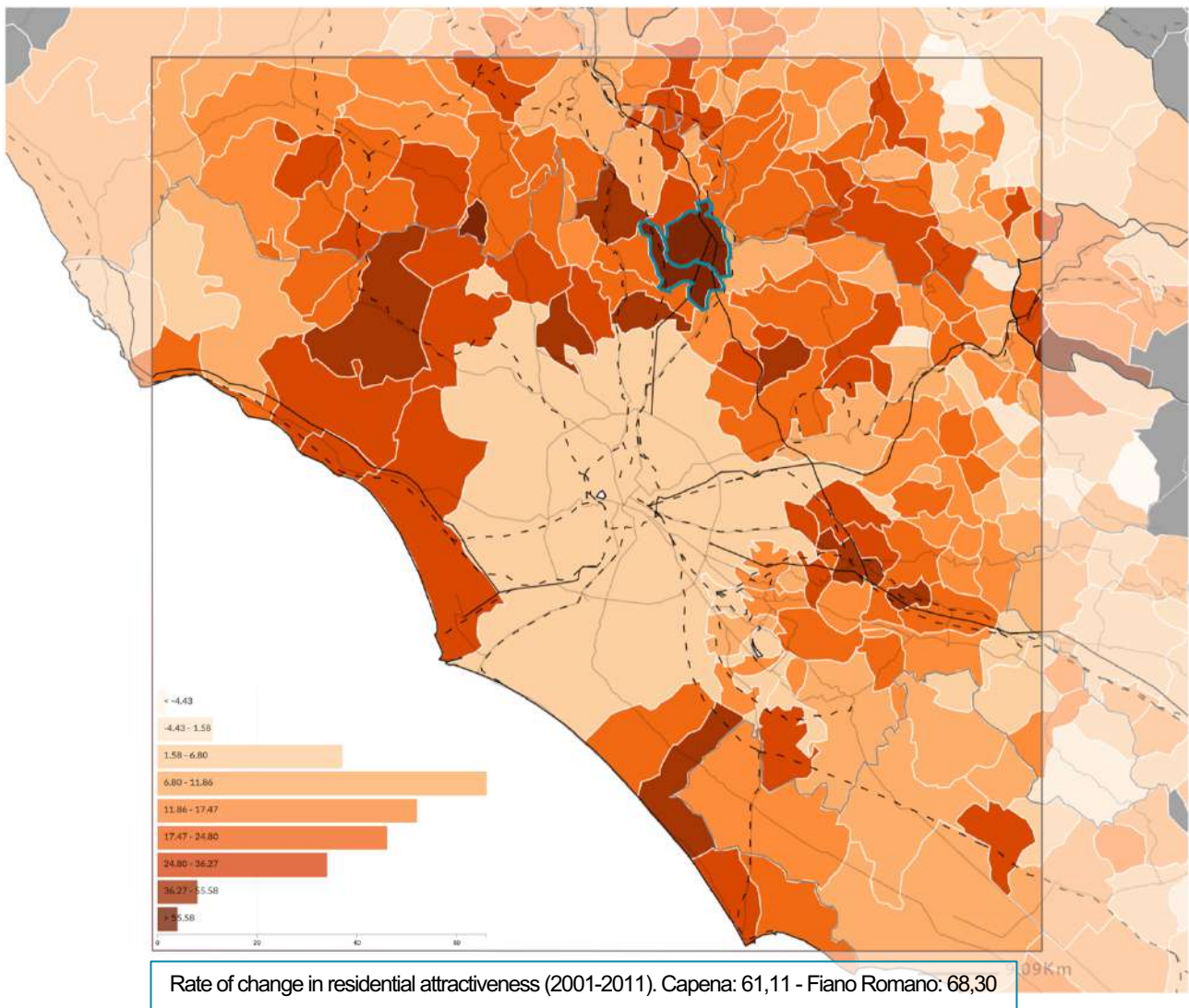


Figure 95. Rate of change in residential attractiveness in Capena and Fiano Romano (2001-2011).

Source: *Atlas Post-Metropolis*

Note: The rate represents the net migration over a decade each 100 residents at the year 2001. It has been calculated through the sum-up of nets migrations per year from 2002 to 2011 (i.e. by observing the subscriptions and deletions on municipal master data due to the effective change of address) divided for number of residents in 2001 and multiplied by 100.

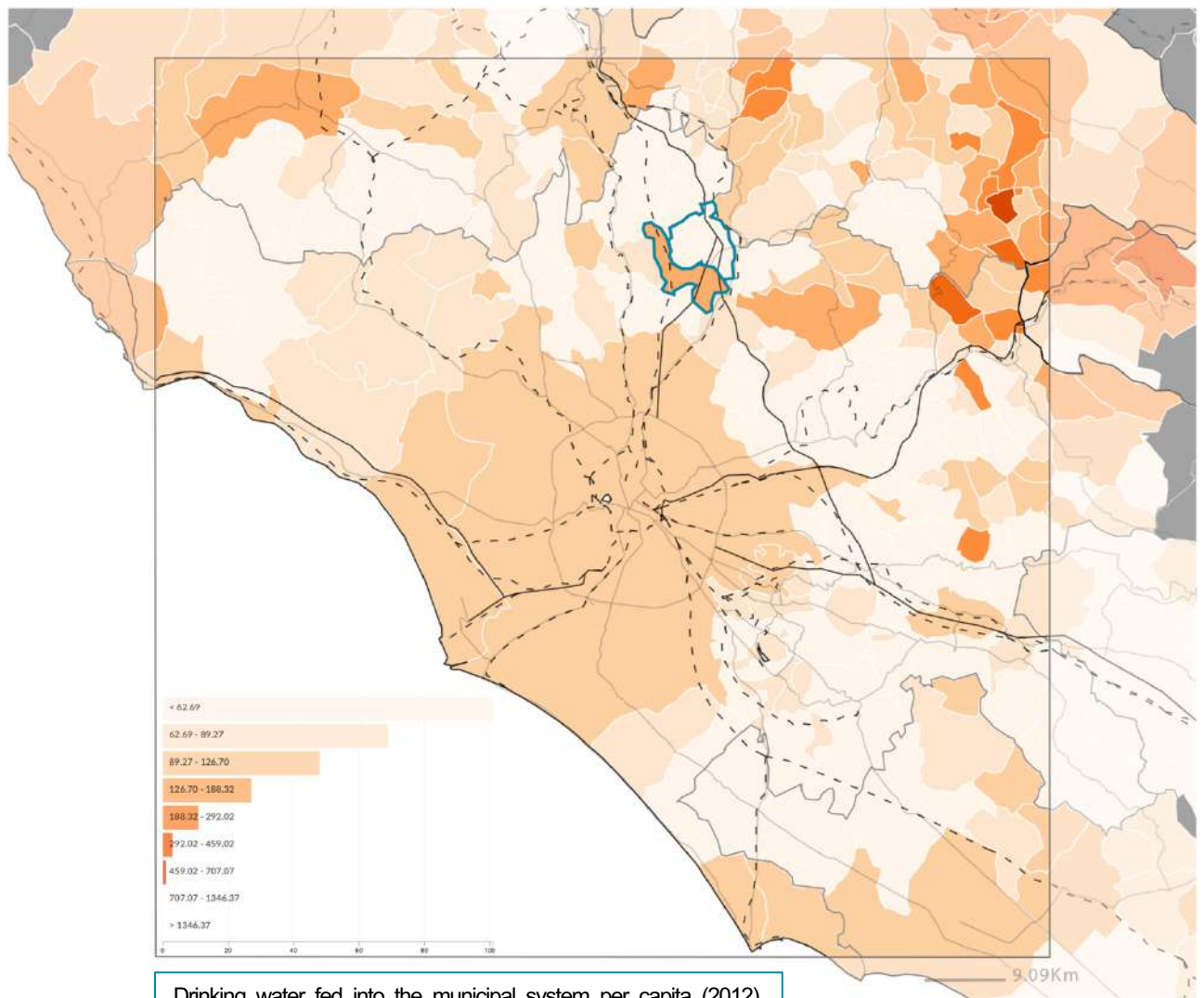


Figure 96. Drinking water fed into the municipal grid system per capita in Capena and Fiano Romano (2012).
Source: *Atlante Post-Metropolis* based on ISTAT, census of drinking water for residential use. Measurement unit: cubic meters per inhabitant every year.

Macro-category	Selected indicators	Year	Source	Measure Unit	Capena	Fiano Romano
	Ten-year average rate of change in resident population	1991-2011	ISTAT	%	41,2	45,4
	Rate of young couples with children	2011	PRIN PM	%	9,6	10,1
	Unemployment rate	2011	ISTAT	%	11,6	9,3
	Youth unemployment rate (age 15-24)	2011	ISTAT	%	32,2	31,4
	Rate of NEET (age 15-29)	2011	ISTAT	%	13,6	13,6
	Rate of families in a potential economic hardship	2011	ISTAT	%	3,4	2,9
	Rate of elders alone	2011	ISTAT	%	24	22,9
Socio-economic conditions	Gini index	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,198	0,2064
	Percentage variation of average price in housing purchase	2007-2012	OMI	€/sqm/month	-7,2	0,7
	Variation of dwellings	1991-2011	PRIN PM	%	117%	124%
	Building expansion index in residential areas over a decade	2011	ISTAT	%	30,5	30
	Rate of residential attractiveness	2001-2011	PRIN PM	Index	61,1	68,3
	Housing exclusion index (rate of inappropriate dwellings)	2011	ISTAT	Index	0,3	0,3
Housing	Variation of anthropized land	2000-2006	PRIN PM	%	14	62
	Private mobility (use of private vehicle)	2011	ISTAT	%	69,8	73,2
	EG - Edge Density (index of urban landscape splintering)	2015	ISPRA	m/sqm	482,5	448,4
	Land consumption per capita	2015	ISPRA	sqm/inhab.	341,1	383
	Mobility index (commuting for employment purposes)	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,82	0,85
	Self-containment index (internal commuting for employment)	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,25	0,35
	Public transportation use	2011	ISTAT	%	15,1	13,8
	Index of accessibility to railway stations	2014	PRIN PM	Classes (0-4)	2	2
Land and Mobility	Index of accessibility to urban nodes through roads	2014	PRIN PM	Classes (0-4)	2	2
	Economic dynamism index	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,61	0,89
	Rate of public authorities' dynamism	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	-0,07	0,64
	Percentage of workers in companies APS and KIBS (ATECO sectors J, K and M) on the total amount of workers	2011	ISTAT	%	5,718	4,918
	Index of peripherality/centrality in services provision	2013	PRIN PM	Classes (0-5)	4	4
	Pharmacies per 10.000 inhabitants	2011	Health Minister	N. x 10.000 inh.	0,2	0,2
	Drinking water fed into the municipal grid system per capita	2012	PRIN PM	Cubic meter/inh. x year	133,9	56
	Percentage of waste separation (recycling)	2013	ISPRA	%	57,2	38,2
Service Provision	Index of general infrastructural provision	2014	PRIN PM	Range value (0-1000)	15	18

Table 13. Reorganization of data according to five macro-categories identified by the authors. Source: *Atlante* PRIN Post-Metropoli and Urban Index database

3. On-field: spotlight on a “new suburbia”. Insights from Fiano Romano and Capena

From June 2018 to March 2019, a qualitative fieldwork activity has been carried out in order to discover what sort of (sub)urbanities are taking form after two decades of massive expansion in Capena and Fiano Romano. The fieldwork consisted of six visits where ethnographic observations and interviews have been collected [see Appendix B]. As with the other two cases, the goal is to tackle the three main drivers of the contemporary suburban investigation put in motion by the international research “Global Suburbanisms”: governance, land and infrastructure. The attempt is to connect these aspects to the inquiry on the provision of local welfare at the urban edges, within the rationale that suburbs may be key areas of 21st century urban transformations, even for the governance of well-being services. The two cases at the edges of Rome enhance the tenuous link between legacies of the past peri-urban development of Rome and the present movement from urban peripheries to rural – albeit urbanized – areas dependent from the urban core of Rome. In this respect, as remarked in the conclusion, the case of Rome provides findings on how a “suburban pattern” is today appearing in a country where the suburban no works as interpretative tool of diffused urbanized landscapes [see chapter 3]. The journey to the selected Northern urban edge of Rome begins with the emphasis on governance, to retain a focus on the actual decisions and non-decision made by state and non-state actors that drive and influence suburbanisms (Hamel & Keil, 2015: 349).

3.1 Governance: tensions and slowness in the provision of welfare

The organization of local welfare in Tiber Valley: developing a Consortium

Many scholars agree that suburbanization of Mediterranean countries is characterized by a “friendliness to the city”, defined by Lila Leontidou (1990) with the Greek term *astyphilia*. Italy is not immune to such process, although an insight on the site-specific aspects is needed for a deeper understanding of contemporary trajectories. Within this dissertation outline, the research on suburban governance deals with the governing aspects regarding welfare services, i.e. how local administrations organize welfare provision, even in the view of multilevel governance framework [see chapter 2]. As introduced in the third section of chapter 4, governance of welfare in Italy is at first sight investigated by addressing how local administrators have planned for welfare in view of the National “Framework Law” 328/2000, which establishes principles, guidelines, multilevel responsibilities and site-specific “Area Plans” for the implementation of local welfare services. In Lazio region, such promulgation came into force only in 2016, thanks to the Regional Law 11/2016, anticipated by the Resolution 136/2014, which provided guidelines for the local territorial scopes to implement the *Piani di Zona* (Area Social Plans). Essentially, the national “Framework Law” ascribed more responsibilities to the local governmental authorities – i.e. the Regions – in the provision of social services, particularly by introducing the new tool of “Area Plans” (*Piani di Zona*). In a nutshell, whilst the single town borough organizes its own social

services to support citizens' needs, the application of Law 328/2000 principles is rather related to the pursuit of territorialisation of social policies.

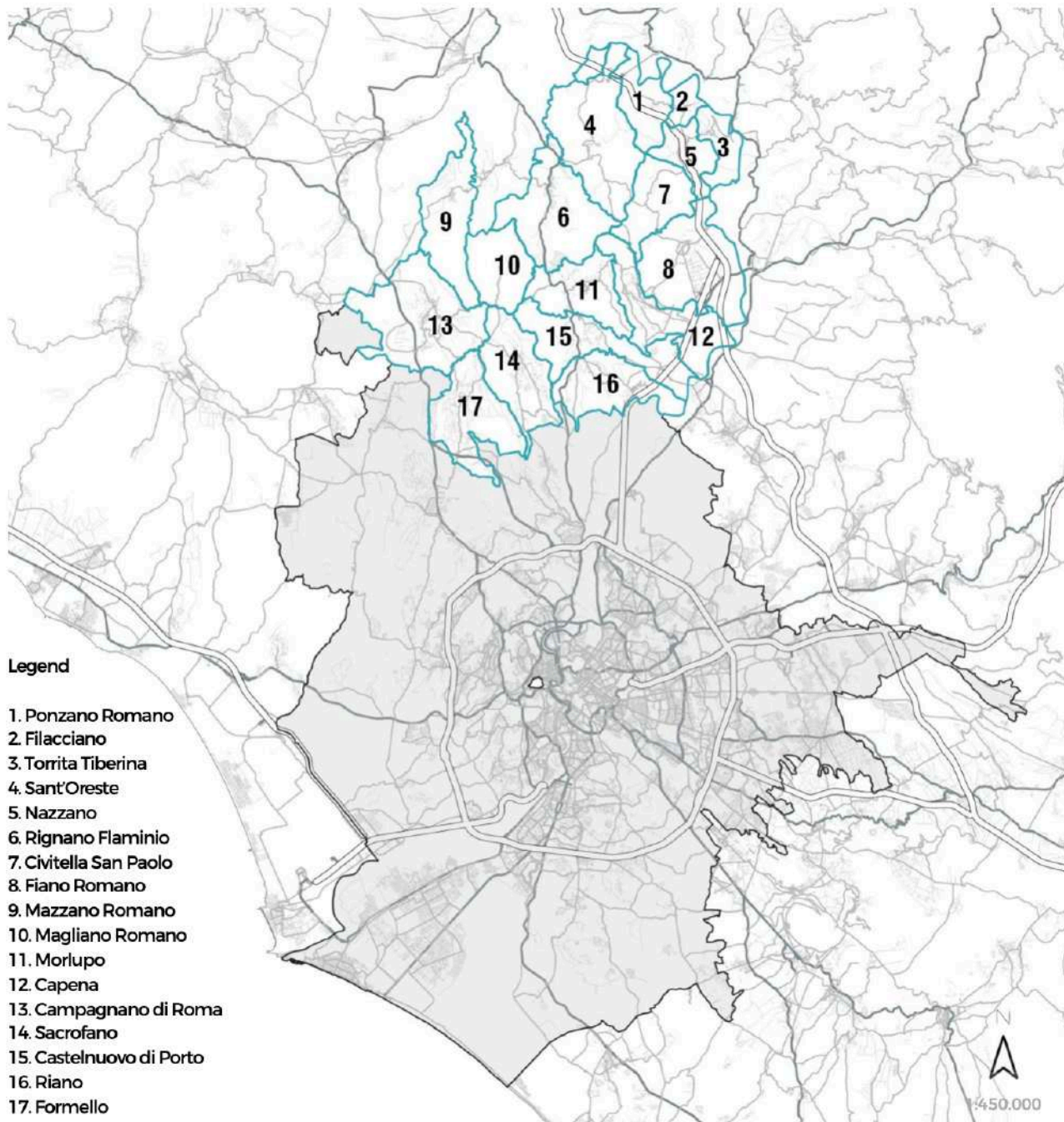


Figure 97. Location of the 17 municipalities included in *Consorzio Valle del Tevere*. Source: author's construction

Fiano Romano and Capena are under the umbrella of the recently launched *Consorzio Intercomunale Valle del Tevere* ("Inter-municipal consortium of Tiber Valley for Social Services and Interventions"), which ties 17 municipalities located within the administrative boundary of *Città Metropolitana di Roma Capitale* [see Fig. 97] inhabited by 111.675 people⁹⁰. Objectives and policy-making of the Consortium have been discussed with the Director, Simonetta de Mattia, whose office is located in the town hall of

⁹⁰ The data is retrieved from the sum of the inhabitants of each municipality. Source: ISTAT (2017)

Formello, the front-runner municipality of the Consortium, set respectively 21,9 km away from Capena and 27,5 km away from Fiano Romano, and reachable mainly through winding provincial roads.

In the background, the regional Social Plan drawn up in view of the Law 11/2016, has been updated on January 2019⁹¹ to pursue the pathway initiated in 2003, when *Ufficio di Piano* (“Area Plan” office) has been launched according to the contents of the National Law 328/2000, which envisage the “Area Plan” for the organization and governance of social services on the specific sub-regional scale of socio-health districts. The shifting to a consortium agreement resulted from the regional Law 11/2016, in order to reconcile the planning of social services and the citizens’ needs in a closer interplay.

The Consortium has been launched on January 2016, but the organization of its policy-making took almost three year, a period where the former Area Plan defined in 2003 has been maintained as a guide to maintain the provision of social service during the of economic crisis. The Consortium works for welfare in view of the regional guidelines, and in this respect, it organizes its policy-making through six actions [see Table 14]. The of six actions are sustained by a governance where the Region lie behind the definition and the funding of the trajectories undertaken by the Consortium.

Actions	Contents
Action 1	Basic services: - sub-action 1.1: home-based health-care for elderly - sub-action 1.2: educational home-based services - sub-action 1.3: day care centres - sub-action 1.4: Area Plan office
Action 2	Specific Area Plan for small municipalities (<2000 inhabitants)
Action 3	Non-self-sufficiency: - sub-action 3.1: interventions from the regional Law 20/2006, coping with the Regional Fund for non-self-sufficiency
Action 4	Families and youths: - sub-action 4.1: family foster care - sub-action 4.2: support to the burden concerning minors included in foster home structures - sub-action 4.3: child protection, <i>Officine per la famiglia</i>
Action 5	Tackling addictions
Action 6	Social inclusion: - sub-action 6.1: tackling poverty - sub-action 6.2: tackling housing difficulties - sub-action 6.3 interventions for mental distress
Other interventions	Other issues not involved in the Area Plan

Table 14. Actions envisaged by the Consortium of Tiber Valley. Source: Area Plan progress report (2018)

In this regard, the governance of the Consortium is organized around four main points of reference. The Director manages the organization of activities and the definition of policy-making directions, the President, represented by the Mayor of front-runner municipality (i.e. Formello), is the authority who connect the Assembly – composed by the Mayors of the 17 municipalities – and the Executive Board, formed by the President and seven advisors selected among the Assembly members, from which is selected also the “Revision committee”, aimed at monitoring the accounting, fiscal and financial regularity.

⁹¹ The Regional Social Plan *Prendersi Cura, Un Bene Comune* is downloadable here: http://www.regione.lazio.it/binary/rl_main/tbl_documenti/POS_Deliberazione_consiglio_regionale_1_24_01_2019_Allegato1_Piano_sociale.pdf

According to the Actions and the governance of the Consortium, the interview to the Director unfolded a number of issues revolving around some key elements of the local welfare rationale: socio-health development, the territorialisation of social policies, the ways in which citizens' needs are identified, the main fragilities addressed by the Consortium. However, some key aspects affect the policy-making. First, the disarticulated suburban development that still characterizes the area: the prevalent model of single-family houses is interspersed with residential condos detached from the historical nucleus of the numerous small-towns. This issue has negative impacts on the social cohesion side, where the old population established in the historical nucleus is in a way separated from the newcomers. Such aspect will find clear examples in the contexts of Fiano Romano and Capena. Moreover, this disarticulation hampers the development of territorialisation processes, as considering a spatial implication of social policies in suburbs spatially uneven. Second, the unwieldy role of Rome that, due to its manifold problems of public management, absorbs most of the efforts and resources within the metropolitan governmental dimension. This issue determines a pyramid scheme in welfare provision within Lazio Region, where Rome is hegemonic, hence slowing down the regional and sub-regional organization of services (for e.g., the "Plan to contrast poverty", strongly focused on the peripheries of the Capital city). Third, the difficulty to reach a shared consensus among seventeen administrations. Initially, many mayors were skeptical while delegating some responsibilities of social services to a supra-municipal institution. This feature affected the political construction of the Consortium, as the awareness of a collective endeavour to improve social services was very low, thus hindering the development of a new institution in view of the regional Law 11/2016, aimed at creating a network towards a more adequate welfare provision closer to citizens' needs and their living places (i.e. able to respond to suburbanisms).

Today the Consortium works on the gathering of actors and organizations from the Third Sector to be involved in the governance of welfare services. These relationships are sustained by the financial approval (accreditation) to these actors, aimed at strengthening the tie between municipalities and the Consortium, as the Third Sectors organizations are supposed to be strongly informed on the main problems of each municipalities where they are based. The amount of funding is established by National guidelines, and the delivery of expenditure to the Third Sector actors is mainly guaranteed by the Consortium, whereas the rest is provided by each municipality, where applicable. Furthermore, two interventions have been launched during the months of March and April 2019: (1) a funding to contrast housing shortage for those families subjected to late payment and at the risk of eviction; (2) a public announcement to select a Third Sector actor for the co-planning of citizens' empowerment projects to improve their capacity to reach monetary supports, such as the former SIA (*Sostegno per l'Inclusione Attiva*, transl. "active inclusion sustainment") replaced on January 1st, 2018 by REI (*Reddito di Inclusione*, transl. "income of inclusion"), then substituted in its turn by *Reddito di Cittadinanza* ("citizenship income"), introduced by "Conte government", which set up on June 1st, 2018 (hence when this fieldwork was ongoing). However, although the Consortium is implementing its policy-making, the interaction with the municipalities is still under construction, and few innovations laid down by local welfare paradigm are little developed (such as the territorialisation of social policies, the socio-health integration, the fostering of social cohesion). In this respect, local welfare is still framed on the specific municipal boundaries of the social service provision, according to the contents of the six Actions [see Table 14]. Therefore, the organization of welfare in Tiber Valley works principally to ameliorate the localization of social services in the field of home-based care and support to families, even tackling poverty, although reproducing the traditional subdivision of competences and activities via "organ pipes" (see Catalano et. al., 2016). Furthermore, suburban municipalities involved in the Consortium are still experiencing a number of difficulties in the organization of social services, particularly at the current time when the impacts of the

economic crisis imply a reduction of available public funding. These problems are visible in the target-areas of Fiano Romano and Capena, where both the contemporary demographic increase and the consequent societal changes play a key role.

The difficulty of addressing new socio-spatial inequalities: welfare governance between Capena and Fiano Romano

The Consortium works for the integration of the provision of social services, between a supra-municipal entity and the organization at the municipal level. However, the construction of a mutual relationship looks still problematic due to many reasons, as reported by Simonetta De Mattia, the Director of *Consorzio Valle del Tevere*. The uneven and poorly regulated suburban development and the consequent creation of different scattered social groups where old and new inhabitants cohabit; the unreadiness of some politicians about the importance of innovating welfare services according to the societal changes and the new social risks (precariousness, poverty, ageing, etc.); the leadership of some local administrations – usually in the most populous towns - which are often unwilling to devolve powers to other institutional actors. On such basis, a focus on the municipal organization of welfare services is needed for both the suburbs of Capena and Fiano Romano. In so doing, the investigation addresses primarily the governance of social services.

In this respect, Fiano Romano, i.e. one of the most inhabited towns amongst the municipalities co-administrated by the Consortium (15.708 inhabitants in 2017, ISTAT source), is widely considered by both inhabitants and administrators as a forefront in the implementation of well-being services in the metropolitan area of Rome. The expenditure allocated for social policies (i.e. the budget item *Missione 12 – Diritti sociali, politiche sociali e famiglia*, same for all the public budgets' documents) amounted to € 1.790.275,42 in 2016⁹², i.e. 13% of the total public expenditure (€ 13.493.387,39 as illustrated in the documentation). Equally, the Director of the Administrative Department of (Finance and Administration)⁹³ stated that nowadays such expenditure amounts to about € 1.500.000, i.e. 10% of the whole public spending. Differently, in Capena the expenditure for social policies (*Missione 12*) amounted to € 570.256,41 in 2016⁹⁴, i.e. 8,06% of the whole expenditure in the same year (€ 7.073.010,76).

According to what illustrated by Carla Parlati, the responsible of the Municipal office in Fiano Romano for social services, the organization of service provision may be framed into three main areas of intervention: (1) services for youths, (2) social care, (3) tackling poverty. In Capena, instead, the Administrative Sector 5 (School and Social services, former Sector 6 – General Affairs and Personal Services) governs social services in a slightly different framework, illustrated as follows by Marsia Ferrari, the Municipal responsible in Capena: (1) child care, (2) home care, (3) education and schooling assistance. Before moving to the specificities of each municipality, an overview based on the two subdivision unfolds the main drivers of local welfare governance between Capena and Fiano Romano.

Starting with the latter, the area of childcare is mainly dedicated to the provision of an adequate network around schooling. First, the public nursery “Mara Schiarini” – managed by the Social Cooperative *Dolce* through a public delegation – has reached its maximum receptivity during the last years,

⁹² Resume of “current public expenditure” (*spese correnti*) in Fiano Romano for the year 2016: http://www.studiok.it/comuni/fianoromano/bilancio/stampa_bilancio.php?txtname=2016consorr

⁹³ 26/9/2018: Interview to Carla Parlati (head of social services), introduced by a foreword by Dr. Francesco Fraticelli (director of the Administrative Sector 1: Finance and Administration), held at Fiano Romano Town Hall.

⁹⁴ Resume of “current public expenditure” (*spese correnti*) in Capena for the year 2016: <http://www.halleyweb.com/c058018/zf/index.php/trasparenza/index/index/categoria/228>

i.e. 60 children, as established by Regional Laws⁹⁵. For such reason, the Municipality has launched a series of leisure afternoon-activities for those children on the waiting list, together with a programme for education assistance for the kids aged 3 to 6. The price for the public nursery varies among a minimum of €250 per month for low-income families to a maximum of € 400 for families with higher incomes, whereas for those families who are non-resident in Fiano Romano, a flat €450 fee is set⁹⁶. Furthermore, three more private nurseries are present, whereas in Capena they are two.

The governance of early childcare in Capena is somewhat different, as the local administration suffers economic difficulties that hamper a reasonable service provision to population that has significantly increased. According to the information on the institutional website, the management of the public nursery – by a social cooperative – has been suspended for the year 2018-19. Until then, the €484 fee for the full-time service (7:30am-6:30pm) and €338,80 for the part-time services (7:30am-1pm) was integrated by a municipal monetary support for fragile families (for instance, a €180 contribution for full-time service and €120 for part-time service, destined to those families with an ISEE below €7000, cut by €20 for each higher income bracket, until a €0 contribution for the ISEE above €27000 per year). The very field of early childcare governance is meaningful, as it proves the municipal efforts to ensure a key public service for families at a time of downsize in public expenditure. However, while in Fiano Romano a public nursery is still operating, in Capena families are today pushed towards more expensive private services. The special focus on education services also entails primary education and schooling. Both municipalities are equipped with a so-called *Istituto Comprensivo*, an education structure that includes both pre-primary education (i.e. kindergartens, 3 to 6 years of age), primary education (6 to 11 years of age), and lower secondary education (*scuola secondaria di primo grado*, also known as *scuola media*, 12 to 15 years of age)⁹⁷. In Fiano, such structure has been merged in one single building, whereas in Capena it is scattered amongst several structures [to see the distribution of education services, see section 3.3]. For poor families, payment of school fees meets public financial aid according to ISEE income bracket. Furthermore, municipalities supply some key services, such as canteens, sports and cultural after-school activities, transport for disabled and school bus services, as well as additional programmes of “schooling education assistance” (*assistenza educativa scolastica*). In Fiano Romano, for instance, a specific professional profile – the AEC (*assistente educativo culturale*, namely: assistant for education and culture) supports primary schools’ pupils affected by disabilities, whereas in Capena a public call is directed to Third Sector organizations to integrate school services with education assistance. However, the economic difficulties experienced by the Municipality of Capena over the last decade, together with the chaotic demographic increase, hamper the improvements of such services. A social assistant operates – through an agreement with a social cooperative – both in Fiano Romano and Capena to provide public service of social assistance, mainly destined to the youth population. Furthermore, in Capena the availability is limited to a short time of 16-18 hours per week. In this respect, the on-field investigation attempted to identify the main public services in the field of social care to support families’ economic difficulties and to attempt meeting citizens’ needs. However, the broad field of social care looks troubled in both municipalities by a conventional organizational structure, where the weight of economic downsize is evident. A specific attention is devoted here to home-based services, provided to support the domestic sphere of well-being.

⁹⁵ Regional Law 16 June 1980, n. 59 “Rules on childcare facility” (*Norme sugli asili nido*), modified and integrated by the Regional Law 1 June 1990, n. 67.

⁹⁶ Brochure of education services for the school year 2018/2019, Municipality of Fiano Romano: http://www.comune.fianoromano.rm.it/images/files/tariffe/Brochure_Servizi_Scolastici.pdf

⁹⁷ The terms pre-primary education, primary education and lower secondary education are reported according to the ISCED levels of instruction (International Standard Classification of Education, by UNESCO)

In Fiano Romano, home-based assistance is organized through requests from the judicial body. In a nutshell, educational assistance at home is required by the Court to intervene on problematic family situations for minors' protection. As argued by Carla Parlati from the social services office of Fiano Romano, the governance of such home-based service is organized by the Consortium "Valle del Tevere", which took in charge two minors during the year 2018. Moreover, home-based nursing care is outsourced to a social cooperative (*Cassiovas*).

Home-based services in Capena are organized in two main strands, as it represents the key of social policies organization. The first strand is dedicated to minors, through an intervention by the municipal social assistance. The second is dedicated to a general family support governed by the Administrative bodies. Here, the services are very tailor-made: public bonus to help in the payment of gas and electricity, maternity allowance provision, scholarship to high school students (which are, by the way, not located in the Municipality of Capena), and payment reduction in the use of public transports (by "Cotral", the regional road transit network, and "Fratarcangeli", a subcontracted company for short-term journeys from Capena to the closest train stations or transit nodes). In general, the expenditure dedicated to home-based assistance amounted to 94783.20€ in 2015. The whole service is provided after analysing the income situation of each family or person. However, Marsia Ferrari enhances the obsolescence of the municipal organization in contrasting economic difficulties by providing home-based services, as the municipal regulation drafted in 2009 entails a 30%-40% of public economic contribution to fragile families, a percentage which is today low, in view of the impoverishment due to the global crisis.

A similar web of services is also existent in Fiano Romano in tackling poverty thanks to the front-office of socio-economic hardship. Carla Parlati pointed out the twofold impact on poverty of the global crisis on one hand, and of the demographic increase on the other hand. To face such complexity, the development of a software to supervise fragilities through a geo-localization has been put in motion, albeit it has not been launched yet. Basically, the contrast to poverty in Fiano Romano is co-organized together with the Consortium, particularly on the side of monetary supports, i.e. in the identification of those people that may benefit from monetary supports to contrast poverty, i.e. the former SIA and REI, and the current *Reddito di Cittadinanza* (Citizenship income). In addition, the collective effort by the Municipality (Social Services) and the Consortium – Carla Parlati argues – is currently providing home-based assistance to 57 people, amongst adults with disabilities and elderlies. Furthermore, Carla Parlati enhances the key role of housing problems in generating poverty, although housing-as-welfare-issue will be addressed in the next section [see 3.2].

Social care between Fiano Romano and Capena is also affected by a low attention dedicated to programmes of social inclusion, intended according to the pillar of local welfare rationale [see chapter 3]. In Fiano Romano the job placement of people with disabilities is guaranteed through a work grant for daily activities at the public library, in desk municipal services or at the sport centre. At this moment, 6 grants are dispensed. In Capena, no specific pathways of active inclusion of fragile citizens are currently put in place, due to the shortage of experts and economic resources to be allocated in the improvement of social services with an eye to the social inclusion and citizens' participation. In a nutshell, citizens' empowerment through an innovation of welfare services is absent between Fiano Romano and Capena.

To conclude the overview on the governance of social services, one additional weakness needs to be addressed: the lack of experimentation in the integration between different policy fields, in particular the integration between health and social policies. Although Simonetta De Mattia from the Consortium pushes socio-health policy integration, the two target-municipalities looks not able to develop agreements with ASL (Local Health Authority, *Azienda Sanitaria Locale*), while the Consortium is still working on the allocation of economic resources to integrate service to citizens with those for health. In this regard, the

ASL of Capena, works as a local hub for diagnosis or basic health services. In sum, socio-health comes as an aspect to be stimulated, according to what declared in the interviews by Simonetta De Mattia (Consortium *Valle del Tevere*), Marsia Ferrari (Capena) and Carla Parlati (Fiano Romano), as well as in view of a recent Regional Deliberation (n. 792/2018) which calls for agreements among five municipalities to promote integrated programmes to tackle collectively social and health issues⁹⁸. A sum-up amongst traditionally adequate services for youths, basic services for adults and fragile citizens, and lack of local welfare innovations lead to a number of comments related to the inability by the administrations and the government of *Città Metropolitana di Roma* to provide a fair provision of welfare services in face of the demographic increase. Such comments are well illustrated by Marsia Ferrari, who argues as follows:

“Here, the majority of municipalities unaltered the public funding while population was increasing. In Capena, regulations of economic subsidies to families are obsolete in view of the impacts of economic crisis. Moreover, in social services we lack professional profiles. In this context, new experimentations or collaborations are very weak, whereas the Consortium did not take up the social and socio-health services yet, even because parochialism amongst municipalities slows down a collaborative governance of welfare” (Marsia Ferrari, March 11th, 2019)

The key issue over the recent past years has been the difficulty to understand the social demands of a new suburban fabric where different populations have been relocating. New inhabitants brought new socio-spatial inequalities, where the weight of global crisis played a key role by impoverishing the old and the new inhabitants of Capena and Fiano Romano.

These pages addressed the governance of welfare services by focusing on the specific boundary of social services, mainly dedicated to youths and the contrast to poverty in families. The emphasis of such themes resulted by the interviews, in the way that public administrators gave importance to specific policy fields, such as schooling, in particular. From an analytical viewpoint, this leads to a specific comment: the pillars of local welfare planning are hardly being involved in the development of emerging suburbia at the northern edge of Rome. Although social policies seem implemented between budget constraints and lack of innovation in governance, the two municipalities still experience a number of difficulties in facing the new socio-spatial inequalities, by pursuing a conventional organization of social policies and basic services provision, without fully addressing the complexities of suburbanisms and answering to the needs of the new inhabitants of Capena and Fiano Romano. In this respect, governance of welfare at this specific urban edge of Rome may be summed up into three main features:

- The main policy fields addressed in the governance of welfare are education services, with a focus on nurseries, primary schools and lower secondary schools. In this field, the main interventions aim at implementing supportive services, from monetary aids in the payment of tuition fees to specific services such as after-school education activities, transports and canteens. Therefore, education represents the primary policy field of welfare addressed by both municipalities, even with

⁹⁸ Furthermore, numbers from municipal budgets indicate a certain amount dedicated to *Programmazione e governo della rete dei servizi socio-sanitari e sociali* (Planning and government of social and socio-health web of services, item 7 within *Missione 12 – Diritti sociali, politiche sociali e famiglia*): in Fiano Romano, this expense amounts to €973.051,21 in 2016, whereas in Capena it amounts to €86.103,83 in 2016. From an analytical viewpoint, these numbers raise an incongruence, as the interviews do not report any specific planning for social-health, dragging instead the responsibility to the Consortium.

consolidated home-based services, whereas other key spheres (such as, for instance local public transport systems or labour market) are not directly addressed by local authorities.

- The commitments to tackle poverty do not meet the heterogeneity of social demands according to the latest societal changes. Rather, they are oriented on the support to reach specific national services (such as the *Reddito di Cittadinanza*) and to report situations of economic difficulties. In this view, collaborations between municipalities and Consortium Valle del Tevere are still ongoing, by tackling also housing shortage. However, such inter-institutional governance is still under construction, hence the effects are little visible after almost two decades of (sub)urban expansion.

- Innovations in local welfare policies do not involve “Valle del Tevere” yet. Integration between policies, such as social and health policies to cope with citizens’ well-being, did not find any experimentation, hence separating the services provided by health authorities (the ASL) and the social services by municipalities and Consortium. In a context subjected to a slightly metropolitan expansion, this lack of policy innovation in the governance of welfare may significantly affect citizens’ well-being.

To unfold such complexity, particular attention shall be devoted to the expansion of built environment between Fiano Romano and Capena. Recent processes of land transformation enable to grasp a deeper understanding of tensions in local welfare organization, in view of an unexpected population increase. Relying on d’Albergo, Moini and Pizzo (2016), in the metropolitan development of Rome, spatial, economic and political ambiguities are intertwined within conditions of public scarcity for new infrastructures and public-private relations aimed at preserving land rent and real-estate incomes. As argued by Brenner (2003), in the newest waves of metropolitan governance economic priorities such as territorial competitiveness and external capital investment are preferred to the efficient delivery of public services that prevailed during Fordist-Keynesian period. Not by chance, Amazon settled two warehouses between Fiano Romano and Passo Corese (in the Province of Rieti, approximately 7 km away from Fiano Romano). Issues regarding “suburban land” in the two target-areas reverberate on welfare provision and social infrastructures in so far as they face the development of suburbs and new urban peripheries, which is not separated from infrastructure provision. This involves the further examinations on who owns and who controls land (see Harris & Lehrer, 2018) in the emerging suburbia at the norther edge of Rome. A specific case from Fiano Romano, and a more succinct overview on the most recent settlements of Capena shed light on such questions.

3.2 Land: in-between s-regulation for new built environments

How to depict spatial patterns of the emerging suburbanisms between Fiano Romano and Capena? Investigations regarding features and forms of most recent development patterns may be helpful in this view. In Europe, zoning is considered the most familiar method for land use regulation, to define land use. However, in a longstanding historical trend, the (sub)urban development of Rome is affected by a lack of regulation often resulting in the diffusion of unauthorized constructions. The Agro-Romano is not immune to such s-regulation (see De Leo & Palestino, 2017) that differs from the urbanization of Rome, where two “Peep” (*Piano per l’Edilizia Economica Popolare*) planned new peripheral neighbourhoods between 1960s and 1970s, even regulating the unauthorized settlements through the so-called *zone O* (Caudo, 2016). Such trajectories affect the emerging suburbia of Rome, although they are occurring in a different way. Transformations of the Agro Romano (Lelo, 2017) may be framed as morphological changes towards in-betweenness, where patterns of “urbanities” flow into countryside, hence shaping a

new built environment. In Fiano Romano and Capena, such process brought new inhabitants, new suburbanisms and new welfare challenges for towns formerly equipped in responding to the social demands of a deep-rooted population, today turned suburban.

Inside the new settlement of Fiano Romano: tales from Palombaro-Felciare

The suburb of Fiano Romano reveals the turbulence that led the extended urbanization of Rome within the institutional boundaries of the Metropolitan City, where a number of features are overlapped: migration flows from the city to the modified countryside made by single or double family houses, public choices aimed at supporting private investments, as well as the aforementioned societal changes. The suburb run into a significant transformation initiated by a migration flow from the congested and overloaded peripheries of Rome⁹⁹ to “greener” places for new residential solutions stem from single or double-family house. Moreover, the towns are located at a reasonable distance to the urban core of Rome, albeit it can be mainly adequately reached by private transport (i.e. by automobile). From the combination of such processes, new patterns of suburbanism are identified in Palombaro-Felciare, a recently-built neighbourhood located at the bottom of the historical core of Fiano Romano [see Fig. 98].

At this stage, the researches carried out by Nicola Vazzoler (2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2017) come helpful to address s-regulation, land and housing speculation, together with issues of service provision. Vazzoler argument revolves around the inspiring notion of “urban intensity”, adopted to read citizens’ uses and practices in a joint interpretation of the city and the urban, by focusing on the sum of manifold trajectories, practices and ways of living undertaken by the new citizens’, instead of solely concentrating on the physical aspects of (sub)urban territories (Vazzoler, 2016b). As introduced before [see section 1.2], such intensities enable to unfolds the contemporary suburbanisms at the Northern edge of Rome. Palombaro-Felciare (henceforth, PF) is characterized by low-density settlements, reminiscent of the North-American suburban single-family houses, and it sheds light on the relationship between the population increase and the growth of “urbanized land” in the municipality (8,8% from 2001 to 2011 national census, ISTAT, 2012; 62% from 2000 to 2006, source PRIN Post-Metropolis, see Figure 20).

The neighbourhood mostly began to expand in the early 2000s through a chaotic development, reaching its peak between the years 2003 and 2007. Until then, the area was predominantly rural, as most of the landscape of the Tiber valley, where it is located. Outcomes of an unruly expansion have been well described by Vazzoler (2015, 2016a) and then enriched by some interviews conducted to different people: Giancarlo Curcio, the Head of the department for Public Works of Fiano Romano, Marco Di Giovanni (co-owner of a furniture factory located in PF) as well as to three inhabitants of the area that will be introduced afterwards. In this connection, a fieldwork activity carried out between the summer and fall 2018 raised some key problems related to housing and quality of public spaces.

The variety of housing solutions is fragmented by vacant lots available for new constructions (which are currently ongoing in some lots). The evidence from the fieldworks is unwieldy: the private-led development of the area neglected any attention to the infrastructures of public space: the main streets are lacking sidewalks with one exception, built through a subsequent Plan (the so-called PUA, *Piano Urbanistico Attuativo* drawn up in 2016). The scarcity of a number of basic services has resulted into collective disappointment by the inhabitants, who are mainly “newcomers” from other sites – in particular Rome – which became less liveable due to manifold reasons (congested traffic, unsecure

⁹⁹ The incidence rates of the deletions from the register of Rome Municipality on the number of new entrants in the Municipality of Fiano Romano show the important role of Rome: in 2003, 45,16% of new inhabitants of Fiano Romano came from Rome, whereas in 2006, the new inhabitants from Rome were the 55,57%

peripheries, inadequate public transports, increase of prices in real estate market). A key issue of the area is the massive development of single-family houses. While for each plot was envisaged a single house, actually, through an agreement between the construction company and the landowners, an average of four houses were built for each lot, with higher and differently-sized dimensions than expected by the Plan (dated back to 1974). There is a key explanation to this s-regulation: the aim was to respond to a fully private housing development without any attention to the public issues. The goal was to provide the most of villas with their own private green and parking lot. The consequences are rather catastrophic: absence of sidewalks in the main streets [see Fig. 102], a scattered development of self-led sideways usually unpaved [see Figg. 99, 100 and 101], absence of facilities reachable at a walking distance, hence implying the daily use of private car for any activity. Furthermore, frequent problems in water provision are identified, due to the insufficient dimensioning of waterworks as well as the obsolescence of the pipeline systems, unable to provide clear water to a higher number of houses than expected. In general terms, from a technical viewpoint, the unrulèd process of expansion PF did not observe the basic adoption of the Urban Standards regulated by the L. 1444/1968, which guarantee a minimum of public urban facilities per person (sidewalks, parking-lots, green areas) (see Vazzoler, 2017). Consequences of these weak situation have been discussed in two interviews to two members of the former *Palombaro-Felciare* committee (merged into *Coordinamento dei Comitati Civici* of PF in 2016), created to collectively take charge such problems and to promote an improvement of living conditions for these numerous new inhabitants.



Figure 98. Boundaries of Palombaro-Felciare (Fiano Romano). Source: PUA (*Piano Urbanistico Attuativo*), Municipality of Fiano Romano (2016)



Figures 99-102. Images from Palombaro-Felciare: main building typologies [99-100], self-led street [101] and idealtype of main street [102]. Source: author

The pattern of PF reveals a strong private development and an absence of public space, by pointing out features reminiscent of the unauthorized constructions which characterized the (sub)urban expansion of Rome after the WWII. The municipality of Fiano Romano did not expect a massive population increase, thus it had not been able to manage the public infrastructuring of such urbanization process. As a result, juridical consequences called for new intervention. In 2005, the Court of Rieti ordered the confiscation of a specific contested area on one hand, and contested the crimes of unauthorized construction, allotment and abuse of office, on the other hand. On July 9th 2011, the judgement at first instance condemned political members of planning authority, local administrators, constructors and two house owners, but the latter were then found innocent in the second instance (March 28th, 2012), which finally condemned the administrators with the non-custodial benefit (Vazzoler, 2016a). The planning knot concerns the absence of public urbanization due to the lack of economic resources, but not only. As Vazzoler argues (2016a), as well as some local actors, the implementation technical standards (*NTA*, *Norme Tecniche di Attuazione*) from the 1974 Masterplan envisaged a low-density development in the agricultural area at the bottom of the historical nucleus of Fiano Romano, with a form of single/double family houses with greenery (*casa con orto*), defined for a density of 15 inhabitants per hectare. However, the number of housing unit per lots has been higher. In a nutshell, the volumes have not been met, hence causing the plethora of public deprivations. This evidence is also reported by the former president the of PF committee:

“I noticed that new houses were appearing by exceeding the legally permitted volumes. Construction norms were violated between 2003 and 2007: the maximum cubic capacity was 2000m³, whereas some new houses had a 4000m³ of capacity. I realized the evidence that no attention was dedicated to this increasingly anthropized landscape. However, the collective effort to contest such s-regulation was only possible through a “direct interest by the inhabitants”, but only 50 inhabitants out of 300 signed the decision of contestation. As a consequence, today P.F. is a *dormitory suburb* without public facilities” (I. R., June 1st, 2018).

A viable solution has been introduced in 2016 with the new PUA (*Piano Urbanistico Attuativo*) [see Fig. 103]. According to what has been discussed with the director of the municipal Public Office, PUA aims at recasting the public space of PF after the judgement of 2012. In particular, the new Masterplan enables to build on some specific areas not transformed yet, through the specific mechanism of “compensatory disposal” (*cessione compensativa*) which leave a plot of a specific area to the construction of public facilities. A general overview of the main target-areas dedicated to the further development of public facilities are indicated in the box of Table 15. Nevertheless, housing still represents the main target for the further development of the area, although some envisaged functions foresee infrastructures for education and commercial activities.

However, none of those projects have been planned over the last two years, due to the lack of any public-private agreements. For instance, none of the foreseen education structures is under construction. Francesco Fraticelli, from the Financial Administrative Sector, argues that the new PUA for P.F. limits the construction of new dwellings, although in early 2019 they still represent the only buildings in progress [see Figg. 104-107].

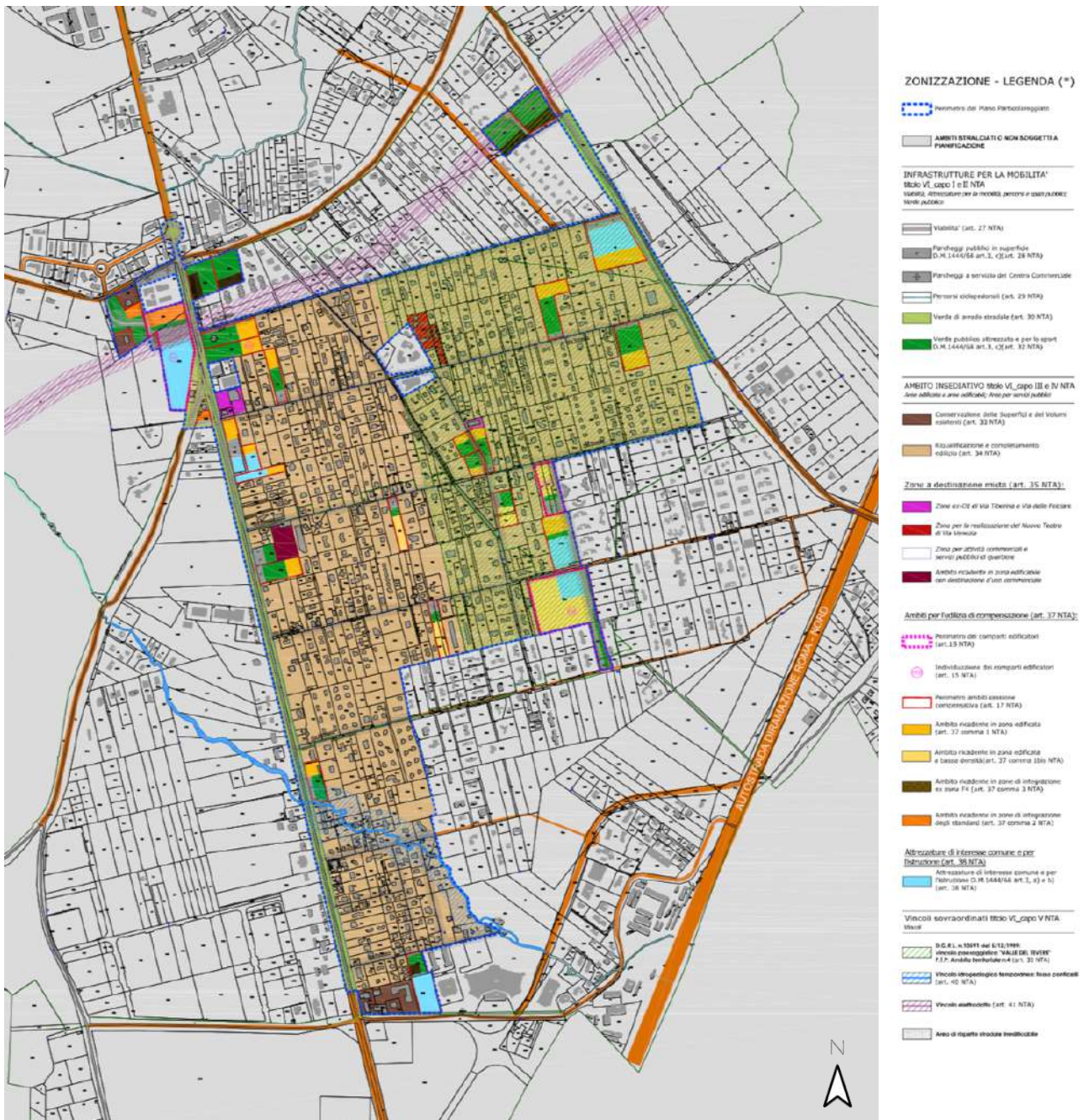


Figure 103. PUA (*Piano Urbanistico Attuativo*) Palombaro-Felciare, 23-12-2016. Source: Urban Planning Department, Municipality of Fiano Romano

Colour pattern in Figure 8	Land Use
	Green areas
	Commercial areas
	Edified areas
	Edified areas (low density)
	Areas dedicated to instruction

Table 15. Main land use destinations foreseen by PUA. Source: author



Figures 104-107. Patterns of current housing expansion in P.F. Picture taken in July 2018 and March 2019.
Source: author

Here, a prominent example is the neglected space for a playground turned into the entrance of a supermarket, which characterize the main presence of public utility service in the surroundings of Palombaro-Felciare [see Fig.108]. This site is located on the side of Via Tiberina, the old “consular road” representing the “market-road” (*strada mercato*) (Indovina, 2009) along with the diffusion of Palombaro-Felciare took place [see Fig. 109]. Although the 2017 Regional deliberation confirms the implementation of the area, the only visible development is the new wave of a housing market of new single-family dwellings built according to the standards. Foreseen developments according to the PUA, were discussed with Giancarlo Curcio, head of the Public Affairs office, who enhances the expected goals by the municipality as well as the slowness in the implementation of PUA:

“Decisions by the Court of Rieti have been a watershed, as the municipality became aware of the land speculation that gave rise to PF. The new PUA today aims at creating pieces of publicness, by building sidewalks, squares, parking lots as well as facilities. In this vein, supermarkets grew as first, to be reached usually by private transport. Actually, dealing with welfare entails provision of what is strictly necessary; this is a condition of those suburbs experiencing a demographic increase. Health, school and social services are ensured, but the implementation of PUA – hence the localization of new public facilities – is running slow.

Now, the challenge is to adjust a rationale led by settlements modalities not interested to the public roads, but rather oriented to privatization of space” (Ing. Giancarlo Curcio, July 10th, 2018).



Figures 108 and 109. The neglected playground [108] and the “market-road” Via Tiberina [109]. Source: author

This issue raised by Giancarlo Curcio – and shared by most of the inhabitants of the area – is fundamental, as it lie behind the past development as well as the future perspectives of PF, as argued by Marco Di Giovanni (co-owner of a furniture factory located in PF, *Mobili Di Giovanni*):

“To understand PF today, you should be aware of the past. Landowners shaped this area until 1970s. At that time, the 1974 PRG planned *houses with garden*, i.e. made by two floors and, at the very least, an attic. You have probably seen the big number of houses with an underground parking lot, instead, and this was not allowed, actually. Moreover, landowners, house buyers and construction company found a *trick*: they built three detached villas by dividing a land plot in a non-authorized way, hence constructing more than expected by PRG, which foreseen only one house. Today, despite the juridical decisions, this behaviour did not change a lot: there is no interest in implementing PUA, because planning trajectories are still aimed at providing a private green plot within backyards. Spaces for sociality and inclusion are no needed. Real estate still conducts the development of this neighbourhood, regardless the contents of PUA” (Marco di Giovanni, July 11th, 2018).

Whilst some relevant problems – in particular water scarcity, as aforementioned – still affects the area, and the collective civic effort to solve this dispute are slowly finding the support of the Regional Administrative Court, a process of privatization of the space led by housing market is still ongoing. Furthermore, although prices of land and houses have increased after the first wave of constructions, households face today financial constraints due to the cross-class impacts of global crisis. Such downsize also weighs on the bill payment for a weak service. The Facebook group *Fiano Romano Acqua Pubblica*, for instance, reports the constant disputes between inhabitants of PF and “Acea” (the water supply company in Fiano Romano since 2016, which provides the service for the whole city of Rome, hence with a very wide catchment) for the payment of its unstable service. Problems of water supply reveals in a way the slowness in the implementation of PUA, as argued by a member of the Coordination of Committees from PF:

“PUA looks a remedial method to the past mistakes, but there is the risk that it will not be applied. Today the administration does not have the financial means to settle those services envisaged by PUA. As a consequence, some basic services are still lacking, and water, for instance, is insufficient and its distribution is undersized, due to the presence of more households than expected. The administrators are aware of such problems, but

currently they only fixed 250mt of pipelines in Via Venezia, whereas the rest of the area suffers an under-provision” (A. L., March 12th, 2019).

Contents and objective of PUA have been also observed through a Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA, in Italian *VAS*)¹⁰⁰, which identifies six main objectives of PUA: (1) improvement of infrastructural networks, public spaces systems and “primary urbanizations”; (2) reorganization of PF and implementation of “urban standards” disciplined by D.M. 1444/1968 to satisfy past and further needs; (3) finalization of the already existent urban pattern and adjustment of a part of already edified areas; (4) establishment of “service activities” to improve living conditions with new public spaces for cohesion; (5) introduction of the (aforementioned) “compensatory disposal” (*cessione compensativa*) mechanisms to edify to non-built areas according to PUA contents [see Fig. 35], and limitation of building volumes; (6) promotion of specific interventions to foster a non-invasive transformation of the landscape. However, as reported by the interviews and by the on-field observations, after two years such implementation is still weak, and households suburbanisms did not significantly change.

PF has strongly influenced the transformation of Fiano Romano as an in-between area where rural and urban are now fully interwoven, by raising the very rise of a suburban ways living at the North of Rome. However, some general implications from the growth of PF may be identified, by revolving around land transformation as a medium that shape new (sub)urbanities outside Rome. In this regard, the unevenness of the expansion of Fiano Romano points back to three main themes to widely cope with suburbanisms at the urban edges of Rome (De Vidovich, 2018): (1) governability: within a metropolitan framework (legitimized by the recent institutional actor of *Città Metropolitana*), the improvement of living condition in one of the most expanding suburb requires a collective understanding of the needs of a recently formed (sub)urban fabric in unregulated residential patterns; (2) intensity: multi-dimensional effects are overlapped in the growth of PF, from the mutation of the society of Fiano Romano, to the condition of “peripherality” that affect the population. In other words, a process of “urban intensity” (Vazzoler, 2015) has fuelled the (sub)urbanization of Fiano Romano; (3) suburban infrastructure: from transit networks to renovated pipelines for water provision, the improvement of living conditions emerged from a redefinition of policy-fields to face well-being. These three aspects lead to the field of suburban governance, as governance itself needs to be calibrated on a specific spatially based organization, which is embedded here by the “suburban scale”, where transformation of rural areas introduced “urbanities”. In this respect, choices regarding equity and justice (see de Leonardis, 2002) lie behind service provision. In sum, the pathway of PF is the result of a “new population” mainly characterized by former inhabitants of Rome who have settled in PF, giving shape to a “suburbia” detached from the local community, in a deprived area in terms of welfare provision. In other words, the consequences of an uneven suburban development such as the case of PF, entails issues of local welfare, redrafted on a rationale revolving around “the suburban”.

The uneven s-regulated expansion of Capena: an overview

Uneven land transformations have also involved the suburb of Capena, where the diffusion of s-regulated settlements occurred in a more scattered way. For this reason, there is no a site-specific observation as that of Palombaro-Felciare, but rather, suburban land issues in Capena employs a more general overview of the most recent unregulated expansions in built environment scattered through the

¹⁰⁰ SEA is available at the following institutional link:

http://www.comune.fianoromano.rm.it/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2712&Itemid=1486

administrative perimeter of the town. Features and forms of such developments have been discussed with Arch. Giandomenico Pelliccia, Deputy Mayor of Capena, Alderman for Territorial Policies and Building Inspector, compounded by some critical reflections from M.A., the main coordinator of an informal group called “Capena Democratica”, who indicates the morphological and societal features of Capena today, after a massive demographic increase (+95% between 2001 and 2011, whereas in 2017 the population exceeded 10.000 units; in 2001 there were 5628 inhabitants):

“Capena is a fragmented suburb, a disconnected archipelago lacking welfare services. The historical nucleus is inhabited by approximately 3000-4000 people settled since ages. Few local entrepreneurs fuelled the expansion of the town, which has now turned into a *dormitory* of Rome, which is approximately 20 km away. From my personal viewpoint, the *amoral familism* studied by Banfield in a small village of Southern Italy in 1950s, is reproduced in the Capena of 2000s, and the great diffusion of unauthorized constructions is a prime example” (M.A., September 26th, 2018).



Figures 110-112. Images from the historical centre of Capena. In particular Fig. 111 shows a temporary statue settled in the main square. Source: author

The investigation does not take for certain such arguments. However, on-field observations with an ethnographic vein acknowledge the fragmentation of the built fabric. Capena presents a well-preserved historical centre, today enriched by new artistic activities, which brought a statue made by plaster and polystyrene in the main historical square [see Figg. 110-112]. In this respect, Elvira Campanale (Alderman for Social Services, Local Participation, Productive Activities and Tourism) enhances the key role of art in giving a renovated value to the town centre.

The preservation of the historical nucleus as home of the longstanding settled *capenati* (inhabitants of Capena) counterbalances the massive expansion occurred at its bottom amongst agricultural areas until early 2000s, with a similar timeline to the suburban growth of Fiano Romano. As a result, the idea of Capena as a “suburban dormitory” of Rome is also advocated by Arch. Giandomenico Pelliccia, by enhancing the s-regulation of such scattered expansions [see Fig. 113 for the spatial distribution and Figg. 114-118 for the aerial views]:

“Today Capena lives an “hybrid” condition, it is a “dormitory”, which lost its local identity of a town. Until 2001 a number of *enclaves* expanded through un-authorization and lack of regulation, due to a twofold reason: first, planning instruments observe updates still based on regulation instruments from the PRG of Rome dated back to 1942, which was not so oriented to the public spaces provision; second, the typology is the *villetta* (single-family dwellings) built through a speculative model that echoes “abusivism”. I refer to many neighbourhoods: Colle del Fagiano, Pastinacci, Selvotta, Rosetole and, partly, Scoranello. Now, as Administration, we are designing a new PGT to be approved within the end of 2019, where a specific plan for these “periphery” is foreseen. In these settlements, the Urban Standards are not followed, as sidewalks, illumination and adequate sewage system are absent. Indeed, the inhabitants demand such minimum standard, rather than public spaces for gathering and aggregation. We today face the challenge of creating a new suburban fabric, by also regularizing these enclaves” (Giandomenico Pelliccia, March 11th, 2019)

The mentioned neighbourhoods well embody the s-regulated land transformation of Capena, the consequences of which produce two impacts. On the one hand, they raise a number of governmental challenges by requiring new facilities and new ways to gather the necessary financial resources. On the other hand, they transformed the landscape of Capena, which is thus subjected to massive infrastructural changes. Not by chance, as some aerial views of the s-regulated neighbourhoods illustrates, TAV (high-speed railway) crosses the territory of Capena in its latest expansions [see Fig. 114 and 116].

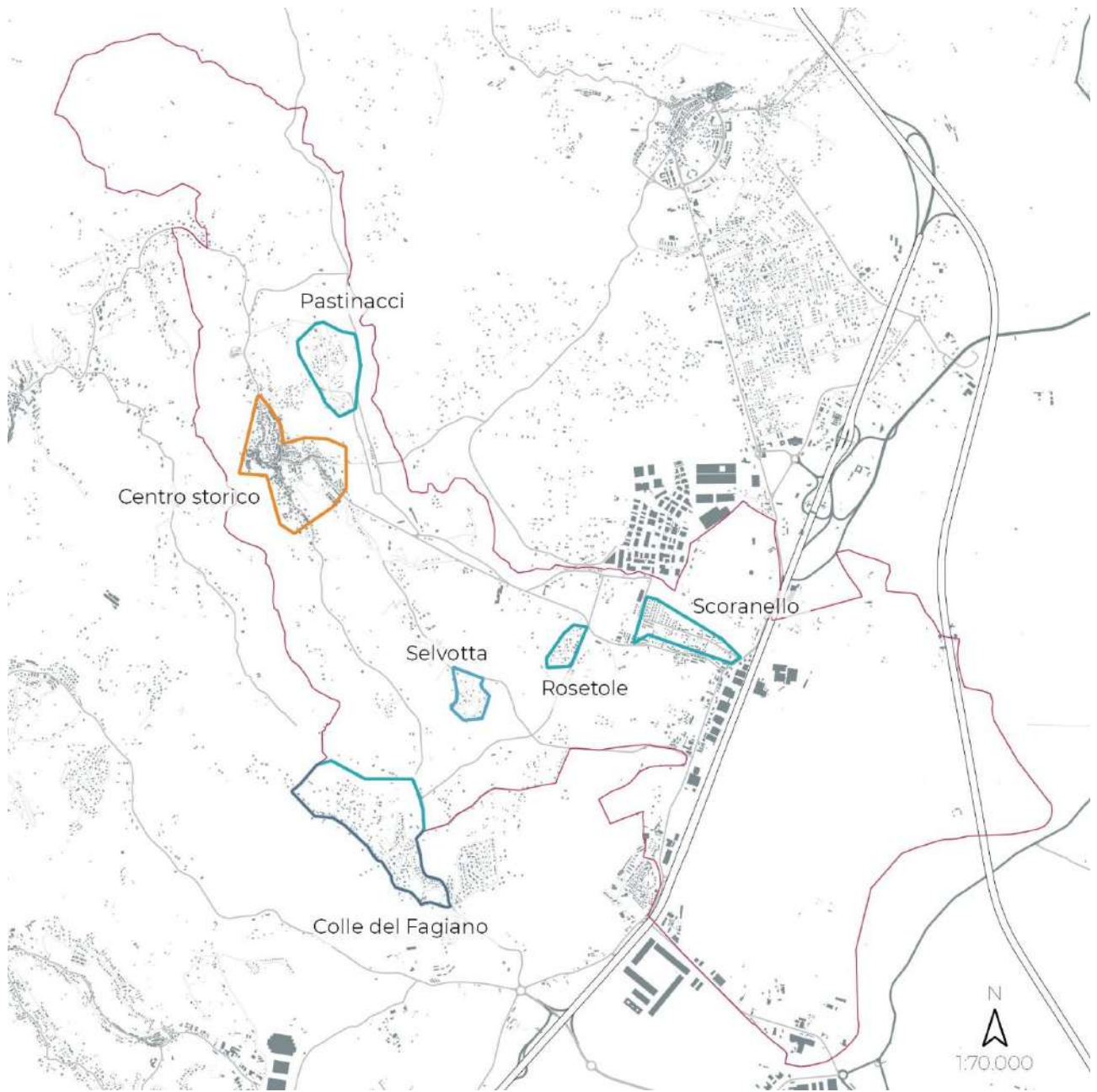


Figure 113. Location of s-regulated neighbourhoods of Capena (light-blue boundaries) and historical city centre (orange boundaries). Source: author



Figure 114. Aerial view of Pastinacci. Source: Google Earth



Figure 115. Aerial view of Rosetole. Source: Google Earth



Figure 116. Aerial view of Colle del Fagiano. Source: Google Earth



Figure 117. Aerial view of Selvotta. Source: Google Earth



Figure 118. Aerial view of Scoranello and Bivio di Capanelle. Source: Google Earth

The uneven development of these “suburban enclaves” within in Capena is acknowledged by some images depicted during the field visits [see Figg. 119-122], showing an absence of basic public functions similar to those noticed in Palombaro-Felciare (Fiano Romano), such as sidewalks, lighting systems (with the exception of Scoranello, subjected to a tailor-based integrated plan, *piano integrato*), and public facilities reachable at a walking distance, or at least at reasonable driving distance. As Arch. Giandomenico Pelliccia argues, there is no inhabitants’ awareness of such areas, and therefore they only serve as “dormitories” for middle-class families. These scattered s-regulated neighbourhoods brought a number of new “public issues” in the land government of Capena, together with a rationale about the management of the main public facilities. The uneven suburban development raised problems in water provision, as seen in PF:

“We have been forced by *Consiglio di Stato* to shift the water provision to “Acea” in autumn 2018. Before, the water management was private, through the traditional call for tender, but now “Acea” faces an urgent implementation, because the municipal aqueduct cannot supply the whole area after such demographic increase. Moreover, some s-regulated neighbourhoods – such as Colle del Fagiano – area still dependent from a private wells and pipes system outside of the “Acea” network. Today we face a public provision problem about water, but we can only gather inhabitants’ demands”. (Giandomenico Pelliccia, March 11th, 2019)

Water provision problems reflects the uneven land s-regulation of Capena, where some other issues are overlapped. With reference to the non-observation of normative rules to edify, Alessandro Ristich, a faily doctor based in Capena, highlights a key feature of s-regulation from a technical viewpoint:

“Consider, for instance, a dwelling of 100 square meters, which foresees 30 cubic system (cubature) and it is designed for two people or, at the most, three. Then, the municipality notices that four people live there,

hence realizing that their home consumption cannot be satisfied with a system that was adequate until ten years ago. Actually, this is an example, because in Capena such control of families' consumption cannot be carried out, due to the absence of professional personnel.” (Alessandro Ristich, October 24th, 2018).



Figures 119-122. Patterns of s-regulation in the “enclaves” of Capena: Colle del Fagiano [121], Pastinacci [122], Selvotta [119], Scoranello [120]. Source: author

What stated by Ristich indicates the interplay between welfare issues – intended as public provision of basic services – and land transformation. The most Capena has grown, the most the Administration has weakened in the public provision, due to the aforementioned economic shortage in social services, due to the insufficiency of professionals, and due to the inability to improve systems – such as that of water supply – in view of the demographic increase. In addition, welfare issues do not match a well-framed social need, as some basic public services (such as school) are guaranteed, and the reason behind the influx of new populations was the ownership of a single-family house, with private green lots, private entrance and where to live amongst “rurality” of Tiber Valley. The viable solution, discussed by Arch. Pelliccia, is the new PRG (foreseen by the end of 2019), aimed at a twofold objective. First, planning “publicness” through Integrated Programmes (*programmi integrati*) entailing private-public collaborations, where the private actors take charge of the infrastructural costs (*oneri di urbanizzazione*) and the public actor defines a re-organization of the land uses. In this respect, the suburban context of Capena looks in a way subjected to an “urban rationale” of planning, where the private actors increasingly play a key planning role, in view of the municipal incapacity to carry out territorial transformations due to the lack of economic resources. Second, “Building a new citizenship” is the sort of slogan pushed by many administrators, such as the Alderman Giandomenico Pelliccia from the Urban Planning Department, and

Elvira Campanale from the Social Policies side, as well as the Mayor Roberto Barbetti, who identifies the further challenges in view of such s-regulated recent expansion:

“We face a challenge between the importance to keep the local culture of Capena on the one hand, by insisting on art in the city centre and on archaeological sites such as *Locus Feroniae*, and to contrast the transformation of Capena as a new *borgata* of Rome on the other hand, as the influence of the urban core is fundamental” (Roberto Barbetti, July 11th, 2018).

Although the overview of the uneven s-regulation of Capena looks less detailed than the micro-story of PF in Fiano Romano, such attention on changes in built environment is helpful in so far as it shed lights on the understanding of what I define here as an emerging suburbia, where in-between territories are engulfed in a metropolitan context where urbanities are more and more appearing, whilst suburbanisms reveal a condition of vulnerability prompted by a low infrastructural development after two decades of massive changes. In Capena, the problems attached on a specific new-settlement of Fiano Romano, looks scattered in a territory where typical rural features are still present together with new built environment that call for a welfare intervention, intended as a pathway to ameliorate the accessibility to public facilities, as well as their territorial distribution. In so doing, the latest section of the on-field findings unfolds issues of suburban infrastructures, before summing up so-called welfare urgencies in the latest section.

3.3 Infrastructure: basic services demanding improvements

A context of emerging deprivation unveiled the typology of suburbanisms that took shape amongst new socio-spatial inequalities resulting from the weaknesses in services provision. Such fragilities are embedded in governance of welfare services mainly targeted around the “conventional” social services: education, contrast to poverty through monetary subsidies, and a slow policy integration in view of the ongoing implementation of the Consortium Valle del Tevere. Furthermore, land transformations through s-regulation in a recently built settlement of Fiano Romano as well as amongst scattered “deprived enclaves” of Capena, disclose a condition emerging deprivation in the accessibility to basic welfare services and public facilities. This condition is experienced by those families which moved to Fiano Romano and Capena over the last two decades seeking better living conditions which has not been found. New suburbanisms between Fiano Romano and Capena reveal a condition stuck between automobile-dependence for any distance and movement (from home-to-work commuting to picking up kids at school) and a basic provision of social services unable to meet an increasing well-being demand. In this view, suburbs raise a novel understanding of welfare services as they unveil social needs entrapped in the inertia of local government organizations (Reimer, Getimis, & Blotevogel, 2014) and the unstoppable suburbanization process where social, economic and urban spatial expansion issues are overlapped, thus making the identification of social needs less visible, particularly in a context such as the urban edges of Rome, where a consolidated organization of welfare, tailor-made on non-suburban communities, faces today recently emerged suburban fabric and suburbanisms. On this basis, beside an overview on the governance of social services on the one hand, and the uneven transformation of built environment on the other hand, the inquiry on local welfare organization also involves discussion on infrastructures. As Addie (2016: 274) argues, “suburban infrastructure will deeply shape the future potentialities and challenges of cities, suburbs and an urbanizing world more broadly”. Hence, it is worth considering suburban infrastructure to unpack access, equity and empowerment in the provision of public utility services and, vice versa, the accessibility to them. Suburban infrastructures, in a way, frame how local

welfare systems (see Andreotti, Mingione, & Polizzi, 2012) are shaped and conceived on a “suburban scale” towards an overarching understanding of social needs at the edges of urban cores. However, an in-depth analysis should take into account the duality of “hard” and “soft” infrastructures [see chapter 4]. Whilst hard infrastructures are planned, generally dispensed in buildings and delivered through professional and organized standards, soft infrastructures refers to a more nuanced and less formal delivery in a self-help arrangements typical of the poorer areas of Global South cities (see Filion & Keil, 2016). Nevertheless, the present research framework is rather oriented on the “hard” side for two reasons. First, to employ a redefinition of welfare services according to suburbanisms, it is necessary to move from what is ensured through a governmental action, regardless of the public or private-public provision. Second, a reasonable identification of soft infrastructure proved anything but simple, as a highly differentiated milieu of the two target-areas experience the use of hard suburban infrastructures – or even their soft alternatives – in dissimilar ways. Therefore, this last section dedicated to the on-field findings aims at simply illustrating the spatial distribution of the main social infrastructures (education services, health services, municipal services for families’ support dislocated on the territory, etc.), public transport infrastructures, and facilities playing a key role for suburbanisms (in this case, for e.g., supermarkets and commercial activities). Other key areas related to citizens’ well-being shall be included, such as green spaces, which shall be divided into equipped/non-equipped green spaces, or even spaces dedicated to leisure activities. However, the broader is the identification of suburban infrastructure, the more complex is the connection to governing issues related to local welfare. In a nutshell, it goes without saying that green spaces as well as places for aggregation and cohesion are important for inhabitants, but a prioritization is needed to grasp the key points of local welfare planning the suburban scale, according to what discovered on-site. In this vein, urban edges such as Capena and Fiano Romano make visible the affirmation of less explored aspects for welfare policy fields that may deserve to be considered.

The spatial distribution of suburban infrastructures between Fiano Romano and Capena

Landscapes and places associated with suburban ways of living are ordered and made accessible by infrastructures. As Filion and Keil (2016) point out, issues of suburban infrastructures are linked directly to the governance of suburbanization through state, capital accumulation and private authoritarian means (Ekers et al., 2012; Hamel & Keil, 2015) [see chapter 1] as well as the production of suburban land. Therefore, in the thesis framework, infrastructures may be viewed as the missing piece of the (non) suburban mosaic [see chapter 2] aimed at unfolding emerging suburbanisms, and hence social needs. Although hard infrastructures are the focus of the following representation of spatial distribution, it should be noted that they do not represent a mere service, but rather they are enablers of living conditions the make other activities possible (Filion & Keil, 2016), albeit they are considered weak. Alongside the mapping activity to reproduce the spatial distribution of infrastructures, a specific attention is also devoted to the narratives, i.e. to talks and viewpoints from both inhabitants and administrators about the accessibility and the efficiency of the main social infrastructures on one hand, and of the other fundamental infrastructures for daily life on the other hand (for e.g. transit networks). This aspect faces the economic downsize experienced by both municipalities – albeit more acute in Capena than in Fiano Romano – as the financial landscape of suburbs is changing, making it difficult for many administrations to provide and maintain levels of infrastructures required to sustain suburbs (Filion, 2013).

As already introduced, the focus on infrastructures considers a specific body of welfare services along the thread of what is actually and effectively needed by inhabitants and, from an administrative-institutional viewpoint, what deserves improvements through a more effective governance of a specific

service. In this respect, suburban infrastructures in the area of Tiber valley between Capena and Fiano Romano have been depicted as follows, by identifying specific “basic” welfare services [see chapter 4]:

- Health services: infrastructures for medical services provided by the Regional public entity (ASL) as well as by private organizations.

- Education services: infrastructures deputed to the early schooling, as well as lower and higher educations.

- Municipal services to support families in need: although the strictly considered social services are provided at the Town Hall, infrastructures that contrast poverty or economic hardship are identified here.

- Facilities: pharmacies (as they have been mentioned in section 2 on the first glance through data) supermarkets (according to its high presence depicted, for instance, in Fiano Romano) and other fundamental activities beyond these two basic facilities, if existent (such as public libraries, cultural centres, or other commercial activities).

Outcomes of such categorization are illustrated in Fig. 123, which unveil an overarching presence of basic services which may deserve an improvement, according to what stated by several local actors, both institutional and non-institutional. The qualitative contributions may lead a commentary of the spatial distribution of social infrastructures, with a particular focus on health and education services. With reference to health services, no interviews to the director of Division 4 of the ASL (Regional health authority) located in Capena, has been collected, due to the lack of time. The connection was put in motion, but the slowness of the bureaucratic process impeded to carry out the interview on time. In this field, a few statements argue as follows:

“ASL in the suburbs of Rome aims more at economizing, therefore it is hard to envisage an improvement of health services. First, more medical specialists would be needed in the ASL Division 4 of Capena. Second, I argue that money transfer to the individual user for hospitalizations in private clinics, because today the National Health System have not enough money to be transferred to the ASL for any improvement. Moreover, new experimentations have little operating room” (Alessandro Ristich, October 24th, 2018).

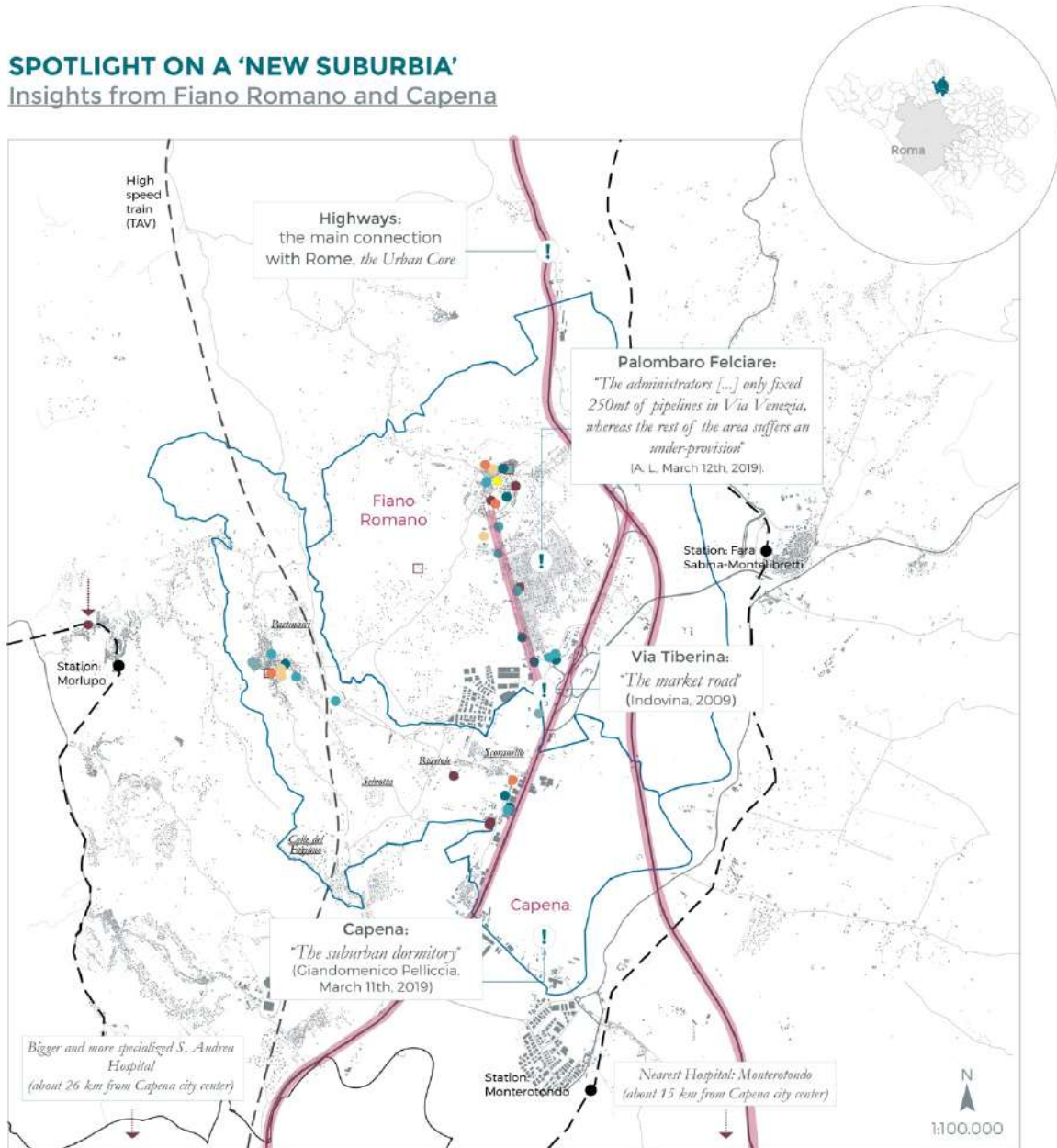
“Although the PUA for Palombaro-Felciare foresees some land uses for health services, this implementation is extremely slow, because there are no private actors aimed at investing in such infrastructures. Therefore, today the planning is oriented on what is strictly necessary. In addition, health services should be organized on an inter-municipal agreement to settle new small clinics, as a single municipality today cannot afford it. In this sense, the health division F4 requires such collaborations. Indeed, ASL is settled in Capena, CSM (mental health centre) is settled in Morlupo, and Monterotondo provides the closest hospital” (Giancarlo Curcio, July 10th, 2018).

“Health in Valle del Tevere lean on basic systems which are less and less adequate today. The integration between social and health policies, for instance, despite it is a pillar of local welfare improvement, is lacking in governing instruments, restricted to the update of specific professional profiles. A Memorandum of Understanding, with a draft approved by the Region, aims at insisting on such policy-integration, but there is still a long pathway” (Simonetta de Mattia, October 23rd, 2018)

Health infrastructures look encapsulated in the slowness of the ASL administrative machinery, which works detached from other policy-fields, and through national investments from the National Health System (*Sistema Sanitario Nazionale*). The two target-areas have basically no room for any implementation, and the main effort they can employ is to welcoming private health actors.

SPOTLIGHT ON A 'NEW SUBURBIA'

Insights from Fiano Romano and Capena



LEGEND

Services

- Healthcare services
- Social services
- Education services
- Facilities
- Nurseries
- Pharmacies
- Primary schools
- Supermarkets
- Lower secondary schools
- Cultural facilities

! Observations and references to the text

— Administrative borders

Transit Infrastructures

- Key roads
- Railway lines
- Train Stations

Sources
 Empirical observations:
www.aslroma4.it
comune.fiano-romano.rm.it
comune.capena.rm.it
www.datopen.it/it/opendata/Farmacie
 GoogleMaps

Figure 123. Spatial distribution of social infrastructures in Fiano Romano and Capena. Source: author

Although no data legitimate the concrete need of improvements, the social infrastructures for health are fairly provided in so far as a regional health clinic is provided (Division 4 ASL Capena) and two hospitals are reachable, i.e. that of Monterotondo, far respectively 18 km from Fiano Romano and 15,2 km from Capena, and the bigger Sant'Andrea hospital at the northern periphery of Rome, 33,4 km from Fiano Romano, and 26,8 km away from Capena.

With reference to education service, the adequate provision of nurseries, primary schools and lower secondary education schools deals with a further need of expansion, particularly in Capena, whereas Fiano Romano seems a key area for what concern primary education:

“We are facing the need of a new primary school, or rather, of an increase in the number of classes in the IC (*Istituto Comprensivo*). This is also a matter of urban standards. We can ensure parking lots, an improved illumination at times, but many other public utility services need improvements” (Giandomenico Pelliccia, March 11th, 2019).

“The new school on Via Tiberina, next to the soccer stadium and sport centre, has been settled close to the new settlements, also as a way to connect it with the historical nucleus. Furthermore, the municipality of Fiano Romano provides a school-bus service also for pupils from Passo Corese and neighbouring towns. Schools are adequate in dealing with the demographic increase, particularly if we take into account also the public-based educational assistance” (Francesco Fraticelli, September 26th, 2018)

Other infrastructures depicted in Figure 55 unfold some peculiarities such as the high presence of supermarket in Fiano Romano, the limited presence of pharmacies (only 2) in the scattered landscape of Capena, and the conventional configuration of services to support poverty and hardship, organized and provided at the City Halls, without any process of territorialisation. Soft suburban infrastructures are confined to the citizens' gathering and aggregation, in venues such as *Pasticceria Fieni* on Via Tiberina in Fiano Romano, the market-road along on which PF rises.

One last issue regarding suburban infrastructures involves the key topic of public transport and transit networks. Both in PF and in the scattered enclaves of Capena, reaching basic social infrastructures with public transport is anything but easy, hence automobile-dependence shape the suburbanisms of the emerging fabric of the two suburbs. Connections to the urban core of Rome – from which the town is still dependent – are primarily guaranteed by road systems, through the highway link-road that connects A1 highway Milan-Naples to GRA (the round-highway of Rome). “Cotral”¹⁰¹ public transport system is considered weak by both inhabitants and local administrators. In this respect, connections to the main railway node of Passo Corese (on the eastern side of Fiano Romano, where an Amazon warehouse is located), for instance, would deserve an implementation, regardless the presence of a school-bus as mentioned by Dr. Fraticelli¹⁰². The station “Fara Sabina-Montelibretti”, located in Passo Corese, is the closest railway node to Fiano Romano, on the railway Orte-Rome-Fiaticino Airport, whereas Capena can also relies on the station of Morlupo, on the Rome-Viterbo railway, although the majority of coaches in TPL of Capena (Local Transport System, provided by the private company “Fratarcangeli”), connect the “urban centre” (i.e. the historical nucleus) to the railway station of Monterotondo¹⁰³. “Cotral” regional transit network involves Capena and Fiano Romano in wider coach lines departing from the transit node

¹⁰¹ Find out more about “Cotral”, the Regional transit network systems by roads, here: <https://www.cotralspa.it/>

¹⁰² Timetable of school-bus service:

http://www.comune.fianoromano.rm.it/images/files/SCUOLA/orari_trasporto_scolastico_andata_2018.pdf

¹⁰³ Timetable of TPL road system of Capena, by “Fratarcangeli”, is available here:

<http://www.comune.capena.rm.it/zf/index.php/servizi-aggiuntivi/index/index/idtesto/20078>

of “Saxa Rubra” at the Northern periphery of Rome¹⁰⁴. “Fratarcangeli” also provides connections from Fiano Romano to Fara Sabina-Montelibretti railway stations through three lines¹⁰⁵. Anyway, transit networks are embedded in a landscape where a key roads system pushes inhabitants to rely on private car to reach the urban core or the main facilities. Such lacking provision of public transport systems strongly affects suburbanisms.

To conclude, there are some other key suburban infrastructures that would deserve an insight on their spatial distribution. I particularly refer to the water pipeline system supplying two municipalities where water provision is increasingly conceived as a key problem. However, technical investigations on water supply pipelines aimed at identifying weaknesses, tensions and governance challenges are not topic fully addressed in this research, but rather they are interpreted as evidences of the re-configuration of welfare systems on the suburban scale, where suburbanisms and social demands entail new policy fields for local welfare organization, such as water provision.

4. Building the new suburbia: suburbanisms and welfare urgencies between Fiano Romano and Capena

This conclusive section resumes the key findings by identifying the main socio-spatial inequalities resulted from the typologies of emerging suburbanisms and the interrelated “welfare urgencies”. The on-field qualitative investigations revealed a slow governance of welfare services currently undermined by the consistent societal changes of Capena and Fiano Romano. Basic services are ensured, although they face an uneven suburban expansion that weakens their organization, which was adequate until that moment. However, some key issues in the governance of welfare should be emphasized. First, according to the discourses of local administrators, the focus strongly revolves around social services with a particular attention to the youths and, where possible, to a conventional municipal-based support to poverty. To the contrary, very little attention is dedicated, for instance, to the field of public housing. In this respect, housing issues may be framed as the hidden sector of local welfare organization between Capena and Fiano Romano. Whilst private real estate continues fuelling the now longstanding s-regulated expansion of built environment, public housing issues look secondary, as a result from the greater concentration on basic social services, which are in their turn unable to identify and tackle inequalities or deprivations related to the emerging suburban ways of living. Moreover, private housing development cope with the need to make amends for past mistakes which led to chaotic settlements as the history of Palombaro-Felciare has illustrated. The complex interplay between governance of welfare and land transformations through process well-framed in the notion of “extended urbanization” (Monte-Mor, 2014; Cellamare, 2017), entail a reasoning around the infrastructures able to meet social demands in what I shape as an emerging suburbia. This notion results from the idea that the typical suburban features from the North-American dominant model are partially reproduced in the recent expansions of Fiano Romano and Capena through key aspects such as the building typologies of single-family dwellings (*villetta* and *casa con orto*), by involving the (unsatisfied) desire of a daily life dependent from the urban core of

¹⁰⁴ “Cotral” connections to Capena are available at the following links:

http://www.comune.capena.rm.it/c058018/images/TRASPORTO%20COTRAL/capena_saxarubra.pdf,

http://www.comune.capena.rm.it/c058018/images/TRASPORTO%20COTRAL/saxarubra_capena.pdf

“Cotral” connections to Fiano Romano are instead available at the following links:

<https://www.slideshare.net/LorenzoDeVidovich/cotral-service-in-fiano-romano>

¹⁰⁵ “Fratarcangeli” service from Fiano Romano to Passo Corese (Fara Sabina-Montelibretti railway station):

http://www.comune.fianoromano.rm.it/images/files/orari_servizio_urbano.pdf

Rome, but in a more liveable and less congested context. In addition, patterns of emerging deprivations raise socio-spatial inequalities of an in-between condition (see Sieverts, 2003) where urbanities have reached the less and less rural Agro Romano, by modifying living conditions at the same time.

In terms of welfare provision, as discussed, spatial distribution of suburban infrastructures shows a diffusion of commercial activities (in particular, supermarkets) in opposition to a basic, fair provision of health infrastructures on the one hand, and a weak public transit network on the other hand. Suburbanisms resulting from this scenario unfold an automobile-dependence – which remains a key worldwide “suburban feature” (see Moos & Mendez, 2015) – in a context where suburbs emerged in a s-regulated way play the role of “dormitories” rather than living places for new families, enabled by the flow of improving services and infrastructures. In addition, the Northern urban edges of Rome shed light on the difficult implementation of the Metropolitan City of Rome as a governmental actor able to connect city government with its outskirts, towards an interpretation of the suburban as a part of the large container of governing actions framed as metropolitan governance. Rather, the *Città Metropolitana* seems “an empty box”, as stated by Giandomenico Pelliccia (Capena).

Socio-spatial inequalities emerges in relation with the accessibility to welfare services, insofar that individual conditions determine the benefit or the possible deprivation from a specific service. Simply put, car ownership facilitates accessibility to any infrastructure and facility. However, Gini index [see Table 4] does not acknowledge such emerging inequality, which is more detectable from the users’ experience in accessing welfare services and infrastructure that shape suburbanisms. In this respect, the obsolescence of the gathered data limits a structured observation on the selected Northern urban edges of Rome through an interplay between-data driven and contextual-driven outcomes. In a nutshell, the socio-spatial inequalities resulted from the uneven suburban expansion together with current the governance challenges stressed by both local administrators and inhabitants are still slightly traceable through more systemic and quantitative investigations. The scenario of basic infrastructures in need of improvements and investments confirms such mismatch weighing on the comprehension of suburbanisms. Furthermore, suburbanisms between Capena and Fiano Romano raise through a qualitative-led approach a number of key issues framed here as “welfare urgencies”, i.e. aspects related to citizens’ well-being subjected to a great need of intervention, both from the governance and the infrastructural side. According to the outcomes of fieldworks, welfare urgencies may be hierarchically summed-up as follows:

- Water provision. It represents the main source of deprivation between Fiano Romano (with particular reference to PF) and in Capena. Although data from 2012 acknowledge a reasonable fed of water into the municipal system of Capena [see Fig. 96] the shift to “Acea” (the water provider in Rome) management has undermined the water supply system. In Fiano Romano, the obsolescence of pipelines and the insufficient dimensions of the “Mascherone” aqueduct in view of the built environment expansion have rendered the water provision inappropriate, by creating a water shortage channelled into a collective civic endeavour undertaken by the “Coordinamento dei Comitati Civici di Palombaro Felciare”. Therefore, water governance comes as the policy field traditionally far from welfare framework that raises issues of justice and citizens’ social demands.
- Public transport systems. Whilst addressing the weaknesses of “Cotral” service, an overarching field that deserve improvements is the transit networks to tackle the automobile-dependence, in particular for daily commuting to the urban core of Rome. Moreover, the ensured connections with the railway stations (Fara Sabina-Montelibretti, Monterotondo and Morlupo) do not meet the heterogeneity of movements between Fiano Romano and Capena. In a nutshell, private transports determine the

accessibility to social infrastructures and workplaces, by raising “mobility” as an issue of local welfare through the suburban scale.

- Clinics (health services). ASL of Capena would deserve an implementation in its health services. In sum, a greater presence of clinics amongst Tiber Valley (without a strict boundary on Capena and Fiano Romano) for a quicker identification of individual health problems would increasingly improve the basic provision of present time. Not by chance, for instance, Monterotondo and Northern Periphery of Rome host the closest First Aids to Capena and Fiano Romano.

- Territorialisation of social policies. No processes of territorialisation [see chapter 2, section 3] are put in motion. Social policies and social services are conventionally provided by the Municipality at its City Hall, without any concrete overlook or spill-over effect on the suburban space. In a nutshell, what characterized the innovation of social services provision in specific urban contexts – through the constant exchange between administrators, operators and scholars – did not involve suburbs yet, according to the findings from Capena and Fiano Romano.

The selected four welfare urgencies frames how local welfare needs further understanding when observed on suburbs. For such reason, this chapter pursued investigations on urban intensities (Vazzoler, 2015, 2016a) by putting the policy field of welfare as object of exploration. Although possible further solutions and systematic outcomes do not enrich the investigation, the last focus on welfare urgencies enable to grasp the main features of the emerging suburban ways of living, towards a more complex rationale aimed at including the increasing social demands at the urban edges into a specific agenda. The cases of Fiano Romano and Capena acknowledge the importance of suburbanisms for a welfare calibrated on a suburban scale, which is not urban, nor rural, and may not be referred only to the consolidated condition of in-betweenness. The key importance of (post)suburbanization, framed in Rome as an extended urbanization raises welfare governance issues that are still unexplored by local administrators, towards an improvement of basic social suburban infrastructures that are increasingly undermined by uneven socio-spatial transformations. For such reasons, the case of Rome has been placed last in the presentation of research findings, as it unfolds the most contemporary issues about suburbanisms around the Italian urban cores.

Chapter Eight

Findings: a comparison of the three researches

Abstract

This chapter represents the first part of the dissertation's conclusions. In particular, the chapter discusses the research findings of the three researches, conducted with a shared rationale but on an individualized research effort. In other words, the three empirical activities have been conducted separately, without generalization objectives. However, a common ground of discussion is needed to grasp the key evidences from the three case studies that have been carried out. Therefore, the chapter aims at developing a confrontation of the three researches, by firstly summing-up the main evidences, differences and knots amongst the cases, together with an identification of the main research limits, entrenched in the methodological configuration. Subsequently, the chapter introduces the main points of discussion about welfare provision in suburbs, bridging the debate towards the conclusive remarks, which will be presented in the next chapter.

The aim of this chapter is to present and gather the evidences from the empirical activities, by stressing the contextual differences amongst the cases and the lacks in infrastructures faced by the target-areas. Together with this resume, the general view of the outcomes serves also to enhance the main research limits, particularly grounded in the methodological framework, as it has certain deficiencies. These two aspects are jointly addressed in the first section, whereas a second section moves towards the final discussion, which will be deepened in the final chapter of the thesis [chapter 9]. In this respect, the conclusive section of this chapter aims at stressing the importance of investigating welfare at suburbs, on the basis of the empirical evidences. Therefore, such section acts as a conceptual bridge between the discussion of the research findings and the concluding remarks answering to the research question posited in the introduction of the dissertation [see chapter 0]. The identification of a common ground of debate among the three cases takes place from a general overview of the research findings, accompanied by a discussion of the more pronounced limits of the research.

1. Sum-up of the three cases and main research limits

Through this study, it is possible to observe the varying challenges and differentiations in the governance of local welfare amongst the selected suburbs at the edges of Rome, Naples and Milan, and each case unfolds a number of specific own features which confirm the heterogeneity of suburbanization processes in Italy, as well as of the contemporary metropolitan forms. In each of the three cases, the research attempted to provide a general overview of the organization of basic welfare services, according to the descriptions by the interviewed respondents and the institutional documentations. No specific grounded investigations on specific services, in terms of efficiency and efficacy, has been carried out. In other words, the focus on local welfare does not aim at evaluating the governance of welfare provision. Rather, the identification of main features and critical points has been sought. Then, issues of suburban land and infrastructures strengthened the attention on suburbanisms as key objects for research and action on welfare provision at the urban edges. The sum up of the three cases is not a rigorous comparison in view of the different outcomes. Rather, drawing on Tilly (1984), this research purely undertakes an "individualized comparison" that treats each case separately, by stressing the diversity travelling among the three studies. Such posture is part of the research tool-box designed to cope with the inherited territorial heterogeneity of the Italian case. In particular, the three contexts are very diverse, even because the three urban regions where they are located experienced a different process of suburbanization. Whilst Naples and Milan shared a similar urban growth – although very different in

time and scale – the urbanization of Rome is rather dissimilar and strongly affected by the large dimension of formal boundaries of Rome. The majority of the Metropolitan area of the Capital city is still rural, where an emerging suburbia took shape only over the last three decades. Such differentiation, again, is also sustained by the diversity of landscape transformation in the whole country [see chapter 3]. Although timing is an important variable of all the three cases, this research did not face change over times in analytical terms. Rather, time is a part of the whole research context serving as object of analysis for each single case as well as for the comparative exercise.

Therefore, “awareness of diversity through comparative studies forces one to bring theoretical assumptions into the open” (Pickvance, 1986: 163). This dissertation embraces this research strand through three cases in a cross-national comparison across diverse contexts, and no assumptions of convergence are posited. Drawing on Jennifer Robinson, the attempt here was that of investigating rather than assuming, then, whether relative resource levels substantially affect forms of governance, or whether poorly resourced areas have less room in the determination of local policies (Robinson, 2011). The theoretical basis to employ such investigation bridges between the contemporary attention on global suburbanisms and the substantial changes in welfare provision. The reference to comparison here is to strengthen an approach that “emphasizes understanding rather than law-like explanation” (Nijman, 2007: 5). This also explains the significance of the following section where key theoretical insights and further approach are postulated. Nonetheless, the resume of the empirical investigations requires an intrinsically comparative gesture, aimed at identifying key points and differentiations. First, the timing difference of the three suburbanization processes crossing the three target-areas is a fundamental principle in the selection of cases. In other words, a research goal has been also to investigate welfare provision at urban edges developed in different periods, where the case of Milan is the first in chronological terms, and that of Rome is the most recent. Second, a North-South difference lie behind the history of welfare governance, where the whole context of Milan experienced greater innovations if compared to the cases of Rome and, in particular, Naples, where old fragilities factually affect any investigation. Moving from these evidences, the overview crosses back to the first glance through data that introduced the qualitative fieldworks in the previous chapters.

A number of differences have been already introduced in the analysis of the case studies. Yet, some more general comments facilitate in isolating the contextual specificities. Nine tables for each case extracted from the *Atlante* of PRIN Post-Metropoli disclosed a first single overview before introducing the discussion of qualitative fieldworks. At this stage, to grasp the main dissimilarities among the three contexts of analysis without wasting the main focus, a gathering of the data between “Urban Index” Ministerial database and PRIN Post-Metropoli assembled through five macro-categories is helpful [see Table 16].

Starting with the macro-category of socio-economic conditions, a massive difference concerns the very higher demographic increase of Capena and Fiano Romano, according to their average rates between 40% and 45% (1991-2011) and, to the opposite, the much lower increase in Pioltello (3%) and Villaricca (16,6%). Whilst the percentages about the number of elders alone and of young couples with children is quite homogeneous amongst the three areas (with just a lower presence of aged people in Villaricca), unemployment conditions disclose a much more critical situation in Villaricca, where the unemployment rate (28,1%) is much higher than in the edge-areas of Rome and Milan. This situation is exacerbated when looking at youth unemployment, as it reaches the problematic percentage of 63,7% in Villaricca. This is a confirmation of the weight of old and new fragilities on Villaricca population. The Gini index, which shows the inequality in income distribution, presents a shared homogeneity for each case. This means that socio-spatial inequalities are not intra-municipality, as could occur in the urban cores, but

rather, they shall be read on a larger scale, where urban edges disclose inequalities or deprivations in terms of accessibility to service and infrastructure that enable decent suburbanisms.

Macro-category	Selected indicators	Year	Source	Measure Unit	Capena	Fiano Romano	Villaricca	Pioltello
	Ten-year average rate of change in resident population	1991-2011	ISTAT	%	41,2	45,4	16,6	3
	Rate of young couples with children	2011	PRIN PM	%	9,6	10,1	12,5	9,9
	Unemployment rate	2011	ISTAT	%	11,6	9,3	28,1	8,8
	Youth unemployment rate (age 15-24)	2011	ISTAT	%	32,2	31,4	63,7	28,3
	Rate of NEET (age 15-29)	2011	ISTAT	%	13,6	13,6	23	10,8
	Rate of families in a potential economic hardship	2011	ISTAT	%	3,4	2,9	11,8	1,6
	Rate of elders alone	2011	ISTAT	%	24	22,9	17	26,5
Socio-economic conditions	Gini index	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,198	0,2064	0,212	0,1915
Housing	Percentage variation of average price in housing purchase	2007-2012	OMI	€/sqm/month	-7,2	0,7	-7,9	-13,9
	Variation of dwellings	1991-2011	PRIN PM	%	117	124	65	12
	Building expansion index in residential areas over a decade	2011	ISTAT	%	30,5	30	9,5	6,4
	Rate of residential attractiveness	2001-2011	PRIN PM	Index	61,1	68,3	6,1	5,8
	Housing exclusion index (rate of inappropriate dwellings)	2011	ISTAT	Index	0,3	0,3	0,1	0,2
Land and Mobility	Variation of anthropized land	2000-2006	PRIN PM	%	14	62	0	3
	Private mobility (use of private vehicle)	2011	ISTAT	%	69,8	73,2	62,5	53,8
	EG - Edge Density (index of urban landscape splintering)	2015	ISPRA	m/sqm	482,5	448,4	177,5	163,1
	Land consumption per capita	2015	ISPRA	sqm/inhab.	341,1	383	110,7	155,8
	Mobility index (commuting for employment purposes)	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,82	0,85	0,81	0,9
	Self-containment index (internal commuting for employment)	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,25	0,35	0,21	0,21
	Public transportation use	2011	ISTAT	%	15,1	13,8	11,3	18,3
	Index of accessibility to railway stations	2014	PRIN PM	Classes (0-4)	2	2	4	4
	Index of accessibility to urban nodes through roads	2014	PRIN PM	Classes (0-4)	2	2	3	3
	Economic Dynamism	Economic dynamism index	2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	0,61	0,89	-0,38
Rate of public authorities' dynamism		2011	PRIN PM	Index (0-1)	-0,07	0,64	0,09	0,06
Percentage of workers in companies APS and KIBS (ATECO sectors J, K and M) on the total amount of workers		2011	ISTAT	%	5,718	4,918	6,953	9,135
Service Provision	Index of peripherality/centrality in services provision	2013	PRIN PM	Classes (0-5)	4	4	3	3
	Pharmacies per 10.000 inhabitants	2011	Health Minist	N. x 10.000 inh.	0,2	0,2	0,2	0,2
	Drinking water fed into the municipal grid system per capita	2012	PRIN PM	Cubic meter/inh. x year	133,9	56	51,16	117,9
	Percentage of waste separation (recycling)	2013	ISPRA	%	57,2	38,2	49,7	49,8
	Index of general infrastructural provision	2014	PRIN PM	Range value (0-1000)	15	18	5	68

Table 16. Gathering of the data selected from Urban Index database and PRIN Post-Metropolis, re-assembled into the five identified macro-categories.

Source: author, based on Urban Index and PRIN Post-Metropoli

Housing is a key issue in each of the three cases. In the case of Pioltello, the typical typology of urban condominiums that characterizes Satellite and other few parts of the town (although in more scattered distribution) is merged with single or double-family dwellings. This depiction contributes to frame the in-between condition of Pioltello [see chapter 5, section 3.3]. In Villaricca, instead, the long tradition of non-authorized constructions and self-led houses, followed by the affirmation of *parco urbano* as new building typology and the construction of well served public housing estates, have strongly shaped land transformations of the town and the whole Comprensorio Giuglianese, but it also determined a chaotic suburban pattern where the growth of housing stock has not been supported by an implementation of public facilities and spaces, such as roads. In the welfare field of housing, the most striking data concerns the rate of residential attractiveness. In the Agro-Romano, it has been framed around the s-regulation processes that lie behind the scattered single-family dwellings that have emerged in many bad equipped enclaves of Capena, as well as in the problematic area of Palombaro Felciare, the most recent settlement of Fiano Romano. As illustrated, the emerging suburbia between Fiano Romano and Capena welcomed many families from Rome over the first two decades of 2000s (such data is also confirmed by the increase of housing stock and the building expansion index, where the gap with the other cases is evident). Yet, this trend is not reproduced in the cases of Villaricca and Pioltello, which to the opposite have experienced a clear reduction of average prices between 2007 and 2012.

Land issues strengthen the difference between Rome and the other two cases, which are indeed embedded in a more urbanized region when compared to the particular rural-suburban scenario at the outskirts of Rome. This gap is exemplified by the variation of anthropized land between 2000 and 2006 (14% in Capena, 62% in Fiano Romano, 0% in Villaricca and 3% in Pioltello). The Edge Density, which calculates the rate of splintering of the landscape) confirms this gap, opposing the conurbation of Villaricca and the in-between territory of Pioltello, with the landscape of Agro-Romano, where such indicator increases a lot (from 163,1-177,5 of Pioltello and Villaricca, to the 448,4 and 482,5 of Fiano Romano and Capena). Much more homogeneity may be depicted when observing mobility. All the areas, albeit with different values, present a strong dependence from the private transport, and a very low percentage of public transportation use. The match between a specific mobility index created by PRIN Post-Metropolis, and the self-containment index, indicate a consistent daily outflow from the municipalities for employment reasons, and a low internal movement for the same matter. The two indicators of accessibility to railway stations and transit nodes disclose a peripheral condition for the areas at the Northern edges of Rome.

For what concern economic dynamism, two indicators deserve a particular attention. The general index of economic dynamism indicates a suffering situation in Villaricca, due to its negative value on a 0-1 index. The cases of Rome look much more dynamic, whereas that of Pioltello represents an intermediate condition among the three cases. A comment to this indication lead to point a strong differentiation in terms of economic functions, where the weaknesses of Villaricca are opposed to the vibrancies of Rome and the fair condition of Milan. However, the presence of many productive activities in the commercial field between Fiano Romano and Capena may affect this scenario. The retail and distribution hub of *Prato della Corte*, in the Southern part of Fiano Romano, helps in upgrading the value for the whole town, as well as the numerous commercial activities located on via Tiberina, which are level with Capena. The low dynamism of public authority is certified for each case with the exception of Fiano Romano that, as illustrated, works for some basic services dedicated also to the populations of few neighbouring towns, as for the case of schools.

The thematic category of service provision little say about the very governance and organization of basic welfare services, but rather it provides first insights about the peripheral (in the case of Rome) or

intermediate condition (in the cases of Naples and Milan) of the three target-areas in the access to services (visible through the data about the index of peripherality and centrality), as also legitimized by the general index of infrastructure provision drawn by PRIN Post-Metropoli.

Although useful for a comprehensive quick glance at the three territories, also in view of the qualitative outcomes, this analytical employment literally confirms the diversity of the three cases. In addition, the whole data are not updated, but rather they are based on other research efforts that worked on the available data from National census and other datasets. This thesis does not produce “certainties” or quantitative measurements of the efficiency of welfare services. Also, it has no aims of generalizing the outcomes for the entire urban regions of the selected areas, although the cases draw some general trajectories for studying the urban edges. In this respect, the research misses an adequate quantitative analysis from which benefit to have stronger evidences. Data are adopted for introductory purposes, but the key evidences are consistently place-based, and they shall be read as locally grounded evidences supported by a reasonable theoretical framework. In other words, the inspiring points from this thesis shall not be searched into methodologies, but rather into the debate it pursues. For this reason, general observations of the three different “suburban experiences” may be placed through a resume of the analytical understandings emerged from the cases’ discussion. In so doing, the cases may be taken individually, then moving to some general implications in terms of research and policy actions. This final gathering is complemented by a synthetic table of the key points from each case study, organized as follows: theoretical foundations, i.e. the contributions from the literature already adopted to observe the urban edges of the selected area as a whole; forms of suburbanization, to embrace the threefold subdivision provided by Ekers, Hamel and Keil (2012), identifying notions, to identify the concepts raised from the discussion of each case study, selected in the light of the current debate on the new forms of the urban; welfare urgencies, to resume what reported in the final lines of each case in terms of weaknesses faced by local welfare provision.

	Pioltello
Theoretical foundations	Italian Post-Metropolis (Balducci et. al., 2017) Implosion/Explosion of the urban (Brenner, 2014)
Forms of suburbanization	State-led + private-led
Identifying notions from the literature and the current debates	- In-between city (see Sieverts, 2003) - Cosmopolitan suburbanisms (sparked from Satellite)
Welfare urgencies	- <i>All eyes on a neighbourhood</i> : the regeneration of a single fragile cosmopolitan neighbourhood (Satellite) absorbs the main resources in welfare planning - Integration of local and metropolitan welfare frameworks - Offloaded welfare tensions from the urban core to the in-between territories of first and second belts of municipalities

Table 17. Synthetic analytical table of the case study carried out at the Northern edges of Milan.

The first overview resumes the case of Pioltello [see Table 17], in the second belt of municipalities at the outskirts Milan, within the constantly changing urban region of the second most inhabited city of Italy. The theoretical foundations to observe Milan reconsider the dialogue between the process of regional urbanization framed within the post-metropolis perspective (Soja, 2012, 2013) and contextualized for the urban region of Milan (Balducci, Fedeli, & Curci, 2017), and the dual implosion/explosion process that made the urban planetary (Brenner, 2014). Such dialogue is pointed out in the first chapter [see section 2.2] and it helps in understanding the manifold forces driving suburbanization in the largest urban region of Italy (together with that of Naples). In this respect, two main patterns defined suburbanization at the edges of Milan. First, the role of the State and public actors during economic boom and also in the de-industrialization phase was pivotal. Although it is not a public

housing stock, the construction of Satellite in Pioltello was launched by a public actors' initiative for the middle-classes. Moreover, the establishment of many commercial, industrial and residential developments within the same municipality (i.e. Pioltello) is the result of regional trajectories in fueling the urban region of Milan (and Milan itself) by implementing the in-between constellations of the first second belts. However, this pathway was also made possible by the increasing private-led developments which brought important companies settled in the area, as in the case of "Esselunga" supermarket-chain. A public-private suburbanization lies behind the spatial expansion of Pioltello. The research also enlightened the in-between condition of Pioltello between consolidated urbanities and persisting rurality, whereas the micro-focus on Satellite raised the key feature of cosmopolitanism in describing the contemporary suburban ways of living in the area. The resume of welfare urgencies addresses some specific trajectories crossing the in-between territory of Pioltello, rather than identifying specific lacks in the provision of a specific service. As discussed, the increasing attention on Satellite moves the large majority of attentions by the administrators to a specific area. As a consequence, Satellite is currently absorbing the main human and multileveled economic resources in the field of local welfare improvement. Then, findings from Pioltello noticed a body of emerging incongruencies between governmental levels within local welfare framework, as embedded by the new metropolitan rationale developed into "homogeneous zones" and the consolidated "Ambiti" for social services on the local scale. In this framework, an "offloading" process of the main welfare tensions from the urban core, where they have been addressed in different collaborative endeavours, to the urban edges, where they are subjected to a more fragmented scenario, where each municipality is equipped in many differentiated extent to face the new social needs overlapped in the urban peripheries (such as precariousness, increased poverty, family-work conciliation).

The case study of Villaricca, a fragment from the "suburban entity" called Comprensorio Giuglianese, presents a number of similarities with the cases of Rome, although diversities are also evident. The synthetic resume is illustrated in Table 18. The theoretical foundations to observe the urban region of Naples are inspired by the contributions from Calafati (2016; 2017) who, in his turn, observes the expansion of Naples through the forms of a conurbation (Geddes, 1915), where municipalities of Comprensorio Giuglianese are, for instance, spatially developed in a continuity of "suburban constellations" (Keil, 2013) which contributes to frame the urban region of Naples as one the largest in Italy, together with that of Milan. The introductory section of the case study [see chapter 6, section 1] acknowledged the manifold narrations and trajectories crossing Naples and its surroundings over the decades. On this basis, a complex articulation also lies behind the suburbanization process.

	Villaricca
Theoretical foundations	Conurbation (Geddes, 1915)
Forms of suburbanization	Self-led + private-led + state-led
Identifying notions from the literature and the current debates	- Hinterland urbanized (see Brenner, 2016) - Edge city (with reference to the whole Comprensorio) (see Garreau, 1991)
Welfare urgencies	- Public insolvency hampering a reasonable planning of services - Inadequacy of supra-municipal governance of welfare - Lack in public transit network

Table 18. Synthetic analytical table of the case study carried out at the Northern edges of Naples.

According to Ekers, Hamel and Keil (2012), the case of Naples through the fragment of Villaricca reveals a complex situation where the three categories worked in a strong interplay deployed since the decades of the second half of 20th century to the present days. Self-led suburbanization, which occurs with low planning, found a great territory of development in Comprensorio Giuglianese due to the large

tracts of informal housing or individual self-led houses [see Fig. 68, chapter 6]. Furthermore, a number of local administrators, interviewed also in the capacity of experts, agree on the fact that non-authorized constructions shaped the territory of Comprensorio Giuglianesese since Second post-war period, in view of the chaotic concreting process alongside the *Circumvallazione Esterna di Napoli (Strada degli Americani)* that anthropized an historically rural and fertile land. Private-led suburbanization took place through the development of new residential housing solutions for the middle-to-low classes, the so-called *parchi urbani*. In addition, the forms of private-led development shall be read in the Neapolitan context also in a connection with the role of organized crime in the anthropization and densification of the urban edges, as occurred in the whole Comprensorio Giuglianesese. A more centralized State-led suburbanization also played a key role in the expansion of the urban region, particularly at the watershed time of 1980s earthquake, when a planned governmental action of families' evictions from damaged buildings of the historical centre of Naples to the outskirts was organized and enriched by the masterplans of 1985 for some growing edge-cities. Although zoning no necessarily worked for such suburban areas, the role of the public actor in disciplining the post-earthquake spatial development was fundamental for the following expansions of the late 20th century. Therefore, the interplay between expansion guided by private actors, individual self-led developments and centralized decisions by public actors shapes the suburbanization process in the urban region of Naples. For what concern the notions emerged from the findings, two main references framed the debate: first, the notion of "hinterland urbanized" (Brenner, 2016) well describes the sub-urban transformations of Northern edges of Naples, resulting from "capitalist form of urbanization that continues to produce contextually specific patterns of agglomeration" (Brenner, 2016:125), and in particular the expansion of Comprensorio Giuglianesese, which, secondly, may be viewed as an edge city, with its core of Giugliano in Campania (which is most likely the biggest edge city of Italy) and where many other "disjunct fragments" (Keil, 2017a) are part of this dense suburban fabric. The research devoted its attention to a specific fragment, Villaricca, by addressing the welfare urgency in a historically fragilized territory, where local welfare problems are firstly affected by a public insolvency that reduced the public economic resources for the organization and allocation of basic services by the municipality. In addition, some privileged informants acknowledged a difficulty, for the context of Comprensorio Giuglianesese, of the supra-municipal entities of welfare governance, such as the "Ambiti" (social ambits) organized on a basis of a union of municipalities, in meeting citizens' demands within the conurbation of the edge city of Comprensorio. Public transport, as in the cases of Rome, is also a key issue at stake.

The inquiries between Fiano Romano and Capena unfolded a body of emerging socio-spatial inequalities from the process of uneven suburban expansion occurring in (former) rural areas strongly dependent from the urban core of Rome.

	Fiano Romano and Capena
Theoretical foundations	Extended urbanization (Monte-Mor, 2014)
Forms of suburbanization	Self-led + private-led
Identifying notions from the literature and the current debates	- Emerging suburbia - "New suburbia" of Rome
Welfare urgencies	- Inadequacy of water provision - Low proximity of health services - Lack of territorialisation of social policies - Lack in transit network and strong dependence from the road systems

Table 19. Synthetic analytical table of the case study carried out at the Northern edges of Rome.

Table 19 resumes the main analytical elements of the research undertaken in those contexts. The theoretical foundation within the manifold theories addressing the new urban questions is that of “extended urbanization” (Monte-Mor, 2014), adopted also by the scholar Carlo Cellamare to observe the sub-urban transformations of the Agro Romano (Cellamare, 2016, 2017).

Then, drawing on Ekers et al. (2012), the Northern edges of Rome faced the encounter between self-led and private-led suburbanization. Self-led growth is serendipitous and occurs without detailed planning, whilst market-led and private-led development involve decentralized control and facilitatory role by the State taking commercial, residential and industrial forms, although it is defined by political and social exclusion (Ekers et al., 2012: 410). According to such literature, the emerging suburbia between Fiano Romano and Capena took shape through an interplay between low-detailed planning of some areas, such as the s-regulated enclaves of Capena, and private-led uneven development, as illustrated in the case of Palombaro Felciare [see chapter 7]. Beyond these two cases, the whole expansion of these municipalities at the bottoms of the historical cores, saw suburbanization processes driven by a mix of self-led and private-led development, which caused new forms of socio-spatial polarizations in the accessibility of welfare services.

The third element of the analytical resume addresses the concepts, from the literature and beyond, able to drive the critical understanding of the research outcomes. In this respect, the case of Rome deploys interesting insights, as it escapes from consolidated theories due to the contemporariness of the process. As illustrated, the concept of urban intensity (Vazzoler, 2015) helped in framing the case of Fiano Romano and in particular Palombaro Felciare. Yet, the grounded theories from the Italian debate such as *città diffusa* (Indovina, Matassoni, & Savino, 1990) no fully works to observe what can be rather seen as an emerging suburbia influenced by some key features of the “diffused” Italian forms of urbanization, but also shaped by the socio-spatial complexities raised from the most recent post-suburban literature. It can be argued that the emerging features of post-suburbia landed to Italy through the suburbanization process of Rome, which can be seen, in its complex metropolitan dimension, as the “doorway” of the adaptation suburban perspective in the non-suburban context of Italy. The conclusive item of the analytical table resumes the main welfare urgencies described in the final section of the case study [see chapter 7, section 4], where the problems related to water provision represent a novel insight for the public provision of basic services and hence, for the local welfare framework.

Although these resumes enable a well-structured confrontation, another research limit raises from this thin comparison, related to the policy-making sphere. The design of final policy implications is anything but easy, as it entails a navigation amongst the contextual heterogeneities of the uneven suburbanization processes taking place in the three target-areas of the research. To employ the identification of these effects in welfare policy fields, a valuable attempt involves the strengthening of a specific attention of welfare issues on the suburban scale.

2. Why welfare at the urban edges matters

The overall results from the three researches indicate that policy-implications drawn from this thesis involve the importance to build a novel debate on welfare provision on the specific suburban territorial identification, albeit Italy is not a suburban country. Therefore, the final step of the discussion of research findings entails a first enhancement on the significance to steer research and action on welfare provision in the suburban constellations located at the edges of the main Italian cities (and not only). This dissertation emphasizes the possible trajectories of the new configuration of the Italian local welfare (Kazepov, 2008; Bifulco, 2011, 2015) tailored according to the suburban specificities, where innovations,

improvements and the territorial configuration of social policies (see Bricocoli & Sabatinelli, 2017) are little developed. From the academic research viewpoint, the thesis takes part in the current debate that encourages a specific perspective on Italy observed from the peripheries and from the margins of the country (De Rossi, 2018), rather than “about” the peripheries. Such vision entails a viewpoint grounded in a critique of the contemporary observations pursued on Italy, which promote an increasing attention on the Italian urbanities, whereas – to the contrary – Italy is characterized by a myriad of marginal territories (see Forgacs, 2015), and therefore, such margins deserve a renovated centrality along the red thread between territorial fragilities and social or local innovations (Carrosio, 2019). Nonetheless, the territorial scopes of this thesis – as demonstrated – are highly influenced by patterns of urbanities, either by the relatively short distance of the investigated urban edges from the urban cores and the in-between condition distinguishing the target-areas, to different extents. Although Pioltello, Villaricca, Fiano Romano and Capena are influenced by urbanities, the number of evidences from the field of welfare policies indicate that such towns stand at the margins of the governance implementations involving the metropolitan areas where they are entrenched. For this reason, the body of literature moving from the dialogue between planetary urbanization (Brenner, 2014) and post-metropolis, or regional urbanization, (Soja, 2000) and strengthened through the focus on global suburbanisms (Keil, 2017b) enabled a coherent theoretical framework that, with respect to Italy, has been recently adopted predominantly by PRIN Post-Metropolis (Balducci, Fedeli, & Curci, 2017b, 2017a), not to mention the important inter-governmental and research efforts on the Italian “inner areas” (Barca, Casavola & Lucatelli, 2014; Lucatelli, 2015; De Rossi, 2018). As will be discussed in the next chapter, Italian urban edges look encapsulated between the strategies for the inner areas and the seek for updated metropolitan governances in the urban cores [see chapter 9]. The focus on welfare provision at the urban edges sustained by a global suburban debate raises the need to understand what occurs between the urban and the inner areas in Italy, with respect both to the public policies and the socio-spatial transformations, which, as illustrated, are uneven and more chaotic than in the cities as well as in the shrinking and increasingly depopulated inner areas.

The investigation on urban edges employed through three representative examples of the North-South Italian dualism draws the shapes of a sort of “suburban scale”, although Italy has no suburban configuration [see chapter 3]. However, as urban edges look entrenched in an in-between condition, issues regarding the governance agenda shall be addressed. What kind of governmental trajectories may be developed for those in-between territories located both at the edges of the decision making in metropolitan governance and outside of the programmes for the inner areas? It may be stated that Italian urban edges raises a suburban configuration framed between the increasing attention to the inner areas, and the overwhelming pro-growth strategies in metropolitan governance, usually focused more on the development of the urban cores, rather than of the city-regions as a whole with their multitude of constellations fuelling the urban cores. Such tension has been tackled in the overview of local welfare [see chapter 2, section 4] when mentioning the coexistence of programmes such as “PON Metro”, *Programma Operativo Nazionale Città Metropolitane 2014 – 2020*, grounded on metropolitan areas, and the “National Strategy for Inner Areas”, to tackle the demographic decline and reinvigorate services and developments in rural areas. Suburbs looks wedged between such trajectories, seeking for a specific agenda. This friction illustrates a reason why welfare governance at the urban edges is currently a valuable field of study. In this respect, a key policy implication, even according to the diversity of the Italian urban edges, concerns the definition of a specific agenda for the in-between territories, to be outlined in view of the specificities of suburbanisms.

Nonetheless, the pathway to a novel policy agenda able to face suburbanisms requires explanations, not in particular for the policy field of welfare, but rather as regards the politics. In the case studies,

politics is actually little explored. A great deal of attention has been dedicated to the governance of welfare policies as well as to the organization and delivery of welfare services. Gaps in the access to welfare infrastructures deputed to ensure public utility services has been acknowledged, and the forms of fragilities and socio-spatial inequalities have been discussed for each case. However, specificities of political organization involved in the governance of welfare and the power geometries have been left in the background. Politics is a key dimension that raises important criticalities when studying governance. Moreover, for a legitimation of the importance of examining welfare governance at the urban edges, politics gain an even more pronounced centrality. However, whilst the research illustrated the main governmental actors, the most important ongoing programmes and the key difficulties in the provision of welfare services, the power geometries and the pitfalls embedded in such alliances have not been widely discussed due to the difficulty to adequately grasp alliances and power relationships. Such important issues are less visible in the urban edges compared to the cities and metropolitan governance. The critical identification of who actually decides and who actually governs the delivery of welfare services would require additional investigations that escape from the rationale outlined in this research, where governance has been investigated even in view of the landscape features of the selected urban edges and of the infrastructural provision, with an emphasis on the “hard” institutional infrastructures (see Addie, 2016). According to such insights, it may be stated that welfare at the urban edges matter due to the invisibility of a number of fundamental politics aspects.

On this basis, a widely debated topic that found instead little attention in the three case studies is neoliberalization [see chapter 2, section 2.2]. It almost represents a *sine-qua-non* condition in the contemporary public policies, also as a consequence of the economic downsize caused by the global crisis. Even then, neoliberal trajectories are barely visible when addressing forms and functions of a “suburban Italy”. In a nutshell, in the governance of welfare at the urban edges, the affirmation of private-public partnerships (PPPs) and the neoliberal rationale is not as much debated and criticized as in the case of urban governance. Although neoliberalism acts on a number of levels and it is contested in many places and countries (Guarneros-Meza & Geddes, 2010), the in-between condition of the investigated Italian urban edges suggest that other governance priorities are of prime importance, before the privatization of welfare services. Such priorities concern the effective and real existing provision and distribution of welfare services in contexts unevenly developed. However, these insights shall be relegated to the analysis carried out in this thesis, as a generalization is not possible. Jamie Peck (2011) stated how in North-America suburbs are privileged spaces for the development of different forms of neoliberalization based on space consumption and urban metabolism. A parasitic rationale may be identified even in the Italian urban edges, taking places through the diffusion of in-between urbanities, but beyond such socio-spatial influences, the governance of welfare is differently affected by neoliberalization compared to the governance of urban cores. This missing analysis of politics and neoliberalization at the urban edges represents a further limit of the research. Yet, it enhances unsolved knots requesting further investigations for the governance of welfare at the urban edges in Italy. Who actually governs public-private interests at the urban edges? Who deliver private actors’ interests towards specific urban edges, and why such actors are interested in such places outside of urban cores? Such issues are anything but irrelevant, although this thesis did not provide clear responses in this matter. Rather, the thesis highlighted the emerging socio-spatial inequalities taking places in different forms and within different contexts amongst the Eastern in-between belt municipalities of Milan, the Comprensorio Giuglianes, and the Valle del Tevere (i.e. the wide area of “Agro Romano” where Fiano Romano and Capena are located).

These questions are to be seen as a starting point for further investigations, to pursue a sort of “suburban debate” in Italy, with the attempt of analytically define a suburban scale, or at least, a certain centrality. From such interrogatives, the debate cross back to the key research questions of the thesis, discussing the governance of local welfare to meet suburbanisms and social demands at the urban edges.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion: the governance of local welfare facing suburbanisms

Abstract

The dissertation pursues its conclusion with a final discussion of the whole dissertation. After the debate of the research outcomes, this chapter crosses back over the main issues of this thesis. The aim of this final chapter is to provide the answer to the research questions introduced in the presentation of the research [see chapter 0]. In so doing, the chapter presents and discusses the main challenges in the governance of welfare services at the urban edges. To employ such final research discussion, the debate firstly focuses on the theoretical challenges posited in the dissertation, discussing the possible redefinition of local welfare framework raised from the specificities of the selected suburbs in a framework that embrace the contemporary attention to global suburbanisms. Then, the dissertation indicates some concluding remarks by drawing further research trajectories in studying local welfare changes in post-suburbia, through a more comprehensive understanding of welfare provision.

1. Local welfare at the urban edges: drawing final reflections

Moving from the discussion of the research findings [see chapter 8], this final chapter aims at challenging the outcomes of the three research fieldworks in view of the analytical framework bridging the suburban debate (Keil, 2017; Hanlon & Vicino, 2018) and the contemporary challenges in the governance of local welfare, with particular reference to the less explored context of the Italian urban edges. The decision to adopt the notion of urban edges is prompted by the need to escape from the hegemony of North-American experience while addressing suburbs (Roy, 2009), particularly when observing the Italian context, where the single notion of suburb little works (Lanzani, 2012). In other words, “urban edge” acts as a loophole to unpack the contemporary international debate on suburbs in order to place it within the Italian debate on the new urban question.

Yet, whereas suburbs form part of, or are integrated with, and can be planned as part of the monocentric city-region, post-suburbia better grasp the research trajectories undertaken in this dissertation, as it is part of heavily urbanized regions, in which there is fragmentation or “splintering” (Graham & Marvin, 2001) of infrastructure and service provision. As post-suburbia calls for a deeper, qualitative understanding of how the contemporary relationship between city and (post) suburb is evolving (Tzaninis, 2019), the final discussion of the research outcomes is placed within a post-suburban framework, where the recent contributions on global suburbanisms as fundamental drivers of the investigations. The threefold analytical subdivision on governance, land and infrastructures helped in providing a comprehensive portrait of the three selected target-areas towards a final identification of suburbanisms, i.e. suburban ways of living. Whilst the concept of “urban edges” is adopted to bridge the geographical and analytical gaps between the hegemonic North American tradition of suburban studies and the contextually-based suburban forms of Italy, the notion of suburbanisms is fundamental to frame the insights of a contemporary suburban planet (Keil, 2017) within the investigations on the provision and delivery of welfare services in the settlements located at the edges of the main Italian cities. The preceding chapters have largely described the on-field activities to capture forms and features of suburbanisms, in view of the local welfare provision. The researches have been introduced by an overview of the metropolitan areas (or rather, the urban regions) where the three cases are inserted, and a presentation of the target-areas as well. Overall, the three cases deployed a clear heterogeneity and differentiations, by confirming the great diversity of suburbanization processes in terms of development, geography and landscape within the three largest Italian urban areas. This research attempt has been achieved through an analytical interplay between inquiries on the governance of welfare and observations

of the contemporary urban forms. However, beyond the insights that have been already provided, a comparison of all the three cases is needed to thoroughly respond to the following research questions:

- What governance of local welfare takes place at the urban edges to tackle the increasing socio-spatial inequalities?
- How are welfare services – broadly intended – organized at the urban edges?
- How local welfare framework is going to be redefined in view of the “new urban question”, or even, in a “suburban planet”?

A first insight from this research points out that suburbs, with the cautious reference to Italy, are places that raise a call for a redefinition of welfare services as a whole, by integrating the provision of social, socio-health and socio-economic services with the other spheres of public utility that determine well-being and a decent livelihood (public transports, public spaces, adequate streets, pipelines for the supply of basic goods, etc.). The final section of the previous chapter [see chapter 8, section 2] suggested the need to develop a specific agenda for the in-between territories located at the edges of the urban cores as well as at the edges of the governance arrangements put in motion for the city-regions where they are located. Furthermore, the tensions in the governance of welfare revolving around the privatization of services and, more generally, the emergence of a neoliberal guidance are relegated to a certain invisibility, as the fair provision of basic welfare services moves to the fore in the governance of welfare, albeit facing the great reduction of public funding. All the three case-studies illustrated the emergence of new patterns of socio-spatial inequalities, which differ from the typical intra-urban gaps between centre and periphery. Rather, inequalities at the urban edges are more grounded in the changes and impoverishment of the middle-classes, or – as indicated in the case of Pioltello – are weighed on an historical process of deprivation affecting a specific area or neighbourhood.

Therefore, a reply to the aforementioned research questions involves a plethora of both governmental and societal transformations that characterize the urban edges. In the first place, it may be argued that at the urban edges a fragmented and whirling governance emerges when coping with welfare provision, and such governance is not limited to the field of social policies, but rather, it entails other well-being issues, related to liveability, connectivity and accessibility to basic services. In this respect, moving to the second question, welfare services at the urban edges are organized on regional or supra-municipal rationales that unevenly meet municipal-based provision. Municipalities represent a key governmental actor in the provision of specific social services in families’ support, although many administrators underline the difficulty to achieve a fair support to citizens by only relying on the local efforts and funding. In addition, the historical North-South division of Italy is reproduced and strengthened when focusing on the urban edges. The case of Pioltello advocated how a whirling seek for policy innovation and inter-municipal agreements are constantly steered in the urban region of Milan, even through private-public relationships, whereas the cases at the edges of Rome and Naples are more affected a sort of inertia that makes more difficult the activation of local resources and the development of policy innovations. In a nutshell, the whole thesis illustrated how the three cases inherit different histories of welfare provision over time, where the North seems to preserve a step ahead, although the suburban constellations outside of Naples, and specifically the Comprensorio Giuglianese, is repository of future challenges for a “suburban society”, between the weight of old fragilities and the emergence of suburbanisms typical of the urban edges, as also indicated by the cases of Fiano Romano and Capena, i.e. the scopes of new inequalities and peripheralities in metropolitan Rome.

Further reflections are fundamental to navigate amongst research findings presented in a narrative rather than structured way. The third research question involves the role of the theoretical framework built upon the contemporary suburban debate, entrenched in the wider landmark of the “new urban question”. In other words, the dissertation indicates that Italian local welfare, both from the academic viewpoint and the policy-making side, is called to face the new forms of the urban beyond an overwhelming “methodological cityism” (Angelo, 2017; Connolly, 2019) that may distort the analytical interpretation of well-being and welfare provision at the urban edges. As also introduced in the conclusive section of the chapter dedicated to the governance of local welfare [see chapter 2, section 4], the research points out that the paradigm of local welfare is formed and affected by a strictly urban configuration of well-being issues. Such a posture may hamper the development of local welfare systems in suburbs that experience different lacks in the access to welfare services, compared to those associated to the urban cores instead. As a consequence, the governance of local welfare at the urban edges needs a recasting process, where the new critical theories of the urban question play a pivotal role in steering such redefinition, as they shed lights on the new forms of the urban, and the socio-spatial consequence behind such forms. Drawing on Barca, McCann and Rodríguez-Pose (2012: 137), who argues that building roads and sanitation is not only a precondition for development, but also something demanded by society, this dissertation unfolds a body of challenges that at the urban edges entail issues of justice (de Leonardis, 2002): water provision, energy supply, adequate connectivity to basic welfare infrastructures through transit networks, an effective presence of public-based infrastructures (schools, health centres, places providing social services, facilities, etc.). To set out the understanding of such challenges, the diffusion contemporary suburban studies travelling from country to country (De Vidovich, 2019) play a pivotal role by suggesting an interpretative framework to question local welfare and its organization at the Italian urban edges. However, this does not mean that Italy is today a suburban country as North American countries are. The dissertation likewise acknowledges the tremendous dynamic of suburban development around the world (Keil, 2018) through a contribution from the three biggest Italian urban areas, where the settlements located at the edges of the urban cores, in an in-between condition, present distinct ways of life and distinct social demands. Nonetheless, the adoption of a research framework calibrated around the notion of suburbanisms shall not be viewed as an indisputable sharing of the suburban rationale to study Italy, but rather, as a seek unexplored research trajectories in the governance of local welfare.

2. Redefining local welfare through the suburban perspective

To employ the suburban perspective towards a call for a more comprehensive understanding of local welfare governance, the debate may be built upon one of the research questions. What governance of local welfare takes place at the urban edges to tackle the increasing socio-spatial inequalities?

Evidences from the investigated target-areas illustrate that the multi-layered and supra-municipal organization of territorial units disciplined by the National Law 328/2000 is not always the most adequate to meet the social demands. The “Consortium of Tiber Valley” for the case of Rome, the “Ambito 16” for the area of Villaricca, and the Social District 3 in the eastern in-between of Pioltello, are facing some inconsistencies caused by several factors: economic downsizes, lack of personnel and, as for the cases of “Ambiti” a mismatch between their territorial configuration and the patterns of suburbanisms, the socio-spatial relationships put in place by inhabitants that call for basic services and basic physical infrastructures to be reasonably reached. Although achieved, this committee is currently becoming complicated according to many research findings, as social needs are increasing and multifaceted. In this view, socio-spatial inequalities raising from the addressed Italian post-suburban patterns, shall be read as

a consequence, or rather, as an updated version of the new social risks emerging over the last two decades, in particular after the 2008 economic crisis, whose impacts on Italy (and not only) have been consistent, insofar as mid-class families became impoverished. With reference to this, one of the most recent OECD reports (2019) talks about a squeezed middle-class under pressure, acknowledging that over the last years opportunities for low and middle-income families to move up the ladder became limited over the past decades, and many middle-class families faced a growing risk of falling down to a lower income or a lower status (OECD, 2019: 16).

All the insights from the three Italian urban edges disclose the condition of an historically fair organization of local welfare services, according to the services defined at the beginning of this second part [see chapter 4, section 4.3] and reported in the three analytical maps [see Figg. 44, 80 and 123]. However, the administrations are dealing with a number of contemporary pressures that hamper an adequate efficacy of service provision. In the case of Pioltello the “urban solutions” undertaken in the urban core of Milan are slightly seeking for reproductions in the in-between towns, albeit tailored on a specific context, as for the case of Satellite. In the case of Villaricca, the coexistence of old and new fragilities in a context of longstanding deprivation constantly weighs on welfare provision, whilst in the cases at the edges of Rome, the demographic increase led to an uneven development of suburban fragments, where new population began to experience some lacks in the supply of basic services, such as water, shortly after moving. These findings indicate a common feature: principles, programmes and pathways of territorialisation of welfare policies [see chapter 2, section 3.1] are no clearly visible at the urban edges, and they need a configuration able to meet suburban ways of living, which, in their turn, are uneven and heterogeneous. Place-based framework (Barca et al., 2012) turns out to be helpful in such understanding, as the contextual features of emerging social needs undermine the consolidated welfare provision at the urban edges (at least for the three selected cases).

To cope with the complexity of place-based territorialisation of welfare policies “at” the urban edges and “for” the urban edges, the understanding of welfare services at the urban edges may benefit from a more comprehensive and broad-minded viewpoint. As illustrated, also to respond to the research question pointed out earlier, welfare services at the urban edges are organized on local or supra-municipal governance frameworks. However, the specificities of emerging social needs depicted from the qualitative fieldworks involve a rationale that escape from the sole field of social policies and their implementation on local and supra-municipal levels. The analytical keyword “infrastructure” represents a focal point in this argument. The final section of the discussion of the fieldworks portrayed the spatial distribution of social infrastructures, with a particular focus on the “hard” infrastructures planned and delivered by public actors, generally through professional and organized standards. As stated in chapter 4, this thesis would actually benefit from a deeper focus to the soft side of infrastructures, to deal with the less formal delivery in a self-help arrangement. Nonetheless, the analysis through the notion of “infrastructures”, regardless of the hard/soft configuration, helps in laying down a redefinition of local welfare framework through the suburban perspective. Drawing on Klinenberg (2018: 5), the everyday social infrastructure is the “informal, incremental, peopled infrastructure that supports social reproduction in cities [...] and physical places and organizations that shape the way people interact”. Such definition entails a place-based approach that conceives social infrastructures as factors shaping the territories. In post-suburbia, such infrastructures involve many policy fields as well as the basic services to be provided: hospitals, schools, places for the delivery of socio-economic support services, but also transit networks, pipelines for energy, water or internet, complex systems delivering a fundamental service for the daily lives of people inhabiting the urban edges. This rationale meets the description by Amin and Thrift (2017) who maintain that infrastructure “consists of all of those objects that allow human beings, cars and trucks and

boat and planes, water, sewage and other waste, oil, electricity, radio signals, information, and the like to flow from one place to another, to become mobile, to circulate” (Amin & Thrift, 2017: 47). Moving from a first configuration on the places strongly interlinked with social and socio-health policies, the direction towards a rationale based upon infrastructures as just described may strengthen a more comprehensive understanding of local welfare.

As cities and metropolises, albeit to different extent, are animated by a number of both hard and soft social infrastructures, the main knots and tensions for the social infrastructures, both in terms of accessibility by the inhabitants and of delivery by the governors, may be found at the urban edges, where wealth and poverty are unequally distributed and overlapped. On this basis, it is arguable that infrastructures confer an advantage to certain section while providing decline and blight in other places, and these geographical repercussions are sources of social inequalities (Filion & Keil, 2016). As urban edges are fragmented, differently densified and differently embedded in developmental networks (for e.g., spatial transformations occurring around Pioltello are not the same involving Villaricca), such inequalities raise in a more substantial form in (post)suburban contexts. Therefore, a reasonable distribution of welfare infrastructures, beyond the social ones, shall be placed as a key goal for the governance arenas. This is the reason why a perspective focused on suburbanisms entails a redefinition of local welfare, at least for the European debate, with reference to the three addressed cases from a Mediterranean country. Hospitals and clinics, schools, helpdesks and places for social services are fundamental, but other key services need to be addressed. The three cases showed how public transport is a focal field of services shaping suburbanisms, and they contributes in the production of inequalities according to the level of accessibility to transit networks (Filion, 2013; Pucci & Vecchio, 2019). Also, the debate on infrastructures is central for its social and environmental impacts. In fact, when it comes to suburbanization, considerations regarding infrastructures play a key role, as “suburban infrastructures have become the most visible set of socio-technical assemblages that stand for the ecological and financial crisis of our age” (Filion & Keil, 2016: 5). In other words, the allocation and provision of suburban infrastructures embed the main societal challenges at the time of contemporary crisis. As known, new social risks are the actually existing consequences of the most recent social changes emerges since the end of golden age of welfare, which had become sharper after the 2008 crisis.

While dialoguing with the suburban perspective [as framed in chapters 1 and 3], the rationale of local welfare emerged since 1980s and weakened after the global crisis, finds a territory that, due to its differentiations, brings up issues and questions for service provision. Through the suburban – intended as a global perspective shedding light on the contemporary urban – local welfare turns into a policy field at stake in search for reconfigurations able to not undermine the public configuration of welfare itself. This means that the quality of public infrastructure is still assumed to be a government decision variable (Bjorvatn, 2000), despite the increasing role of private actors in governance and co-planning activities. The debate posited here lead to the third research question. In view of this reconfiguration attempt, how local welfare framework is going to be redefined in view of the “new urban question”, or even, in a “suburban planet”? An initial response would suggest insisting on welfare infrastructures as omnicomprehensive elements called to meet suburbanisms in an integrated framework where social services and other basic services (pipelines, transit networks, etc.) coexist in a revised rationale of local welfare principles. The general policy implications from the investigated urban edges shall be read in this view. However, this is a body of highly theoretical findings. With references to (at least) the European contexts, urban edges (framed through the manifold ways and notions that the literature is contributing to define) may be viewed as the less explored places of those areas where the main governmental and socio-spatial changes are occurring, as such edges are made by constellations engulfed in urban regions. In fact, urban

regions have become an important scale for the governance of highly complex societies (Brenner, 2004; Le Galès, 2002), and, as argued by Brenner (2004), they serve as the scale and medium of societal differentiation in a competitive neo-liberalizing economy. Welfare provision is not immune from such trajectories, and several decades after the deduction of the “suburban solution” as a capitalist tactic to solve class conflicts, accumulation cycles and capitalisms’ contradictions, theorized by Richard Walker (1977; 1981), the contemporary alterations of welfare regimes and the consequential emerging social needs call for a new wave of solutions to actually face the same instances, but in the light of emerging suburbanisms.

Drawing on this argument, the attempt of questioning local welfare towards a more comprehensive framework, entails, as also introduced in chapter 4, a particular attention to a less tangible sphere of public utility, which involves the “mundane but essential services” (Foundational Economy Collective, 2018). According to the researches by the international collective for the Foundational Economy¹⁰⁶, pipes, cables, networks supply these kinds of mundane but fundamental services ranging from water, energy, electricity, food, basic goods. An integrated framework between social infrastructures for health, education and social care – as observed in the target areas – and foundational services, is the key of the argument posited in this section. In this vein, these mundane “welfare-critical activities” (Foundational Economy Collective, 2018) needs an adequate infrastructural supply. The decision to benefit from the perspective of foundational economy is prompted by its utility in questioning and reframing local welfare framework, as it thinks the economy “not as a system of wealth creation led by the private sector but a system of revenue circulation which should diffuse welfare” (Foundational Economy Collective, 2018: 18). In fact, the scholars argue that publicly funded health and education are the domain of social policies which determine availability and quality of service, against the contemporary compartmentalisation of activity. Three criteria lie behind the sphere of the foundational (Bentham et. al., 2013 quoted in Foundational Economy Collective, 2018): education, childcare, healthcare and “utility supply” are necessary to everyday life; they are consumed daily by all citizens regardless of income, and they are distributed according to population through branches and network. They are divided into “material” aspects of foundational economy, i.e. pipes, cables, networks, branches which connect households to daily essentials (water, electricity, food, banking), and “providential” foundational economy, i.e. the mainly public-sector welfare activity providing universal services, like health and education (Foundational Economy Collective, 2018: 20–21). The combination of these good and services – delivered by “material” and “providential” infrastructures, is central to the entitlement of citizenship in modern state (*ibidem*). This statement embeds the key reason behind the adoption of such perspective to reframe local welfare framework: the common basis of seeing welfare as a foundation to ensure citizenship.

When viewed in suburbs, these foundational elements are indispensable for suburbanisms, as everywhere. No future for a suburb and its population is possible without an adequate accessibility to the aforementioned services. Yet, as the empirical activities have illustrated, such access is unevenly undermined. Private transports look necessary to bring kids at school, to buy a good at pharmacy, or even to reach a public transport railway, coach or subway station. On the contrary, while observing the most recent literature on urban peripheries, such questions seem less central, as well as framed to a “lesser debate” where different know-hows do not dialog to each other. Today, issues of liveability in the “traditional” urban peripheries (often identified in public housing estates) revolve more around the improvement of shared poor living condition which bring to attempts in fostering cohesive and inclusive efforts in a longstanding struggle against social exclusion within urban contexts. At the urban edges, the

¹⁰⁶ More info on this multidisciplinary and international collective of scholars: <https://foundationaleconomy.com/>

“material” and “providential” foundational services turn instead central before conventional issues of participation and social inclusion. In a comparison amongst the cases of Pioltello, Villaricca and Capena-Fiano Romano, it may be stated that the typical issues of urban peripheries are traceable in the third case, at the edges of Milan, due to the specificities of Satellite on one hand, and of the vigorous action on urban regeneration on the other hand.

The foundational economy rationale helps in enhancing the issues of justice (de Leonardis, 2002) that underpin local welfare. This interplay is put in place through the focus on global suburbanisms, which has been contextualised on three Italian urban edges, and investigated with a focus firstly on governance, as well as on land and infrastructure. Based on the research findings [see chapter 8, section 1], the general policy implications may be drawn on the reframe of local welfare towards a foundational understanding of welfare provision. How can be possible fostering a foundational perspective to deal with welfare provision at the urban edges? Today, several debates acknowledge an asymmetry between the growing needs of a long-term planning of services, even for the sustainability of processes, and the requirements of short-terms, subjected to the circulation of policy and politics cycle, where the decision-makers under siege by an overload of social demands (Donolo, 2015). The changes and contemporary gaps in the access to welfare services experienced in suburbs shall be viewed as a product of the long pathway that, since 1980s, aimed at wrecking the basic services in favour of more financialized economy around the principles of the point value, short-time horizon and cash extraction for investors (Foundational Economy Collective, 2018), of authoritarian private governance organized beyond-the-state (Swyngedouw, 2000, 2005). In this scenario, a pathway of redefinition of the local welfare for urban edges on foundational basis is anything but easy, and suburbanisms have to be considered not only as an analytical tool, but also as a driver for policy design. Suburban ways of living shape the future governance agendas for places located at the urban edges.

3. Further directions

The enhancement of suburban-as-a-perspective steers the final discussion toward the identification of further directions both for research and actions when tackling well-being at the urban edges. Such a research posture acts as a way to get into the international post-suburban debate from an Italian viewpoint. This conclusive section provides two brief suggestions for further investigations on the hereby debated topics. Before introducing such calls for future inquiries, a methodological note is needed. By investigating into the Italian context, this thesis provided a body of first indications from three specific urban edges, thanks to the collection of qualitative findings. However, more rigorous quantitative and data-driven analysis may corroborate (or even disprove) the discussed research outcomes, for a more concrete universalization of findings. Yet, beyond the fundamental contributions from PRIN Post-Metropolis, no remarkable quantitative inquiries addressed the most recent patterns of suburbanization process of Italy, with very few exceptions (see Pagliarin, 2018). This research has been framed into a more contextual qualitative-led approach, but it would benefit from further integrations with other research tools grounded in social statistics or economic sociology. On this premises regarding methods, two other themes may steer further research indications.

First, the thesis calls for researchers to pursue studies on changes of local welfare in a foundational perspective, towards an approach that, regardless policy fields, attributes a key role to the infrastructures of daily, as discussed in the previous section. As local welfare is currently at stake due to the tumultuous consequences of privatization and erosion of public provision, a reframe envisioning a broader understanding of the material and providential services – ensured by their respective infrastructures – is

an intriguing research path to be followed, also to tackle the emerging contemporary scenario of governance developed through austerity (Theodore, 2019) entrenched in a recast resulting from the global crisis. Fostering a foundational perspective on local welfare also entails studies of the territorial dimension of inequalities, not particularly within a city – hence facing intra-urban inequalities (see OECD, 2018) – but rather between the city and its urban edges moving firstly by the characteristics of the latter, which, as indicated by the post-suburban view, are heterogeneous and multifaceted, divided into pockets of wealth and poverty (Filion & Keil, 2016). Recently, a number of researches coped with the measurement of such inequalities. In particular, the contribution on regional development steered by Storper (1997), Scott and Storper (2003) and Rodriguez-Pose (2013) are nudging the debate with rigorous investigations of the “regional inequalities” in EU (see Iammarino, Rodriguez-Pose, & Storper, 2018; Rosés & Wolf, 2018). In the European framework, a specific attention is devoted to the concept of “city-region”, seen as locomotives of national economies (Scott & Storper, 2003), where suburbs actually contribute in fueling such development as sites of city-users and productive activities. In this connection, Addie (2013: 209) notices how the functional networks of contemporary global urbanization “increasingly transcend the jurisdictional and territorially defined boundaries of the metropolis. [...] The relations between city and suburbs no longer harness the development of city-regions”. Therefore, when addressing the field of local welfare through a foundational approach, a viewpoint on the urban region oriented on the patterns of global suburbanisms may today represent a valuable research pathway.

Second, in connection with this latter point, the research fosters further discussions on the configuration of global suburbanisms into the Italian and, largely, the Mediterranean contexts. Chapter 2 dealt with the contextual specificities of urbanization process in Italy since the Second post-war period, pointing out the inadequacy of suburbs as a concept to identify the diffused settlements expanded outside and beyond the few big cities of the country. Nonetheless, Italy is not immune to the big socio-spatial transformations occurring in urban regions and in this view, a novel focus on suburbanisms may deploy innovative research approaches to identify further institutional, governmental and social challenges. All the aspects regarding welfare investigated in this dissertation refer to the key topic of how to improve decent, just and equal conditions in areas encapsulated in a process of uneven suburban development, where socio-spatial inequalities and the access to welfare services have been previously less explored while they were taking place. The awareness of living in a suburban planet (Keil, 2017) today has introduced intriguing research pathways on suburbanization and suburban ways of life, by assuming that “life on the global urban periphery is changing rapidly into a set of post-suburban constellations that provide novel insight into the urban condition” (Keil, 2018: 2). For what concern particularly the field of welfare provision at the urban edges, further investigations shall could take into account incongruencies and pitfalls of the multilevel governance scales, with reference to the effective meeting of social demands and suburban ways of life by supra-municipal organizations (whether framed in the Italian context, for instance). This attempt is also a way to escape from the strict interwoven relationship between suburbs and metropolitan development trajectories, where the latter affect the development of the former. To conclude this second suggestion, a brief attention is also devoted to practice, although this thesis is weak in its policy implications and it is more grounded on the theoretical innovations in studying welfare and liveability at the urban edges through the complexity of suburban research. Cities and suburbs are not built by academic debate, but by struggles in space and time (Keil, 2018), increasingly faced by local, regional and even national governance agendas. Such struggles should not only be treated as a leverage for the mainstream (although important) themes of social cohesion, citizens’ participation in decision-making and place-making processes. Yet, the spatial configuration of social demands and social struggles needs to be prioritized, because deprivation and inequalities, not only in the access to foundational

welfare services, are not spatial issues in nature, but rather, they result from the social contradictions embedded in the complexity of “urbanized” society, where social conflicts are debated but not effectively tackled whereas, on the contrary, they are reproduced also through an uneven provision and delivery of welfare services.

From this twofold suggestion, a coda with further integrations of the emerged evidences of this dissertation may be identified. Politics, political arrangements and grey areas of governance arenas deserve further detailed studies, even in view of the neoliberalization affecting public policies. Furthermore, as discussed in these conclusive sections at length, usage and adoption of new critical urban theories when facing socio-spatial transformations in the urban regions shall be encouraged. Such invitation involves the third research question mentioned in the first lines: how local welfare framework is going to be redefined in view of the “new urban question”?

In an urban world that is increasingly suburban (Klausen & Røe, 2012), new terminologies that little helped the understanding of urbanization in Italy during the past decades, may be now reconsidered not particularly in view of the urban expansion, but rather to observe the societal changes embedded in such sub-urbanization processes. It may be said that Italy has never been suburban, but – as numerous countries in the world – it experiences a post-suburban phase characterized by problematic societal effects and emerging inequalities. The construction of a (post) suburban debate in Italy revolves around such issues. The “emerging suburbia” conceptualized in the case-study of Fiano Romano and Capena (urban edges of Rome) firstly refers to the squeezed middle-class (see OECD, 2019) that fuelled the suburban development of the two target areas, by raising meaningful inequalities in the access to welfare services. In this respect, post-suburban Italy is first of all a theoretical framework to deal with the socio-spatial transformations of the “(sub)urban fabric” within urban regions and metropolitan areas.

Besides, investigations on the Italian urban edges lie at the intersection between society, hence coping with suburbanisms and governance, with politics and policies, with space, referred to the forms of built environment and landscape, as well as with the infrastructures distributed across a specific territory. Such interplay has been carried out in this dissertation through the threefold analytical subdivision of governance, land and infrastructure, although governance issues in local welfare are the central nucleus of the analysis. Further studies may steer such interconnection with more detailed focus on politics, on spatial planning aspects as well as on suburban infrastructures in critical hands (Addie, 2016; Filion & Pulver, 2019) beyond the mere identification of institution-based and public-funded infrastructures, as undertaken in the three fieldworks of this research.

This dissertation aims at broadly steering further investigations about the governance of welfare in suburban areas in Italy, particularly in view of the diversity and heterogeneity of post-suburbia in Italy. The three cases of this thesis are grounded on a specific research rationale built upon the choice to focus the attention on the three largest metropolitan areas on the one hand, and on the geographical differences in terms of sub-urbanization and infrastructure provision between such areas on the other hand, by acknowledging the persistency of a North-South dualism in Italy, even with reference to suburbanization process. To pursue inquiries and perspectives on local welfare calibrated through a suburban lens, researches shall be extended to other territorial scopes, such as the constellations of Veneto region where the theory of *città diffusa* finds a great expression (Indovina et. al., 1990; Fregolent, 2005), the polynucleated landscape of Tuscany around Florence, recently investigated in its “regionalization” processes (Paba & Perrone, 2018), the morphologically complicated landscape of the metropolitan area of Genoa, the sequence of mid-towns of Emilia-Romagna, the other small urban nucleus of Southern Italy beyond Naples, i.e. Bari and Palermo, etc. The largely diverse Italian landscapes may be observed in their complexity through a post-suburban approach.

In this respect, suburbanisms play a pivotal analytical role in seeking for novel understandings of well-being and welfare provision beyond the urban cores. Now the notion of suburbanisms may be seen as a conceptual tool that little helps governors and policy-makers of welfare services. Yet, this research is precisely aimed at introducing intriguing perspectives in the local welfare debate. The focus on urban edges nurture a number of additional issues to the already challenging scenario of local welfare. First, it raises the “suburban scale” of in-between territories engulfed in urban region but wedged between overwhelming attention on metropolitan areas on the one hand, and rural and shrinking areas on the other hand. Second, the research illustrated the pattern of emerging socio-spatial inequalities in towns at the edges of urban cores, caused by a number of overlapped aspects: lack of basic services, accessibility gaps in welfare provision, infrastructural weaknesses in public utility services and public transports, automobile-dependence, etc. Third, the dissertation advocates an administrative fragmentation in public affairs, where supra-municipal entities (such the “Ambits” for social services) look incongruent with the territorial configuration of the social demands in suburbs, the single municipalities experience significative economic shrinkages, and institutional reorganization processes (such as those occurred in the urban region of Milan) may slow down the welfare planning activities. All of these issues suggest that a redefinition of local welfare framework also entails a harmonization among uneven changes towards a common rationale to deal with welfare at the urban edges. Although very normative, such statement is actually a reflection emerged from the critical study of the declaration gathered by the interviews to civil servants and local administrators in all the three case studies.

According to these evidences, further directions based on suburban studies may not be read as a deterministic understanding of Italian peri-urban areas. Rather, they are oriented to unfold the societal complexities of the contemporary urban society by seeking the less explored places where daily lives are “at the margins” and new inequalities take place in unexpected forms different from those of the cities and their peripheries, as well as from those of the rural depopulated areas. The theoretical understanding of forms, features and valuable solutions to tackle such complexities at urban edges are worthwhile contributions in both academic and governmental debates.

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Chapter One. Setting the suburban debate

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Chapter Two. Explorations on local welfare

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Chapter Three. Insights on Italy

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Chapter Four. Introducing fieldworks: a threefold investigation

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Chapter Five. At the eastern edges of Milan: Pioltello through a focus on Satellite

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Chapter Seven. At the Northern edges of Rome: new suburban fabrics between Fiano Romano and Capena

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Appendix A
Research steps

Research steps undertaken in the dissertation

1. Studying

Literature review has been carried out between June 2017 and December 2018, hence right before the beginning of the first fieldwork activities at the edges of Rome. The sequence of reviews has been employed in three parts.

First, a specific attention has been devoted to the reconstruction of the suburban debate. Between November 2017 and April 2018, the review dealt with the international framework on suburbs. From here, the whole framework has been constructed leading to the contents of chapter 1.

From June 2018 to December 2018, the literature resume addressed the specificities of the Italian contexts. Moving from previous readings presenting and discussing the research PRIN Post-Metropolis, the attention has been then shifted to the study of previous investigations carried out in the past decades about the urbanization of Italy. The emerging theoretical framework generated chapter 2.

In December 2018, a recognition has also been carried out addressing the main literature in local welfare, with a closer focus on Europe and Italy, and the identification of the most significant contemporary issues. Chapter 3 aimed at reorganizing the numerous references composing the patchwork of the debate on changes in service provision. In this view, the contents of the chapter dedicated to the policy-field of welfare acts as a resume of the main issues, in view of the contents of the research. During the writing of the case studies, occurred from May 2019 to early September 2019, at the beginning of each case writing, a recognition of the main studies, keywords and recent researches about the target area – both on a metropolitan and local scales – has been carried out.

2. Searching

2.1 Data gathering from PRIN Post- Metropolis and Urban Index database

<http://postmetropoli.it/atlante/>

<https://www.urbanindex.it/>

2.2 Research and download of Masterplans, institutional documents and others

Resume of the main documentations mentioned in the footnotes in the case studies chapters

Chapter Five. At the Eastern edges of Milan: Pioltello

- National “Bando Periferie”:
http://www.governo.it/sites/governo.it/files/Bando_periferie_urbane_testo.pdf
- Recent regional laws for social and socio-health interventions:
http://normelombardia.consiglio.regione.lombardia.it/NormeLombardia/Accessibile/main.aspx?exp_coll=lr002008031200003&view=showdoc&idoc=lr002008031200003&slnode=lr002008031200003
<http://normelombardia.consiglio.regione.lombardia.it/NormeLombardia/Accessibile/main.aspx?view=showdoc&idoc=lr002015081100023>
- Public expenditure, Pioltello (2018):
<https://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/streaming/BILANCIO%20DI%20PREVISIONE%202018.pdf?nonce=45ADPJR2MSXGDFMA>
- Participatory budgeting, Pioltello: <https://www.decidilotu.it>
- Masterplan of Pioltello [PGT]:
https://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/CadmoDriver_s_116472

- Services Plan, Pioltello:
https://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/CadmoDriver_s_115102
https://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/streaming/Agg%202016_TAV%205%20-%20LOCALIZZAZIONE%20E%20TIPOLOGIA_def.pdf?nonce=N47X5Q52JXGJSSC7.
- Road infrastructures public mapping, Pioltello:
<https://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/streaming/Tav%201%20-%20Inquadramento%20territoriale%2010000.pdf?nonce=AD7SS4TJQSP5SJEJ>
- General Traffic Plan [PGPU]:
http://www.comune.pioltello.mi.it/PortaleNet/portale/CadmoDriver_s_151962

Chapter Six. At the Northern edges of Naples: Villaricca

- Public expenditure, Villaricca (2016):
<http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/riepilogo%20spese%20per%20missioni.pdf>
- Statement of public insolvency:
<http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/delibere/2018/consiglio/19.pdf>
- Public expenditure revisited according to the Legislative Decree 118/2011:
<http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/entrate%20e%20spese.pdf>
- Regulation of Campania Region for territorial government (5/2011):
http://www.sito.regione.campania.it/regolamenti/regolamento05_2011.pdf
- Zone C2 “Social housing”:
<http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/Procedimento%20Reitero%20vincoli/Relazione%20Preliminare%20e%20DS.pdf>
- Masterplan Villaricca [PRG]: <http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/Relazione%20PRG.pdf>
- Building coding: <http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/Regol%20Edil%20Com.pdf>
- Zoning: http://www.comune.villaricca.na.it/documenti/PRG_Villaricca_1_5000_Zonizzazione.JPG
- Media information about the illegal dump:
<https://napoli.fanpage.it/nube-tossica-su-villaricca-incendio-nella-discarica-di-cava-alma/>
<https://www.teleclubitalia.it/172413/villaricca-brucia-cava-alma-vigili-del-fuoco-sul-posto/>
<https://campaniafelix.tv/la-terra-dei-fuochi-continua-a-bruciare-incendio-alla-cava-alma-di-villaricca/>
- Horizon 2020 Repair: <http://h2020repair.eu/case-studies/naples-i/>

Chapter Seven. At the Northern edges of Rome: Fiano Romano and Capena

- Lazio Region, Regional Social Plan:
http://www.regione.lazio.it/binary/rl_main/tbl_documenti/POS_Deliberazione_consiglio_regionale_1_24_01_2019_Allegato1_Piano_sociale.pdf
- PUA Palombaro Felciare:
http://www.comune.fianoromano.rm.it/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3476&Itemid=1498
- Public expenditure, Fiano Romano (2016):
http://www.studiok.it/comuni/fianoromano/bilancio/stampa_bilancio.php?txtname=2016conscorr
- Public expenditure, Capena (2016):
<http://www.halleyweb.com/c058018/zf/index.php/trasparenza/index/index/categoria/228>
- School services brochure, Fiano Romano:
http://www.comune.fianoromano.rm.it/images/files/tariffe/Brochure_Servizi_Scolastici.pdf
- SEA Fiano Romano, Palombaro Felciare:
http://www.comune.fianoromano.rm.it/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2712&Itemid=1486

3. Networking

Organized public seminar and discussions related to the research:

27 March 2019: *Reframing local welfare through suburbs: tales from Italy*. Lecture at Bellfair Urbanistik Salon, Toronto

12 November 2018: *Urban Edges. Questioni emergenti nel contesto italiano*. Public presentation and discussion with Francesco Indovina (IUAV), Massimo Bricocoli, Alessandro Balducci, Arturo Lanzani. Venue: Politecnico di Milano

4 December 2018: *Effetto città. Riflessioni dall'area metropolitana di Roma*. Lecture by Nicola Vazzoler (University Roma Tre). Discussants: Matteo Colleoni, Ota de Leonardis (University Milan-Bicocca), Alessandro Coppola (GSSI), Paola Savoldi (Politecnico di Milano). Venue: Politecnico di Milano

31 January 2019: *Sub/Urban Utopias. An Apollonian-Dionysian analysis of a modernist town*. Lecture by Yannis Tzaninis (University of Amsterdam). Discussant with Fabio Bertoni (University of Padua) and Andrea Parma (Politecnico di Milano). Venue: Politecnico di Milano

4. Researching [Empirical activity]

This section resumes the main research activities that took place during the fieldworks. As illustrated in the introduction, the thesis grounds on a qualitative-led approach. In particular, the sequence and the timelines of the fieldworks are reported below. During the indicated periods, on-field observations, interviews, walks and evening-time documentations has been carried out.

4.1 Number of field visits

At the Eastern edges of Milan: Pioltello

1. 9 October 2018
 2. 27 October 2018 (Walking through Satellite with M.O.S.T of Pioltello and Politecnico di Milano)
 3. 29 November 2018
 4. 29-30 January 2019
 5. 13 March 2019
 6. 20 March 2019
 7. 27-28 March 2019
 8. 24 April 2019
-

At the Northern edges of Naples: Villaricca

1. 16-17 December 2018
 2. 18-10-20 February 2019
 3. 1-2-3 April 2019
 4. 20-21-22 May 2019
-

At the Northern edges of Rome: Fiano Romano and Capena

1. 1 June 2018
 2. 10-11-12 July 2018
 3. 26 September 2018
 4. 23-24 October 2018
 5. 14-15 January 2019
 6. 11-12 March 2019
-

4.2 Interviewing

This fifth step is part of step four. It refers to the interviews carried out during the fieldwork activities. For a detailed report of interviews, consult the Appendix B.

The whole research has benefited from participations to conferences, seminars and numerous exchanges with professors. In particular, a period of three-months as visiting PhD student at York University (Toronto) enabled me to get in touch with scholars who created and contributed to the research *Global Suburbanisms*. In addition, the following events has been helpful for research matters: the presentation of the volume *Post-metropolitan territories: looking for new urbanity* held at Milan Polytechnic on March 2017; the session joined at the 20th SIU Conference (Italian Society of Urban planners), held in Rome on June 2017; the presentation by Camilla Perrone and Giancarlo Paba on post-metropolitan inquiries in Tuscany, held at the annual AESOP Conference 2017 in Lisbon, on July 2017; the “spring institute” on global suburbanisms in Italy on May 2018; the walk in Satellite with the research group of *M.O.S.T of Pioltello* and colleagues.

Appendix B
List of conducted interviews

Chapter Five. At the Eastern edges of Milan: Pioltello through a focus on Satellite

	Participants	Actor typology	Interview typology	Date	Venue	Length
1	Ivonne Cosciotti (Mayor of Pioltello)	Institutions	Semi-structured	9/10/2018	Municipality of Pioltello (via C. Cattaneo 1) – Office of the Mayor	45 min
2	Claudio Palvarini (Social operator of “Periferie al Centro”)	Expertise	Non structured	29/11/2018	“Negozio Sociale” Casa-Lavoro. Via Wagner 21, Pioltello	1h
3	Vincenzo Argento	Inhabitant	Non structured	29/11/2018	Piazza Garibaldi, Pioltello (Limite)	20 min
4	Francesca Campolungo (social operator of “Periferie al Centro”)	Expertise	Semi-structured	29/01/2019	“Negozio Sociale” Casa-Lavoro. Via Wagner 21, Pioltello	35 min
5	Valentina Giunta (social operator of “Periferie al Centro”)	Expertise	Semi-structured	30/01/2019	Piazza XXV Aprile, Pioltello	1:25h
6	Dott.sa Serena Bini (Responsible Social Policies office, Pioltello)	Institutions	Semi-structured	20/03/2019	Municipality of Pioltello (via C. Cattaneo 1)	1h
7	Gianluca “Miles”	Inhabitant	Non structured	27/03/2019	Satellite	1:30 h
8	Geom. Vittorio Longari (Responsible of Urban planning office, Pioltello)	Institutions	Semi-structured	28/03/2019	Municipality of Pioltello (via C. Cattaneo 1)	40 min
9	Chiara Poli (Plan Office, Social District Est Milano)	Institutions	Semi-structured	24/04/2019	Municipality of Pioltello (via C. Cattaneo 1)	1:30h
10	Dario Carpini (Master student in anthropology)	Expertise	Non structured	15/05/2019	Skype Call	45 min
11	Andrea Di Giovanni (Professor, Scientific director of MOST research)	Expertise	Semi-structured	16/05/2019	Politecnico di Milano	1h

Chapter Six. At the Northern edges of Naples: Villaricca

	Participants	Actor typology	Interview typology	Date	Venue	Length
1	Leonardo Ciccarelli (Press secretary Giugliano Calcio)	Inhabitant/Local actor	Non structured	16/12/2018	Vallefuoco Stadium, Mugnano di Napoli	45min
2	Francesco Tagliatela (Deputy Mayor Marano di Napoli, former in Giugliano in Campania)	Expertise	Semi-structured	17/12/2018	Municipality of Marano di Napoli (Via IV Novembre)	1:22h
3	Caterina Pennacchio (Principal at Ada Negri school Villaricca)	Local actor	Semi-structured	19/02/2019	Lower secondary high school "Ada Negri", Villaricca	1h
4	Nicola Flora (Professor Federico II)	Inhabitant	Semi-structured	19/02/2019	Nicola Flora's home (Villaricca)	1:45h
5	Grazia Di Tota (Responsible social policies office, Villaricca)	Institutions	Semi-structured	20/02/2019	Social policy office, Villaricca	1h
6	Andrea Morniroli (former Alderman for Social Policies, Giugliano in Campania, 2003-2008)	Expertise	Semi-structured	24/02/2019	Caffè Roma (Piazza Ferruccio Nazionale 2, Ivrea)	1h
7	Francesco Cacciapuoti (Territorial municipal office secretary)	Institutions	Semi-structured	02/03/2019	*Special format: answers via e-mail to five questions	-
8	Vincenzo (Operatore di stazione MetroCampaniaNordEst)	Inhabitant	Non structured	02/04/2019	Mezzanino station MetroCampaniaNordEst, Mugnano	45min
9	Alessandro Sgobbo (Professor)	Expertise	Semi-structured	03/04/2019	University Federico II, Department of Architecture	1h
10	Massimo Mallardo (Former Alderman at Public Affairs, Villaricca)	Expertise	Semi-structured	21/05/2019	Arch. Mallardo studio	1h
11	Armando De Rosa (President of "Pro loco" Villaricca)	Local actor	Non structured	21/05/2019	Villa Comunale, Villaricca	1h
12	Giovanni Granata (Former Alderman for Social Policies, now councilman, Villaricca)	Institutions	Semi-structured	03/06/2019	Burger King, Settimo Milanese (Via Gramsci)	2h
+	Gaetano Sestile (President of Giugliano Calcio)	Local actor	Semi-structured	16/12/2018	Vallefuoco stadium, Mugnano di Napoli	10min

Chapter Seven. At the Northern edges of Rome: Capena and Fiano Romano

	Participants	Actor typology	Interview typology	Date	Venue	Length
1	Ivona Radomska + Antonio Lagattolla	Inhabitants (Palombaro Felciare Committee)	Semi-structured	1/6/2018	Pasticceria Fieni - Fiano Romano (Palombaro Felciare)	1:30h
2	Giancarlo Curcio (Public Affairs Office – Fiano Romano)	Institutions	Semi-structured	10/7/2018	Municipality of Fiano Romano	1h
3	Massimo (Di Nunzio Real Estate)	Local actor	Non structured	10/7/2018	Palombaro Felciare - Via delle Felciare	30min
4	Roberto Barbetti (Mayor of Capena)	Institutions	Semi-Structured	11/7/2018	Municipality of Capena	20min
5	Marco Di Giovanni (Di Giovanni furniture factory)	Local actor	Non structured	11/7/2018	Palombaro Felciare - "Mobili Di Giovanni" (Via del Palombaro)	45min
6	Carla Parlati (Responsible of Social Policies Office)	Institutions	Semi-structured	26/9/2018	Municipality of Fiano Romano	2h
7	Francesco Fraticelli (Director Sector I)	Institutions	Semi-structured	26/9/2018	Municipality of Fiano Romano	30min
8	Mario Armellini	Inhabitant	Semi-structured	26/9/2018	Bar Agorà - Via Tiberina (Capena) + tour lungo	3h
9	Simonetta de Mattia (Director Consorzio Valle del Tevere)	Institutions	Semi-structured	23/10/18	Municipality of Formello	1:30h
10	Alessandro Ristich (Doctor)	Inhabitant /Expertise	Semi-structured	24/10/17	Doctor office, Capena	45 min
11	Stefano (Roca real estate)	Local actor	Non structured	15/01/2018	Via Genova - Fiano Romano (Palombaro Felciare)	30 min
12	Marsia Ferreri (Social Policies Office - Capena)	Institutions	Semi-structured	11/03/2019	Municipality of Capena	1h
13	Giandomenico Pelliccia (Alderman for Urban Planning – Capena)	Institutions	Semi-structured	11/03/2019	Municipality of Capena	55 min
14	FOCUS GROUP 11 Persone	Inhabitants	-	12/7/2018	Pasticceria Fieni - Fiano Romano (Palombaro Felciare)	2h

