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THE ROLE OF THE GREAT PROPERTY IN THE EUROPEAN
CITY-MAKING PROCESS IN THE LAST THIRD OF THE 20TH CENTURY

MILITARY PROPERTY AS REFERENCE

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DOCTORAL PROGRAMME IN ARCHITECTURE

DOCTORAL THESIS:

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Presented by Federico Camerin to apply for the degree
of Doctor by the Universidad de Valladolid
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INTRODUCTION

General issues

With the aim of understanding the historic city-making process of the European cities in the 20th century not leaving aside the impact of such process in the early 21st century, this thesis sets out the following questions.

1. Which has been the relationship between the great property, real estate agents and financial and real estate developers-financial capital when it comes to the building process of the European cities during the 20th century? Which was the evolution of this relationship in the globalisation setting and the post-industrial development? If I consider transformations in these great properties in post-industrial context, which has been the part/behavior of these great properties in the city-making process? Which have been the goals of the projects carried out in the construction process, as well as their effects in the territorial settings? Have existing built artefacts been reutilised or have developing actions, in the form of new buildings, been boosted prior wrecking of remains or traces of the past? Which factors or events have triggered urban regenerations/reconversions? Are such regenerations part of weighted strategy triggered by public actors/agents or do they derive from public sectors/citizens conflict? In this intervention process have Urban Plans been conducted by the Cities involved or on the basis of private Urban Projects alongside public-private partnerships?

2. A thorough examination of the Urban Planning implemented in the 20th century, as well as its role in the making of the capitalist city, it can be stated that the former has been largely influenced by the agents operating in the city. In this context, have these agents been the city planners in accordance with the best interest of the great property they control? If, alternatively, social interests take over Urban Planning, are there any differences from the former question above? In this refer, is Urban Planning strong enough to change society? This thesis aims to check whether the 20th century-society has triggered a particular type of planning, or if its role has been limited in the European city-making process.

3. City history-telling involves looking into the behavior of the urban space at a given time. What is, therefore, the behaviour of the 20th century European

city and its outcomes these days? What contributes to urban life and the making of the social space? Namely, which is the spatial behaviour of the city? With the aim of shading light, and subsequently interpreting the city, I have included each historic moment having a noticeable spatial impact on the city.

4. The observation of the relationship between European city-making process and the development of military activities which commonly occupy large urban plots, this research should intended to respond the following questions: why did military activities originally occur within the cities? Once settled in the city, where are they based? Which is their role in the making process of a city? Do they contribute to city-making?

Previous theoretical aspects

The first question to discuss, neither of the basic terms of the “urbanHist” doctoral programme, namely Urbanism, Heritage, and Urban Planning prevail. This means the research field of this thesis is the outcome of the relationship between them, not the isolated interpretation of each single term. This thesis is not intended to be the sole study of Urbanism, Heritage, and Urban Planning, but the analysis of those works resulting from their interrelation –urbanism as a conceptual framework; heritage as the inherited physical-social built environment ground on which territory intervention must be based door way to Planning on the Existing; urban planning as a practice able to channel property related interests aiming to implement and anticipate, by means of a project, profit-driven projects. I am referring to the capitalism-fostered city, and the contradictions of the former making the city submissive or opposed to the system. In this sense, I regard social structure of such city as the factor conditioning the spatial use. The relationship between the three concepts can be contradictory as they are the object of several interpretations, whether the latter breaking such relationship or accomplish it. Basically I am arguing that Urbanism, Heritage, and Urban Planning are the basic reference of the research, thus I can argue the contents of the work to be done in the following way.

Firstly, I consider the City as the research’s object. I am speaking of a city in a broad sense, i.e. the city as a territory. Secondly, the idea of City as Heritage refers to the existing environment inherited from the past where people live. It is

the condition of “habitability” that gives the city a character of “public entity”. Thirdly, Urban Planning indications highly affected the dynamics of the City as Heritage mostly on account of punctual Urban Project. In this sense, Urban Planning can modify specific spatial behaviour, but such modification depends also from the latter. Consequently, I state that Urban Planning orders what is already in motion in the city and channels specific tendency already existing that influencing the future behaviour. Only when a strong political power is encouraging new social relationships, Urban Planning can exert as an innovative practice capable of creating a new type of city. Even in such case, what is really influencing the change? Are the Urban Planning’s new methods the trigger elements or are the new class interests overcoming the latter? To sum up, Urban Planning follow the existing social patterns, i.e. the social struggle, in order to modify the socio-spatial behaviour.

The approach of the thesis

In short, the research’s object is the City, a spatial public entity identified with both historically- and collectively-created heritage values, and spatial behaviour derived from the use of the space by a specific community. Here, the questions are the following: how can I do research of the City if not base the study on its historical comprehension? Understanding the city means dealing with its condition as “historical social product”. The delimitation of doing a research in a specific historical moment implies discovering how the socio-spatial production process took place. In fact, what, it «*is not the articles made, but how they are made, and by what instruments, that enables us to distinguish different economic epochs. Instruments of labour not only supply a standard of the degree of development to which human labour has attained, but they are also indicators of the social conditions under which that labour is carried on*» (Marx, 1887: 130).

In this context, it is important to remark the distinction between the “History of the City” –understood as the analysis of the socio-spatial production process– and the “History of the Urban Planning” intended as the “History of the Ideas” – which implies the analysis of the historical approaches about how the city should be, but not how the city is during specific moments (Álvarez Mora, 1996). The difference of the two approaches is the fact that the first proceeds with the study

of the object, i.e. the city, and the second aims to understand the thinking of the city starting from the Project. Clarified such distinction, I am arguing that the comprehension of the *raison d'être* of a specific urban space is what really matter in order to get the knowledge of the city. In fact, such approach deals with the city intended the latter as a historically built reality, i.e. as a historic product. The research approach can be applied only starting from the idea that the city struggled between its condition as “social reproduction space” and as “profit-driven space”, i.e. as “product” and as “oeuvre”, respectively producing exchange and use values. In this framework, the behaviour of the “great property” and its use, control, and forms of appropriation is what definitely marked the tendency towards one or another condition. Consequently, the thesis clearly shows an Urban History approach. Basically, such research adopts as a reference the great property to understand the European city-making process during the last three decades of the 20th century and its application to the concrete case of military properties in Italy.

A first proposal of thesis referred to an analysis based exclusively on the military properties. Eventually, I change my mind to highlight the role of the great property identified with industrial, railway, and military installations, and no residential activities, all of which consuming a large quantity of space. I am interested in analyse the impact of what happens after once they became obsolete and abandoned, being required for other functions and urban services.

In the framework of the thesis approach, I consider three different processes respectively referring to so many ways of proceeding with the city production and its historic interpretation.

A first moment concerns the city-making process affecting a specific urban space, the so-called “city production”. In the case of the thesis such process refers to the building of the first industrial, railway, and military installations, most of them located in the traditional urban space, even in central zones. Such first moment can be intended as the spatial manifestation of the capital in land as the aforementioned activities need a large urban plot to develop their productive processes. This phase of the city-making process regards the consolidation of the urban space at its origins: here the city can be intended as a proper collective entity –i.e. a “social product”– at its beginning.

A second moment starts when it comes the low profitability of the activity located in a great urban land property. This implied its dismantling, abandonment, ruin to force its regeneration/reconversion. However, such low profitability is not the fundamental reason forcing the change, but the new economic-financing perspectives to create new profit-driven spaces on the useless artefacts for the logic of capital. For sure, this dynamics strongly depends on the real estate development patterns. In this sense, building the city is not only its material construction, but it regards the strategy of dismantling of the existing built environment. Specific real estate agents carry out such practice: their mission aims to empty the existing urban fabric as they are strategic places to undertake a spatial high-class-led appropriation-reappropriation process. The latter takes place insofar as it is required by the need to create new profit-driven spaces which effect is to strengthen the “segregated city”.

Eventually, the urban regeneration is the final colophon of this long path starting from the materialisation to the dismantling-abandonment-ruin of the goods producing the city. The regeneration is usually argued for the profit-oriented needs and for imposing an “order” not in contradiction with the logic of capital. The real concerns of this third phase is aiming to appropriate the city, mostly its central zones. In this way, the analysis completes the circle.

In summary, this is the way the thesis deals with the comprehension of the city starting from the latter production-reproduction. Under my point of view, such method constitutes one of the most outstanding achievements of the analysis. I am pretty sure it is important to get to understand the city as a social product. Such statement provides a vision of the historical city-making process which implies its dismantling-abandonment-ruin as proper real estate processes towards the urban regeneration aiming to strengthen the city as a space for the high-income class.

Hypotheses and goals

The preliminary goal of the thesis is understanding the European city-making process during the last third of the 20th century starting from the role played in such process by the great property, especially military installations.

The starting hypothesis is the following. I assume the Great Property as “fixed capital” from which producing new economic and social profitability. This means that such property is a “capital in land” developing successive urban interventions, the latter being spatially juxtaposed. Based on such hypothesis, I consequently pay attention to the relationship among great property, real estate agents, and financial capital. It seems evident that the abandonment of several kind of great properties for their functional obsolescence shows a clear relationship among property, financing, and real estate developers. Actually, when it comes the abandonment of the activity carried out in a certain property, the “great capital” –intended as a real estate developer and/or a financial entity, which is also being a regular speculator takes possession of the former to reuse it into more profitable activities.

Keep in mind the basic hypothesis, the research deals with the behaviour of the great property in the historical city-making process. The analysis aims to classify the diversity of the great property based on the kind of capital in land linked to it. I am referring to the Property identified with the spatial categories which contribute to the production of space. In this sense, it is the relationship between property and capital in land what really defines the former.

Such general approach aims to contextualise the role of the Great Property in the city-making process and the way such property imposes the production of space, as well as the forms adopted by such production depending on the kind of the property. Basically, the classification of the great properties according to the capital in land refers to four types of is the following great properties- the capital in land:

- “Industrial capital landowners” represented by industries, railway, military, religious, services, equipment, and so on;
- “Commercial capitals”, becoming large landowners after their materialisation in the territory. Generally speaking, such capitals are identified with Department Stores and Commercial surfaces;
- “Financial capitals” and their relationship with Public Institutions and “great real estate developers”. Such capitals include a wide range of operations, starting from the real estate developments carried out by the “financial capital” to those operations characterised by their exclusive financial content;

- “Small owners” with little capacity of management in the real estate activities. They constitute the universe of the traditional “parcel system” –o lot or building site– characterising the city.

This path aims to outline a theoretical approach allowing to understand the phenomena characterising the historical European city-making process. Essentially, such theoretical study attempts to elaborate a “theoretical-praxis” supported by examples and case studies, coming from the reality of the European cities.

The aforementioned questions help to contextualise the object of the research: this is the first part of the thesis. The second part focuses on the role of the Italian great military properties in the city-making process in the last moment, i.e. their regeneration after being dismantled and abandoned. In this section, the selection of the Italian case is justified as a basic reference due to the huge importance of such theme in Italy, even though I always take a look of what happened and is happening in the other European states.

Having explained the object, the hypothesis, and the object of the thesis, the research has other more specific objectives aiming to contribute to the development of the late 20th and early 21st century-European urban studies.

Among the suggested objectives, the first one I propose is to clarify specific concepts in order to help me developing the research, that is to say, concepts needed to work requirements. Above all, this is the case of the “concept of property”. I am referring to the “land ownership”: on the one hand, I intend it as a property producing an “income”, a “rent”, the so-called “ground rent”. On the other hand, this property is understood as a “capital in land” in order to undertake future real-estate development not immediately foreseen, although foreseeable in the medium-long term. Hence, the “urban regeneration” processes are always possible by the management of this type of property. The clarification of this concept of property/land ownership, therefore, opens the way to understand the change processes involving the built elements that these properties support.

The second objective regards the understanding of the reasons why the “empty” appear in the European capitalistic city, particularly the focus is on the empties proceeding from great properties. How such empties intervene in the historical construction of the city, insofar as they are produced as one more real estate object? Here I argue that the real estate developments produce the empty

as the latter are related to the economic relaunching of such practice, even if they can be used not in the short period. Consequently, if the real estate developments imply the city building and its components, such as housing, equipment, green spaces, and so on, can I argue that the same real estate development produce the urban empties? Why is happening the creation of the empty? In which way the real estate dynamics lead a great property to the ruin? How the urban development, the urban agents, and the urban policies intervene in such process to produce the empty in order to relaunch the city? Which have been the techniques and the strategies to manipulate the great properties and convert them into empty spaces?

The third objective is strictly related to the aforementioned two. How such empties intervene, a posteriori, in the materialisation of a new city's model, i.e. to boost a different way or carrying out the city-making process? This objective deals with the ways the empties are managed to make them the suitable factor to set up concrete urban projects. Particularly, the latter substitutes the previous use insofar as they eliminate the prior social space connected to such activity. Here I am arguing that the city used to be built on the ashes of the past, but such remains must be produced. To achieve the objective, the research looks into the way the great properties have been emptied and how urban projects were carried out, or no, in place of the abandoned installations.

Actually, within the typological diversity of the great property, the research focuses on the military properties taking into account what have happened in the case of industrial and railway ones.

CHAPTER 1. STATUE OF THE ISSUE, RESEARCH PATH, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

General goal

Firstly, this chapter aims to critically analyse the works conducted regarding the constructions, dismantling, and regeneration of military premises, as 'great properties', whose urban dynamics refer to the understanding of the city-making process. In the understanding that while great properties is my reference, by taking them as my case study, I focus on the statue of the issue and the bibliography of the methodological casuistry derived from the existing studies.

From the studies above, I extrapolate their interests, their scientific angle, the accuracy of the approach defining their hypotheses, as well as the conclusions reached, so as to start a new scientific path meant to identify my work, thus linking my research to the existing research. This should result in something original which uses previous works all of which leading to the innovations wanted.

This chapter carries out a bibliographical review of the Italian and international urban studies on great military properties. My goal is to provide interpretations intended to show global issues beyond borders, yet always within an Italian context.

Firstly, I will outline the reasons behind the abandonment and dismantling of the military premises. Provided that this aspect is crucial to understand the processes of emptying and subsequent urban regeneration, as well as its close links with the historical city-making process which justifies and boosts their physical-social dismantling of such premises. I must refer to the process supporting the transformations of military premises as a real estate activity. Military areas as public-owned property, or "common goods", must be thoroughly studied in relation to the economic effects derived from their dismantling. Urban planning must also be studied so that it will enable the citizens to be part of the city building. In some particular cases, a crucial factor in the start of reutilisation operations is the "soils and building pollution levels" as a consequence of military activities conducted. This tends to delay the decontaminating activities prior to the regeneration.

The second part of this chapter carries out the bibliographical review of the processes of materialisation-dismantling-regeneration of the military premises in the Italian case.

The reasons behind institutional abandonment and its consequences

Amid the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the dismantling of the Soviet Union in 1991, and the subsequent end of the Cold War¹. The chapter aims, first, to interpret the great military properties' materialisation-abandonment-regeneration processes analysed in the previous section and, second, to elaborate a new definition of "urban regeneration" starting from this theoretical text on military properties. In fact, such concept is a term frequently used in the current literature, a debate arises in Europe and around the world on the part of the Armed Forces (Markusen and Judken, 1992). Actually, the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe between Warsaw Pact and NATO, signed in 1990 and effective as of 1992, ruled the weapon contingent allowed. The entry into force of the Treaty conveyed the destruction of over 60,000 armaments and the reduction of the military personnel by 1,200,000 troops (OCSE, 1990, 1992 and 1999) in accordance with the directives from international peace and global security organisations and the agreements set by the document "A secure Europe in a better place" (European Union, 2003). Shifts in geopolitical international scene², the loss of strategic weight, as well as the inadequate military cuts are the result of the budget revision policies aiming to reducing public debt. Consequently, we have witnessed a steady abandonment, underuse, and dismantling of the Armed Forces real estate assets in the last 25 years of the 20th century. Military properties consisting of barracks, housing, powder magazine, shooting ranges, warehouses do not fulfil their original scope³. It is estimated that there 8,000

¹ For a discussion of the influence of the Cold War during the second half of the 20th century see Westad (2000) and Pons and Romero (2004).

² Geopolitics as a method of understanding international relations includes a common vocabulary, well-established concepts, a large body of thought, and a recognised group of theorists and academics. To deepen the understanding of this discipline take as a reference the work by Sempa (2007), in which the author presents a history of geopolitical thought and applies his classic analyses to the Cold War and international relations after the Fall of Berlin Wall.

³ The phase of dismantling-abandonment-alienation of military property can be compared to the 19th century-process of disentailment when liberal European governments promoted the sale of property and estates belonging of both clergy and civil institutions. This operation had an impact on the social, economic, cultural, political, and ideological 19th society, which also contributed to the modernisation of cities, providing the latter with higher buildings, expansions, and new public spaces thanks to demolitions-redevelopments. The

military premises around the world have been dismantled and returned to civil society, totalling about 1 million ha (BICC, 1997: 2). Numerous countries have been faced with troublesome process of demilitarisation and reuse, both in central urban and peripheral territories, having a strong repercussion in the city-making process as a consequence of the massive transformations processes. The implementation of national programmes such as the Base Realignment and Closure in the USA (BRAC, 1988) and *Mission pour la Réalisation des Actifs Immobiliers* in France (MRAI, 1987) serve as an example.

Frequently, the abandonment of Armed Forces properties in Western countries has occurred alongside the sale of State-owned assets as a result of Defence budgets cuts and as a financial means to invest in the reorganisation processes⁴. For instance, in Spain, the sale of military assets has been substantially profitable for the Ministry of Defence. Actually, according to Capel (2005: 335), in the period 1984-1996 the disposal of military properties granted Spain 64,000,000 pesetas (384,650 million euros). In the UK, the HM Treasury revised the Defence budget to obtain the largest profit from the sale of its assets (Doak, 1999: 213). In Italy a number of overlapping regulations were enacted between the 1990s and 2000s. In accordance with the Laws implemented, the profits from the sales have been meant to the reorganisation of the Ministry of Defence⁵, public debt reduction of both national and local bodies.

As for the abandonment of military assets, the reasons above have been largely regarded as primordial grounding. Such reasons do not always coincide with the logic behind the process of production-construction of the city. Additionally, the following can be regarded as causes of abandonment and dismantling of military premises: the way in which the centre-periphery urban models was carried out, and the regeneration-reuse-displacement, all of which attributes certain spatial behaviours on some areas conveying different urban land rent values.

old church buildings were changed of uses: many were transformed into public buildings –such as museums, barracks, and hospitals– others were demolished to open new streets or widen existing ones, and some were converted into parish temples or auctioned off and passed into private hands.

⁴ For the France case see Artioli (2016b: 1761); for the United Kingdom see Doak (1999); for Spain see Brandis et al. (2003: 394); for Italy see Camerin (2017d: 147).

⁵ In Italy the Ministry of Defence was established in 1861 as “Ministry of War” –*Ministero della Guerra* in Italian–, changing its name to “Ministry of Defence” –*Ministero della Difesa* in Italian– in 1947.

In the case of Italy, and following the Ministry of Defence approach (Senato della Repubblica, 1989: 1740), the management of military real estate property must be related to the balanced distribution of the Armed Forces across the country. Besides, the dismantling-abandonment of military premises should be equally considered in order to release historic centre from military presence. This would be intended to provide the city with new space for functions and equipment whose implementation could be curbed by the restrictions naturally attached to military premises. On the ground of the above, the dismantling-abandonment of such assets was triggered by the sheerly urban demands and dynamics and the reclassifying and regeneration of the existing urban fabric.

I observe two contrasting angles. The first one being economic-speculative supports the maximisation of the urban land rent derived from the reuse of military premises and its new exchange-value. This is consistent with alternative transformations processes involving housing, tertiary, business and tourist activities. The second one in accordance with the regard of this military properties as public domain, prioritises the value-use as opposed to the logic of the urban land rent. The Ministry of Defence properties and generally those public ones must be at the service of the collectivity, thus reducing the cost of the land originally related to public services and equipment.

In this scenario, and specifically in the Italian case, an intense debate broke out in the 1980s on the abandonment of large military land following national events, mainly in the form of conferences, reunions, and so on⁶. The return of the military land to the collectivity has had a remarkable cultural and socioeconomic relevance. The regeneration of the military premises could boost a new urban development model providing a wide range of opportunities to urban and territorial planning, this affecting the life of millions. However, this potential transformation were tampered by a clear and present risk, that of lack of urban planning regulations of unused military and public properties within the cities. This void, the result of the obsolescence of the functions of the post-industrial city. The market-oriented urban planning, common in the Italian urbanism, put the management of the urban voids in the hands of financial and real estate

⁶ The conferences on the Ministry of Defence assets were promoted by some Italian Regions (Vv. Aa., 1979; Crimi, 1990), by the same Ministry of Defence (1981 and 1986), and by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage (Vv. Aa., 1989).

development capital. This, proceeded with the ongoing 'urban land rent logic' in the way it approached the urban regeneration processes. As a fact, while military premises have been out of the discussion of the urban transformation for most of the 20th century, the Defence assets had had an impact on the urban development, especially, in the neighbouring areas. Actually, the unlimited urban expansion, characteristic of the urban land rent model, and the increase in the urban transport of both people and goods have caused logistics inconvenience to the activity within Defence properties, which has ended up becoming part of more congested urban fabrics. This has been noticed and felt by the military and civil society, which has resulted in a reaction to it. The search for new types of 'settlements' has been boosted, thus enabling better standards of the military activity and troops' life avoiding the risk of the split of military and civil life.

Indeed, over time the growth of the city has meant military assets occupying potentially high land rent as opposed to almost null land rent derived of the exclusive military use. The pressure from the real estate development would be the cause of its dismantling and regeneration. In this respect, the speculative interests as well as the unstable and continually evolving strategies of the Armed Forces and civil society have played a significant part. Generally, the Ministry of Defence shows its own interest in making profit of the sale of such properties, this aimed at conducting further investments. All the above relies on a real estate developer willing to pay for the property ownership. As a result, the actual availability of the great military properties, yet frequently underused and abandoned, which would enable operations of urban regeneration has been determined a few decades after the moment in which these areas could have been used to channel urban development and city growth without obstacles. Unarguably, this delay is the reason why most of Italy's cities as well as the rest of European cities involved in these urban processes have benefited from the chance generated following the military dismantling-abandonment in late 20th century and early 21st century. This way, a number of projects have been set out in a context in which issues of qualitative transformation rather than unlimited expansion arise.

The diversity of great properties subjected to abandonment-dismantling processes

Other types of great properties are incorporated into the process of functional dismantling along with military installations, such as charitable religious institutions, industries, markets, railways, schools, warehouses, and so on.

All of these artefacts have common characteristics, among them, their location in strategically central urban areas. Due to such character, starting from the 1970s they have been usually subjected to an urban planning process to change their use in accordance with their *de facto* situation, i.e. the potential extrapolation of urban land rent. From since the 1980s onwards, Urban Planning classified them as “areas of transformation”. The military properties were a specific kind of public-owned assets: once being dismantled, they were added to other public areas that, in the 1980s, assembled the abandoned spaces in the city. Public-owned assets hold extraordinary conditions for the “rethinking” of the city because either of its specific nature, or of its specific location in the built environment. The military areas made redundant by the Defence contributed to emerge new opportunities, solving problematic issues in the frame of territorial government, encouraging new urban development challenges. In European society, and in the specific case of Italy, this phenomenon did not only manifest in the provincial capitals historically characterised by the presence of the Armed Forces, such as La Spezia, Piacenza, Rome, and Turin. Small and medium municipalities, such as in the Northeast of the country, are plenty of Defence assets. Here the resources and the requirements for the management of the territory are very different with respect to larger urban entities where the “empty spaces” are affected by more speculative interests.

The redevelopment of military areas from the point of view of their polluting effects. The question of ‘brownfields’ and the recovery of “ecological systems”

Since the late 1980s a number of studies coming mostly from the United States explore a wide range of issues addressing the debate on disused military areas as their condition of “contaminated soils”. The concept used in such cases is

'brownfields', a wider notion including all kinds of abandoned areas and facilities linked to globalisation effects-driven processes of deindustrialisation, demilitarisation, and agricultural dismantling been hitting the environmental⁷.

Among the various lines of research, there are works relating the evolution of the general organisation of the Defence in the post-Cold War period; the evolution of the military budgets and expenditures; the trends in the military industries, even the relationship between import and export of weapons; the phenomenon of abandonment of military facilities and their 'conversion'⁸ during the 1990s (Brauer, Tepper Marlin, 1992; Gummett et al, 1996; Dundervill, Gerity, Hyder and Luessen, 1997; Reppy, 1998; Sorenson, 1998; Jauhiainen, 2002).

Although it seems that the United States has been the place where most research has been done on these issues, one reference book in the European context, is "Post-Cold War Conversion in Europe. Defence restructuring in the 1990s and the regional dimension" (Jauhiainen et al., 1999). This manuscript analyses the cases of Germany, Belgium, Finland, France, Hungary, and the United Kingdom, stressing that the conversion of the military premises often requires a very strong investment whose economic benefits can only be produced in the long term. It is worth mentioning the work carried out in one of the European countries most affected by the restructuring of the international Armed Forces, i.e. Germany (Cunningham and Klemmer, 1995). In this country, after the Unification between East and West, a gradual abandonment of foreign military presence, especially from the United States⁹, have taken place during the last three decades. In this context, the reports of the "Bonn International Center for Conversion"¹⁰ have provided a reference for addressing the process of military conversion to civil society, not only for the German case, but also for the Eastern and Western European countries (Brzoska, Kingma and Wulf, 1995; Cunningham, 1997; Heinemann-Grüder, 2002; Myrntinen, 2003).

⁷ The work of Dasgupta and Tam (2009) proposed a classification of the concept of brownfields.

⁸ Conversion is defined as the transformation of the uses and resources belonging to the military to civil society (Brzoska, 1999: 131). The conversion sectors are the following: reallocation of financial resources; reorientation of R&D; restructuring of industry; demobilisation and reintegration; closure and regeneration of facilities; and disposal of surplus weapons (Brzoska, 1999: 134).

⁹ The work by Duke (1989) focuses on a census of the US military presence in Europe in 1989, while Sharp (1990) demonstrates the possible economic and security impacts of a withdrawal of the US Armed Forces from Europe before the process actually began.

¹⁰ B.I.C.C., German institute established in 1994, <https://www.bicc.de/>.

Several analyses have been carried out in this regard in order to deal with different issues, such as the following. The international security sector reforms and programmes for the reintegration of soldiers into civil society (Wulf, 2000); the classification of military properties (Brzozska, Franko and Husbands, 2000); the factors influencing the conversion process with the aim of developing an appropriate methodology to achieve the best results (BICC, 1997a); and the issues affecting the reuse of military artefacts (BICC, 1997b). From the work carried out by the aforementioned German Institute, it can be seen that they tackle not only the classic aspects influencing the brownfields¹¹ conversion processes. They also take into account the main factors in order to understand the process of transformation and redevelopment of military sites. These include the elimination of contaminants and unexploded ordnance; the general definition and evaluation of the reuse scenarios; the economic evaluation process; the funding of the reuse operations; and the involvement-participation of interested investors.

Once the dismantling-abandonment of military facilities has been decided the essential factors of the conversion projects of military premises refer to the following ones: the problems of soil and groundwater contamination, the presence of intact ammunition, and the estimation of decontamination operations. These technical issues, may I insist, are not the priority triggers of the dismantling process and the subsequent regeneration. However, in some particular cases, such as training camps for military training, firing ranges, and powder magazines, pollution and the resulting clean-up are very important aspects affecting the reuse operations. As a matter of fact, there are cases in which the buildings present problems with asbestos, as well as contaminated soils: such characteristics make the clean-up an unavoidable prior process to guarantee the success of the conversion operations.

The costs of cleaning up the areas decisively influence the success of an operation. Often, an incorrect and underestimated assessment and the technical difficulties of implementation can have negative consequences in terms of extra costs for the implementation of the operations. Delays, stoppages or the

¹¹ They are the following: the geographical position, the socio-economic context; the state of conservation of the buildings; the degree of pollution and environmental weaknesses; the infrastructure systems of the territory they are located; the quality of the redevelopment project management; the planning process on an urban scale; the financing mechanisms; and the quality of marketing and communication.

cancellation of projects are not so uncommon in the frame of the regeneration of former military assets (Fonnum et al., 1998; Bearden, 2008). The responsibility of this task should normally be attributed to the Ministry of Defence before the property transfer to another subject, whether public or private (Hansen, 2004)¹².

In addition to the pollution problems, there are also geological and geomorphological issues affecting military areas (Blake, 2001). The decision-making process regarding the conversion of former military artefacts involves a careful assessment of geological resources and their drawbacks, as well as technologies allowing for systematic environmental inspection.

In Italy, various military sites have been the focus of debate in response to problems relating to contamination and consequent decontamination. The two cases I am going to comment on refer to two different situations, either because of the specific nature of the military area –an Italian Navy arsenal and a NATO base for telecommunications–, or on account of its location –one in the seafront of an island and the other in the mountains. The first case constitutes one of the most outstanding failures of the public policies carried out during the early 21st century, showing sufficient deficiencies in the implementation of an island environmentally-protected urban regeneration operation. The reconversion of the old military arsenal at La Maddalena, in the province of Olbia-Tempio (Sardinia Region) was characterised by the necessity of a previous clean-up operation to start with the refurbishment of the former military installation. This, together with other factors, led to the paralysis of the regeneration process, which today has not been carried out in its entirety. After carrying out the construction of Stefano Boeri Architetti-designed luxury hotel to house part of the 2009 G8 Summit, two reasons have contributed to the paralysis of the operation. One of them refers to a political decision. After the earthquake the city of L'Aquila suffered in 2009, the Berlusconi-lead Italian Government decided to the displacement of the event's headquarters from La Maddalena to L'Aquila. The second is related to the verification that the clean-up operations of the waterfront of the old structure belonging to the Italian Navy were not carried out. This determined the cessation

¹² For a comprehensive study of the subject in the United States, see the doctoral thesis of Jennifer Liss Ohayon (2015).

of the works and the abandonment of its management by the limited liability company Mita S.r.l.¹³.

The second case is located in the province of Padua, at the top of Mount Venda. Between 1955 and 1998 a military installation was the strategic point of communication via radio inserted in the international system of defence “N.A.D.G.E.” –Nato Air Defense Ground Environment–, which hosts the 1st Regional Operation Center (R.O.C.). After more than 100 soldiers were found to have died from inhaling radon gas and asbestos dust. Some of the accused were convicted of the death of the soldiers after a more than 10 years lasting trial (2005-2017) and the Ministry of Defence was even ordered to pay compensation. Today, there is a discussion about the possibilities of reusing the old military base¹⁴. The problems to be solved in order to proceed with the reconversion of the old American military space are the following. Who will finance the clean-up of the area affected by asbestos and radon? Have sufficient analyses been carried out to capture the level of contamination? Will another trial serve to finally turn the page and ensure a sustainable future for the environment in which the former military installation is located?

Although it may seem a different issue, I am arguing to consider the actions undertaken to build new ecological systems from the decontamination of specific brownfields –such as those territories occupied by the military– as another way of proceeding to the regeneration of disused, abandoned, or functional dismantled spaces. In the case of military installations, their urban dysfunction is complemented by the negative effects derived from waste of military-weapons production which may have been deposited in the territories the military have used.

Military infrastructures located in non-urban territories can indeed be configured as opportunities to restore ecological systems. Ecological restoration, and the successive reuse of the infrastructures, can be very complex due to the previous military use. In light of these consideration, the works of Hourdequin and

¹³ Today it seems that the situation has been unblocked after the signing of the memoranda of understanding between the Italian Government and the Sardinian Region to sort the problems blocking of conversion operations out. Such agreement established the financing of 20.4 million euros for the decontamination and environmental recovery of the land and marine surface of the Ministry of Defence former property (Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri-Regione Autonoma della Sardegna, 2017).

¹⁴ Also encouraged after the publication of a recent book by Malatesta (2016) about the history of the telecommunications system located in the Veneto Region.

Havlick (2010, 2011 and 2014) can be mentioned. They focus their attention on ethical and philosophical questions, asking themselves how the ecological restoration of military sites provides a concrete form to the relations between humans and nature.

The indications established to proceed with the restoration and environmental conservation of former military properties are limited by physical and socio-political restrictions. This is the case of the areas be reused as national wildlife refuges, such as the United States initiative named “military-to-wildlife” (M2W). One consequence of these limitations is the so-called “opportunistic conservation”, which means that habitat and wildlife objectives are limited by the persistent presence of military elements that still remain in the territory. Some studies that have approached with the reconversion of former peripheral-located military territories to conceive them as “natural reserves”. Such studies coming almost always from the United States: they analyse the historical formation of these places and the compatibility between military practices and environmental conservation. The simultaneously development of military activities and actions of environmental safeguard can lead to the coexistence between such two uses until making them inseparable in their perception. This is producing “hybrid geographies” that challenge dual notions referring to the binomial “civil society-nature”.

The question of the military premises regeneration from the point of view of promoting the restoration of ecological systems, or for reasons of the existence of military activities in a natural environment, seems to me to be somewhat far-fetched. This is a particular approach having some impact especially in the United States, although it should be seen as an exceptional one that deviates from the more general issues informing the dismantling-abandonment and regeneration processes.

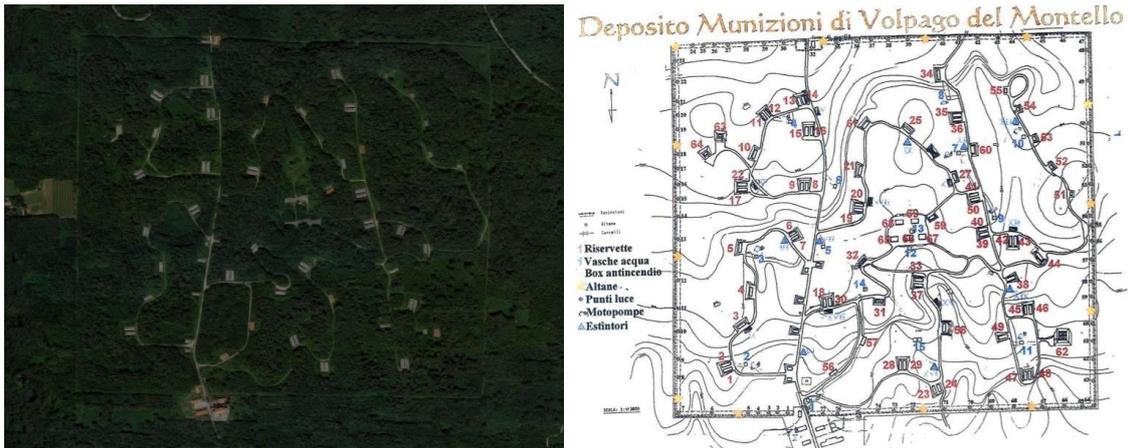
For instance, in the Northeaster Italy, such as in Friuli Venezia Giulia and in Veneto, there are various military installations built in the early Cold War-period between the 1950s and 1960s. They are located in peripheral territories protected from a landscape and natural point of view. For example, the former one-million-square-metre-square-shaped gunpowder magazine of Volpago del Montello (province of Treviso) located among the forest-covered hills. Inside its enclosure, there are 69 buildings dedicated to the storage of explosive devices and five

bunkers, while in the southern part there are five buildings for offices, lodgings, technical rooms, and workshops. The military function was carried out between 1965 and 2008, year when clean-up and drainage operations began, including the elimination of hazardous materials and the emptying of water containers used for fire emergencies. This military site is included in a National Landscape Protection regime by the “Declaration of public interest of an area belonging to the municipalities of Nervesa, Giavera, Volpago, Montebelluna, and Crocetta” published by Decree of the Italian Minister of Cultural and Environmental Heritage of 14 April 1975. In particular, the former gunpowder magazine is located within the area identified as a Site of Community Importance, i.e. SIC IT 3240004-HA “Montello” and “Special Area of Conservation”. In addition, the area is subject to hydrogeological and forestry restrictions in accordance with the Montello Intermunicipal Management Plan, called “Piano d’Area”¹⁵. After the official abandonment in 2013, the municipality of Volpago del Montello requests the property transfer under the procedure of the state property federalism. This request was accepted on 21 October 2014 by a joint agreement between the State Property Agency and the Ministry of Defense. In 2015, Fondazione Benetton Studi e Ricerche foundation launched an international workshop called “In the Montello Woods. The gunpowder magazine of Volpago and its future landscape” –*Nel Bosco del Montello. La polveriera di Volpago e il suo paesaggio futuro* in Italian– which given attention to the issues of such abandoned military complex in the Montello district.

In 2016, the candidacy of one of the Montello district municipalities to become the 2018 Italian Capital of Culture, includes the hypothesis of transforming temporarily the former military zone into an astronomical observatory. Despite this idea, in December of the same year, the Prefecture of Treviso proposed the construction of a reception centre for migrants in some of the unhealthy buildings of the former military area. At present, such constructions continue to host migrants, while most of the area is in a desolated state of abandonment.

¹⁵ Set up by five municipalities: Crocetta del Montello, Giavera del Montello, Montebelluna, Nervesa della Battaglia, and Volpago del Montello (<http://ptrc.regione.veneto.it/montello>).

Fig. 1 and 2: aerial view of the powder magazine and planimetry of the area



Source: Google Maps (2020) and Italian Army, Volpago del Montello ammunition depot chart (2012). Material delivered during the workshop of the Fondazione Benetton Studi Ricerche, June 2015.

Fig. 3 and 4: photographs of the gunpowder magazine.



Source: photographs by F. Camerin (2015).

I can argue that the dismantling of military installations is not simply a question of decontamination, cleaning up for reasons of environmental health, and restoring the ecological systems invaded by these military installations. These issues should be addressing by the analysis of other aspects lying behind these processes, i.e. the “speculative strategies” to reconvert the potentially profitable military land.

From the analysis of the works I reviewed, it can be deduced that the attention of the scholars has not been focused on a question of capital importance, which is the management of the territory and the city. I can state that it has not been detected, or perhaps not given the attention it would deserve, to

the fact that behind the abandonment processes are hidden “territorial strategies” whose objective is to “place value” on military lands. Such areas, as they are not developing any income, potentially would be in a position to do so. In the works and case studies I reviewed, no emphasis has been placed on the fact that the dismantling of military installations is not simply a matter of decontamination and cleaning up soils for reasons of environmental health. Behind these processes are hidden territorial strategies whose objective is to develop income-producing spaces. In the international context this lack is detected, although several investigations have been developed, for instance by the Bonn International Center for Conversion. As far as the Italian case is concerned, there is a lack of studies on the phenomena outlined in this section. I observed that in Italy the military properties conceived as a particular typology of brownfield and as an opportunity for the recovery and improvement of ecological systems have not been studied. It is precisely for this reason I underlined two case studies, their processes, and inertias at the time of setting up the regeneration projects.

Military properties as drivers of the regeneration of cities in the context of the urban management processes

Defence assets are a specific type of real estate product forming part of the state-owned and public domain goods, so it is a kind of property respect to the others belonging to the different state administrations, whether national, regional or local level. The physical materialisation of such public heritage has meant an important public investment, turning the state bodies involved into large landowners. In the Italian case, according to data from the Ministry of Defence (Pinotti, 2006), in the whole the national territory there are 78,300 hectares used for military purposes, representing 0.411% of the country’s surface area¹⁶. These properties are classified as state-owned and public domain assets, being regulated by Article

¹⁶ This area is divided into two components: first, the area of public domain, corresponding to buildings and areas belonging to the Ministry of Defence; second, the military easement, i.e. the piece of land which restrict its use due to the presence of an interest for the national defence. These are limitations imposed on areas not belonging to the military but generally adjacent to the lands owned by the Defence. Military easements are essentially of three different types. Firstly, those occurring in areas adjacent to ammunition and fuel storage facilities; secondly, they consist of limitations in areas subjected to electromagnetic emissions, the presence of radars or transmitters for communications, or even for flight assistance systems; and finally, restrictions in areas adjacent to firing ranges.

no- 822 of the Italian Civil Code (Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana, 1942).

In Europe, a common characteristic of its cities is the huge presence of public properties, both in form of land and buildings, which are managed by the different State and public administrations. This presence has been one of the resources that historically have allowed the provision of public services, thus promoting the welfare state and acting as one of the factors which contributed to the stabilisation of the real estate market prices. For this reason, it is important to highlight some issues affecting public heritage subjected to abandonment-dismantling processes, above all the role of the State as landowner¹⁷.

Firstly, it is worth underling how at the international level the approach to the management of public property has generally dealt with financial-oriented issues (Christophers, 2016), whose objectives set for the privatisation (Whiteside, 2019). Secondly, other important issue is the behaviour of local governments in the management of public assets in a situation characterised by the fiscal austerity and the fall of the real estate market (Besussi, 2013). In addition, a no less important issue refers to the administrative reform of the State. It is the transformation of its structures aimed at modifying the functioning of the State apparatus and the management of its both human and material resources.

Various analyses point out that the reuse of public-owned assets is closely correlated with the process of gradual restructuration of the state administrations. This implies the establishment of organisational improvements, the establishment of new inter-institutional relations, as well as the implementation of “unprecedented procedures” (Artioli, 2016b; Addisson, 2018). From the 1980s onwards, it is observed the submission of various public sectors in Europe, such as economy, education, justice, health, national defence, and so on, to pressure tending to geographically and functionally restructuration. This has had significant territorial effects. While the public real estate patrimony was initially used to meet administrative needs, in the late 20th century the reorganisation of the public sector has changed completely the approach.

¹⁷ As underlined by Flora, Stein and Derek (1999), since the 19th century European states have materialised their functions in the territory following specific codes through the allocation of resources and the imposition of rules in public policies. As a result of the public sector reforms that have historically reshaped the national bodies organisation and the management of the state resources, new codes have materialised, having an impact on the national organisation and its presence in the territory (Mann, 1984).

In the following consideration I rely on an updated knowledge referring to the studies carried out at European level on public sector reforms and their impact on territorial policies, such as Artioli (2016b: 1761-1763, in the section “Administrative reforms and their territorial implications”). It is claimed that the implementation of an administrative reform has an important implication on the way property management is implemented. The reforms introduced in the State’s administrative structure do not so much involve a change of direction in the State’s operations at the territorial level, but rather the introduction of some differences with respect to the previous situation. The change in public policy drives a modification in the land use regime which frequently leaves local governments with little possibility for political negotiation with the State. This situation boosts the creation of “real-estate-speculative expectations” following the logic of capital reproduction. This aspect, however, has not been deeply analysed in the existing literature.

I can argue, therefore, that the administration of military property is usually the responsibility of the Ministry of Defence of each country. They manage these assets according to a diversity of cases, also the ones referring to their functional-urban reconversion-regeneration. In the European countries, a diversity of different processes contributed to affect the management of military assets. Firstly, the restructuration process of the defence systems in relation to the changes occurred in the international geopolitical context in the post-Cold War period. Secondly, the launch of dismantling-abandonment-sale processes of military assets has coped with the national public debt. This issue responded to the crisis shaking the capitalist system, the serious budget deficit suffered by the Western countries, and the very needs of restructuring the Armed Forces. Thirdly, the intervention of public or private agents to acquire the military assets. As a consequence, there has been a change in their ownership, i.e. the loss of their status as public assets in favour of their privatisation. Finally, in close connection with the three processes mentioned, it must be stressed that the Ministries of Defence have always enjoyed a special legal and financial regime. This has allowed them to have a great autonomy in the decision-making process with respect to the other State and local administrations in charge of the territorial government.

Here it is important to underline the context in which this change happened, because the neoliberal and global policies steer the urban regeneration as a socio-spatial practice prevailing over any other type of intervention in European cities since the 1990s. Having pointed out such situation and referring to the aforementioned four factors, at least two categories of agents have been involved in the management of military property.

- Ad hoc bodies for the management of military assets, either within the new organisation of the Ministry of Defence¹⁸, or the State itself¹⁹, and
- Financial institutions and private operators with the capacity to facilitate reconversion-regeneration operations. This is the case with real estate investment funds.

The reuse of public-owned assets, such as military installations, is closely linked to the reorganisation of the state administration and, in general, of the entire public sector. This reorganisation has been deeply affected by the recalibration of intergovernmental relations which has dismantled the central government system and has cut public finances. Such dynamics were at the basis of the evolution of the neoliberal capitalist mechanism since the 1970s. All this has imposed the introduction of austerity measures contributing the private intervention in the public sphere. And it is within this public sphere that the territorial governance has inevitably been affected by an approach that privileges private interests over public ones. In this way, the reform of the State and its connection with the transformation of the urban environment is delivered urban regeneration processes allowing the configuration of new urban scenarios in order to increase the possibility of competing in a new global economic framework. The military assets, at the time of its abandonment, become inevitably part of this way of proceeding. The creation of specific actors to facilitate urban

¹⁸ In Spain, the “Defence Infrastructure Management” –*Gerencia de Infraestructura de Defensa*– was created in 1984, which in 1998 became “Defence Infrastructure and Equipment Management” –*Gerencia de Infraestructura y Equipamiento de la Defensa*–, and finally, in 2009, the autonomous organisations “Armed Forces Housing Institute” –*Instituto para la Vivienda de las Fuerzas Armadas* and Defence Infrastructure and Equipment Management were merged into the new *Instituto de Vivienda, Infraestructura y Equipamiento de la Defensa* (Invied OA, <http://www.invied.mde.es/01-invied/>). In Italy, the Ministry of Defence has introduced the joint-stock company “Servizi Difesa SpA” in 2009 (<http://www.difesaservizi.it/home>). In the United Kingdom, the “Defence Estate Organisation” was conceived in 1997 and was transformed into the “Defence Infrastructure Organisation” in 2011 (<https://www.gov.uk/guidance/crichel-down-rules-on-land-ownership>).

¹⁹ In Italy, the State Property Agency was created in 1999 following the reorganisation of the Ministry of Economy and Finance, which consists of four bodies (Income, Territory, Customs and Public Domain Goods). In a number of cases, this body collaborates with the Ministry of Defence in the management of abandoned assets for their disposal and regeneration.

transformation operations based on the management of military assets refers to the danger possibly caused by a real estate market-oriented strategy. This process is about handing over military areas into the hands (and interests) of real estate developer-financial capital and its continuous search for the highest profitability according to the constant evolution of the capitalist mode of production.

Military assets as 'common goods', or 'commons'

Recently, a new cultural trend on the discussion of the use of public-owned properties including the military ones²⁰ has arisen in Italy. This trend has been studied by Tomaso Montanari (2015) which refers to some previous works by Salvatore Settis (2014), Paolo Maddalena (2014), Stefano Rodotà (2013), and Ugo Mattei (2011)²¹. The studies above analyse the public domain goods understood as common goods or 'commons'²², its features and part in today society regarding the goals and interests they must/can fulfil. They also approach the issue of public domain goods as commoning activities²³. Actually, the issue concerning the abandoned military areas and premises, understood as common goods, has triggered a growing scientific and cultural debate over the past three decades. It has also inspired social movements, practical experiments, theoretical proposals which have influenced the legal framework. The debate has been part of an interdisciplinary discussion in the field of Geography Studies. All of which within the framework of the international conference

²⁰ See Quarta (2016: 615-617) for an updated study on the notion of 'military goods', their legal regime, and typology.

²¹ Other important references are Marella (2012), Lucarelli (2013), Mattei (2015), Sacconi and Ottone (2015), and Quarta and Spanò (2016).

²² The 'common goods' are those goods belonging to the community due to cultural identity, feeling of belonging, memory, and expression of the territory (Pasanisi, 2013: 2). The concept of common includes air, water, and soil; the global and transnational common goods; non-traditional common goods such as knowledge, intangible heritage, material and symbolic processes of 'commoning'. The latter concept refers to social practices used by commoners to managed shared resources and recovering common goods. In particular, according to Kammerer (2006), the commons are exactly those ones that a certain community considers indispensable for its own reproduction (and happiness) which, therefore, should be reproduced, cared for, and used in a "common" logic.

²³ The commoning practices of military properties are, in most cases, an indirect process. The actions leading to the transformation of a former military premises into a common generally follow a phase of dismantling, abandonment and successive sales to other public or private entities. Often, after the cessation of use for military purposes, in the subsequent phase the former military compound does not find a new function. The military artefacts stated to convert in a state of total abandonment, which makes them urban voids, and may be subject to practices of informal appropriation. As well as the re-appropriation of spaces for collective use, there is a social value in the functional restoration of abandoned areas that could therefore have a decisive impact on the possible reduction of militarism in the local community.

“*Commons/Comune. Geografie, luoghi, spazi, città*” held in Rome in December 2015 –Commons. Geographies, places, spaces, cities– (Marin and Leoni, 2016).

Backers of this line of thought are critic to any type of privatisation²⁴, yet with slight nuances in a systematic attempt to stop and set boundaries to the disposal of public-owned assets. Those backers reject the dismantling, abandonment, and disposal-of-the-public-real-estate-heritage approach, even questioning its relationship with cultural and environmental issues, or those issues concerning the sustainability of the public debt. This approach aims to avoid or even reject those policies supporting disposal. It also attempts to engage the public bodies into the management of the commons, which has not always been possible given the country’s budget requirements, and the large amount of assets involved.

Montanari’s angle shared by the other authors above seems to be inspired in the understanding of the relationship between private and no private property, public or common, in which the role of private agents is never seen as a condition, not even as an opportunity to reuse the commons. It is a highly restrictive angle as it faces disposal and sale considering solely negative factors not the possible plus sides.

A prudent trend trying to keep the priority of public ownership of an affected military properties was one of the reasons leading to the failure of the reutilisation programmes in Italy in the late 1990s²⁵. As a result of, but not exclusively, the conflict amid the sale of disposed assets to both public and private bodies, some ruling and overlapping procedures were promoted contributing to an extremely uncertain and fragmented legal framework which has not fit in the urban, social, economic, and environmental needs of the places home to the disposed assets.

In general terms, one can say that dismantled and abandoned military properties, understood as a common belonging to the community, should be accessible to all. Since the 1990s, Defence properties have been managed

²⁴ For a discussion of the phenomenon of privatisation see Savas (1987), Bortolotti and Siniscalco (2004), Von Weizsäcker, Young, and Finger (2005), and Barucci and Pierobon (2007).

²⁵ Several sales to the private sector in the 1990s were unsuccessful insofar as the local public administrations where the military properties were inserted referred to two regulations. Such issue has been vigorously debated in several parliamentary sessions (Commissione IV-Difesa, 1999). Firstly, the Law of 31 December 1993, no. 579 “Rules for the property transfer of State-owned property to local and regional authorities”, which disciplines only disused State property. Secondly, Article 44 subsection 3 of Law No. 448 of 23 December 1998 grants the right of priority for the acquisition of military property to dismantle to the municipalities, regions, and provinces on whose territory such settlements are located.

without a well-defined strategy by the public administrations involved which have allowed such assets to be privatised. For some decades now, however, public bodies have not elaborating suitable and satisfactory ways for their management.

Rossani barracks in Bari is a specific case well described in the work by Signorile (2014). The essay reconstructs the events regard this barracks between 2008 and 2014, plus the explanation of the history of this military property located in the city urban centre. The military artefact has been involved into the historical city-making process of Bari, as well as into the debate on its former 1976 General Master Plan. The debate was over the future of such premises between the interests of the community and the objectives of private agents to be involved in the process of appropriation of specific urban spaces. The issue of the perpetual state of abandonment of the barracks became a reality in 1992 ended in 2014 when it was illegally occupied as the local population assumed it as a collective good. In this case, an operation of urban regeneration was proposed on the basis of a collective action. Elements such as the forest, the library, the urban garden, and the gymnasium have thus become the vanguard of an unimaginable urban metamorphosis.

This modality of re-appropriation of collective goods is very well analysed in the works of Micelli and Mangialardo (2016 and 2017). These authors emphasised the forms of reconversion according to “innovative models” by the use of properties that the local administration is not able to reconvert following real-estate-market-oriented “traditional models”. Following self-organised and participatory initiatives, such as the aforementioned ones, in the Italian and international scenario there is a diversity of cases in which local citizens re-appropriate abandoned commons. They promote innovative processes aimed at non-profit sectors, thus contributing to shape a new territorial “social value” (Campagnoli, 2015). In this context, Bailey (2012) and Mangialardo (2017) emphasise the success of these new processes leading by a new actor, the so-called ‘social entrepreneur’²⁶.

²⁶ His role is to coordinate and promote the spontaneity of the processes of re-appropriation of abandoned real estate assets.

The processes of redevelopment of the Great Military Property from the point of view of citizen participation

Other studies, mainly from the United States, highlight the need to complement the process of conversion of military property with mechanisms of citizen participation. The aim of this mechanism is to improve the effectiveness of the operations and resolve critical encounters between stakeholders and the local community (Hill, 2000)²⁷. Van Driesche and Lane (2002) stress the importance of three factors in the implementation of a conversion project. First, the inclusion of all the formal documentation and historical memory as part of the basic information of the Urban Planning practice. Second, an understanding of the different values the stakeholders bring to the process, rather than focusing only on political-based interests. Third, the need to engage with democratic and concerted decision-making processes. In this context, I would highlight the work carried out by the US Environmental Protection Agency, EPA, called “Turning bases into great places: new life for closed military facilities” (2006).

The Environmental Protection Agency stresses that in the management of the reuse of military facilities the communities involved must be told not only the mechanics of Federal Government-fostered dismantling and abandonment. They must be involved in order to decide the existence of the local needs, such as offices, housing, neighbourhood shops, new forms of commercial development, and the green and recreational areas for collective use. On the basis of a solid base built by taking into account such characteristics, the local community can begin to plan for a new future.

At European level, Bagaeen (2006) highlights the opportunities provided by citizen participation in the sustainable development of cities. As argued in his paper, an outstanding example is the case of urban regeneration of the former military base of Vauban (Fribourg, Germany)²⁸, carried out between 1994 and 2017, whose process has been accompanied by an important public involvement²⁹.

²⁷ Hill analyses the American case of the Truman Annex in Key West, Florida.

²⁸ «Public participation must become the other critical building block to mounting community support for sustainable development and implementing complex projects at any geographic scale. For this to happen, the sustainable city's citizens will need to be better informed» (Bagaeen, 2006: 351).

²⁹ A similar procedure took place in the former military installation called “Französisches Viertel (Hindenburg-Kaserne)” in the municipality of Tübingen (Stuttgart, Germany) between 1993 and 2012 (Fayeton, 2004; <http://www.werkstatt-stadt.de/en/projects/74/>).

Within the framework of international scientific literature, however, the question of citizen participation in the management of the future of military property has not been treated in an appropriate manner. I can even argue that the question of military regeneration has not been related, in general, to mechanisms of citizen participation: only a few very specific cases put emphasis on this aspect³⁰. As Ponzini and Vani (2014: 59-60) stressed, when it comes to abandon the military premises, the latter does not usually present the minimum basic conditions allowing the promotion of temporary reuse practices, or even citizen participation. As a matter of fact, once the abandonment takes place, the ownership remains in the hands of the State, or of some private entity that does not allow “opening the doors” of the enclosure to the citizenry. Only if the administrations involved in these processes reach an agreement, the participatory mechanisms can be established³¹. Camerin’s work (2018a: 148-151) shows a particular way of citizens engagement in the management of abandoned military property, the so-called State-Property-Agency-driven “public consultation”³². This procedure was solely been carried out in very specific cases, on the understanding that the management of urban processes based on former military sites is generally not accompanied by participatory practices.

Taking the Italian case as a reference, I am claiming that only some recent initiatives of this kind have been carried out, but their final results was satisfactory in terms of project as such mechanisms of public participation demonstrated their weakness when it came to implementing them.

A partially successful case of military regeneration was the public participation project named “Take place” –*Prendi posto* in Italian– launched for the redefinition of the 62,000-m²-sized former Amadio barracks in the municipality of Cormòns (province of Gorizia, Friuli Venezia Giulia). The bureaucratic process

³⁰ Such as the analysis by Venier (2012), which focuses on the connection between the development of local urban planning instruments and the practices of spontaneous and temporary reuse of military areas by the resident population of the Croatian city of Pola.

³¹ This is the case of the Guido Reni barracks in Rome. In 2014 the actors involved –i.e. the owner of the area, *Cassa Depositi e Prestiti sgr*, in agreement with the State Property Agency, the city Council, and the Ministry of Defence– started a participation process to define the general characteristics of the urban project and to identify the most important factors to take into account when selecting the final master plan for the urban regeneration of the area (<http://www.urbanistica.comune.roma.it/partec-quart-scienza.html>). The following year this initiative was followed by the partial reconversion of some pavilions for the temporary reuse of the former military area to house cultural exhibitions and fashion events.

³² It is a procedure to involve the opinion of local, national, and international-scaled real estate developers and of the local population to seek a joint definition of the regeneration projects among the State Property Agency, the City Council, and the Ministry of Defence. The aim is to proceed with the General Master Plan Modification.

for the reuse began in 2007 with the transfer of ownership to the local administration, followed by the implementation of a citizen participation mechanism in 2009 (Patat, 2015). The process was affected by a number of difficulties. The causes contributed to slow down its implementation have been related to the process of soil decontamination; the proliferation null and void auctions; the difficulties in defining the degree of preservation of the very deteriorated buildings of historical value. In any case, the participation of the citizens boosted the reuse of part of the barracks into a public park, which was inaugurated in 2016.

Other examples of citizen participation in Italy were the 60,000 m²-sized Gavoglio barracks in Genoa and the 36.687 m²-sized Zannetelli barracks located in Feltre, province of Belluno, the ownership of them was transferred to the City Councils in 2016 via the federalism state property (www.comune.genova.it/content/il-riuso-temporaneo-degli-spazi; <https://partecipozannetelli.wordpress.com/>); the 105,988 m²-sized Mameli barrack in Milan, which is still owned by the State (<http://openmameli.it/>); and the 17,785 m²-sized Piave barracks in Treviso, owned by the City Council since 1989 (<https://www.openpiave.net/>).

In the frame of the European Programme “URB.ACT”, the initiative called “Military assets as public spaces, M.a.p.s.”³³ established a network of nine European cities to promote the participation of local communities in the public debate on the future of abandoned military properties via a partnership between institutions, associations, and economic and social stakeholders.

In summary, I can argue that the impacts of the citizen participation, such as in the case of the public consultation, in the processes of regeneration of military installations has not been sufficient. Such processes can be lonely defined as a “minimum requirements” of the wider urban regeneration processes, thus having a minor role in the definition of the reuse of military premises.

³³ www.comune.piacenza.it/temi/territorio/areemilitari/maps-aree-militari-come-spazi-pubblici/maps-military-assets-as-public-spaces-aree-militari-come-spazi-pubblici.

The “regeneration” as an argument to eliminate the original traditional activity. The closure of the military areas and its economic effects

On the international literature, the economic effects caused after the closure-dismantling of military installations has been a relevant aspect underlined by various authors. Such closures can be seen as similar facts happening in the case of the industrial reconversions undertaken in the Fordist-shaped productive spaces. Studies carried out on the effects of military base closure, especially in the U.S.A., have focused on the economic impacts on local communities in terms of job losses in the military sector.

It can be said that rural municipalities are more exposed to the negative effects of the closure of military installations than urban ones due to the smaller population and less diversified economic structure³⁴. In the United States, although the military abandonment have had notable effects, their impact was not as severe as thought, instead being very localised and partially balanced out by other economic factors (Dardia, McCarthy, Malkin and Vernez, 1996; Hultquist and Petras, 2012)³⁵. The closure of military bases could had a more direct impact on the loss of employment associated with the displacement of the military to other parts of the country, while per capita income could be not largely affected by the abandonment (Hooker and Knetter, 2001).

Moving to the European context, the analyses carried out in some German and Swedish cases showed that the closure of military installations had a marginal impact on local communities. In the Swedish case, no impacts were detected at the local level, either on the income growth rate or on the net migration rate (Andersson, Lundberg and Sjöström, 2007). In the German case, the study of municipalities located at different distance from military installations demonstrated that the abandonment-dismantling policies have not altered family income, unemployment or tax revenues (Paloyo, Vance and Vorell, 2010).

The reduced economic impact of military installations in the territory is also currently derived on the presence of equipment services within the military

³⁴ For the case of the United States, see Stenberg (1998); for the case of England, see Woodward (1998); for the Polish case, see Hill Thanner and Segal (2008).

³⁵ These studies compare changes of variables located in similar local communities – such as the size of local population and school enrollment; the size of the labour force; the unemployment rates; the municipal income; and housing sales prices– in three different types of cases. First, in localities affected by a hypothetical closure; second, in communities where the military keep maintaining their activities; and, third, in municipalities where the abandonment effectively occurred.

enclosures. The provision of these facilities responds to the objective of reducing costs so as the military would not depend on the civilian. Based on these assumptions, military premises must be organised as a self-sufficient area so as not to depend on the “outside world” (Paragano and Fois, 2012: 377).

Another point I argue to be highlighted is the following. The closure and dismantling of military installations does not necessarily imply the disappearance of the Armed Forces, but rather the reorganisation of the regiments, their rationalisation, and the consequent displacement to other places in the same city or in another one. The economic effects of the relocation are much more important when they refer to the increase of value of the “great military property-capital in land”. In any case, what should be taken into account are the effects of the abandonment process on the non-military population that benefited from the effective presence of the Armed Force.

As of the effects of military closure, my interest focused on specific issues affecting the Armed Forces reorganisation at national level, which have been debated in parliamentary interrogations in Italy over time. A paradigmatic example refers to the city of Belluno. A parliamentary interpellation by the deputy Roberto Menia on 20 April 1998 (Camera dei Deputati, 1998) highlighted the importance of the military presence in the city and in the whole province. He stressed the need to clarify the situation with regard to the closure of the military aviation airport “AV.ES.” –*AViazione ESercito*–, the news of which had not yet become official in the context of the then civil society. The only ones who knew the real situation were the military, who surely were ordered not to reveal the decisions of the Ministry of Defence. Regardless of the real reasons for the closure, the abandonment of the airport seemed inappropriate as the military airport had recently been restructured, with a huge investment of several billion lire during the 1990s to provide a new hangar, a guard post, and an additional entrance. Plus, flats and buildings for the troops and their families were renovated, as well as the spaces of the Piave barracks located nearby the airport, which housed the military personnel working in the airport. The soldiers working in these areas were highly qualified, having been assigned to missions abroad so as they could meet both military and civilian needs. In this respect, Roberto Menia noted that the airport was essential for the following reasons: the mobility needs of Alpine troops; the support point for fire-fighting cases; the mountain

rescue services; the transport of organs and patients to the corresponding hospitals; the provision and supply of helicopters to other corps, such as the Environmental Police and the *Carabinieri*.

The military airport was a strategic location for the many needs of the Belluno province's civil society, which always presented many difficulties since the territory is distinguished by a very mountainous morphology. Furthermore, the closure of the airport would have caused many inconveniences to the career soldiers and their families, as they would have been forced to move to Rimini in Emilia-Romagna, where there was a shortage of military housing.

On 10 December 1998, the then Minister of Defence, Beniamino Andreatta, replied to the question by informing that the transfer of the militaries belonging to AV.ES. in Rimini would be necessary to brought them closer to the "Trieste" infantry regiment, which was based in Forlì (Emilia-Romagna): their union would set the "Friuli" brigade aircraft group up. It was argued that such operation would guarantee the quick operability of the militaries in the whole Northeaster Italy so as to improve the capacity of dealing with events of any kind, as well as to promote the collaboration with other State bodies. It would also ensure the effective interventions in case of natural disasters in collaboration with the military airports of Casarsa della Delizia, Pordenone, and Bolzano.

For economic reasons, the Ministry had planned this move taking into account the fact that the Rimini base was already equipped with protected shelters, ammunition depots, warehouses, logistical support structures, all of which which would not have led to additional expenses. As regards the military personnel employed at that time in Belluno and interested in the transfer to Rimini, it was claimed that they were informed in advance of the intentions of the transfer. This to take into account any personal or family needs to minimise any possible disadvantages derived from such transfer.

The explanation of this example is only one of the cases where the possible economic and territorial effects may resulting from the Italian Ministry of Defence-taken decisions. I would like to stress the fact that there have been no adequate reports on the real impacts of the Armed Forces reorganisation in the national territory. The narrative of the case of Belluno replaces the review of a scientific study which in these cases has not been carried out. Here I claim the

importance, or rather the necessity, of the “observation” and “field work” as needed working to complete, and even improve, the scientific research.

The reinterpretation of the process of “construction-dismantling” of military areas by means of Geography

The interest of the various fields of research of Geography focused on the implications of military activities in the civilian sphere, including their effects on territorial organisation from different point of view, such as history, social, political, urban-territorial, and the military presence and militarism in specific spatial contexts³⁶. The different branches of Geography approached the phenomenon of military abandonment and reconversion after the Fall of the Berlin Wall from a multidisciplinary point of view. The general focus was the analysis of how the presence of military activities and their values have affected the civilian components of society, altering hypothetically their economic, social, and cultural structures. For instance, Political Geography researched the military strategic choices in the organisation and control of space at the regional and local levels (Shaw, 1991). Social Geography dealt with the Armed Forces’s institutionalisation and professionalisation model: one of the most important concerns was the link of the military presence and their effects in the urban dynamics (Capel in Muro Morales, 1990a: 18-19). The Historical Geography analysed the work of military and marine engineers, as well as the military mapping of territories (Capel, 1983). Finally, Urban Geography, as conceived the closest discipline to the study of the city, dealt with military installations as historical artefacts of great importance in relation to the environment in which they are located. For these reasons, Geography as a discipline can be claimed to have analysed the properly considered “military landscapes”.

Now I am going through some of the most outstanding Geography-related analyses which have addressed the knowledge of the militarised spaces and their territorial and civil society repercussions. Firstly, Paragano (2008) and Paragano and Fois (2011 and 2012) studied military bases as “inopportune” workmanships for the development of civil activities through the exploration of their effects on

³⁶ It is an ideology according to which military force is the source of security, a set of values going beyond the mere military activity, thus extending to civil society and its duties (Woodward, 2005).

the territory and the local opposition against their construction, permanence, and expansion in specific areas³⁷. Secondly, the work on Human Geography carried out by Woodward (2004, 2005 and 2014). The author identifies the debates and approaches in the field of military geography³⁸ and the materialisation-disappearance of the military landscape by marking its extent and variety and considering the effects of privatisation of military premises on the landscape. The researcher also addressed the outsourcing of military spaces, the creation and effects of post-military landscapes in today's society, and the role of "landscapes of peace and reconciliation".

In the book "Military landscapes: Agendas and approaches for future research" (2014), Woodward stated that militarised spaces can be conceived from two perspectives. The first could take into consideration these spaces as places where military activities occurred. The second had a historical bias insofar it dealt with military spaces as a special form of landscape deriving from military activities, or where an armed conflict has taken place, being configured as landscapes of memory, the so-called "military memories"³⁹. These types of landscapes are claimed to be a manifestation of the geographies of militarism, which in turn comprise three aspects. The first establishes gender dynamics, particularly those referring to the so-called 'machismo' (Enole, 2004). The second insists on the balance of democratic systems and the third on the legitimisation of the use of military instruments in the resolution of problems unrelated to armed conflict, such as security and disaster management (Paragano, 2014).

In the field of Urban Geography in connection with Historical Geography, the analysis of the materialisation of great military properties contributed to explain the evolution of the urban morphology of a specific territorial context. On the view of this field of study, the realisation of such artefacts placed emphasis on local, regional, and national economies, which could sometimes depend on the Defence expenditure. As Horacio Capel underlined (in Muro, 1993a: 18)⁴⁰:

³⁷ The authors look at the Italian case to study the American military presence in Vicenza and Aviano (province of Pordenone).

³⁸ With reference to military geography, Bateman and Riley's "The Geography of defence" (1987) stresses that the defence against military attack has always had a considerable geographical impact.

³⁹ These are places such as cemeteries, shrines, monuments, and so on, where military activity is actually remembered and, on special occasions, celebrated. The materialisation of these landscapes and the celebration of their memory can be considered as one of the acts of transfer of military values to the civil sphere. For some reflections on the Italian case see Labanca and Tommasini (2007).

⁴⁰ This statement is found in Muro Morales' 1990 doctoral thesis "The military thought on territory in contemporary Spain", which was published in two volumes.

«The interventions of the Army in the definition and structuring of the regions, the location of the military infrastructures, their role in the organisation of the territory, particularly of the urban space, are questions admitting a geographical approximation with a historical as well as a current perspective»⁴¹.

Starting from the late 20th century, mostly Spanish urban geographers began to study the military walls, easement, and quartering in Iberian cities in a period comprising the 19th century and the first three decades of the 20th century, precisely until 1936, the year in which the Spanish Civil War began⁴². Keep referring to the Spanish context, other authors focused their work on the transformations in the uses of military properties in Spain from the 1980s to the early 2000s⁴³.

In summary, the various points of view of Geography addressed the military presence in the territory in the following way. This discipline studied how a specific “military landscape” has been historically produced; the repercussions of military presence on civil society; the influence of militarism on relationships between human beings and even its implications with the “memory of the past” from an armed conflict, all of which took the form of monuments commemorating war scenarios; and describing, in some cases, the bureaucratic processes and decision-making process to proceed with the “regeneration” of military assets. However, these studies did not take a step further, i.e. they neither focused adequately on the urban regeneration actions to verify their effects, nor on the economic and social conformation of the affected territories. To sum up, the discipline of Geography did not look into the relevance and management of the “regenerated military premises” as historical legacies received from the past having an impact in the city-making process.

Geography has superficially tried to develop some questions regarding the importance of the existing heritage for the current society⁴⁴. In fact, the role of the

⁴¹ Translated from Spanish by the author of the thesis.

⁴² Mas Hernández carried out an in-depth analysis of the Spanish case (2003). The Spanish geographer focuses on the phenomenon of quartering in urban realities corresponding to the consolidated city. For an analysis of the issue of Barcelona see Muro Morales (1990: 262-277) and Lloret Piñol (2001); in the case of Madrid see Cantera Montenegro (2014).

⁴³ See Muro Morales (2004). For the case of Asturias see Alvargonzález Rodríguez (2009); for Barcelona see Muro Morales (1990: 288-291) and Lloret Piñol (2000); for Madrid see Muro Morales (1990: 277-288) and Brandis et al. (2005).

⁴⁴ In a short paper published in the University of Barcelona UB's journal of geography called “Biblio3W”, Lloret Piñol (2000) focuses on the treatment of the former Lepanto barracks in Barcelona, abandoned by the

real estate developer-financial capital has not been related to the regeneration projects the military urban areas, focusing more on the 19th century- and early 20th century-city. This object of study corresponds nowadays to the historic centres and the first “historic peripheries”. As stated by Mas Hernández (2003: 14), in spite of the importance of the disposal of military assets during the last three decades of the 20th century in the processes of urban transformation, this is «*a question that we [Geography and geographers, ndr] left aside... because it is marginal to the initial objective and implies a different research work with its own profiles*»⁴⁵.

Although there may be reasons why Geography as a discipline did not approach this subject⁴⁶, this does not justify the lack of research on the phenomenon of speculative-driven abandonment and regeneration of military areas within the logic of capital. Indeed, this lack is much more inconceivable as the understanding of the logic of capital and the profit-oriented strategy of capital in shaping the society have been the central issues of urban geographers (Harvey, 1989).

Military assets as heritage

The heritage component of the military areas has constituted another point of view towards which various investigations have been directed. These analysis highlighted the relationship between military-nature “heritage” and the restricted use for reasons of “conservation” in the framework of a “regeneration” project committed to improve the quality of the place.

military in the 1990s: «...it is worth thinking about the rehabilitation of this barracks to propose alternative uses without destroying its original physiognomy [...] it is possible to suggest the installation of civic or cultural facilities of various kinds, [...] various parts of the barracks, with the advantage of being able to insert them into a garden or play area, due to the large surface area of the barracks, creating a pleasant and beautiful environment, which would perfectly complement the cultural function [...] would achieve the creation of more local population-oriented equipment of the sector that the proposal of the judicial city, leading to a real improvement or “rehabilitation” of the area, if this is what it is wanted to achieve» (translated from Spanish by the author of the thesis).

⁴⁵ Translated from Spanish by the author of the thesis.

⁴⁶ As Mas Hernández stressed (2003: 13), firstly «*there is the well-known opacity of contemporary real estate market issues... which ... makes it difficult to achieve a precise idea –in terms of intentions, negotiation, and price– of the main land operations in the city*» and, secondly, «*to this aspect must be add the military properties, which tends to give a strategic connotation to many of its territorial operations, which does not exactly facilitate access to the most recent documentation*». In fact, this situation leads to a «*historical approach to the matter, confident of finding in the past the evidence that we currently lack*» (translated from Spanish by the author of the thesis).

In this context, I want to put into evidence both national⁴⁷ –i.e. Italian ones– and international initiatives. The Wessek Institute in Southampton (England) has been organising the “International Conference on Defence Sites: Heritage and Future” every two years since 2012. The conferences (Brebbia and Clark, 2012; Brebbia and Clark, 2014; Brebbia et al., 2016) dealt with the processes of reuse heritage-valued military installations on a global scale, as well as proposals for their conversion into civilian uses. These studies mainly focused on issues of maintenance and conservation of historical and cultural sites according to the needs and aspirations of local communities. What is actually missing in this series of Conferences is a unifying thread between the different interventions affecting the military heritage and the absence of specific comparisons between the proposed case studies.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, a whole series of debates arose both in Europe and in the United States on the future of the military sites created after 1945. These debates took place within the framework of the disciplinary fields of Archaeology, Heritage Management, and the Conservation of Cultural Heritage (Hutchings, 2004). A number of studies, such as the one implemented in the United Kingdom via the “Cold War Monuments Protection Programme, MPP” (see English Heritage, 1998 and James, 2002) highlighted the discussion between the materialisation process and the subsequent abandonment of Cold War military sites. Following this approach, the Military Archaeology and Heritage Conservation defines military artefacts as a “new typology of national heritage” (Strange and Walley, 2007; Cadw, 2009).

Other initiatives focused on the military monuments, such as cemeteries, tombs, ossuaries, and mausoleums –those monuments which the discipline of Geography defines “military memories”–, but leaving in the background the issues referring to the regeneration of military installations. For instance, the international seminar “Defending the Military Heritage; Legal, Financial and Administrative Issues” (2011) organised by the International Council on Monuments and Sites in Karlskrona (Sweden) addressed the issue of Military

⁴⁷ At the national level, the Spanish “Andalusian Institute of Historical Heritage” analysed the importance of the military technical-industrial heritage and its value as key elements of the cultural and technological heritage of the Iberian Peninsula (Vv. Aa., 2009).

Cultural Heritage in ten States⁴⁸ (ICOMOS, 2012). This event took into consideration the 1954 and 1999 agreements arising from the “1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict” (UNESCO, 2010). Three main aspects of such treaty were discussed: firstly, its ratification and implementation to protect the military patrimony still in use by the Ministries of Defence; secondly, the constitutional issues that, in each country, rule the role of the Armed Forces in the protection of military premises; and, eventually, specific heritage aspects⁴⁹.

In this context, it is important remarking that the Ministries of Defence own real estate assets with important historical values used to carry out their functions, such as administrative, museum, and housing. It can be noted that these artefacts often do not meet the updated constructive architectural, energy, and technological standards, not being in line with the current requirements of 21st century buildings, and do not have an acceptable state of conservation for the maintenance of military functions. This situation may open the way to more than probable speculative expectations on the part of the real estate developer-financial capital. The latter could take advantage of the value of the place where the military installations are located to create new profit-oriented spaces.

According to Fiorino (2015), the Ministries of Defence should launch various two types of operations: on the one hand, the maintenance and restoration of many of their properties and, on the other hand, the promotion of their historical value and the technological culture of the buildings. The result of such actions could guarantee the adaptation of the artefacts to the new 21st century-oriented military requirements, labour standards, accessibility, and energy savings. A problematic question still to be resolved refers to the knowledge of the physical-architectural characteristics of the buildings. The so-called “military secrets” actually limit historical-documentary, stratigraphic, material, technical, and constructive research, and also restrict the physical access to the “monument as a document” and to the sources of the military archives to the civic society.

⁴⁸ These are Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Finland, France, Germany, Israel, Japan, Mexico, Sri Lanka, Sweden, and the United States.

⁴⁹ Other topics developed in the 2011 seminar were the governmental administration of military properties classified as monuments or characterised by a heritage value (and the role of the agents involved, i.e. ministries or agencies created ad hoc, and the involvement of public and private actors) and the legal instruments for the protection of military heritage in the countries under analysis.

In Italy, in some of the few regeneration projects effectively carried out on military properties (Turri, Cappelletti and Kakolyris, 2014: 414-415), it is noted a recognition and conservation of the “memory” of military artefacts, thus recognising the worth of the meaning of the whole buildings in their architectural, cultural, and historical values⁵⁰. According to Turri, Cappelletti and Kakolyris (2014: 414-416), the regeneration of the abandoned military heritage occurred within the framework of a fight against the speculative-oriented mechanisms of the real estate market. Only in exceptional cases it was considered necessary the complete demolition of the artefacts, i.e. when the buildings in question were in a state of almost irreversible degradation. In the latter cases, it is claimed that the actors involved have tried to exclude solutions that would substitute the ‘use-value’ of the affected assets for the ‘exchange-value’ presented by the areas in which they were located.

A partially contrasting position with the ideas of Turri, Cappelletti and Kakolyris is the work of Cacciaguerra and Gatti (2009). In this research, very interesting questions are raised on how the Italian military architectural legacies built in the first half of the 20th century are being conceived⁵¹. The thesis of these engineers was based on a double consideration. Firstly, they claimed that newly military artefacts or coming from other uses, especially ecclesiastical, have an intrinsic cultural value if they were materialised before 1900. This could be the reason why when the military abandon them, the local administrations try to maintain their original architectural characters, thus proposing their future use according to the local community needs. Examples of such dynamics included the 1863-to-1865-built Santa Marta barracks in Verona (Terraroli, 2015; fig. 5 and 6) and the 1862-to-1889 built Perrone barracks in Novara (Turri, Cappelletti and Kakolyris, 2014: 425-430; Afferni and Ferrario, 2016): both of them are nowadays university campus.

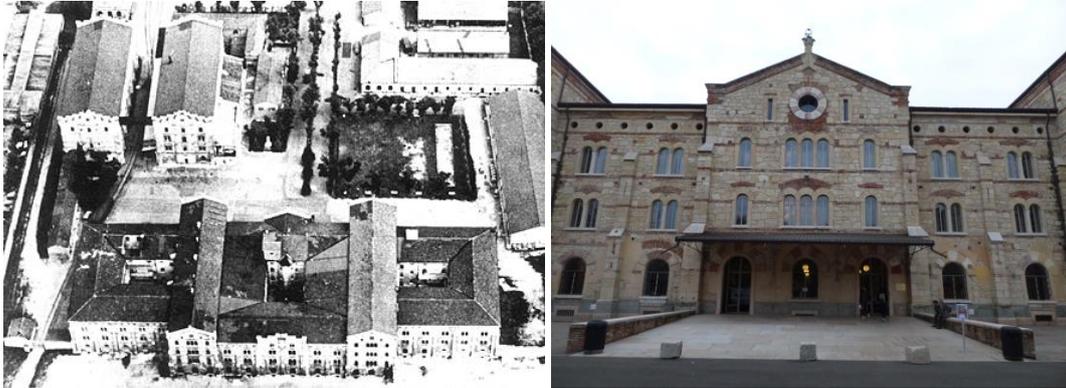
The same authors stated that the most widespread opinion about the 20th century-military architectures is very different from those built before 1900, as there is a very generalised tendency pointing out their worthlessness. As a matter of fact, these considerations are demonstrated by several cases of speculative-

⁵⁰ By the review of the case studies presented, it is clear that most of the reused military assets were built before 1900, often coming from ecclesiastical uses.

⁵¹ I strongly argued that these considerations can be extended to the military premises built in the post-WWII responding to the logic of the Cold War period.

oriented strategies of demolition-reconstruction carried out in such military building models.

Fig. 5 and 6: on the left, an image of the top of Santa Marta de Verona barracks in 1970. On the right, one of the rehabilitated buildings.



Source: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provianda_di_Santa_Marta and photograph by F. Camerin (2017).

Fig. 7: the only building saved from the demolition of the old Montello barracks.



Source: photographs by F. Camerin (2017).

In Italy, various conversions of military installations have been carried out by a previous demolition, such as the early 20th century-built Montello barracks in Rome, nowadays converted into a museum of contemporary art⁵² –here only one building was preserved, being used as a bar and restaurant (fig. 7)– and the

⁵² For a more detailed analysis of this case refer to Chapter 4.

1962-built De Gasperi barracks in Vacile (Pordenone province) which was completely demolished to realise a photovoltaic park in 2014⁵³.

I must underline that a number of Italian cases carried out a radical demolition, even though conserving few of the pre-existing buildings, was certainly useful for launching regeneration projects unrelated to speculation, such as the case of public gardens built on the grounds of the abandoned barracks. I am referring to the “Prandina” (Padua) and “Amadio” (Cormòns, province of Gorizia) barracks converted into public gardens in 1983 and 2015. In both cases, these uses were highly demanded by a “strong” social pressure, especially with regard to the aforementioned Amadio barracks. In the case of Cormòns, after a participatory process, the public park was successfully realised. All the existing buildings were demolished in 2017 due to their advanced state of deterioration; nevertheless, only two structures were preserved and protected by the Regional Superintendency for Architectural Heritage and Landscape.

Fig. 8 and 9: on the left, interior spaces of the Cavalry Garden of Padua and the reconverted building. On the right, the abandoned spaces behind the wall that separates the park with the Ministry of Defence-owned Prandina barracks.



Source: photographs by F. Camerin (2017).

In the case of Padua, the City Council took charge of the conversion of 4,000 of the 60,000 m²-size Prandina barracks into a public kindergarten called “Cavalry Garden of Padua” –*Giardino Cavallegeri di Padova* in Italian– in part of the demolished barracks located in the historic city perimeter (fig. 8 and 9). Such project was very supported by Ecology and Peace local associations and

⁵³ After the property transfer to the City Council, the area has been leased to the limited liability company “Sg Ambient” of Trenton for an annual fee of 115,800 euros to pay during 25 years.

citizens during the early 1980s. The pressure exerted on the municipal administration to acquire a portion of the abandoned military area also resulted in the renovation of a building that is currently used for conferences and various types of entertainment, such as parties, educational visits, mural art, and graffiti for children⁵⁴.

The future of this entire asset was the subject of a long-lasting debate between the Padua's City Council and the Ministry of Defence in order to proceed with its whole conversion into a "green area", indicated in the old 1954-Luigi-Piccinato-designed General Master Plan (fig. 10)⁵⁵. A quota of the barracks is currently occupied by the Italian Army, while most of the surface is still desolately abandoned⁵⁶.

The two aforementioned operations were isolated proposals in the Italian territorial context. Only in exceptional cases the old military structures were returned to the citizens as "public spaces" in the form of parks and gardens. In the case of Padua, the local public opinion is actually wondering if the Ministry of Defence de facto waiting for an investor with high purchasing power to make profits from the regeneration of the "degraded spaces" of the barracks.

Fig. 10: the 1953-1954 General Master Plan of Padua.



Source: <http://www.archivioluigipiccinato.it/?p=1383>

⁵⁴ The doctoral candidate took part in the demonstration "March for the Peace in Padua. Itinerary for peace from the barracks to parks" on 11 May 2014 and interviews with members of local associations such as "Legambiente Padua" (http://www.legambientepadova.it/marcia_pace_padova2014).

⁵⁵ This case was also highlighted in the debate on the disposal of military assets in the 1990s (Commissione IV-Difesa, 1999).

⁵⁶ In the period 2015-2016 some of its structures were used temporarily as a refugee reception centre.

Local administrators and civil society often consider the presence of the Ministry of Defence as an obstacle to the urban development of the surroundings in which military premises are located. As such, Defence assets literally constitute a problem for the agents in charge of the territorial government, especially if far-reaching real estate operations can be developed in place of these artefacts.

The 20th century-military architecture are very commonly considered of poor quality as these buildings were designed according to different standards than the traditional canons of “embellishment and ornament”⁵⁷. Not to mention the fact that they have not been considered as recognizable works by architectural critics. The rigidity of 20th century-military artefacts does not allow them to be easily conserved and reconverted. A possible game changer in the context of the reversion of this specific military architecture can be apparently the long-lasting state of abandonment affecting such buildings for even more than a decade, thus resulting in an irreversible “ruin”.

In light of these considerations, I should claim that these buildings constitute an important potential for Urban Planning as they are opportunities to provide new public equipment. The 21st century-architectural culture should not only take into account the option of demolition, which is deeply a typical way to develop the speculative interests of capital. The feasibility studies of a project should be based on the ground of the “historical value” and “collective memory” of military installations. Such characters should be one of the main pillars based on which raising the future of the former Defence artefacts and of the whole city.

The specificity of the Italian studies

The processes of dismantling-abandonment-regeneration involved the implementation of programmes and projects for the conversion of military assets. At the same time such processes took place, in the academic literature started to spread different kind of analyses. Most of them were based on issues related to the public-fostered management of administrative and bureaucratic procedures affecting the Ministry of Defence assets, as well as those ones belonging to all the public administrations.

⁵⁷ Refer to Manolo Laguillo's vision of the “beauty of the periphery” (1992) to deepen the theme of the canons of “beauty”.

In the Italian case, several authors dealt with the subject of the management of public real estate assets⁵⁸. In particular, the texts of Morbidelli (2003) and Trapanese (2014: 146-149) analyse the mechanism of securitisation –*cartolarizzazioni* in Italian– promoted by Decree Law no. 351 of 2001. They reviewed the existing bibliographical references, however without taking into account the result of the initiatives in Italy.

Serra (2007) focuses on the procedures promoted by the 2007 “Value Country” programme –*Valore Paese* in Italian–, which affected military goods worth preserving for their historic and artistic values. In this context, it seems fundamental the role entrusted to the Superintendencies⁵⁹, which are responsible for the conservation and protection of Cultural Heritage. These bodies can authorise, or not, the conversion projects, the operations of “demolition/reconstruction” affecting the cultural heritage, and the control over the new uses. The deadlines to carry out their decisions are really important to guarantee the success of any kind of operations involving the Cultural Assets.

Another programme worth mentioning was the so-called federalism state property, being deeply analysed by Antoniol (2010), Lo Conte (2011), Fontana and Collevicchio (2012), Giotta and Patruno (2012), Zerman (2012), Studio Collevicchio (2014) and Dalla Longa (2015). All of them extrapolated the ideas and issues affecting the procedures of this programme, which were related to Lgs. D. 85/2010 and Article 56 of Decree-Law no. 69/2013⁶⁰. Other new programmes have been promoted between 2014 and 2015 in addition to the modifications to the Value Country programme and federalism state property introduced respectively in 2012 and 2013. I am referring to Article 26 of the Decree “Unlock Italy” and the “Federal Building”. Though the recent reports of the State Property Agency (Agenzia del Demanio, 2016a, 2017 and 2018), the existing literature does not analyse these new programmes. The abovementioned studies by the State Property Agency also presented the reader

⁵⁸ Among them, I reviewed the following ones, which are listed in chronological order: AA.VV., 1995; Ferrante, 1999; Parlato and Vaciago, 2002; Paglia, 2004; Renna, 2004; Mattei, Reviglio and Rodotà, 2007; Visco, 2007; Dugato, 2008; Mercati, 2009; Corrado, 2011; Istituto Bruno Leoni, 2011; Coscia and Pano, 2012; Screpanti, 2012; Tulli and De Simone, 2012; Cuzzola, Falanga and Nasso, 2013; Specchio and Zanirato, 2013; Braccio, 2014; Dalla Longa and De Laurentis, 2014; Mariani, 2015; Salvo, Zupi and De Ruggiero, 2015; Tronconi, 2015.

⁵⁹ The Superintendencies are four: for Architectural Heritage and Landscape; for Historical Patrimony, Artistic and Ethno-Anthropological Heritage; for Archaeological Heritage; and Archival Superintendencies.

⁶⁰ This mechanism deals with the free-of-charge property transfer of the State-owned properties to local authorities.

with the limits and the most problematic points of both Value Country and federalism state property.

Most of the research carried out on the management of public real estate assets underlines that only the collaboration and participation of private agents, companies and non-profit organisations would lead to the true implementation of the programmes and projects. They should initially bring public agents together to implement an integrated process in the frame of the territorial government and development. Once the framework for the transformations to be undertaken is established, the attempt should create a partnership between private and public agents. The promoted programmes truly appear as a set of instruments whose task is to put in relationship, on the one hand, the public authorities in charge of Urban Planning and local development interventions and, on the other hand, the social and business network of actors based on which starting to regenerate military installations.

In light of this approach, I honestly think it is important the understanding of the distinction and integration of the different roles of the Public Administration constitutes key element to implement projects which truly responded to the needs of a rational use of the territory. As a matter of fact, the Public Administration can be seen as the agent in charge of regulating the processes affecting the urban and territorial transformations in partnership with private actors. For this reason, the promotion of the processes derived from the catalogue of tools and memorandum of understanding dealing with the regeneration of military areas constitute a real opportunity to experiment with new forms of city government.

As Vetrutto (2015) claimed in the description of the work of the State Property Agency⁶¹, it is very important to take into account the innovative forms of communication between both state and territorial actors, the public-private partnerships, and the forms of public participation and consensus on basic issues. The Agency's initiatives were presented and described through reports and the participation of the same national body in international, national, and local public events. The effort in the spread of the Agency's activities can lead to group together the actors interested in the transformation of military premises and start

⁶¹ Gastaldi and Camerin (2012: 455-456 and 2017b: 162-164) analyse the involvement of the Italian State Property Agency in the management of public property. As to military assets, the authors discovered a conflicting relations between such Agency and the Ministry of Defence.

dealing with the Urban Planning. This possibility determine the constitution of a “network of relationships” to support innovation, as well as a lasting process of collective learning about the collective local and territorial needs.

In the attempt to summarise the contents of these literature review, I can argue that the most important factors in order to guarantee the successful regeneration of the old military assets would be the following: the organisation of these processes on the basis of a clear strategy of emptying-abandoning-disposal; the reflexion on considering the transfer of decision-making power to the local level; making the overview of the conversion process more clear; the implementation of projects on the ground of clear and gradual objectives and stages; the implementation of a flexible and perhaps creative organisational management fostered by the local administration; the integration of projects in the framework of territorial government and urban development; the need to involve a private intervention in the implementation phase of the projects via public-private partnerships.

The lack of Urban Studies in Italy contributing to the decontextualisation of the processes of regeneration of the military areas

In the last three decades, in Italy not exhaustive or updated partial reports have been carried out dealing with the census of the still-using, abandoned, or being dismantled military assets. Nevertheless, I have noted some exceptional cases regarding few specific analyses limited to the disciplinary frameworks of architecture, urban planning, and urban history. Some punctual researches released by the Italian Court of Auditors⁶² (2000, 2003, and 2017) have highlighted, albeit partially, some of the results obtained from the disposal of military properties and the difficulties encountered in carrying out the reuse procedures.

I can argue that the lack of studies by urban planners, architects, and even scholars of urban history on the processes of dismantling-regeneration of military properties mainly derived from three reasons.

⁶² *Corte dei Conti*, the national body controlling the whole activities of the Italian State.

Firstly, the operations of abandonment-disposal-regeneration planned during the 1990s have been discussed in the headquarters of the Central Government, in the parliamentary debates and in the Senate (Commissione IV-Difesa, 1999), perhaps taking into account many questions arose from the previous national conferences (Aa. Vv, 1979; Chiappetti, 1980; Vv. Aa., 1981; Vv. Aa., 1986; Crimi, 1990). Arguably, a common character of the aforementioned reflections and events was the need for an inter-institutional coordination to reconcile the objectives of the Ministry of Defence with the civil society ones, although the military purposes were about to require the profitability of its assets to proceed with a territorial restructuring on the ground of their dismantling and abandonment.

Secondly, the State bodies' approach on the issue of dismantling-abandonment-alienation is predominantly financial and without a connection to the urban regeneration policies. As a result of such approach, there is no link between this issue and the "production of new knowledge", i.e. the financial objectives have been elaborated regardless an elaboration of a whole project which takes into account the relationship of the military premises to their neighbouring areas.

Thirdly, the so-called "military secrets" has hindered, and still does, the real knowledge that civil society should have about the properties, land, facilities and infrastructure belonging to the Ministry of Defence. The information from which civil society is excluded refers to the lack of knowledge about the intentions, and the logics, accompanying the Ministry of Defence's decision-making process in the management of its assets⁶³. This lack is observed when it comes to understand the real use to which these properties are subjected to, whether they are effectively still in use or in a process of degradation and/or abandonment. The documentation that is being generated towards the redevelopment of the military premises also constitutes an inviolable "secret".

Until a few years ago, the military secrets implied the exclusion of the Defence assets from topographical maps, aerial photographs, and other

⁶³ This fact has been proved by the analysis of the content of numerous interrogations in the Italian Parliament. For instance, in the late 1990s some debates on the military territorial reorganisation occurred in the provincial capital cities of Veneto Region, one of the Italian regions with the greatest military presence (see Camera dei Deputati, 1996a, 1996b, 1998, and 1999, respectively for the cases of Vicenza, Treviso, Belluno, and Verona).

documents of territorial representation. In other words, any type of information that, technically, should appear in such documents, was not definitely made public. In the Italian General Master Plans, military areas were classified as category “F”, which meant that military properties were included among the “areas for special equipment and facilities”⁶⁴. The military land was marked in black or white, so that the buildings located within the enclosure could not be recognised for national security reasons.

In the 1990s- and early 2000-Italian context, I observe a remarkable absence of analysis regarding the urban and territorial implications and the impact of the process of dismantling-abandonment of military areas in their contexts. If comparing with the researches carried out on the abandoned post-industrial territories, even in the international context, the military ones have not been totally adequate, as confirmed, for instance, by the book edited by Bagaeen and Clark (2016). These two authors pointed out that in the field of urban studies the issue of military areas has never been sufficiently examined in the following aspects. First, the impacts of military dismantling-regeneration in the management of the city; second, the in-depth analysis and the results obtained from the public policies implemented to the regeneration of military zones; and, eventually, the impacts of such assets in other types of urban policies, such as those ones dealing with financial issues.

In fact, in the processes of urban transformation affecting the cities towards the 21st century, many of the operations seeking the change from an industrial society to the global one have been managed on the ground of public-owned land. The great industrial, military, and railway properties have been managed to serve particular (mostly private) interests. The reuse of disused public areas has frequently raised new demands and contributed decisively to disciplinary innovation in the fields of architecture, urbanism, and urban planning. As a matter of fact, the need to rethink the forms and functions of whole parts of the city has influenced the city-making process in two ways. First, via the management of great public land properties, the construction of the city was carried out proceeding with the launch of great-public-land-property-based large urban

⁶⁴ The legislative reference of this classification is the Article 2(1)(F) of the Interministerial Decree No 1.444 of 2 April 1968.

project (Macchi Cassia, 1999), so Urbanism and Urban Planning have been forced to revise their tools. Second, the modifications required to meet the demands of transforming the urban environment have eroded the credibility of the “traditional” General Master Plan and shifted the attention to other models responding better to the demands of the large urban project. Finally, and as a consequence of the two aforementioned factors, the need to coordinate and carry out interventions on large amounts of land has stimulated new demands. Such needs have responded to a logic based on a new image of the city, which have resulted in providing the city with new architectural icons in accordance with its national and international competitiveness.

In Italy, the preliminary project for the 1995 General Master Plan of Piacenza is an outstanding example of the abovementioned trends (Campos Venuti, Oliva and Maccagni, 1998). This preliminary project proposed a strategy of urban regeneration based mainly on the opportunities to redevelop the abandoned industrial areas and the “residual free areas”, both of which were located in the consolidated urban fabric. The authors took into account also the possible disposal of the military areas, in respect of which the City Council planned to carry out a careful verification to identify those ones potentially reusable according with the requirements of the Ministry of Defence.

The most desirable areas were the Parade Ground (fig. 11 and 12) and the Pertite military compound (fig. 13 and 14), which have apparently went underuse since the early 1990s.

Fig. 11 and 12: images of the old Parade Ground in Piacenza.



Source: photographs by F. Camerin (2017).

regeneration of military assets; the national regulations on the disposal of Defence properties; and the State Property Agency's actions for the management of such assets⁶⁶.

Another event spread the public opinion to become aware of the disposal of military assets was the approval of the 2007 Finance Act (Law no. 296 of 27 December 2006). Such regulation had great impacts in the then-Italian society, above all in academic fields linked to architecture and urban planning. This Law introduced the Country Value programme, seen as an unprecedented initiative to put the state- and public-owned properties into the real estate market⁶⁷.

From that moment on, several researchers in urban studies began to deal with the issues of "abandonment" and "reconversion" of public properties, including military ones. All of them were claimed to be an opportunity to define and implement specific urban regeneration strategies within the framework of new territorial developments affecting both central and peripheral areas (Ponzini, 2008). In this context, various conferences were organised in the academic field, thus resulting in publications on the management of public real estate heritage, not forgetting the military one, even from the point of view of Urban History. Such colloquiums involved specialists from several disciplines interested in these issues, even from outside the academic field, i.e. real estate market and other sectors of the labour market.

The symposiums involving public-owned assets I want to stress are basically two. The first one concerns the national conference "A plan for the cities. Urban transformation and sustainable development" –*Un piano per le città. Trasformazione urbana e sviluppo sostenibile*– (Rome, 3 April 2012, promoted by the National Association of Builders –*Associazione Nazionale Costruttori Edili, AN.C.E.*–)⁶⁸, which dedicated some presentations to the issue of the sale of public buildings. The second one was the session dedicated to the "Protection, management, and enhancement of public property" within the framework of the

⁶⁶ For a press review of the initiatives undertaken by the State Property Agency see <http://www.agenziademanio.it/opencms/it/comunicazione/rassegnastampa/>

⁶⁷ See Gastaldi and Camerin (2017d) for an analysis of the legacy and the results obtained in the field of regeneration of military properties from the Country Value programme 10 years after its introduction.

⁶⁸ The contents of this conference were published in a special issue of the international journal "Techne. Journal of Technology for Architecture and Environment" (Palumbo, 2012). This monographic issue coped with the alienation of public real estate heritage mainly with an approach based on technological architecture. This publication referred to other "scientific knowledge" (such as that one coming from the urban planning discipline) to get out of its disciplinary limits when dealing with the complexity of the public real estate heritage management.

16th National Conference of the Italian Society of Urban Planners –*Società Italiana Urbanisti*, S.I.U.– entitled “Urban planning for a different growth. Apories of development, exit from the crisis and design of the contemporary territory” (Naples, 9-10 May 2013)⁶⁹.

In the field of Urban History, two national conferences held in Italy focused attention on the Ministry of Defence assets:

- first, the event “Army and cities from Unification to the 1930s” –*Esercito e città dall’Unità agli anni Trenta* in Italian– held in the city of Spoleto (Umbria Region), from 11 to 14 May 1988 (Vv. Aa., 1989a and 1989b). The conference addressed the analysis of five main topics aiming to understand the meaning and importance of the Italian Armed Forces’ political, institutional, and economic-social role in Italy. Particularly, the focus was their impact in the State intervention in the organisation and development of the Italian post-unitary society, between the Unification of the Italian State and the 1930s. The themes were the following: “The Italian military system”; “The culture and social role of the military officer”; “Barracks, soldiers, and population”; “Military settlements and urban transformations”; and “Public expenditure, investments, and economic exploitation processes”;

- Second, some of the interventions concerning the international conference “Defended, built, and administered. The city and the military in the contemporary period” –*Difese, costruite, amministrate. La città e i militari in età contemporanea*– (organised by the Italian Association of Urban History – *Associazione Italiana di Storia Urbana*, A.I.S.U.– of September 2007) were in close connection with the first conference’s ones. This event resulted in a specific issue edited by Savorra and Zucconi of the journal “Città e Storia” (2010), which focused exclusively on the interventions related to the relationship between the use of space and military culture in the 19th century-Italian cities⁷⁰.

These two conferences provided extensive and articulated reflections on the urban issues of the Italian city in a time frame of more than 130 years –i.e.

⁶⁹ Gaeta and Salvoldi (2013) edited this work, which gathered experiences on different typologies of public heritage, such as archaeological, cultural, military, and public housing. On the one hand, the experiences reported in the conference revealed cognitive, regulatory, and administrative limits unresolved for several decades at the state and local levels. On the other hand, this conference identified strategies, processes, and instruments for restoring public, social, urban, and economic values to the abandoned and underused public heritage.

⁷⁰ Leaving for the future an eventual publication concerning the themes of the 20th century-Italian city. However, this intention has not materialised.

the whole 19th century and the first three decades of the 20th century– and its correlations with diverse questions concerning the national defence system. I can argue that such conferences put together a wide range of studies on cities and their evolution according to:

- the military installations inherited from the past –such as forts, military citadels, fortifications, and so on– and their dismantling to create new urban areas responding to the capitalistic logic of the 19th century-city;

- the materialisation of military installations in the context of the new organisation of the Italian State, i.e. the quartering of soldiers. The realisation of new military artefacts within the city derived from the following factors. First, the conversion of disentailed ecclesiastical goods; second, the demolition of the walls, of monumental buildings, often even of entire urban strips; third, the establishment of new military settlements outside the old walls, particularly in the peripheral areas of the city;

- The real estate developments mechanisms, strategies, and logics of financial capital within the framework of the capitalist market and their impact on the social and economic development of 19th century-Italian cities.

These two forums provided a substantial contribution to the progress of Urban History studies in Italy concerning the relationship between military properties and the city. In this context, I consider the section “Military settlements and urban transformations” of the 1988 conference (Vv. Aa. 1989b: 663-924) the most important part for the research work of my thesis. This section contributed to understand the Italian city-making process in connection with the process of materialisation of great military properties, among which the case studies of Florence, Milan, and Rome stand out. Most specifically, I assume as fundamentals the considerations of Italo Insolera (1989: 663-676). The Italian architect, urban planner, and historian identified six different arguments, understood by the same author as “problems”, on which the management of ‘military settlements’⁷¹ was based in the process of urban transformation of the

⁷¹ Translating literally from Italian to English the definition of this concept by Insolera: «...“military settlements” means many things of very different impact on the city: from a fortress equipped with cannons to a simple district office, slowly different from any other public office. These are settlements with many people, settlements that are sparsely frequented; settlements that are technologically qualified, settlements with generic functions; large settlements, small settlements; settlements in the suburbs or in the countryside, settlements within the urban area; settlements with a stationary dimension and function, settlements that frequently change and expand, and so on» (Insolera: 1989: 666-667).

second half of the 19th century- and the early 20th century-Italian city and European ones⁷².

Other conferences have focused on the issue of abandoned military areas for regeneration purposes. In chronological order, these were the following:

- the international seminar “Military buildings of the State and urban transformations: Italian visions and experiences” (4 May 2011, IUAV University of Venice, see Ponzini and Vani, 2012a and 2012b);

- the session “Territories and disposed State property of as common goods” of the national conference “Commons/Common property: geographies, places, spaces, and cities” organised by the Italian Society of Geographical Studies of Florence (Rome, 11 December 2015, see Vv. Aa., 2016); and

- the international conference “Military Landscapes. A future for military heritage” (La Caprera-La Maddalena, province of Olbia Tempio, 21-24 June 2017, see Damiani and Fiorino, 2017 and Fiorino, 2017).

All these meetings⁷³ provided the opportunity to bring together the agents involved in the processes of dismantling-abandonment-regeneration of great military properties. They effectively dealt with a wide range of issues discussed by the following actors involved in the disposal processes:

⁷² Firstly, the Italian historian refers to the fact that the organisational logic within military complexes responds mainly to technological issues in relation to the instruments of war, and its changes almost never occur in the dialogue with the city (p. 667). The second consideration is strictly related to the first one, since the Ministry of Defence properties are areas excluded from the dialectic of urban transformation. These assets can be considered as conditioning elements of the evolution of the context in which they are inserted due to their land availability outside the real estate market (p. 668). Third, the realisation of military settlements can be understood as a break in a series of relationships based on which the city is shaped and consolidated over time, in addition to the fact that the Ministry of Defence is configured as a large landowner using a rather low percentage of its assets. Despite a certain degree of underuse of its land properties, the process of restitution of military land to civil society is cumbersome and almost always linked to problems with the state budget (p. 669-670). Fourth, the issue of the relationship between military settlements, understood above all as large land properties, and the municipal public domain. Such relationship results to be strongly conditioned by patrimonial factors, speculative interests, and changing strategies by both the Armed Forces and the City Councils (p. 670). Fifth, the peculiarity of many military buildings, recognised as “cultural heritage”, on the ground of which it is difficult to carry out restructuration and reconversion operations without affecting the structures classified as heritage elements to be protected and preserved (p. 671-672). As a last point, Insolera stresses the relationship between the military settlements and the city life, since the Defence assets are not only topographical locations in the city, but the military presence implies an interaction with the local population (p. 672- 673).

⁷³ To which must be added events of lesser scope, being just focused on certain themes or territorial contexts, such as “The barracks no longer live here. What future for the abandoned military zones?” (Lecce, July 2015), in which case studies of the provincial capitals of Lecce, Piacenza, and Udine were presented; “The disused military structures and their reuse” (Florence, May 2018) on the abandoned military installations and their reconversion within the municipal boundaries of Florence; “The reutilisation of disused military public domain areas and historic idroports in Italy” (Gallipoli, province of Lecce, Puglia Region, June 2018) provided some reflexions on the cases of the cities of Taranto, Brindisi, Varano, Orbetello, and Desenzano sul Garda.

- The State in the form of the Ministry of Defence and the State Property Agency. They are the drivers of the guidelines for dismantling-abandonment and regeneration programmes;

- The regional, provincial, and local territorial Public Administrations. They have currently a decisive role as they are called into play in the implementation of State decisions concerning adequate urban policies. Such actors are entrusted with the task to transmit the national policies at the territorial and local level so as to include them in the instruments of Urban and Territorial Planning;

- Private actors, embodied by the real estate developer-financial capital, banking and real estate entities, such as real estate funds. All of them are generally called upon to get involved in the regeneration processes under forms of public-private partnerships;

- Universities, or Research Centres, as subjects with the capacity to produce and promote knowledge, in the field of both architecture and urban planning, without forgetting the role of other disciplines which objects of study are the city, the territory, and the urban policies.

From the contents of the various initiatives dealing with the military properties, my concern regards two different points of view:

- The role of the architectural project in addressing the problems of “reuse”. I am referring to economic restrictions of the public bodies involved, the decontamination issues, and the treatment of buildings contemplated as cultural heritage, among others, and the technical aspects of the projects, which regard the volumetric, the suitable materials for the new uses, the 21st century-architectural and engineering standards, and so on;

- The role of the Urban Planning Project. It is worth remarking its efforts to integrate the regulations established on the basis of the old military installations during the decision-making processes to carry out the General Master Plan and/or its Modifications.

The large properties belonging to the Ministry of Defence are quite important features affecting the urban and territorial environment due to their relevant extension surfaces and as a specific typology of a diversity of abandoned areas appearing in the cities starting from the late 20th century onwards. For such reasons, great military properties have been the object of debates in which diverse aspects have been confronted. One of them refers to the capacity offered

by military artefacts to make concrete hypotheses about their future physical structure, i.e. the typological-functional structure which will hold the new uses. Such installations, moreover, are integral parts of other broader processes of urban transformation linked to certain urban and territorial contexts.

The regeneration of an abandoned area generally sets in motion a series of administrative-bureaucratic procedures and appropriate urban planning tools to start a collaboration between both the state and local actors and, consequently, between public and private agents. All of this should foster the “added value” that this regeneration could generate in the real estate market⁷⁴. According to this approach, it is precisely the “monetary value” attributed to the former military asset in the real estate market the key factor to trigger the reuse operations in the shortest time.

In the review of the International Conferences, I found out a dialectic encounter between all the critical approaches arose on the duality “architecture-urban planning” concerning the way of carrying out the regeneration projects. This encounter searched for a city-scaled strategy “large urban project by large urban project” to carry out within the General Master Plan instruments. Moreover, no matter the diverse perspectives of the academic researches and points of view, but a common thought emerged. This is the fact that the alienation-reconversion of public real estate should not be simply considered an objective, but an opportunity and a tool to activate the regeneration of abandoned military sites. The latter, after 50-100 years exerting their activities in the urban and territorial landscape, “exhausted” its function.

Several Italian local authorities have been trying for years to carry out a political-administrative reflection on the issue of disposal-regeneration of military sites. Over time, such attempts were formulated on the basis of preliminary agreements with the Ministry of Defence and the State Property Agency, in terms of both “urban strategies” and “structures” and “scenarios” for the future economic development of the city. Only in exceptional cases the importance and influence

⁷⁴ Stanghellini (2003) analyses the issue regarding the assignment of the “market value” to the Defence assets. The author demonstrated two types of reasons according to which the methodology of calculation of this value is inadequate as it relates only to the parameters of the real estate market. Firstly, the market cannot provide univocal indications of the exchange value of military artefacts, insofar as they are public goods, and even more so if they own historical-architectural and environmental values. Secondly, the appreciation that these goods can find on the market does not reflect the value that the community attributes to them.

of the speculative role of the real estate developer-financial capital in these types of interventions was taken into account to better understand the processes of abandonment and regeneration (see Gastaldi and Camerin, 2017a: 112-117 for the cases of Bologna and Piacenza, and Geusa, 2012 for Rome).

By means of analysing the conference proceedings of the reviewed events, many of their contributions have highlighted the processes of “reconversion” without adequately deepening their procedures. Such studies did not compare the Italian case with other processes already done or still under development in the international context. Not even special attention has been paid to understanding how both Western and Soviet blocks European governments have coped with the process of returning military properties to the communities to which they belong⁷⁵.

Though these lacks of studies largely depending from the difficulty to have the access to the information regarding the Defence assets both in Italy and in Europe, it seems that a new season just started towards the creation of a new and real knowledge of the issue here analysed. Indeed, in Italy more information is gradually being made available to civil society by the national bodies –i.e. the State Property Agency and the Ministry of Defence⁷⁶–, which show a certain degree of willingness to collaborate with universities or other public entities⁷⁷. Starting from 2014, various Italian universities launched multiple initiatives for the study of military areas by financing specific research and promoting teamwork to elaborate architectural and urban planning projects and Urban-Planning Project. These initiatives have generated over time master and doctoral theses, interdisciplinary international summer schools and workshops, and so on⁷⁸.

⁷⁵ Although superficially, a number of international initiatives were presented in the seminar coordinated by Ponzini and Vani held in Venice in 2011 and more examples were exposed during the Military Landscapes conference in 2017. Only in the case of autonomous research, such as Artioli (2012) and Camerin (2017), the regeneration of Italian military properties have been analysed and compared with foreign cases. In particular, Artioli is inserted in the debate on the interaction between administrative reforms and public policies. This researcher analysed the negotiations within the central State, the negotiations between the State and local administrations, and the results of the policies of reuse of military assets between France and Italy. Instead, Camerin focuses on the 1990s European-fostered programmes “Perifra” and “Konver” and the European transnational cooperation projects promoted by the E.U. since 2000 (such as the programmes 2006-to-2008 “M.i.s.te.r.”, 2009-to-2011 “F.a.t.e.”, and 2015-to-2018 M.a.p.s.) and their implications for military reuse in Italy.

⁷⁶ Especially since the nomination of the former Piacenza mayor Roberto Reggi as a director of the State Property Agency on 23 September 2014.

⁷⁷ For instance, the February 2018-signed agreement between the State Property Agency, the Ministry of Defence, and the *Politecnico di Torino* to support research, innovation, and learning activities on the ground of the Ministry of Defence properties located in Turin.

⁷⁸ Among the various initiatives, I think the following are worth mentioning in chronological order: the work of La Sapienza in Rome on a number of abandoned barracks in the Italian capital (Vv. Aa., 2012); see Lenoci

In the research at national level, the most complete study is the book coordinated by Storelli and Turri (2014), which relates the presence of the barracks belonging only to the Italian Army⁷⁹ in the whole country. At the moment, this is the most important and updated study regarding, for instance, the recognition of the cases of reuse already completed expressed in analytical sheets, although, it must be said, from an exclusive architectural point of view. According to Turri, Cappelletti and Kakolyris (2014: 414), more than 230 Army's barracks suffered from a land use change in the Urban Planning instruments between 1997 and 2014. It has to be said that this data include properties that may have not been converted, which were included in state or local programmes, according to the 1997 Finance Act. On the basis of various case studies and the personal experience I have been through during the last years, I can claim that proposals for the rehabilitation of the buildings could be surely drawn up respecting their historical identity. Such projects should be based on specific knowledge of the barracks via the analysis of their history, the technical-constructive and structural characteristics, the urban context where they are located, and the characteristics of the interior structure of military enclosures.

Another noteworthy study refers to the controversial book edited by Melandri and Semenzato (1989), who were activists from the former extreme-left "Proletarian Democracy" party⁸⁰. This book reviewed for the first time the geographical location of three branches of the Italian Armed Force –i.e. the Italian Army, Air Force, and Navy, respectively *Esercito Italiano*, *Aeronautica Militare*, and *Marina Militare* in Italian–, as well as the U.S. presence in the country.

and Faraone (2014) for the 152,860-m²-sized Romagnoli barracks in Padua; see Neri (2014) and Pugliese (2016) for the case of the barracks in Milan; see Agnoletto (2014) and Licitra (2015) for the 90,000-m²-sized Sta.Ve.Co. military factory in Bologna; see Gulino (2015) for the 55,000-m²-sized Sani barracks in Bologna; see Mellano, Canella and Manganaro (2015) and Mellano (2016) for the study of Turin's barracks in comparison with the Milanese case; see Treu and Meneghelli (2016) for the Lombardy's and Veneto's fortifications and gunpowder magazines; see Fabris and Camerin (2017) for the 235,000-m²-sized Trieste barracks in Casarsa della Delizia (province of Pordenone). Other recent initiatives were the international workshops on the former 100,000-m²-sized powder magazine in Volpago del Montello (province of Treviso) promoted by the foundation "Fondazione Benetton Studi e Ricerche" of Treviso (June 2015) and on the former 193-ha-sized N.A.T.O. airport in Comiso (province of Ragusa) supported by the Ragusa's Order of Architects (October 2016). The University of Genoa promoted a summer school on the Gavoglio barracks of about 70,000-m²-sized within the initiative "Network 2nd Chance" of the European program URB.ACT III 2014-2020 (July 2017).

⁷⁹ Whose partial contents was previously published in Cappelletti, Turri and Zamperini (2008) and Turri (2010). In addition, it is worth remarking the work update to the late 1980s of Presta (1987) on some of the military palaces and areas belonging to the Army.

⁸⁰ See Gambetta (2010) and Pucciarelli (2011) for a history of the former far-left party.

Two regional studies deals with territories historically affected by a huge military presence, i.e. Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Veneto Regions. In the first case, two books were published. I am referring to the research called “A land of primroses and barracks” –*Un paese di primule e caserme* in Italian– carried out between 2011 and 2014 by the architectural firm “Corde Architetti Associati” (summarised in the manuscript edited by Santarossa and Scirè Risichella in 2016). Also noteworthy is the work “Friuli Venezia Giulia Fortress” –*Fortezza FVG*– edited by Baccichet (2015).

In Friuli, the research done identified 285 military installations abandoned by the Armed Forces⁸¹, totalling 9,811,245 m² of disused areas. These are barracks and their annexed areas, whose disused area amounts to 3,716,371 m² (38%); military buildings, 3,049,570 m² (31%); fortifications, 1,502,661 m² (15%); military infrastructure, such as routes for military vehicles and airfields, 1.176,712 m² (12%); generic military areas, training and practice grounds, firing ranges, and other generic land, 184,700 m² (2%); ammunition and powder magazines, 181,231 m² (2%)⁸².

In the case of Veneto, Gastaldi and Camerin (2018) realised a diachronic analysis 1989-2017 of the military presence in this Region by means of relating the installations belonging to Italian Army, Air Force, and Navy. In 1989 the authors count 240 military areas spread over a territory of about 32,005,257.40 m². Today, only 89 are still owned by the Ministry of Defence, representing approximately 37% of the total amount counted in 1989. The rest, i.e. 151 areas (63%), have been abandoned, 89 of which are still owned by the Defence, 66 are actually occupied by troops, while the most significant part –109 settlements, corresponding to the 46% of the 240 assets– are currently in a state of abandonment or underuse. By 2017, 33 properties had been converted, with partial conversion projects carried out in 19 cases. In 10 of these 33 areas, the corresponding regeneration works were actually ongoing, and in two of these

⁸¹ There is no information about the facilities currently in use.

⁸² The other most militarised Italian Region is Sardinia, whose regional body published in 2006 a primordial census of the military properties of the island, totalling 168 properties (Regione Autonoma Sardegna, 2006). In the regional report is the only one published by a territorial body in Italy until 2019, even though I observed that this body did not collect all the data –such as the territorial surface of the areas, the volumes, and so on– due to restrictions on access to information. In light of these considerations, the census can be considered partially done.

assets the existing military artefacts were demolished, thus having been the subject of a specific process aimed at restoring the “ecological systems”.

In the Italian urban studies, I found various experiences focused on the study of military properties. The *Politecnico di Milano* coped with the military areas of two cities in Lombardy, i.e. Piacenza and Milan. As to the first case, Infussi and Pasqui (2010) coordinated a master plan which main objective was planning a future scenario on the ground of the reuse of 450,000 m²-sized military assets. This master plan decisively defined principles, criteria, and guidelines for the viability of the urban regeneration processes in order to create new spaces of collective interest according to the strategies established in Piacenza’s General Master Plan. After the interruption of the collaboration with the Piacenza City Council, from 2012 two working teams coordinated by Neri (2014) and Pugliese (2016)⁸³ took charge of the analysis of the military installations in the municipality of Milan. Even in this case, the work aimed to provide solid guidelines for the new uses of the Milanese barracks from an architectural and urban planning point of view.

Other reflections on the abandoned or to be abandoned military areas in a number of Italian cities⁸⁴ were collected in a special section of the Italian journal *Urbanistica Informazioni*, number 239-240, coordinated by Baiocco and Gastaldi (2011: 24-45). The analyses addressed the opportunities, inertias and, in general, delays and inadequacies of the national- and local-scale public policies⁸⁵. In general, the procedures for the reconversion of military facilities are generally described as opportunities to implement new actions based on the ground of the Urban Planning instruments, even for the reconfiguration of central areas of high symbolic value, or as a possibility to face new processes of land consumption. The contributions composing this publication focused on concrete processes of reconversion of great military properties understood as initiatives promoting the

⁸³ Other expert is worth mentioning, i.e. Montedoro (2016), who was in charge of a public participation project to define the public equipment of the 117,000 m²-sized Mameli barracks redevelopment project. See Camerin (respectively 2018b, 2018c, and 2018d) for an elaborated review of the books edited by Neri (2014), Pugliese (2016), and Montedoro (2016).

⁸⁴ Genoa, La Spezia, Macerata, Messina, Milan, Rome, Trieste, and Venice.

⁸⁵ Afterwards, other contributions highlighted the main aspects of various ongoing regeneration projects, such as the 19,315.57-m²-sized Montelungo-Colleoni barracks in Bergamo (Bellini, 2016) and the military areas located in the cities of Cagliari (Perelli and Sistu, 2015) and Udine (Conti and Pellegrini, 2013; Conti, La Varra, Petriccione and Tubaro, 2017).

cooperation and coordination between the actors involved, thus opening up new scenarios of urban transformation for Italian cities.

I must remark that only few authors attempted to focus the attention on the “global scale” of the phenomenon, i.e. developing a wider perspectives of study by means of providing interpretative hypotheses of the disposal processes at national level. In this context, some works of Gastaldi and Camerin (2012, 2016, 2017a, 2017c) tried to reconstruct the complicated history of the processes of abandonment and regeneration of military assets starting from the early 1990s-regulations⁸⁶. Their approach dealt with the way the legislation opens the way, administratively speaking, towards the dismantling-abandonment-regeneration of such assets.

Gastaldi and Camerin (2017d) analysed also the state of art of the national programmes affecting military artefacts, as well as the role entrusted to the actors involved in the management of military properties, such as the State Property Agency and the Ministry of Defence. The same authors put also into foreground the relationships between territorial bodies and the real estate developer-financial capital, thus trying to highlight the problematic links between the urban policies, the implementation of the legislation, and the dynamics of the real estate market, all of which heavily influenced by the long-lasting crisis of the real estate sector (Gastaldi and Camerin, 2017a: 110-112). From these relationships arise expectations and speculations about the future use of military properties, which contributed to manifest their “attractiveness” as new profit-driven spaces.

The works of Artioli can be seen in the same line of research of those ones by Gastaldi and Camerin as the former highlighted the inertia of the processes of regeneration of military assets both in Italy (2016a) and in French (2016b), also comparing the experiences in both states (2012 and 2016c). Artioli’s research stressed that the dismantling-abandonment-regeneration of military properties has been fostered fundamentally by three processes involved with the changes in both national and local public policies. They are the following:

⁸⁶ For further analysis of the regulations concerning the disposal of military goods between 1990 and 2015, see Quarta (2016: 617-621) and Gastaldi and Camerin (2012: 442-452; 2017a: 107-110). For a review of the regulations, see Corte dei Conti (2017: 69-98).

- Defence policy reforms, especially following the suspension of compulsory military service⁸⁷;

- The proposal of new policies to reform the state administration alongside with the sale of public property, in which the disposal of military assets outstands as a par excellence mechanism. In France, this change was implemented by the *Mission pour la Réalisation des Actifs Immobiliers* starting from 1987, and in Italy two fundamental factors influenced the disposal of military properties, i.e. the creation of the State Property Agency in 1999 and the task force in collaboration with the Ministry of Defence in 2014;

- The spread of urban regeneration policies, being usually based on the implementation of large-scale projects involving the conversion of the “brownfield sites” coming from industrial, railway or even military activities.

Artioli focused on the relationship between these three processes, specifically between the negotiations and the conflicts that confront the different interests at stake. The author was interested in the connections between the “restructuration of the administrative apparatus” of the State and the reorganisation of the “spatial-morphological structure” of the cities. Under these circumstances, Artioli claimed that a military asset can be arguably conceived in three different way. First, as an “obsolete administrative structure”, second, as a “potential financial income” to reduce the public deficit; and, eventually, as a “resource for urban regeneration and urban and territorial development policies”.

Among the various authors reviewed, Artioli, Camerin, Gastaldi and Camerin, and Ponzini and Vani, are the first ones which truly highlighted and demonstrated the inability of the Italian public administration –both at state and local level– to manage the public policies to sort several urban issues out.

By my analysis, I found a general trend within the framework of the Italian urban studies reviewed, which underlines the importance of the “barracks as an object of study”. This particular typology of military property is characterised by an architectural and urban planning quality that nowadays is difficult to find in the consolidated urban fabric of the cities. For this reason, barracks are very attractive features from a real estate point of view. They are central-located large enclosures, provided with a good system of urban mobility, especially by the

⁸⁷ In France it has been suspended in 1996, in Spain and Italy it has been abolished in 2001, while in Germany only from July 2011.

railway. No matter if the contexts where they are located present high or low urban density, the barracks are always equipped with large free spaces, the latter being generally green areas. These buildings stand out in the urban landscape and they are recognised for a strong identity and history, whose architectural, landscape, symbolic, and identity values refer to the individual and collective memories of the 19th century and 20th century.

Other authors claimed that the presence of military properties and public-owned assets has generated significant improvements in the local economies. Over time, the arrival of public administration meant a huge wave of monetary transfer from the central government to the territories, thus implicitly or explicitly this financing provides work for many people too (Turri, 2014: 437; Gastaldi and Camerin, 2016: 99; Mellano, 2016: 910). In Italy, however, there is no analysis on the economic effects or impacts of military installations on the territory where they are located.

Only Licata (2006) in his study on a possible conversion of the NATO military base of Aviano (province of Pordenone) showed that objectively there is no evidence of the possible economic benefits derived from the presence of large military infrastructures. The author argued instead that the military presence brought an economic underdevelopment and block of the territory due to the occupation of a large amount of land by the military.

There is an aspect which is usually not contemplated in the field of research addressing the process of construction, dismantling and abandonment of military premises. The “disrespectful” operations carried out on the military heritage hides the “invisible hand” of the real estate developer-financial capital, whose interests slide by practices that only seek its “reproduction”. Such an approach contributes to destroy the abandoned installations in order to reconstruct new architectural types on the land thus freed from the military activities. This general dynamics generated new regeneration actions characterised by high buildability as to respond to the capitalist-imposed “spatial reorganisation” on the former military areas.

Summary of the path developed

Once reviewed the status of the issue and the bibliography about the military areas in terms of their historical construction, abandonment, and regeneration, the most outstanding aspects of this review are the following.

First, the heterogeneity and complexity of the issues related to military settlements. Despite being a typology of land alien to civil society, it is also one of the components that most largely affects the process of construction and reproduction of the city. The restitution of these pieces of territory covers a wide range of issues, both before and after the institutional decision that decrees their uselessness for military purposes. In particular, it can be claimed that from an architectural and urban planning point of view the issues are rather similar to those affecting other types of urban properties, such as railway, industry, markets, and so on. In fact, as showed throughout this chapter, these issues refer to the question of “brownfields” and the recovery of “ecological systems”, the “commons” and “commoning” practices, the “citizen participation”, among others, all of which dealing with the regeneration of urban and territorial areas.

An analysis of a number of case studies has been included in the review to demonstrate the implications of the various issues which characterise and influence the processes of abandonment-regeneration of military areas. It is noteworthy to point out that starting from these issues, the abandonment-regeneration processes arise. This is the second outstanding aspect of the work done in this chapter. My attempt was to briefly analyse the processes of materialisation, abandonment, and regeneration of some military installations in order to understand their opportunities and inertia. I proposed to add some concrete casuistry to the “state of the art” for two reasons. On the one hand, due to the lack of studies carried out in Italy and in Europe on issues of major importance in urban and peripheral spatial planning. On the other hand, these examples were chosen among others due to author’s personal experience and from field work and desk research activities. Such work testified to the need to take into account the urban narratives to replace a non-existing scientific study before. Historiography is not everything in the scientific work related to Urban History and this is another fundamental point of the thesis. Here I strongly claim

that the “observation” and the “field work” should be conceived as “working documents”.

The third important aspect the chapter outlined is the following. The work reveals that the phenomenon of abandonment refers to numerous reasons, among which there are issues both internal, concerning the re-organisation of the State and the Armed Forces, and external, dependent upon from the international geopolitical context. Apart from such issues, I argue that the most important trigger of the emptying and abandonment is regarded as being a hidden agenda. Such strategy responds to the demands of the “urban land rent” model. As highlighted by Insolera (1989) and Mas Hernández (2003), this last aspect is very relevant when analysing the process of building the city towards the 21st century. The research work of the thesis positions its line of investigation so as to specify some of the considerations of the two aforementioned authors. The attempt of the thesis is to find out which are the urban and territorial dynamics that the relationship among the real estate pressure, the urban life, and the real estate agents impose in the management of the historic urban heritage and in its social and economic urban fabric. The thesis will show whether military assets will be affected by processes of despossession-privatisation or whether a use-value will be attributed to these properties.

In order to achieve the understanding of such processes, I am referring to what Stanghellini (2003) claimed on the allocation of a market value to military properties. According to the author, the attribution of this value cannot simply be referred to the logic of the real estate market, as military installations are public goods, whose appreciation⁸⁸ on the market does not reflect the value that the community attributes to them. The purpose is to understand how the far-reaching urban project is developed. More specifically, the intention is to analyse if the approach to the management of military heritage is similar or different –or even moves forward– with respect to what has happened with other great properties, especially railway stations and industrial installations.

In the field of urban studies, including Urban History, although in the literature I found some historical studies of military settlements and their influence on the 19th century- and the early 20th century-city, there is little analysis in the

⁸⁸ Although without entering into the merit of the estimation methods used by the Italian academic.

subsequent temporal phase. One of the attempts of the thesis is to fill this “gap” by basing the research on a historical moment as of the process of deindustrialisation, passing through the post-Cold War period until today. This study is claimed to follow some of the questions raised by Italo Insolera and Mas Hernández and those highlighted by Artioli, Camerin, Gastaldi and Camerin, and Ponzini and Vani. Hence, some questions arise. When a huge phenomenon of abandonment-regeneration of military properties started, are there any similar facts in the last three decades of the 20th century which resemble the phenomenon occurred before WWII by which military facilities started to appear in the urban environment? How does the city evolve when military settlements started to be emptied of their purposes? In other words, how has the presence of great military properties influenced the real estate market in the surrounding areas? In an even more global urban context in which the capitalist mode of production has pocketed the traditional post-industrial spaces to transform them into profit-oriented spaces, how is the regeneration of military properties carried out? What kind of “urban planning use” have been (or will be) assumed by urban areas affected by military abandonment and dismantling? I am also stating further questions by taking into consideration the particular historical moment in which the military capital in land is materialised and the way the civil society takes advantage of this opportunity, either by its exchange-value or use-value. Will the regeneration of the Italian city be shaped as an evolution of the capitalist mode of production? So will this regeneration be characterised by the dispossession, the destruction of the historical urban fabric, and the socio-economic segregation similarly to what happened in the past? Or, instead, can a new and more egalitarian urban phase be established via the regeneration of the military assets? It is in this sense that the thesis tries to follow a line of research in continuity with some analyses tackling the great military properties as “patrimonial legacies” (Cacciaguerra and Gatti, 2009; Turri, Cappelletti, and Kakolyris, 2014). Is it true that “ordinary” military installations –i.e. not officially recognised for their cultural, architectural, landscape values, and so on– can be more easily managed by the capital as places suitable for producing a higher income via architectural and urban planning projects?

Based on the review carried out, it has been clarified the position of the Author of the thesis, i.e. the line of research adopted for this thesis. It is also

necessary to underline the research focus not addressed in the thesis. The thesis does not focus on the census of the abandoned military areas in a given geographical context, the review of the results of the initiatives to reconvert the disposed military properties in Italy and Europe, the economic effects of the military presence prior to and after the abandonment, and the citizen participation in the management of the abandonment-regeneration processes. The thesis is not aimed to highlight the predominantly architectural issues of the military structures, nor the aspects regarding the interior shape of the enclosure. These themes, however, are a part of the investigation insofar as they relate to basic aspects for proceeding with the analysis. The purpose of the research is to understand the processes affecting the great military properties in their complexity, which for the moment have never been reviewed in doctoral research at a European level.

CHAPTER 2. URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND GREAT PROPERTY. CONSTRUCTION, EMPTYING, AND REGENERATION OF “GREAT ARTEFACTS” AS A REFERENCE OF THE CITY-MAKING PROCESS

What is the meaning and what is the role of the Great Property?

Great Property as a manifestation of “capital in land”

The ‘great property’ is an urban- and territorial-impacting “spatial category” linked to the high “space consumption” required by certain activities that need to be settled down in a specific area. The matter, therefore, is not so much its “size”, which is a distinguishing factor for its recognition, but the need for a large amount of land in order to fulfil its mission, this conditioning its “diversity”. The specificity of these properties determines their conformation as they are subjected to a process of “class possession” by the power groups that control, manage, and run them. The great property is therefore shaped as a differential element integrated into an urban structure. Such property expresses the diversity of class possessions that the city is subject to, thus showing the city in its condition as “upper class space”.

I am portraying to the plots demanded by activities and functions that need a large amount of land to make their spatial materialisation real. This character marks their differences with respect to the plots for residential settlements. The great property concerns fragments of land used for equipment and services, plus for industrial, military, and railway urban artefacts.

Another not less important aspect with which the specificity of the great property can be identified is its way of behaving when developing the urban rent. This behaviour is intrinsic to the very idea of property, but the great property is the one whose impact on the rent is stronger in terms of the production of the built environment. Such consideration is true because it is from the great property that large processes of urban transformation took place. It is worth mentioning some very important historical cases for the European city-making process: the historical “urban disentanglements” happening between the late 18th century and the

whole 19th century⁸⁹; the “city Extensions”⁹⁰ projected and programmed upon the availability of free land; the transport-mobility facilities, both for people and goods, which required large quantity of land to provide railway and road transport⁹¹; industrialisation, territory, and city⁹². This relationship had impact in terms of conditioning the presence of industry with the availability of the land required to carry out such activity.

It is a matter of fact that the use of the property had a significant impact on the city-making process. This relationship is the reason why the study of the great property is a fundamental tool to understand the subordination of the process of production of the built environment to the physical artefacts such properties supported. It is not possible to understand the city production without a thorough analysis of the land ownership. Hence the need to clarify the following aspects: the role of the great property in the city-making process; the dynamics to which such property is subject; eventually, its condition as a socio-spatial category that makes it behave sometimes against the interests of capital because it attends more to its condition of ancestral landlord. Referring to the latter, the great property behaves against the logic of capital due to the benefits derived from the fact of being a property of a landlord. This derived from the fact that the profitability for the landlord is likely to be more linked to the “rent” the property produces –whether it is “land” or “urban land”– than to the hypothetical productive processes to carry out in this land. In fact, the economic system that does not recognize this “rent” as one of its components.

⁸⁹ In the Spanish case, the purpose of the disentailment processes was the expropriation and public auction sale of the Church-owned and sometimes even public-owned assets in order to reduce the public debt. Although the first disentanglements took place in the 18th century, these processes really began in 1836 with the implementation of the so-called “Mendizábal Disentailment”. The confiscation of the goods and their subsequent sale boosted, among other things, specific urban renewal processes. Such properties, sometimes subjected to demolition, were converted into squares, markets, even into barracks by reforms facing the hygienic conditions the military required. These operations made available new uses often designated with the same name as the original buildings (Villani, 1964; Silveira, 1991; Rueda, 1998).

⁹⁰ The city Extension –in Spanish *ensanche*– were proposed on the basis of a morphological structure conceived as an “infrastructure project”, whose reference was the “plot” set up by the encounter of four roads (Cerdá). The Extensions were predominantly residential areas for the bourgeoisie, i.e. the high-income class living, until then, in the city centre. In the 19th century-Spain, the most important *ensanches* were built in the cities of Barcelona, 1859; Madrid, 1860; Bilbao, 1863; San Sebastián, 1864; Sabadell, 1865; Elx, 1866; Valencia 1884 (see Cerdá, 1867; Solà-Morales i Rubió, 1978; Mas Hernández, 1999; Vv. Aa., 2004; Vv. Aa., 2009; Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2010).

⁹¹ Monclus, Oyon, (1996); Valenzuela Montes (1998); Herce Vallejo y Miró Farrerons (2002); Santos y Ganges (2007).

⁹² As far as the first industrialisation of Spanish capital cities, see Solà-Morales i Rubió et al. (1974: 7-21) and Arxiu Històric del Poblenou (2006) for the case of industrialisation of Barcelona’s Poble Nou; see Basas Fernández (1969) in the case of Bilbao.

In the light of these considerations, it is very necessary to refer to the original studies that addressed the meaning of “land ownership” to clarify the other mechanisms behind the processes of urban land production. It is interesting, in this sense, to reflect and obtain conclusions, from Marx’s thought referred to these issues:

«Ground-rent⁹³ assumes the form of a certain sum of money, which the landlord draws annually by leasing a certain plot on our planet» (Marx, 1894: 465), and «Landed property is based on the monopoly by certain persons over definite portions of the globe, as exclusive spheres of their private will to the exclusion of all others» (Marx, 1894: 461). «Wherever natural forces can be monopolised and guarantee a surplus-profit to the industrial capitalist using them, be it waterfalls, rich mines, waters teeming with fish, or a favourably located building site, there the person who by virtue of title to a portion of the globe has become the proprietor of these natural objects will wrest this surplus-profit from functioning capital in the form of rent» (Marx, 1894: 462). «Land ownership differs from other types of property. The latter, at a certain stage of development, appears as a superfluous and harmful form even from the point of view of the capitalist system of production itself»⁹⁴ (Marx, 1973).

⁹³ The concept of ‘urban land rent’ can be considered as a translation, with certain methodological continuity, from the theory developed by Karl Marx to the current tasks of the discipline of Political Economy. The reference is to the original theories of the Ground-Rent as they were conceived by Adam Smith and, above all, by Karl Marx. The latter considered that Ground-Rent has two components: “Absolute Ground-Rent” and “Differential Rent”. This means that a landowner demands a rent for ceding the use of his property by taking into account, on the one hand, what the renter can invest and produce (Differential Rent I) and, on the other hand, the location of the property in a territorial frame (Differential Rent II). In addition, the landowner pretends the payment of the intrinsic value of the property, specifically what he considers such property is worth (Absolute Ground-Rent). Here I am proposing to make a translation of these concepts applied to the Ground-Rent, translating it as ‘urban land rent’. The latter, therefore, would also include two components: The Absolute Urban Rent which, according to Campos Venuti, is nothing more than the capacity of a “land” to be incorporated into the “urban development”, and the Differential Rent, which would imply an increase in its value according to the localisation within the city-territory as a whole (here I am referring to Campos Venuti’s book “The management of the Urbanism” –*La Administración del Urbanismo*– (1971: 1-44). Its though has been elaborated again 40 years later in chapter 2 “At the beginning was the urban land rent” –*In principio era la rendita urbana*– in the book “City without culture. Interview on Urbanism” –*Città senza cultura. Intervista sull’urbanistica*–; see Campos Venuti, 2010: 11-40). As far as Marx interpreted the Ground-Rent, the same thought is not very different from what, today, it can be said in terms of urban land rent. These concepts are not new, but have already been elaborated by economists, thinkers of the past, who applied them to the Ground Rent. The same or similar principles can be applied to the urban land rent, as the owner of urban land still behaves almost the same as the old landowner. The latter offered his land to another to use but not selling it, receiving, in return, a rent. The owner of the urban land, therefore, does not do anything, does not produce anything, simply receives a rent for renting of his property, or for the sale of the same.

⁹⁴ This phrase is contained in the Spanish version of the book. In the English version it coincides with a phase with another meaning: *«Ground-rent, therefore, is here that form in which property in land is realised*

These were some of the ideas developed during the 19th century, which continue to be a reference for understanding what ‘urban ground rent’ is, as well as of the components of it⁹⁵.

With regard to the urban land located in city centres, the values of the differential ground rent is higher. This occurs not so much due to reasons that make these centres as different places because of their historic character, but rather owing to reasons regarding the historic process of “social appropriation” of such zones. It appears there was a bourgeoisie-led “social consensus” making decisions on the use-value that should be given to urban centres. This is a clear and well-defined high class strategy, based on which it is decided that a city has to grow disproportionately towards the periphery, while at the same time the privileges are established in its central areas.

The reference of this logic is the Western European city, which is managed by a political-economic system providing the best conditions to carry out the process of production-reproduction of capital. It is within this frame that the concept of ‘property’ acquires its most rigorous meaning. In particular, I will pay special attention to the Spanish and Italian cases, taking into account the many common points distinguishing their recent urban history. Both countries are part of the economically less advanced Western Europe, the “Southern Europe”, where the “capitalist-led property regime” developed with greater virulence, much more predatory than in the cases of Germany, France, or even England⁹⁶.

economically, that is, produces value. Here, then, we have all three classes –wage-labourers, industrial capitalists, and landowners constituting together, and in their mutual opposition, the framework of modern society» (Marx, 1894: 565).

⁹⁵ It is worth insisting on the fact that when Marx spoke of Ground-Rent he was saying that what a landlord required from a tenant to use his land had two components. One is the “Absolute Ground-Rent” (Marx, 1894: 550-564), which depends on the owner when estimating his possessions. The other component, the “Differential Rent” is more related to issues such as “productivity” and “location” (Marx, 1894: 478-549). If the land was very good, the owner would demand a higher rent, while if it was bad land, he would demand less rent. In the case of urban land, that “rent” depends on the land buildability. The General Master Plan establishes what can be built: the more it can build, the more is demanded as a rent, since more benefits will be obtained. This component of the rent is called Differential Rent I as it has to do with land productivity. The other component, Differential Rent II, is more related to the location of the property. The closer it was to a market, the less transport costs had to pay. If the goods to sell were to be moved at little cost, a higher rent will be demanded. The same happens with the urban land, since the differences of the rent are very marked between two places. A lower rent will be paid where only housing settlements can be built, and a higher rent will be paid where the General Master Plan provides the possibility to build offices and tertiary activities.

⁹⁶ As underlined by Campos Venuti in the Spanish version of the Italian book “Austerity and Urbanism” – *Urbanistica e austerità* in Italian, *Urbanismo y Austeridad* in Spanish; the Italian version was published by Feltrinelli in 1978, the Spanish one in 1981. In the 20th century, Spain and Italy were socio-political realities in which the urban land rent have a much greater impact in the territory than in other Western European countries. As a matter of fact, the Spanish and Italian economic structure showed a speculative and parasitic conceptions of such rent, which strongly influence the urban and territorial policies (Campos Venuti, 1981: 1-5).

The starting point of the analysis is the ‘great property’ intended as a capital in land insofar as it develops an urban land rent. The great property does not only act as the support making possible the localisation-development of a certain activity, but as a “tradeable currency” to undertake other types of operations. Such properties may be not identified, exclusively, as “physical spaces”.

Typological differences in the relationship Property-Capital in Land. The Great Property and its relation with the process of city production-reproduction

In this disciplinary context, I propose a classification of the great property according to its commitment in the city transformation process, the latter driven by the attempt to maximise the extrapolation of the urban land rent. The establishment of three reference variables –first, the “activity”; second, the “income” the great properties develop; third, their importance in the process of construction-transformation of the city– will allow to show their different responsibilities in the city-making process. In this respect, the role played by a great railway property with clear public service connotations must not be regarded the same as that one played by others, such as industries, the latter being involved with private interests. The focus is on three specific typologies of ‘great property-capital in land’: the “manufacturing industries”; the “railway spaces”; and the “military premises”, all of which are the object of special attention in this work. All these properties have been, and will be, essential in the configuration of the urban fabric of the city, and are therefore complex and extensive artefacts that have a notable influence on the context in which they are located.

Industrial capital-landowner. Definition and types: Industrial, Railway and Military.

These properties have undergone specific processes of urban construction because their owners acquired the rights to exercise as exclusive holders of the land they occupy. They are industrial, military, and railway, and so on, but above all they are landowners, which gives them the privilege of overcoming the crises of their activity insofar as they own a capital in land. If these owners develop activities linked to teaching, for instance the city-centre-located religious schools,

the capital in land they possess allows them the selling to real estate developers interested in promoting more profitable artefacts. At the same time, the old schools may change the location, thus displacing to high-end peripheries and modernising their facilities with the profits obtained from the sale of their old property. In such way the landowner has, therefore, managed its capital in land.

Each type of property acts according to their original functions, well understood that each one of them offers different possibilities as their implications in the city-making process were different. The specific case studies are the following.

- Industrial properties.

This type of property is based on its condition of capital in land whose amortisation process is completed in the medium term, being not too extensive. This means that such property is available to undertake other actions, such as real estate ones, when there is still a significant period of time left to obtain the profitability from the original industrial activity. As these industries have a relatively central location, they are able to move to other parts of the city, i.e. in new industrial parks, to modernise their facilities and production processes. Despite the fact that industries and teaching centres being two very different activities, their repercussions on the city-making process are rather similar, mostly the impacts derived from the transformation of its original settlements. Once real estate developers –i.e. the speculators, being usually involved in the construction of luxury residential or tertiary areas– have access to such properties, they have the open field to undertake such ventures in the dismantled sites. The industrial capital starts from its condition of landowner, which allows it to join the urban renewal process of the city centre, following, in the best of cases, the indication of the Urban Planning instruments. Nevertheless, it is not only the Planning the driving factor of such processes. It is also the consequence of the dynamics linked to the capitalism-led urban development, which make the city centre the field of operations allowing its reconversion into a specialised and exclusive space. The path begun by the old central industries is also followed by other landowners, such as railway stations, military facilities, religious buildings, schools, markets, and so on.

The configuration of the great industrial properties is significantly influenced by the evolution of technology and by the demands of the specific production processes for each industry. In addition, the fact of being great properties gives to their owners a certain power over the urban space, thus influencing the way the urban land rents are distributed. The aforementioned requirements and power gave rise to different property typologies, especially made for the textile, metallurgical, mechanical, blast furnace and power plant industries, and so on. In the 19th century, the Industrial Revolution contributed to the appearance of the first manufacture. As most of them could not be located in the old city centre, their peripheral location set up new neighbourhoods, where the working-class housing found place near the industrial settlements.

The rise of the bourgeoisie in the 19th century corresponded to the growth of the city. As happened in the current Poblenou neighbourhood of Barcelona, the bourgeoisie-led urban growth forced the new industries to seek their locations beyond the original programmed localisation. The profitability of the first large industries did not require a central position, so the gradual expansion of the existing city allowed its original peripheral position gaining “centrality”. In such way, these large industries acquired a high exchange value in the framework of the “real estate market”. Under these circumstances it is important to remark that the real estate market is influenced by the “opinion value” of the property, especially of the places it occupies (Halbwahs, 1950). The displacement of the industries from their original peripheral spatial positions to other more distant ones allowed the modernisation and reorganisation of their facilities, this due to the benefits derived from their condition of capital in land. This is a process leading to the current urban regeneration interventions as the latter are the updated version of the displacement-materialisation patterns of the industrial properties.

- Railway Properties.

The railway is expressed through a very close link between the Stations it places in urban spaces –along with the communication and mobility infrastructures that accompany them–, and the city. Thus Railway Stations exert a decisive influence on the city-making process. The railway has been the most involved means of communication in a certain way of understanding and building the city.

Particularly, it contributed to shape the city central zones, to improve the communication periphery-centre, and to intensify the urban development, all of which cause the city to grow and to spread. From the point of view of urban planning, the position of the Railway Stations is transcendental as they were converted into the great gates to the city at that time. The great railway property has over time had a decisive role in the conformation of the city urban structure, intervening in the question of road management and have conditioned the new forms, functions and contents of the streets, avenues, boulevards and so on. The Railway Stations were originally located in key places, usually very accessible to the city centre, being the triggering element of the urban growth and development where they were located. Over time, the protagonism of the Railway acquired another type of connotations. Its function as the nerve centre of the city began to be questioned. Indeed, once the functions of the railway entered into crisis, its role as public transport service began to be underestimated with preference to its strategical-positioned land availability. The change of approach ended to reconvert the station and its infrastructure into new centralities following the urban development dynamics searching for the renewal of the existing urban fabric in the centre of a supra-municipal territory. Such dynamics provoked the interest of boosting the obsolescence of the centrally-located railway stations: this would lead to their dismantling and reconversion following precise and forceful “regenerative techniques”. Once dispossessed of their original functions, the great railway properties provided the land availability to proceed with the renewal of the urban order. They moved from being places with a decisive influence on the development of the city to the extent of identifying the Railway with a precise city model. Their abandonment-dismantling meaning further changes in the existing built environment. Now the Railway has not stopped conditioning the city, this is requiring the abandonment of such great property to realise new profit-driven spaces, thus creating new centralities. What has acted, therefore, as an incentive for the urban change is not what the Railway has culturally and historically speaking represented, but its condition of capital in land. Today, the central Railway Stations are spaces to be dismantled and emptied, i.e. to be closed and reconverted. They are usually owned by large state-owned companies with a significant capacity to influence and negotiate with public

administrations within the decision-making process in urban planning. This contributes to proceed with the major transformation without any obstacles.

- Military Properties.

Great military properties comprise government buildings, such as the headquarters of the Ministry of Defence; barracks, in some cases city-centre-located former hospitals and religious buildings handed over to the Army; newly constructed buildings, using empty lots located along the perimeter line around the city; warehouses and spaces meant for weapons production that often include areas for training and logistics; and so on. In most cases, the location of all these types of facilities is in the immediate vicinity of the city, where it is easy to obtain a low-cost large land for military purposes. Their materialisation in such places boost specific urban transformation and urbanisation processes supported by good accessibility on the grounds of the existing road and railway infrastructure systems. In the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, the debate of presence of military installations on urban land arose between national and local bodies as the latter were trying to become players in urban issues. In some cases, the construction of the military installations was adapted to the existing urban fabric as indicated by the municipalities, while in other cases intense negotiations between state and local authorities took place. For instance, see the materialisation of barracks in Milan during the dictatorship (Poli, 2016).

The whole process of construction of the military artefacts covers a long historical period whose decline starts in the 1980s. The underuse of military premises is generally related to the diversity of reforms and interests affecting land use. Firstly, the rationalising administrative reforms of the public sector, including the Armed Forces, on account of the State budget deficit. Secondly, the geopolitical consequences derived from the 1989 fall of Berlin Wall. Thirdly, the speculative expectations derived from the strategic position held by the great military property-capital in land: they showed the capacity to be profitably regenerated by implementing large urban projects.

Based on these factors the processes of dismantling began as a first step to promote urban regeneration mechanisms. These mechanisms took advantage of the functional obsolescence and the fact that they had been emptied. Their position in a first 'historic periphery' facilitates the regeneration programmed on

these premises due to the relative centrality that they enjoy. An example of such dynamics can be seen in the case of the Guido Reni barracks in Rome. After their construction in the early 20th century, they have continued to condition the urban development of Flaminio neighbourhood. Once the process of underuse and abandonment of military installations had begun, Flaminio gradually assumed the condition as an urban area capable of “capitalising” the large amount of “freed land”. This situation created the conditions suitable to implement capitalist-fostered large urban projects demanded by a capital city such as Rome.

From a great property excluded from any kind of relationship with civil society, real estate operations are set in motion by doing nothing more than fostering processes of urban segregation. Such segregation implied the increase of value of some urban areas over others, which has been driven by the privatisation of public assets. The main factor leading to the disposal-regeneration of public-owned property is their favourable position within the city on the grounds of real estate.

The Commercial Capital as generator of the Great Property.

If the Industrial Capital drives specific urban regeneration processes due to its condition of landowner, another important agent, i.e. the Commercial Capital, proceeds to the acquisition of the central-positioned urban properties it needs so as to occupy central areas to develop its activity. Unlike the case of the Industrial Capital, the strategy of the Commercial Capital does not lie in urban regeneration supported by a capital in land that it does not own. Instead, the Commercial Capital buys over time small neighbouring properties: their accumulation sets up a Great Property on which builds a retailer as is the case of large department stores, warehouses, and so on. The Commercial Capital, in this sense, reaches two objectives: on the one hand, the location in central areas by accumulation-appropriation of small properties and, on the other hand, it becomes a large landowner in the mid-long term. In this respect, the urban regeneration processes are not only based on the support provided by the great property, regenerations also “generate” the great property by concentrating the dispersion of small-size properties. Thus the Commercial Capital makes the city centre a place in the hands of few (large) landowners.

El Corte Inglés-making process located around *Puerta del Sol* in Madrid⁹⁷ is an outstanding example of such dynamics⁹⁸. This commercial capital, unlike the industrial capital, becomes a large landowner only at the end of the process. *El Corte Inglés*, in fact, was acquiring small adjacent properties to group them together and build a large warehouse⁹⁹. At the beginning, it acquired two *Puerta del Sol*-located properties, i.e. in the heart of the city of Madrid, on which it built its first department store. Successively, it expanded as it acquired new adjacent properties. This dynamics took place between the 1960s and 1980s. Today, as the Commercial Capital has become a large landowner, its impact on the city-making process is very different. *El Corte Inglés* can acquire other properties wherever, acting as if it was a large real estate developer.

The commercial capital, therefore, starts from its condition of “non-landowner”, although it gradually becomes one of them over time as it carries out the conformation of great properties in the central spaces of the city. Nowadays, *El Corte Inglés* is probably the largest Spanish company in land in capital. This is not because such chain has accumulated more plot size areas, but because of the privileged location of its properties. As a matter of fact, *El Corte Inglés* is a landowner or areas with high differential ground rent. By contrast, the behaviour of the great industrial, railway, and military properties is linked to a specific activity, whether productive, service, or national defence. Such activities, once obsolete, act as capital in land undertaking specific urban renewal-regeneration processes.

The Real Estate Developer-Financial Capital and its capacity to get land “operation by operation”.

The Real Estate Developer-Financial Capital is constituted around the power of certain industries linked to banking entities –such as the Spanish company “*Unión*

⁹⁷ “*El Corte Inglés*” is the Spain’s only remaining department store chain, being the Europe’s largest one.

⁹⁸ A similar phenomenon took place in Italy with the creation of the “*Unico Prezzo Italiano Milano Grandi Magazzini*, U.P.I.M.”, successively named “*La Rinascente-UPIM*” in the post-WWII. From the first acquisition in Milan in 1917 –i.e. the purchase of an entire old art-deco building near Piazza del Duomo in Milan–, UPIM expanded to all the major urban centres in Italy, with 55 large shops in 1943 (Vadalà, 2017).

⁹⁹ Then, in the 1960s, *El Corte Inglés* began its expansion throughout Spain with the opening of centres in Barcelona, Seville, Bilbao, and so on. The growth of the department store chain lasted until the mid-1990s, being marked by the diversification of its commercial activity, which moved on to take up positions in other business areas.

*de Explosivos Riotinto*¹⁰⁰–, which turns into agents interested in the redevelopment of certain central areas. The aim of such operations is expanding the scope of its economic interests beyond the strictly industrial ones. A same dynamics happens in the case of the associations of small owners, for instance, the case of the refurbishment of Santo Domingo Square in Madrid¹⁰¹. These associations agreed to proceed to the redevelopment of the above mentioned Plaza, distributing the profits depending on the quantity of the land available. To achieve their goal, they proposed an Urban Development Plan to erase the popular character of this Madrilenian place.

In this case it is seen that the great property is not linked with specific activities, neither industrial nor commercial. Simply, the Real Estate Developer-Financial Capital is manifested as a property, i.e. an “income-producing asset”, in so far as it is conceived as a future profit-making space under the point of view of the real estate market. Here it is fundamental the role of an entrepreneur willing to acquire it to make it profitable: this is the way to achieve the objectives of this type of great property. The casuistry faces the property in its pure state because it requires financial investments in the frame of the real estate market. The expectations of such operations are offering the great properties to future investors. In short, these investments are promoted as a financial capacity to invest is emerging, not on the ground of a real demand. This is a specific market working with a different logic in comparison with the real estate market.

Such market produces singular high-value assets demanded by the global capital due to their attractive power¹⁰². They are attractive as they are “safe” and “liquid” in the face of a possible interest in recovering the capital invested. In fact,

¹⁰⁰ In 1972, the approval of the “Special Interior Reform Plan” –*Plan de Reforma Interior* in Spanish–for the old city Extension of Madrid meant the replacement of the 1931-built worker-class’ single-family homes “Colonia Maudes” in Raimundo Fernández Villaverde Street with luxury housing settlements. Due to the favourable urban-planning-fostered action, the Unión Explosivos Riotinto acquired, one by one, these houses, until it reached over 60% of the total property of the Colonia. Such appropriation process gave the power to their demolition, thus opening the way to a more profitable use. Successively, in 1975 the City Council declared the area as “reparcelling zone”.

¹⁰¹ An Urban Development Plan for such area –*Plan Parcial de Reforma Interior de la Plaza de Santo Domingo* in Spanish– was proposed in 1958, being approved in 1967. The affected owners were about to carry out other redevelopment project, which dated back to the hypothetical opening of a road in 1929 intended to connect Callao and Santo Domingo Squares. By this new operation they saw a second opportunity of obtain large profits. In fact, they invest their properties into a specific Management Board leading the project and the elaboration of the aforementioned Urban Development Plan.

¹⁰² This is the so-called mechanism called “buy to leave” (Fernandez, Annelore and Aalbers, 2016), the objective of which is not to create a new use in these properties, neither to live nor to rent, but to leave them in a state of “waiting”. Their function is to create a reserve of wealth that can be easily recirculated thanks to its liquidity.

the transactions that take place generally bring large profits, especially of a speculative, non-productive nature. Actually, the financial transactions of such capital in land generally brings large speculative profits not related to the new use. A paradigmatic example is the so-called “Chamartin Operation”, originally planned in 1993 for an area of 180 ha located Madrid-northern-located Chamartin Railway Station. This large urban development operation was promoted by the BBVA bank to create the luxury “Castellana Norte District” (Espelosín, 2013; Vv. Aa., 2018).

The behaviour of such typology of great property not only refers to what Marx (1894) observed in the “Capital”¹⁰³, but similar dynamics is also noticed today (Aalbers, 2016). The way of behaving is the one that comes closest to the condition of “capital in land”. Actually the great property is used as a “bargaining chip” and as a “guarantee” to undertake stock market and financial actions, beyond pure real estate market ones.

The Small Owners’ Capital in Land. Great Property-Small Property. A cause-effect relationship.

Eventually, in the middle of all the great properties, there is the small owner, the one who has only one small-sized property from which they get a rent. The types of property described so far are presented as the highest representatives of the real estate business, all of which engaged with the powers of the State as they need its support in exchange for their ideological servility. Instead, the small owner behaves like a real predator, managing the land he owns, since, for them “what is built does not exist”, nor the people who inhabit it. Their obsession is to get rid of the tenants in order to have a clear path for the demolition of the building they own. The obstacles found are multiple: the possible cataloguing to establish a legal framework aimed to protect the building based on the architectural, historic or artistic values it holds; the determinations derived from the Planning affecting the areas where they are located; the possible inhabitant’s social resistance that manifest to leave the place where they live; among others. Overall, the general behaviour of the small owner is supporting the “dirt” behind the making of a process they are in charge of, thus aiming to offer the resulting

¹⁰³ A Critique of Political Economy. Volume III: The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole. Part VI. Transformation of Surplus-Profit into Ground-Rent. Chapter 37. Introduction (pp. 460-477).

“emptied plot” to the real estate agents capable to produce an income-producing space. The small owner could appear, in the end, as a promoter, but commonly their activity refers to the “socio-economic cleaning” of the place inhabited by tenants who do not yield a high income.

Two are the highlighting aspects of this whole process. The first one refers to the temporality of the urban renewal processes affecting the historic city, as well as the hierarchy among them. The small property, in this sense, began to be the protagonist of these processes once the large-capitalism-fostered and broader-scoped ones have had already materialised. The small property benefitted from the urban-renewal-led urban culture, thus acting on a space on which a high monetary value would be created due to the ongoing construction of a profit-oriented space. It can be argued that the small property does not act so much as a creator of income-producing spaces, but rather as a beneficiary of the latter. The second aspect deals with the habits consolidated throughout the city, once the aforementioned operations find too many difficulties to be realised in the historic urban fabric. The process of transformation of the historic city entrusts to the small property the assignment to sociologically and culturally speaking dismantle the foundations of the popular social reproduction space “plot by plot”.

Another issue to consider refers to the interference between great property- and small property-fostered actions. On the one hand, the great properties located in large cities are the door way for the small property to act. On the other hand, referring to medium and small cities, the small properties had the most important role on influencing the transformation process of the city, with the great property having a minor role in the city-making process. Here it can be argued that the small properties have played a more thorough part in the transformation of the historic city centre as the spatial-functional changes have taken place “plot by plot”¹⁰⁴.

The activity of a small-medium owner tries to maximise the benefits from the “centrality” which their small property enjoys. Such activity follows the

¹⁰⁴ As demonstrated in the case of the Spanish historic centres (Álvarez Mora, 2013), this process contributes to the realisation of the urban-land-rent-fostered urban model. This dynamics promote, on the one hand, the urban renewal of the existing urban fabric boosted the “exclusivity” of the urban space and, on the other hand, the indiscriminate extension of the city as a whole.

tendencies marked by urban development, accordingly to the exclusive central areas are generated as the city expands.

In light of this trend, it often happens that small properties are grouped together to enable the construction of a tertiary artefact, thus creating a great property as a result of the urban renewal-making process demands. Actually, the first operations of urban renewal have passed through the management of the great property, thus creating a specific trend in the city building. Later, when such tertiary-oriented trend is consolidated in the city, the action of the small property begins.

In the end, the great properties are the triggering factors of far-reaching urban projects, especially in the big cities, which favoured the logic of capital by driving such projects. The *Plan Programme de l'Est de Paris* is a good example of this dynamics. Here the great industrial and railway properties –such as the Reuilly railway maintenance workshop facilities and the former Tolbiac industrial site– marked the content of the urban transformations taking place in the eastern sector of Paris¹⁰⁵. The aim of the Plan is to bring this Eastern Parisian area, described as “obsolete” because of its low-class presence, closer to the Western exclusive area of Champs-Élysées¹⁰⁶.

The Management of the Great Property. Property and European city-making process in the 20th century

It is the question of interpretation the role of the great property in the materialisation-dismantling/abandonment-regeneration processes that decisively helps to understand the historical construction of the city as a whole. I am observing, therefore, the city-making process from the role played by these interventions based on the behaviour of certain strategically located artefacts, whose activities and functions require the employment of a large amount of space. I am interested in understanding how great property is managed to

¹⁰⁵ A non-legal urban planning instrument launched by the municipal administration in 1983. The purpose of the Plan has been to enhance the value of the areas defined as ‘sensitive blocks’ –*îlots sensibles*, blocks characterised by a social and economic weakness due to the lack of services and public spaces– in the Eastern Paris. Such Plan involved the renewal of great properties located in this part of Paris in the attempt to implement a strategy to rebalance the city with its Western sector (Apar, 1987).

¹⁰⁶ Some of the most important urban redevelopment operations were the following. The 12.5-ha-triangular-shaped ZAC Reuilly and the 130-ha-size ZAC Tolbiac large-scale project which led to the creation of the French *Bibliothèque Nationale* in 1992 (Arteaga Arredondo, 2008).

decipher the production of the built environment logic. In this way I am addressing the understanding of a global phenomenon –i.e. the city-making process of a specific urban entity in its totality–, from the particularity deduced from the behaviour of specific fragments –i.e. the great property– capable of influencing the city urban development. Therefore, this analysis aims to understand the city from the behaviour expressed by its parts, certain fragments of it, not so much from its entirety. I am not renouncing to the necessary relationship produced between the “whole” and its “parts”, but I intend to focus the internal dialectic of the fragments which develop partial phenomena.

This is how I understand the management of the great property in the broader city-making process of the 20th century, since, ultimately, I try to explain the processes of urban regeneration of the specific fragments – i.e. great properties– as it is the final phase of the city-making process.

Real estate, land ownership, and financial capital have played a significant part in these urban regeneration processes. A first case study refers to the ability shown by certain real estate agents to acquire great properties, or to manage those which they already own. A second case study deals with the real estate agents able to acquire small neighbouring properties to set up a great property from which proceed to the transformation of the affected areas. The purchase of these properties is a form of investment, since they can be kept unused while their urbanistic future is being decided in the hope that new future business perspectives are created. That is why the great property is historically configured as key to urban development. Over the 20th century, the urban renewal processes were carried out with a greater magnitude and scale respect to the previous operations. Especially, from the 1970s onwards the evolution of capitalism towards the globalism and the spread of neo-liberal doctrines boosted the aforementioned processes.

An exemplary case of the first casuistry can be recognised in Barcelona. In 1971 the approval of the “Modification Project of the Sub-regional Plan of Barcelona’s Eastern Maritime Sector”, better known as “Ribera Plan”, whose slogan was “opening Barcelona to the sea” (Duran i Farrell, 1965). This Plan involved the coastline from Barceloneta to the Besós river in order to redevelop

the Ribera S. A.¹⁰⁷- (60 ha) and Renfe (40 ha)-owned land in Poblenou neighbourhood. The “industrial and railway zone” was designed to be transformed into “intensive high end housing settlements” (Clavera, 1973; Tatjer, 1973; Alibes et al., 1975). This whole urban renewal process implied Ribera S. A.- and Renfe-led appropriation of the benefits derived from the capital gains generated by the aforementioned operation as such land lacked monetary value. Despite this, a high social and economic value around the industrial and railway artefacts was already existing without the need for boosting any urban transformations. Actually, such value derived from the social-fostered historical building process of Poblenou. Finally, this project failed to be implemented, given the opposition of small landowners, citizen institutions (Association of Architects and Trade Unions), residents of the affected area, and the general pressure from the local media¹⁰⁸.

As for the second case, the 1960s-to-1970s urban renewal of Pozas neighbourhood in Madrid represents an outstanding example. The popular neighbourhood was located in a central position of the Spanish capital, formed by an ensemble of 20 small and independent properties. Their legally questionable purchase by a real estate company aimed to set up a great property resulting from the aggregation of the 20 original ones, and to create a tertiary building. The great property, the so-called “*Triángulo Princesa*” –Princess Triangle–, played a leading role in a process of urban transformation developed within the wider “Princess¹⁰⁹ Operation” (Álvarez Mora, 1978). Since its construction in 1863, this low-class neighbourhood’s life was characterised by the presence of local shops on the ground floor of the buildings, as well as a series of facilities attributing it a strong popular identity. However, such popular identity succumbed to the transformations carried out by the real estate interests claiming a different way of using the urban centre. The entry into play of the real estate

¹⁰⁷ Set up by the following entities, most of them being anonymous society: Catalana de Gas y Electricidad, S.A.; Motor Ibérica, S.A.; Maquinista Terrestre y Marítima, S.A.; Foret, S.A.; Crédito y Docks de Barcelona, S.A.; Unión Industrial Bancaria, S.A.; Banco Urquijo, S.A.; Caja de Ahorros Provincial de la Diputación de Barcelona; the national railway company “Red Nacional de Ferrocarriles Españoles, R.E.N.F.E.”; Caja de Pensiones para la Vejez y de Ahorros; Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad; Martini&Rossi, S.A.; and Jorge Whan Hirschman (Solà-Morales, 1974: 3).

¹⁰⁸ Following 9,000 claims to the plan, in 1974 the Busquets-Solà-Morales-Doming-Font i Gomez-designed alternative proposal won the “Ideas Competition for the Renewal of the Poble Nou sector bordering the Sea (Solà-Morales, 1974). For further information on the question of the opening of Barcelona to the sea at the time of the Ribera Plan, see Bonet Castellana (1965) and Martí y Moreno (1974).

¹⁰⁹ The name of the street where this neighbourhood is located in the northwest of Madrid historic centre.

developer-financial capital launched an urban renewal project in Pozas, which changed definitely its connotations. Starting from the mid-1960s, the real estate agent called “Inmobiliaria Pozas S. A.” gradually acquired each property of the triangle-shaped urban space inserted in Pozas. The society proposed a posteriori urban renewal intervention called “Urbanisation Project of the block among the streets of Princesa, Alberto Aguilera, and Serrano Jover”, which actually delimited Pozas neighbourhood. The real estate company proceeded to demolish the existing building, evict the tenants and assuming the control of the project.

In an attempt to compare these two cases, the following consequences can be deduced to comprehend how the great property is managed in the city-making process during the 20th century: the starting conditions of both cases, which led to the same results in terms of socio-economic and spatial forms and contents; how the processes were carried out; and the mechanisms used to proceed to the elimination, dismantling and emptying of the properties. Such properties are urban items assuming a status of public services, such as the railway, or certain facilities, markets, educational institutions, among others. The example of Barcelona’s Poblenou shows the case of properties already unified, being different from Madrid’s Barrio de Pozas, where it was necessary to implement specific procedures to unify single properties. In the latter case other questions arise, such as the eviction and relocation of residents reluctant to leave their house.

It is also worth mentioning that in both cases resistance and advocacy against the strategies promoted by the real estate developer-financial agents met with failure. In Madrid, the project took place in a more limited period of time, while in Barcelona the Ribera-Plan-inspired “opening the city to the sea” was further materialised by the large urban projects for the 1992 Olympics and, later, the 2000 22@ Plan. Based on this comparison, it can be argued that cities are closely linked to the capital demands, since one of the capitalist-fostered purposes is to make land an interchangeable product in the real estate and financial markets. This is what constitutes the *raison d’être* of the capitalist city, specifically the profit-oriented economy of the city.

The management of the great property is all predominantly about to proceed to the renewal-regeneration of built artefacts located there, which

originally worked as specific productive processes, urban services, and equipment. The strategy of dismantling-abandonment, and the subsequent real estate revaluation of the great properties is run by the public and private actors involved in the territorial management. Such strategy could have different objectives according to the type of the involved property.

Broadly speaking, the dismantling-abandonment strategies tend to adopt practices already consolidated in other contexts, as is the case of the urban renewal experienced in the USA since the 1950s. As far as claimed by Álvarez Mora and Camerin (2019), the latter is the precursor of the current urban regeneration operations. These mechanisms are currently part of the logic of neoliberalism, being therefore associated with an increasingly international competition. As I can deduce from the cases studies of the thesis, the “public sector” usually intervenes by commissioning “preliminary feasibility studies” of the regeneration projects to entrust internationally renowned architects following the formula of the international competition. In this way, the architect is given the task of “freely” designing the large urban projects in order to guarantee the reproduction of capital, this being based on the extrapolation of the surplus value generated by such operation. In any case, the aim of the owners of the industrial, railway or military artefacts is to obtain profits to carry out the regeneration. For instance, the surplus value generated by the Railway Stations redevelopment does not serve to finance the construction of new infrastructures, whose very high costs imply the national intervention. Such profits are commonly used to improve the railway services and its functioning, as well as the comfort of the stations, and to provide the railway stations with car parks or other equipment or services useful to users. All these improvements are so realised massively that the operation undertaken results in the final privatisation of the Stations. This occurs when such operations are intended to recreate the same service that has been dismantled get upgraded so that it continues to operate as such. Most of the times, the conversion eliminates the original use, justifying such a decision by virtue of “functional obsolescence”. As already commented, these operations search for the creation of a mixed-use urban environment to accumulate, by juxtaposition, a diversity of central-oriented functions. This is why the conversion operations often do not completely eliminate the original functions of the dismantled artefact. The case of Madrid Northern Railway Station is emblematic

of such dynamics. Most of the original area occupied by its old railway facilities has been used to build a large commercial area, “devolving” its railway function, which has not completely disappeared, to the metropolitan and suburban trains. In this case there is no doubt that the capital gains generated by these operations were provided by the new commercial activity that takes place there. The modernisation of the public railway services remained in the Northern Railway Station, have been managed and financed by the State.

More complicated is the situation of the military property. Since the advent of Liberalism in the mid-19th century, the practice of making such assets profitable by selling or renting began to be a common trend in Europe. The purpose of such actions was to obtain financial resources for the construction of new barracks, as well as for the modernisation of the existing ones (Muro Morales, 1990: 270). More than a hundred years later, in the late 20th century, authors such as Muro Morales (1990) and Mas Hernández (2003) agreed in demonstrating that the processes dismantling-abandonment-alienation were not a novelty in the Western European countries. Such processes, in fact, go back to the second half of the 19th century, although they materialised in the city with different forms, protagonists, and results. Taking into account Italy, the sale of military assets has been based on several economic-guided regulations introduced from the 1990s onwards. The profits derived from such alienation should have been used to reduce the national public debt, to encourage the restructuring of the military defence system, and to allocate them to the local public administrations involved in the processes (Gastaldi and Camerin: 2012: 446; Gastaldi and Camerin: 2017a: 110).

The national strategies to dismantle-abandon great industrial, railway, and military properties have been accompanied by similar attitudes by local administrations. The latter also have promoted operations meant to cause the disappearance and dismantling of the existing heritage; such approach was also shared by the socio-professional sectors. In the framework of neoliberal urban policies, the action of dismantling and abandoning the existing urban fabric was “inevitable”. This became the starting point to promote a new use of the former industrial settlements, railway stations, and military areas. The ways of proceeding are basically two. On the one hand, by maintaining the physical structures yet denying its original functional content. On the other hand, by

promoting its demolition in order to construct new buildings responding to exclusive-led architectural criteria to house primarily tertiary activities or luxury dwellings. The goals of the strategies to regenerate the great public properties hid financial interests and ended up building “cathedrals in the desert”, urban voids hardly leaving any room for collective and popular use. These cathedrals are the new areas of centrality which, paradoxically, deny the socio-spatial contents of the historic urban centres. Instead of a city, these new centralities show tertiary activities and their inseparable companion, i.e. the luxury housing and apartments, all of which cause the gentrification. The new functions wander through “economic flows” that subordinate the public to the private: clearly, the public sector loses. In this framework, urban planning has been at the service, actively or passively, of private interests, which promote a speculative city-making process with few results in terms of creating benefits to the community.

Broadly speaking, military areas are excluded from the production of the built environment. Due to their strategic condition, these are “closed areas” even from a physical point of view, which means that they are in accordance with another logic, external to the urban dynamics. They are usually “steady and unchangeable points” in the framework of an urban fabric in continuous transformation. In any case, this condition is not an exclusive prerogative of great military properties, although in such areas it is manifested more rigorously respect to industrial and railway ones. Military installations are excluded, or almost excluded, from the dynamics of urban transformations. On the contrary, such properties are more related to other types of transformations, such as the improvement of military technology. For this reason, they usually affect the areas around them, constituting elements of great importance for the historical analysis of the city. The internal logic of military premises is not only exclusive and foreign to urban logic, but can even prevail over it, because of the power they express as they are special “urban settlement”. This special character derived from the role of commander –it is appropriate to say– in the urban environment and, above all, from the military-owned land availability. Owning large quantity of land is very often a “game changer” in the city-making process.

Due to their public function, i.e. to serve collective interests, the military activities are incorporated into the logic of capitalist production. In other words, military properties are not called upon to exercise a speculative dynamics. The

last third of the 20th century-market-oriented urban planning reversed this tendency. Instead of aiming to an “egalitarian city”, such way of proceeding with urban planning promoted even more the “urban segregation” by boosting the exclusivity of the central areas. It is worth remarking that this dynamics took place in the context of the national financial and decision-making weakness. The goal of this urban planning mechanism was the extrapolation of a higher differential ground rent depending on the new use of the old public properties

In the last two decades of the 20th century, the transformation of large European cities has been significantly marked by a general attitude towards the creation of the basic conditions for real estate developer-financial capital to appropriate strategic urban land so as to implement large urban projects. The political apparatus has accompanied, or better said has been submitted to, the logic of speculation. The politics did not strengthen the legal framework to ensure a decision-making process in accordance with the needs of cities and citizens. By contrast, politics has allowed urban development to be carried out outside the logic of an Urban Planning committed to the social interests.

The materialisation of the Great Property in the framework of the Urban Renewal Processes

The great property is not only a basic reference from which promoting an urban renewal process as it is originally built to carry out activities demanding a great consumption of land, as is the case of the industries, railroads, and military premises. The great property, instead, can be generated as a result of such process. I have already insisted on this issue, but it is my intention to highlight it as a phenomenon having a special impact on the city building. It must be noted a fact that has not been largely studied in our discipline. Not only do the processes boosting the historical construction of the city contributed to formalise a new model allowing different socio-spatial behaviours comparing to the previous ones. Also, and more importantly, they contributed to promote spatial appropriations-dispossessions aiming to entrust the power over the city in the hands of few actors. The result of the materialisation-dismantling-regeneration of urban artefacts is the subdivision of the city in the hand of few agents by grouping the

urban land. This happened following the urban renewal procedures aforementioned analysed, resulting in the restriction of the power over the city into the agents who have managed the urban transformation changes.

The great property is a product generated in some cases by the very processes of urban renewal. This is the case of the commercial capital-driven urban changes meant to create large surfaces for selling products. Such capital in land, as already commented, needs to occupy a large amount of central-positioned land. Such demands require the aggregation of small properties, which is more likely to happen when commercial capital aims to establish in the city centre. Here the most common situation is the presence of a very small parcel system, being divided into small plots.

On the contrary, it can be argued that other urban renewal processes tend to disaggregate the great property, for instance to create high-end housing settlements. This is true as well as the fact that such subdivisions cannot be dissociated from the more general process driving the concentration of the ownership in a few hands. As for the dynamics of the urban centres, the renewals-regenerations are “mixed operations” in which various real estate products are combined. Their common character is performing as a type of space committed to the conformation of the centrality. In this centrality there is room for a whole diversity of products to be consumed, including homes, studios, offices, and so on, whose unaffordable characteristics do not leave space for families to live, but only small flats. The creation of consumerist products takes place starting from the subdivision of great properties, although only to form some of the spatial components of the real estate product. Despite the materialisation of these products, eventually concentration taking place over space.

The Great Property as Public-owned Property

Another issue is whether or not the great property is linked with a status of public-owned asset. The question is not that the great property is predominantly public, but that public properties, in general, are large great urban properties, since the services they provide consume a large quantity of space. As Italo Insolera (1989: 668-669) pointed out, in the post-Italian Unification the large state-owned urban

areas for military settlements constitute large quantity of land, both in absolute values and in relation to the cities in which the military are settled in¹¹⁰.

With regard to the railway installations, they were originally built on public land made available by the State. To undertake this activity a number of companies were entrusted to do so via a concession with very advantageous conditions. When it comes the functional obsolescence, which coincides with their dismantling and relocation, these companies retained the land they owned. Based on such properties, the companies started the urban regeneration processes, thus acting as true private landowners.

As regard the industries, despite most of them lay in private land, the 1973 crisis triggered a process of restructuration of the manufacturing sectors. Such reorganisation involved their management by the State, which financed their reform, even their redevelopment for other uses. This is what happened to many of the industries located in Bilbao's Ría river territory, such as in the Abandoibarra sector and in the lands belonged to the Biscay blast furnace –*Altos Hornos de Vizcaya*– (Camerin and Álvarez Mora, 2018: 133-136).

It can be argued that Railway Stations, Industries, and Military Installations are recognised for developing in large urban artefacts settled in considerable extensions of open space. Nowadays, they enjoy the privilege of being located in central areas or, at least, in well-equipped places supported by a good infrastructure system. Once the dismantling-abandonment process has been set in motion, such characteristics qualify these properties as very significant “areas of opportunity” for the definition and implementation of far-reaching urban strategies.

In the urban regeneration processes, the great public properties stand out as a resource with high strategic potential to address several issues, such as the reduction of land consumption, the increase in the public open spaces, the provision of public housing, urban facilities, and services for the community.

¹¹⁰ In fact, according to the Italian historian, one hypothesis should be investigated, namely that in the immediate post-Unification period there was no activity in Italian cities as extensive as military one. The hectares for industry, for education, for sports equipment, although being of relevant dimension, should be lower than the hectares assigned for military settlements. Today, the Ministry of Defence is one of the largest owners in Europe: in Spain by 2013 there were 1,046 installations, occupying an area of 134,677 ha, totalling 0.266% of the peninsula (S. F., 2013: 18); in France the military properties cover 329,431 ha, corresponding to the 0.512% of the national territorial surface (Trucy and Boulaud, 2010); in Italy 78,305 ha, corresponding to 0.411% of the national surface (Pinotti, 2006: 20), in the United Kingdom 227,199 ha, 0.937% of the total national surface (Ministry of Defence, 2011: 6).

These potentialities impose new responsibilities on the public agents involved in the management process for a better (re)use of the properties they own. Such decisions should take into account the intrinsic characteristics of the properties and the urban, social, and economic context within they are inserted. Despite this potential, it should be noted that the State often acts as if it were a private owner on the basis of autonomous technical and financial parameters. Such behaviour with the public properties is also transmitted to those of other Administrations, both local and regional, which the State urges to act in the same way with the aim of partially reducing the enormous public debt that both State and territorial Administrations accumulate year after year. Their logic is based on selling their assets by a revaluation from the real estate point of view via a procedure which is not consistent with a form of democratic control, being usually superimposed on the urban planning discipline. In general, such superimposition is challenged through the enactment of *ad hoc* laws, the introduction of the possibility to change the land use by means of the General Master Plan Modification, and the abolition of existing regulations. Substantially, the reuse of great public properties meant the private appropriation of collective goods. The financial developer-real estate capital tried to pocket the collectively- and historically-created value, the latter being identified with the place where a public function was exercised. By this I am arguing that the public property-oriented urban regeneration has been basically driven by the private appropriation of the existing built heritage¹¹¹, as well as the interventions of urban renewal. The latter affected, and continue to do so, the transformation of the historic city centres, thus presenting themselves as conflictive interventions due to the impact on the socio-spatial character. Additionally, the urban regeneration actions are affecting great public properties and conceal, and are based on, an ideological and consumerist discourse. This discourse is justified by the hypothetical state of ruin, degradation, or underuse such properties present, which would explain the need for intervention. In this way, new landscapes resulted from the urban regeneration of great property, this being opposed to their historical *raison d'être*. Based on these considerations, it

¹¹¹ According to Álvarez Mora's approach, the 'built heritage' is understood as «a socio-spatial category in which a whole series of components converged, allowing it to be recognised as a product linked to a historical task and a specific social context... namely a social product that is historically contextualised. Heritage assets are historical products: as such they also reveal the society they belong to, showing their more precise historical nature through their specific process of material elaboration» (own notes derived from direct talks with Alfonso Álvarez Mora, February 2018).

can be argued that such operations do not positively contribute to a “sustainable development”.

For instance, this dynamics can be observed in the management of Italian state-owned property and, in general, of the all public administrations assets, all of which belong to the public sector in order to exercise the administrative function on the territory¹¹². According to Gaeta and Savoldi (2013, in the introduction of the work they coordinated), though Italy does not lack of legal instruments and technical skills to manage the public real estate assets, there is no awareness of the expenditure generated by such properties. In the light of this situation, it can be argued that public assets hid a potential in terms of possible source of economic, environmental and cultural wealth: this wealth can be realised only if properly managed, but this is not happening. The process of abandonment-alienation-selling actually constitutes a definitive renunciation to the correct management of the territory under the socio-economic point of view. This is demonstrated by the new use assigned to the great properties.

From the late 1980s, the strategies behind the reuse of great public properties have been marked by a compulsive overproduction of Laws in Italy. Due to this overproduction, instruments and processes regulating the management of the disposal process have been progressively performed or replaced by other mechanisms and regulations. Furthermore, the predominantly financial approach of such operations have had no connection with urban and territorial policies, nor to those linked to the production of knowledge about the issue, nor to those related to the improvement of the territory the assets belong to. Any hypothesis of sale should go through a careful consideration of the existence of a commonwealth interest on the public asset. In the occurrence of this case, such property should be assigned to other Public Administration or alternatively to meant to satisfy the community needs. This requires a high level of awareness of the economic and social needs of the territory, consequently the transfer of asset should be a kind of last resource, the extreme ratio remaining after considering all the alternatives. However, the speculative interests of capital leveraged the weaknesses of public actors to realise their interests.

¹¹² Experience described and well synthesised in the work done by Gastaldi and Camerin in 2012, 2015, and 2017b.

Processes occurring in the use of the urban artefacts contained in the Great Property: Construction, Emptying, and Regeneration

«The system of government is democratic but that acculturation, that homogenisation that fascist never managed to impose, is easily achieved by today's ruling power –i.e. consumer society.

[...]

This acculturation is actually destroying Italy. I can tell you that the real fascism lies in this power of consumer society that's destroying Italy. It's happened so rapidly that we haven't even noticed over the last five, seven, ten years. It's been a sort of nightmare in which we've watched the Italy around us be destroyed and disappear. Now, perhaps waking up from this nightmare, we look around and realise there's nothing we can do»

Brunatto (1974).

Starting point

I start from the hypothesis that contemplates some methodological foundations according to which the city-making process is split up in three phases closely linked to each other: Construction-Dismantling-Regeneration. The aim is to understand the European city-making process which started in the last third of the 20th century and goes on up to date based on the role played by the great property. I am referring to the Industrial Capital landowner supporting industrial, railway, and military activities and to three moments coinciding with as many processes affecting the city-making process:

First moment.

The analysis of the historical “production-construction” of the industrial, railway, and military artefacts is essential to understand the current city as these artefacts need a great property to carry out their specific functions.

Second moment.

The ‘dismantling-abandonment’ in the socio-economic context of the “dispossession-appropriation” of the great property. The aim is to critically analyse the strategy behind the emptying-obsolescence of the facilities. This is manifested through a process of dispossession-appropriation by real estate agents who are different from the original landowners, with the exception of a few who acted as new real estate agents.

Third moment.

The “redevelopment-regeneration” of dismantled great properties by large urban projects planned in the frame of a wider-scale urban regeneration processes.

The analysis also aims to analyse the distinguishing features of each moment/process, bearing in mind that they can be conceived as different phases of specific real estate developments. In fact, each of them obey to different economic yield which derives from the requirements of the real estate capital. Although they are distinct phases, the moments/process make up a chained process that defines the “construction-obsolescence-regeneration” of urban assets regarded as specific heritage. Private operators eventually manage them to increase their profitability.

It is necessary to insist, above all, on the intermediate phase, i.e. the process of dismantling-emptying of great properties.

In the light of the three moments under analysis, if I take a look into Pasolini’s thought «*the real fascism lies in this power of consumer society that’s destroying Italy. ... It’s been a sort of nightmare in which we’ve watched the Italy around us be destroyed and disappear*», I interpret it as if the Italian intellectual would emphasise the destructive moment, which in my opinion resembles that of the dismantling-emptying. Such moment is a fundamental phase to achieve the understanding of the late 20th century-city-making process.

Basically, the “dispossession-appropriation” constituted the suitable mechanism to undertake the new urban projects. Such process results in the materialisation of the capitalist city, whose connotations spread across Europe. This type of city rejected its past in order to subordinate its form to the new mass consumer society-oriented built artefacts. However, the academic studies carried out on industrial, railway, and military installations located on large properties of urban land have not made a case of the importance of the dismantling-emptying process. They focus predominantly on the first and third phases, i.e. construction and regeneration, seemingly without understanding that the dismantling-emptying is just another real estate phenomenon.

In light of these considerations, one of the fundamental contributions of this thesis is to emphasise the second process in order to comprehend the

development of the mechanisms leading to the abandonment and dismantling of the great property.

As far as I am concerned, one of the most remarkable aspects of the thesis is the study of the historical city-making process taking into consideration the three aforementioned moments affecting the great property-capital in land. A first step is to understand the patterns and the implication of each moment in the urban space. Then, the second step will interpret the specificity of the urban development in its close relationship with industries, railway stations, and military settlements

With this in mind, I am proposing the analysis of two case studies of urban regeneration processes: Barcelona's Poblenou neighbourhood and Bilbao's Ría riverfront. They represent two of the most emblematic examples in which industrial and railway facilities have historically occupied land whose dismantling was conceived as a specific real estate process. As a consequence, they are typical urban sectors hit by industrial and railway abandonment, whose transformations implied two strong socio-spatial segregations. As well as in the case of Barcelona and Bilbao, this rupture is found visible in different European urban realities, such as in large Italian industrial capitals. Cities like Genoa, Milan, and Turin¹¹³ are the most noticeable examples: the great post-industrial properties have been boosted by the logic of capital, thus creating a socio-spatial segregation.

The production of the city as a result of the construction-dismantling-regeneration discourse that identifies the behaviour of the great property

The metamorphosis of the great property –i.e. the changes in its form, function, and contents– responds to the production-reproduction process of the capital in land. These changes are identified, above all, with the urban dynamics affecting the existing urban fabric, with a certain emphasis on its central spaces. The latter

¹¹³ As reported in section 7 "Urban transformations" of the Rota's report for the city of Turin, 10 million m² of industrial areas, corresponding to 18% of the municipal territory have been abandoned since the 1970s. Between 1995 and 2015 half of this land 5 million m², has been converted into new spaces for housing, commerce, and services, with more than 60 urban planning documents approved (Urban Center Metropolitano, 2016: 45).

the places where the capital in land are favourably reproduced due to the better conditions to extrapolate the differential ground rent.

Having in mind the considerations of Campos Venuti on the ‘urban land rent model’¹¹⁴ (Campos Venuti, 1971: 1-44 and 2010: 11-40), the way I am using to identify the three process affecting the great property makes perfect sense. Following Campos Venuti’s theory, the way of carrying out the production-reproduction of the great property-capital in land can be understood by means of the analysis of the morphological transformations resulting from the dialectic centre-periphery. Such confrontation implied the subjection of the city to “generic changes” according to the urban land rent model. These transformations refer to how much of a city is built, this being a typical aspect of urban development visible in Western European societies. Other types of changes, called “specific changes”, also determine the character of the city, its form and contents. In the case of “specific changes”, they do not regard the dimensional aspects of the city, but the qualitative ones. The latter being related to the urban development in the way the transformations of its central places is generated by the extrapolation of the differential ground rent. Both changes can be explained by means of specific cases observed in cities where urban land rent has played a fundamental role in the process of construction-obsolescence-reconstruction of the artefacts which require great properties to develop their specific functions in the city.

The processes of construction, obsolescence, and regeneration determine the morphology of the city, both in its formal components and in its social and economic aspects. As far as the social aspects are concerned, the construction of specific urban artefacts contributes to create an undifferentiated urban fabric, effectively participating in creating the conditions that make urban life possible. However, when these artefacts started to experience the obsolescence, the decay, and the degeneration into the status of “urban voids, the resulting urban fabric is plunged into a process of transformation. Here a new balance is required. On the one hand, this balance can be interpreted as a new way of expressing the “power” over the space if it follows the logic of capital. This is the case of the urban regeneration process leading to the creation of the profit-driven spaces. On the other hand, the balance can be related to what Campos Venuti points out

¹¹⁴ I am referred to Vielle (1973) and Lipetz (1974) in order to deep the knowledge on the critical analysis of capitalist urbanisation from the point of view of urban planning, economy, and sociology.

when he talks about the so-called “urban liberties” (Campos Venuti, 1971: 7). With this concept, Campos Venuti is proposing a real balance, of class?, responding to the interests of the low-income class. In this case, the city as a whole is equipped with the basic services required by its population: schools, health centres, green areas, social centres, shops, public transport, and so on. These urban liberties, therefore, are consistent with the recreation of the welfare society so that each person can satisfy their primary needs, their health requirements, their school and academic training, as well as enjoy their free time through cultural, recreational, and religious activities.

By contrast with the previous “balanced city”, the processes of emptying-regeneration contribute to set another type of city. They do not guarantee the citizens’ liberties so as to enjoy the activities offered by a city, but rather promote a “segregated city”, where its inhabitants have fewer possibilities to choose their lifestyle. It is worth mentioning the contradiction of such new “segregated urban balance, which is determined by the demands of the consumerist culture of modern capitalist society. Its objective is none other than to make profit from the two types of income to extrapolate from the income-producing spaces, i.e. the absolute ground rent and the differential ground rent. Both of rents are extrapolated from the peripheral areas, configured as new spatial incorporations to the existing city, or from the transformations of the central places, which are the processes of urban regeneration. This contributes to the creation of a mass society marked by a deep gap separating the rich from the poor. The social and economic contradictions of capitalist society have been transferred to the “morphology” of the city, thus diminishing the residents’ possibilities to choose how to live their lives in the urban habitat.

The result cannot be more evident. The materialisation of the three processes transformed a relatively homogeneous and balanced city in its social and spatial morphological composition into a new urban framework where the urban liberties have stopped being expressed. The urban regeneration processes are contributing, in this sense, to the production of urban environments for privileged users/residents at the expense of the weaker population, the latter being exiled to the more distant peripheries. As claimed by Campos Venuti (1971: 11), these dynamics take place following the «*Law by which private profit is*

directly proportional to the damage caused to the community» (Campos Venuti, 1971: 11)¹¹⁵.

Now I am going to analyse the meaning of each of these processes, as well as the close relationship that links them and makes them interdependent. The 'production-construction', 'obsolescence-emptying', and 'urban regeneration' are intended as real state processes that carry out, explain, and allow to understand, the historical city-making process. By conceiving them as distinct phases, yet inseparable from each other, they constitute as many ways of understanding the different real estate development processes operating in the city. In the light of these considerations, it is worth remarking the support and reliance on each other as well as the link to the economic yield derived from the activities carried on there. They merely make up a chained process through the succession of construction-obsolescence-regeneration. In my point of view, they are the keys to understanding the production of the city and the role acquired by the urban goods conceived as heritage, the latter being subjected to the private operators placing value on them.

The production-construction of large artefacts that need great urban properties

First, there was the original construction process affecting a specific urban area. It regarded the materialisation of city fragments identified with urban facilities demanding a great property to perform its production process. Broadly speaking, it is what can be called "production of the city". For example, such process regarded the construction of the first industrial complexes, many of them located in consolidated urban contexts, even in central areas: the first railway stations; military installations; urban equipment; and services of all kinds. Note that I am highlighting the built categories of public nature, i.e. the urban components which sought the existence of the city as a collective entity. Hence, I can argue that these elements were responsible for the production of the city.

These public urban components constituted concrete manifestations of the capital in land regardless of whether they were managed by private or public

¹¹⁵ Translated from Spanish by the author of the thesis.

entities. Actually, all these activities required a large amount of land to develop their specific and diverse production processes. In this phase of the city-making process the urban space was being created and consolidated: here the city as a collective entity observed the process of material production which enable its existence. This context was inserted in the so-called “modern city” –i.e. the ‘capitalist city’, the ‘capital city’, or the ‘bourgeoisie city’–, whose foundations began to be laid in the second half of the 19th century and in the early 20th century. In this first phase, the city was consolidating as a “social product”, which was conditioned by the forms of production of the city that identified the “social formation”. Interpreting the Preface of Marx’s 1859 book “A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy” (Marx, 1904) and the book “The German ideology (Marx and Engels, 1974), the “societies are distinguished not by the things they produce but by how they produce them”. This is the reason of the way of proceeding with the analysis. The production process of the artefacts under study provides a first interpretation of the city from the role played by these urban artefacts in the city’s socio-spatial configuration. It is about interpreting the city from the spatial repercussions of historical events. At first, the analysis focuses on the formation of spatial artefacts built on the great property.

It is important to emphasize that an urban artefact, such as industrial, military, and railway ones, has been intimately related to events affecting the building of the city and the city-making process. This relationship meant the occupation of a territory by a diversity of specific activities conditions other processes. The latter would be a consequence of the interrelations that take place between the urban functions. For instance, the presence of the railway provided an opportunity for industrial and military facilities, all of which boosted the real estate developments. It is a question of highlighting the existing relationships between the occupation of a territory by a variety of “urban activities” and their historical impact, namely the different forms of use of the bordering space.

The analysis tries to explain how urban development has been conditioned by a “generating” element, i.e. usually a publicly- or privately-managed collective-used artefact. This element has been capable of conditioning the urban development by establishing a certain functional specialisation which recreated different forms of making the city. Such forms, therefore, have responded to the contents of the artefact under consideration. Here it is important to underline the

relationship between the presence of a great property-urban activity and the global understanding of the city-making process.

The role of great properties in a specific urban area has depended on the following issues: the type of activity-function; the morphological configuration of the place in which such activities were located; the political-administrative decisions related to the functions; the relationships between the territorial bodies responsible for their presence in the territory; and the interaction agents-actors involved in their management and consumption. As for such role, the materialisation of urban functions linked to great properties has had a relevant part in the urban colonisation of their surrounding space, even has significantly contributed to the functional, social, and spatial segregation of the space they occupied.

In the construction-materialisation phase, the city witnessed the territorial transformation of the urban environments adjacent to the great property. At the very local scale, such transformations took place as the great property-capital in land encouraged the development of new activities, which could be seen as a sort of “manipulation” of the existing built environment. The modification of the previous uses by an invasion-succession process exercised as “spatial colonisers” and created new relations with the surrounding environment. At a wider level, i.e. the city as a whole, great properties appeared as specific areas creating different use-values, influencing zoning processes derived from their presence in the city. Actually, great properties acquired a certain specificity at the level of the city, conditioning the functionality of the places they belong to. This derived not only by the presence of the urban artefacts, but also by their decisive influence on the shaping of new spatial developments.

The presence of the railway and its stations as terminals for the exchange of people and goods has conditioned the industrial and military implementation¹¹⁶, as well as other activities related to the material and social production that made our existence possible. Industrial and military activities showed a different behaviour with regard to their implementation and the effects derived from their materialisation.

¹¹⁶ The stations were initially established on the outskirts of cities as they obeyed to the military strategy of fortresses (Ministry of Culture: 1980: 75).

On the one hand, industrial settlements required the presence of a labour force that tended to be located in continuity with them for reasons of economy of means. The industrialisation, since its origins, has developed in close coexistence with the working class: this led to the identification of the working-class housing with the industrial space. This coexistence derived not only from the absence of specific means of communication to help the social class to commute, but above all because of the identification of the industrial social space with the most marginal sectors, i.e. the working-class. This was the result of a political measure which generated urban developments where the low-income social sectors linked to industrial activity were concentrated in the same place of the industries, thus creating “working-class peripheries” in the form of “red belts” (Álvarez Mora, Palomar Elvira and Sánchez Rodenas, 1980: 147).

On the other hand, as military settlements gathered in the same space arsenals, barracks, weapon and ammunition warehouses, and even housing for the soldiers, such installations needed the railway for the transport of troops, combat vehicles, weapons equipment, and so on. The military activity demanded the availability of certain type of materials and supplies, so it needed the availability of a local- and territorial-scaled network which configured one of the economic bases of the city (Más Hernández, 2003: 95). Specific settlements, such as the arsenals, have contributed to the development of the environment where they were located. They have promoted other production centres through the “economies of agglomeration” effects (Remy, 1966), thus generating new specialised jobs. As a matter of fact, military factories have always had an indirect influence on other metallurgical industries: both of them needed a reciprocal cooperation to maintain the military-metallurgical production.

Emptying strategies and dispossession-appropriation process

The urban artefacts –equipment, facilities, services, or wealth-generating activities– were based in the city because they benefitted from the “economies of agglomeration” produced in the multifunctional areas where a diversity of productive processes came together.

In the framework of economic crises, the logic of capital opens the way to new forms of exploitation triggered by new technological developments and modernisation of functionally outdated and obsolete production systems. These forms of exploitation encouraged the abandonment, emptying, reconversion or relocation of the artefacts, and subsequently contribute to the “transformation by regeneration” of the places they were located. For this reason, such activities, which consumed large areas of urban land, left the city and the strategic areas with which they were identified. Their relocation, in the best of cases, took place at other strategic places, which Urban Planning has been in charge of “ordering” with appropriate business-oriented equipment. Another reason was the “low profitability” of these activities in relation to those ones hypothetically provided in other artefacts. On this occasion, the new activities had to be related to the real estate development in order to produce profit-oriented spaces. In this way, a certain built element that did not offer an adequate profitability from a spatial point of view was dismantled, abandoned, and even ruined to force its reconversion-regeneration. However, this low profitability was not the driver of the change, but the new economic-financial perspectives. The latter allowed to recreate a new income-producing asset on the waste of the useless goods from the point of view of capital. The low profitability assigned to the built element consequently meant its dismantling and abandonment, this being linked to other ways of understanding the real estate development. Building the cities, in this sense, was not only manifested in their concrete material construction, but also in those other situations developing a strategy of dismantling of the existing built environment. In order to implement such practice, specific real estate agents were mobilised. Their mission was to empty of contents the “social space” of the built elements. In particular, the social characteristics of these spaces was what set up the condition of “strategic places” propitious to undertake a process of socio-spatial “appropriation-reappropriation”. The appropriation was consistent with the need to create new profit-oriented spaces, whose impact was strengthening the segregated city.

Once the activities located in the urban artefact started failing to produce the expected economic profit, its existence itself entered into “crisis”. The great property began to be the object of a real estate practice consisting in promoting the emptying of its functional contents. This process was about the “inadequacy”

of the function the artefact exercises, which, it is said, did not correspond to the post-industrial¹¹⁷ society needs. Most specifically, in the case of military premises, in the context of the post-Cold War demands. The production of “waste” was argued to be functional obsolescence, but it hid, as already pointed out, speculative reasons. Actually, the great expectations of the real estate developer-financial capital drove these processes of obsolescence-dismantling-emptying¹¹⁸ of specific urban sectors. Such areas were located in places which ceased to be profitable if the “traditional customs” persisted there, so they needed to be replaced by the new productive requirements of capital. Once these sectors assumed a new role through an “appropriate” urban planning-driven land use change, the “regenerative transformations” drove the high profitability required by the logic of capital¹¹⁹.

In this socio-economic context, it was used to undertake operations meant to achieve a social appropriation of the places disaffected of the functions they were developing to submit them to “real estate-related future expectations”. Their future depended on their regeneration to accommodate tertiary activities, new high-end housing, all of which off limits for normal people. Such spaces were subjected to an imposing process for creating new profitable uses on the “ashes” of the past to be destroyed. This process of dismantling generated the so-called

¹¹⁷ Taking as a reference Bruttomesso (2001: 39), the post-industrial city is «*a reality successive to the phase characterised by the growth of vast factories and imposing industrial complexes. The consequences of this passage are clear and weighty: firstly, obsolescence, then the abandonment of vast industrial areas, buildings deserted, productive plants closed, with the relative problems of deterioration of both physical and social nature of relevant portions of the urban fabric*». See also the book of Touraine (1969).

¹¹⁸ In the fields of study of architecture and urban planning, the state of abandonment, disuse, and emptiness is basically explained by using a wide range of concepts. These are terms coined over time, especially after 1970, by illustrious academics, such as the Ignasi de Solà-Morales Rubió-coined term ‘terrain-vague’ (1995 and 1996), even by scholars from other disciplines, such as the ‘non-lieu’ of the anthropologist Marc Augé (2009). The study of the phenomenon of obsolescence-dismantling-emptying can be approached from various angles. It encourages a transversal debate due to the different points of view issues by the authors on the typology, incidence, and duration of abandonment. In alphabetical order I can, therefore, review some of the terms coined to define and study the concept of abandonment: ‘dead zone’ (Doron, 2000); ‘derelict land’ (Kivell and Hatfield, 1998); ‘dross’ (Lerup, 1994: 93-97); ‘drosscape’ (Berger, 2006); ‘lost space’ (Trancik, 1986); ‘new nameless spaces’ (Boeri, Lanzani and Marini, 1993); ‘no-man’s land’ (a concept well analysed and reviewed by Leshem and Pinkerton, 2016); ‘ruin’ (Jordan and Linder, 2016); ‘spaces of uncertainty’ (Cupers and Miessen, 2002); ‘superfluous landscapes’ (Nielsen, 2002); ‘third landscape’ (Clément, 2004); ‘abandoned territories’ (Aa. Vv, 1990); ‘urban wildscapes’ (Jorgensen and Keenan, 2012); ‘Unfinished Housing Developments’ –in Italian ‘*incompiuto*’ (Aa. Vv, 2018; Giancotti, 2018); ‘vacant land’ (Northman, 1971); ‘vague spaces’ (Carney and Miller 2009); ‘void –*vuoto*’ in Italian– (Secchi et al., 1984); ‘wastelands’ (Lynch, 1990); ‘zero panorama’ (Smithson, 1967); and ‘zombieland’ (Silverman, Yin and Patterson, 2013).

¹¹⁹ A clarifying example of the role of urban planning as a legal mechanism for the development of the capitalist city’s mode of production is of the “1963 Report of the General Plan of the Metropolitan Area of Madrid” –*Memoria del Plan General del Área Metropolitana de Madrid*. Here, the so-called “redevelopment zones” are defined as areas to be given a substantial land use change, insofar as the needs of the city from that time onwards differ substantially from the profitability generated by the existing urban fabric (Álvarez Mora, Palomar Elvira and Sánchez Rodenas, 1980: 202).

'urban void', understood not exclusively as an "architectural-urban form" without content, but rather as the expression of a process of "possession-dispossession" of a certain space and of a property. This void, which resembled a transitory form in the new way of shaping the late 20th century-city, was part of the history of the city, not being a mere support-context of a project. In this sense, the "urban narratives" were launched as ideological justifications for the operations of urban regeneration. They were also responsible for "convincing" militant groups that are trying to prevent or question such operations. These operations aimed to appropriate the past, to steer and direct its reconfiguration, to lay the necessary foundations so that these transformations were seen in the eyes of the society as indispensable. These operations relied, as could not be otherwise, on the following triggering elements: "ordinary regulatory frameworks", such as General Master Plans, zoning regulations, and so on; "exceptional instruments and actions", for instance large urban projects; or other measures based on "continuity of the existing built environment", such as the "heritage protection-urban rehabilitation" operations, or its "rupture", as in the case of the "urban expansion-renewal" actions¹²⁰.

These urban narratives were generally contained in the urban planning instruments to justify the genesis of the "waste"- "empty artefact" represented by an urban form solidly preserved, ruined, degraded, or converted into a plot. This emptiness was shaped as one more expression of the historical city-making process. The point made here is that the "void" should be understood as the result of a process linked to the historical construction of the place in which it is contextualised: the void is not nothing. What is important to underline is not the emptied artefact itself, but the place that had been created through the historical social actions on the space where the artefact was identified. Such social action defined the space and assigned the (strategic) position in the context where the asset was located. Such property, therefore, can be defined as a spatial category being in the position to achieve a high profitability. The object of the appropriation was the "place": in order to achieve so, it was necessary to "empty" it of its original contents. This was an indispensable precondition to upgrade the social level of the place. Therefore, it was not so much a process of appropriation of historical

¹²⁰ See the international conference "Urban narratives. The use of history in the urban change", held in Paris-Ivry-Sur-Seine on 6 and 7 June 2019.

buildings, but rather an usurpation of the “value” holding by a place, the latter being a “social space” resulting from a far-reaching historical process.

In light of these considerations, the void can be intended as an element of conflict, arising from the intention to redevelop a historical zone as a profit-oriented space. In this respect, one can speak of a true “social expropriation” intended to “free” a great property from its contents because such features were in contradiction with the exchange-value assigned to it by the agents involved in the city government. In fact the voids were not “abandoned artefacts”, but the spatial expressions of a process representing the other side of the “urban dialectic”. I am claiming that the “void” is another way of conceiving the production of the built environment, being the expression of a city growing in leaps. The capitalist city created the “not built environment”, or the “abandonment of what is built”, as another way of producing value.

The dismantling of urban artefacts was another real estate process. No matter if such facilities remained useful for the most disadvantaged social groups, the logic of capital provoked their dismantling as it did not believe they were making the required profitability. I am pointing out that this process helps to understand the historical construction of the city as this is a real estate practice which built the “waste”, so this practice materialised the “appropriation” of a social space in order to dismantle it. This real estate process constituted an unquestionable reference to comprehend the historical city-making process in the same way as the other processes contributed to its materialisation as “built space”.

From waste-dismantling-emptying to the urban regeneration of the affected artefacts. The Great Property as protagonist

The long path leading to the dismantling, abandonment, and ruin of those goods that originally “produced the city” eventually ended in the regeneration of the affected artefacts-places, the objective of which has been the materialisation of the socio-spatial “appropriation”. The reasons to achieve this goal were linked to the extrapolation of the urban land rent: political and social agents supported such process to impose an “order” not being in contradiction with the logic of capital. It

is therefore a question of placing value on these capitals in land in order to obtain the maximum economic return from the urban areas which lacked value, but potentially possessed it. The implementation of urban regeneration processes made effective the upper class appropriation of the city, especially its central zones. From the post-WWII period, the city centre began to be manipulated by means of interventions seeking typological substitutions. These interventions caused the expulsion of its original population, arguing that the volume of existing built environment was far below from what was permitted by the regulations of the Urban Planning instruments. The redevelopment of large urban artefacts—great properties via urban regeneration historically has been configured as a process of “social dispossession” of collectively-created “urban values”. The status of these artefacts as heritage should have made them ineligible for individual-oriented appropriation by virtue of social justice. Their value was effectively something that has been historically created within specific communities which have used them and watched them over until today.

From this point of view, urban regeneration processes can be understood as products generated in the heart of a consumer capitalist society. The capitalist-oriented action barely carried out projects for the community, choosing the creation of income-producing assets for the ‘city as product’¹²¹ instead. The ‘city as product’ identified, in this case, the work and commitment of a society: it expressed its aspirations, strategies, and forms of domination. The “areas of centrality” were so linked to the urban regeneration processes, and they went beyond their final physical form and beyond their entity as “urban projects”. Their socio-spatial configuration was created in accordance with the political aspirations of the groups of power. It was on the basis of these urban regeneration operations on the great property that the new areas of centrality acquired their full meaning. They set up “economic-oriented spaces” but, above all, contributed to the configuration of spaces that were increasingly distant from the rest of the city sociologically and economically speaking. These areas acted as “poles of attraction” making competitiveness between cities possible and eliminating the interaction with the citizenry. Here I am claiming that urban regeneration should be understood as a transforming mechanism to create a “city

¹²¹ For a better understanding of this concept, see Chapter 5.

for others”; absent of conflicts showing its contradictions; pushing the “social and economic sanitation”; forcing functional obsolescence as a procedure leading to a socio-spatial possession; creating quality spatial scopes as competitive element but regardless of the interests and real needs of citizens. The urban regeneration processes were massively contributing to the consolidation of a segregated city, making it irreversible: in this framework, and in the “transformation-possession” of its central-located great properties, urban regeneration constituted a fundamental action. The contradictions, however, were not so easy to eliminate, since the regenerated central areas have accumulated a “business” and “prestige”, but also “inequality” and “marginalisation”.

The treatment of great properties in urban regeneration processes has therefore promoted the conversion of the traditional urban spaces into exclusive areas. These processes have marked insurmountable distances with respect to the rest of the city, improving the city image, and elevating both perishable and real estate products, and encouraging their exclusive use. In short, urban regeneration promotes a classist, unsustainable society lacking social cohesion.

Great industrial properties. Urban development and industrialisation-restructuring

«If where two thousand poor people live we build houses that they cannot continue to inhabit, it is said that they are forced to escape from that centre; and if the operation is repeated several times, we reach the separation of class as if the population of a sieve was turned over».

Angel Gavinet “Granada the beautiful”, 1896. Quoted in Solà-Morales (1974: 31)

Its original construction process

The industrialisation took place without the desired connection with the then-urban development, even not taking into account the historical role of cities as economic centres and for the defence, religious, political, and port activities (Salzano, 2003: 3). In general, the old town corresponded to its medieval legacy, even to its possible status as a “stronghold”: this has been able to prevent its growth, producing an increase in its density instead. The Industrial Revolution

caused a double phenomenon in the external areas of the city. Firstly, the creation of new urban centres, the reason for which was the direct establishment of industries. Secondly, the growth of rural villages on the outskirts of the city: their expansion was carried out by the building of both industrial settlements and working-class housing. The two phenomena were often linked to the development of road and railway networks.

In the second half of the 19th century, the rise of the bourgeoisie corresponded to the city growth. The bourgeoisie avoided housing their settlements near these industries, while the proletarian housing do so. The Extensions were understood as residential spaces for the bourgeoisie, forcing new industries to be located in marginal areas beyond the latter. In this way, industries could be settled on large plot and develop their activities due to the improvements in the existing rural roads, thus maintaining their original shape.

In order to provide the movement of raw materials and processed products, the realisation of industries also relied on the presence of natural resources, which fostered the improvement of the transport infrastructures. In this way, urban growth was linked to important waterways, roads, and railway lines. This growth was the result of a constant flow of workers from other territories, consequently leading to a wave of new buildings for their accommodation. From a spatial point of view, the presence of this “labour force” occurred as industrial facilities settled.

These dynamics represented the beginning of the industrialisation process, when working-class housing and spaces of industrial production occurred in the same area¹²². The coexistence of workers’ residences with industrial spaces was a common practice. For instance, large cities such as state capitals have never been characterised as suitable sites for the heavy industries, such as metallurgy, oil, chemicals, or the extractive industries, but rather for those more involved with a manufacturing. In light of these trends, in industrial-shaped urban areas, such as the East of Paris, Poblenu in Barcelona, or the South of Madrid, the land production contributed to create a segregated space, even though with certain samples of bourgeoisie housing. The industrialisation in

¹²² See the book “*Fets al Poblenu. Un recorregut visual per més de anys d’història*” for the case of the industrialisation of Barcelona’s Poblenu (Arxiu Històric del Poblenu, 2006), and in the case of industrialisation of Milan’s Tortona neighbourhood the works of Milano Urban Center (2003) and Associazione Tortona Area Lab (2017: 11-13).

peripheral areas implied an out-of-the-urban-planning-framework urbanisation due to the requirements of working-class housing in a short time¹²³. From that moment on, industries did nothing but consolidate already existing situations, as well as develop industrial-related activities in their surroundings.

In the relationship between “industrialisation” and “urban development”, it cannot be generally stated that the process of urbanisation was a direct consequence of industrialisation, namely industrialisation was not the only phenomenon causing the urbanisation. According to Lefebvre (1972: 144), these two phenomena «*are superstructures of the capitalist mode of production. The interactions between urban phenomena, modes of production, and relations of production are lateral. Industrialisation is a stage of urbanisation, an intermediary, an instrument*»¹²⁴.

Following these arguments, and with the aim of establishing the guidelines for the materialisation of industries in the urban environment, I am going to take as a reference the classification that sorts the appearance of industries in European cities according to three types of ‘industrial urbanism’ (Gunn, 2013: 30-33).

Firstly, the cities of the first and second industrial revolution¹²⁵, whose development involved the materialisation of the largest industrial regions supported by the creation of the “industrial parks”, defined by Geddes (1915) as ‘conurbations’¹²⁶. In the post-WWI, some European cities became the theatre of the installation of automobile, chemical components, and electrical engineering industries. This was the case of Turin, the former Italian capital whose urban development has been marked by FIAT industries. Once such industries entered into crisis in the post-Fordist period, these cities have demonstrated not only a considerable economic adaptability, but also a capacity of innovation in the urban space reorganisation and the generation of new architectural and engineering forms (Carter, 2016).

¹²³ However, as time goes by, the same urban planning practice regularised such process. For instance, this is what happened in the case of Madrid’s 1942 General Master Plan (Álvarez Mora, Palomar Elvira and Sánchez Rodenas, 1980: 193-195).

¹²⁴ Translated from Spanish by the author of the thesis.

¹²⁵ Cities of the first industrial revolution were associated with the production of textiles and metals, such as Lyon and Manchester. Referring to the second stage of the industrialisation process, cities mainly developed by means of the expansion of iron and steel production in the period 1880-1920, such as Bilbao and Lille.

¹²⁶ By this term, the Scottish geographer Patrick Geddes refers to an area of urban development where a number of different cities had grown up to meet each other, united by common interests: industrial or business, or by a common commercial or recreational centres.

Secondly, the so-called 'company towns', which were planned both in the 19th century and, perhaps more forcefully, in the 20th century. These cities were developed throughout the Western Europe, being characterised by their importance as industrial centres, housing for workers and, in some cases, cultural and leisure facilities. On occasions, they have emerged as single-company centres, such as the cases of Casocomo Wolfsburg, home of the Volkswagen Company since 1938, and the Finnish city of Nokia in the early 1900s. In general terms, these types of industrial cities lacked the size and/or political-cultural power to be designated as proper "cities", but they have been an essential component of the European industrial urban landscape throughout the 20th century.

Thirdly, cities where industry was an important part of the urban economy but, on account of their small scale of production, were not defined as "industrial cities". This was the case of some European capitals, such as Berlin, Madrid, Rome, and Paris. Their role as "capital cities" determined the low development of industries, since these cities have been historically defined as places of consumption and representation of the State. Here, industrial development has not been the cause of the city growth, but a consequence.

Obsolescence-emptying of industrial facilities

The implantation of the transformation-led industries, although their geographic location could be close to the city centre along with the creation of popular working environments, did not materialise in properly central areas. The industrialisation was historically carried out not in the central neighbourhoods or districts, although industrial areas were characterised by containing activities and population in contradiction with the logic of capital, as if they were other kind of central areas. In fact, their location responded to the logic of industrial productions imposed by the presence of the railway.

Over time, capital tended to cause obsolescence in certain urban areas, while at the same time feeding speculative operations in them. In this case, the objective was to provoke the obsolescence of the industrial areas located in the first periphery of the city. This process leveraged the favourable, almost central,

position to implement new urban projects realising the potential income possessed by the land where these industries were placed.

The capital-oriented interests related to the obsolescence and the consequent industrial abandonment were strictly related to a global growth model of the city by concentric and hierarchical rings. This had at least two consequences. Firstly, a progressive degradation of land values going from the centre to the periphery in the form of a crown-shaped model. Secondly, the accumulation of the differential ground rent especially in the central areas had led to the expulsion of industries whose profitability does not require a central position or closer to the city.

In this way, different social groups interested in the transformation of these places created the following real estate-oriented expectations and strategies. First, large companies which took advantage of their relocation for a proper reorganisation of their facilities and restructuring of jobs. The companies tried to achieve these goals by the capitalisation of the land they possess to face the financing expenses. Second, the small owners requested a share of the profits generated by the “revaluation” of the urban sectors concerned by the transformation. Third, other groups of residents claimed their historical priority to remain in these places while, eventually, the administrative technocracy demanded the use of the area to balance the general deficits in the equipment of the whole city.

Among all these interests, stood out that of the banks, industrial and commercial entities, and so on: it was the real estate developer-financial capital. It is worth remarking that this capital was basically private, although the public bodies might act, at certain times, similarly. Following the logic of capital, the objectives of real estate developer-financial capital’s strategies were incorporated into the General Master Plan, yet in an undemocratic way. With the aim of justify such operation, the implementation of all kind of ideological messages displayed the need for the reforms to improve the quality of the city.

These projects hid manoeuvres for public administrations to finance the land speculation, the latter being the trigger of the operations. The proposals of the entities involved the attempt to appropriate public investments, thus aggravating the latent urban problems of the city, and making the great property impossible for the public use. This was detrimental to the general interests of the

majority of citizens. Despite the change of land use –which eliminated the original “industrial” use by, for instance, “intensive urban housing development”, “luxury hotels”, and so on–, the inherited industrial lands were forced to produce a (higher) income according to the interests of the real estate developer-financial capital.

In this way the industries located in the city became great urban land property in a state of functional obsolescence, which can be interpreted as in a speculative-oriented situation of “stand off”. In other words, the gradual process of industrial abandonment can be understood as a landowner-fostered speculative action, this being legalised decision on the Urban Planning instruments by public bodies.

Post-industrial regeneration

Once the industrial function has been exhausted by a guided process leading to the obsolescence, great properties started to be subjected to operations of urban regeneration. These actions caused a change in the activity, in the function, and in the social contents of the urban area in order to assign it an adequate character to the central location it enjoyed. All this was substantially facilitated by the action of the Urban Planning.

In these areas there was a clash between the first-industrialisation-shaped urban forms and the new capitalist mode of production-shaped forms, the latter aiming to create hierarchical and large-scale consumer society. As a spatial rupture was produced as a consequence of this contradiction, this rupture also affected the economic and political framework too.

The industrial neighbourhoods, areas characterised by the presence of the proletariat, went on to be “reconquered” by the bourgeoisie by means of the elimination of such contents. This led to new forms of life in what used to be working class’ spaces. The high income social class saw in the crisis experienced by traditional industry, the perfect terrain to “tertiarise” the urban areas thus reconquered, turning them into central places. Actually, these areas, previously inhabited by a low-income population, showed, a priori, a certain weakness in maintaining their original forms and contents.

The double condition assigned to industrial areas, i.e. “degradation” and “crisis”, allowed to propose a type of Urban Planning imposing the regeneration of disused great industrial properties. The prevailing ideology fed the generalised acceptance of these processes, arguing the idea of the “universalisation” of the crisis and the solutions that were formulated. This idea entrusted the industrial neighbourhoods to the mechanism of the “urban land market” to establish the new uses of the old great industrial properties.

The consequence of all this was the re-appropriation of a space to shape and re-shape a new “way of living the city”, therefore, to model a certain “social behaviour” (Álvarez Mora, 1989: 88). Inserting these transformations within the framework of the urban planning instruments allowed the legalisation of such a “re-appropriation”. As a consequence, this would lead former working-class neighbourhoods to acquire a character of “urban centrality”, due not to their geographical position but to their new “quality”, as was the case of emptying-regeneration of Barcelona’s Poblenou and Bilbao’s Ría riverfront.

Great railway properties. From the reference of the mobility to the support of “new areas of centrality”

«... ‘the railways’ that came in the middle of the last century and took so much city-centre land for their termini. ...there is perhaps no more potent or dramatic symbol of the Industrial Revolution than the railways...»

Ambrose (1994: 7)

«Railway stations represent a crucial piece of modern urban history. Built as ‘Cathedrals of Progress’ designed to impress citizens and visitors alike, grandiose railway stations have always helped forge the public image of the metropolis in which they are located»

Richards and Mackenzie (1986: 2)

The construction of the “railway”

The implementation of the railway as an interurban transport mode meant a decisive reduction in the distance/time relationship, thus promoting a radical redefinition in the structure of the territory, as well as in the connections at both local, regional, national, and international scale. In general, the state

governments established specific legislation to promote this new means of transportation, to channel and regulate their services, and to encourage the construction of the lines and routes. The legal regime regulating the management of the railways was linked to the direct action of the State, which determined concession of exploitation of its services to the Companies that requested them. These companies were in charge of the construction of the railway line and its running for 99 years, after which they would revert to the State¹²⁷.

Within the railway system, the Stations constituted break points where there was a generation of urban traffic, exchanges with the urban activities and vice versa. The Railway Station can be considered, as the «*physical, technological, functional, and cultural embodiment of this new means and way of transportation*»¹²⁸ (Aguilar, 1980: 14). These Stations not only represented a symbol of the progress and modernity of civil society, the so-called “palaces of modern industry”, or “cathedrals of progress”. Their own design was intended to act as a new “icon” of modernity so as to make both citizens and visitors aware of an ideological point of view. The Stations, in short, were promoting the public image of a city (Meeks, 1956). Such facilities also have had literary, political, economic, leisure, even psychological connotations, behaving as places where citizens express desires, nostalgia, farewells, or meetings.

The Station was one of the most important elements of the railway system, behaving as a “great urban property” and as a “pole of attraction”. Whether the Station was a through stations or railhead, it was generally located in the urban centre of the city, although outside the historic centre due to the need to develop railway activity on large urban plots.

Its multifunctional structure enabled it to act, on the one hand, as a “gateway to the city” and, on the other hand, to connect the Station with the space occupied by the roads: this structure led to the creation of two contrasting environments. The main part of the Station, the one related to the city, was usually shaped like a welcoming square, with tree-lined boulevards, prestigious accommodation, commercial establishments, and so on. Such conformation contributed to form a “new centrality” created expressly around the Station and in connection with the old urban fabrics, such as the City Council building, the

¹²⁷ In Italy the railways were nationalised through Law no. 137 of 22 April 1905.

¹²⁸ Translated from Spanish by the author of the thesis.

Market Square, the Cathedral, and so on. In exchange, the back of the Station exhibited a mixture of uses of lesser urban quality, such as noisy, often highly polluting factories and workshops, alongside sordid popular rent housing –typical of the working classes–, and poor-quality commercial establishments.

The Stations were new architectural references in the history of the historic city. They converged a double meaning, either as “architectural monument” or as “industrial architecture”, which had to provide solutions for the circulation of passengers and goods. This twofold meaning was related, inevitably, to as many questions. Firstly, Stations attributed a new image of the city as these artefacts were the “new gates of a city without walls”. Secondly, the rivalry and competition between Railway Companies, which was reflected in their representative and prestigious symbols, either referred to these Companies, or those of the city in which they were located.

It can be argued that the Stations behaved as “urbanisers” promoting the appearance and presence of several activities, such as industries¹²⁹, warehouses, markets, and so on, as well as the formation of workers housing settlements. The urbanisation effects responded both to forms of peripheral urban growth, processes of land production in marginal spaces, and also the specific development of the “bourgeoisie-fostered Expansions”.

The railway installations, therefore, were places of attraction that make possible the reality of a whole series of speculative processes linked to the production of the city. In the production of urban space (Alvarez-Palau, 2016: 7-8), the Stations have historically been defined as areas that enjoy conditions of accessibility and social values conditioning the subsequent transformation of the place where they were positioned. As a consequence, the place occupied by the Railway Station will represent, in the future, the physical-spatial base equipped with financial capacity to become a profitable capital in land.

In light of these considerations, it can be argued that one of the objectives of the real estate developer-financial capital was to leverage the benefits enjoyed by Railway Stations. Such capital created the basis for the implementation of new potential industries related to the “great accessibility” starting from which other

¹²⁹ See the case of the relationship between the Atocha station and the industrial activities in the southern area of Madrid, the so-called “Rondas-Puente de Vallecas-Ribera del Manzanares” sector (Álvarez Mora, Palomar Elvira, Sánchez Rodenas, 1980: 152-153).

activities can be added. In this way the real estate developer-financial capital could start a strategy to exploit the Railway Station as a profit-oriented space.

The action of the financial entities could be implemented by offering a substantial amount of capital to acquire the “public debt” derived from the operation of rail transportation. Financial capital required in exchange favourable conditions to proceed with other investments. A common practice was the involvement of the financial bodies to the coal industry as an energy source that would make possible the operation of certain services, such as the gas industry, then essential in large cities¹³⁰.

The dismantling and emptying of Railway Stations

The permanence, or not, of railway installations as determining structures in the functional content of certain parts of cities has been the subject of both public administrations and specific social and professional sectors.

The Public Administration was not the only actor pushing the railway dismantling. The “inevitable”, i.e. the disappearance of Railway Stations as elements of the urban system, became a turning point opening the way for the use of these artefacts which, perhaps, maintained their physical structure.

The dismantling-emptying of railway stations, especially in large cities, began in the 1960s, justified by the “inadequacy” of these facilities to the new needs of the consumer society. This phase was consolidated as a game changer leading to the progressive industrial dismantling and, above all, to the space-functional separation between productive processes and railways. Separation due, inter alia, to the use of private vehicles as a primordial means of transportation, thus prevailing over rail. Most of these railway installations dated back to the mid-19th-century-steam trains, a production system became obsolete in the 1970s. Moreover, as a result of the development of the automobile industry and the pricing policy resulting from the oil exploitation, the railway ceased to be the universal mode of transportation and became qualitatively more important,

¹³⁰ One example was the creation of the bank *Crédito Mobiliario Español* in 1856 for the exploitation of industries located along the railroad that connected the northern sector of Madrid with Atocha, such as the *Gas de Madrid* factory (Tedde de Lorca, 1978: 107).

but quantitatively less important¹³¹. The disconnection established between industrial land and railways led to the dismantling of the stations that until then fulfilled their mission as diffusers of raw materials and processed products.

In this way, Railway Stations and their immediate surroundings were considered as “obsolete elements”. This obsolescence, however, referred to a variety of events, which was the fundamental point made by the discourse on the process of ‘dispossession-appropriation’. Such events were the imposition of the “new mode of transportation”, i.e. the road transportation, and the consequent implications linked to the automotive industries; investment policies in the implementation of highways; and the petroleum monopoly. Urban Planning played a decisive role to make the abandonment effective, and the subsequent transformation of these Stations. The planning regulations qualified the Railway Stations-railway space as “abandoned areas” and “areas to be redeveloped”. This implied opening up the opportunity to implement a new urban development committed to a mixture of uses, such as luxury homes, offices, shops, green spaces, and high-end urban facilities¹³².

The following are the main issues been discussed: has the decision taken regarding what to do with the Railway Stations been imposed by the interests of capital in order to eliminate their competition for road transport? The ongoing energy crises since the 1970s make me wonder whether railway transportation could have remained efficient. Were not the congestion caused by road traffic, pollution, the rise in the price of oil products, and so on, the ultimate effect of the elimination of the train as a main means of transportation?

On the one hand, the mechanism producing the deterioration of the Railway Station surrounding areas enabled its social and spatial transformation. Such “environment” was described as “undesirable”, strictly separated and segregated from the more pleasant neighbourhoods of the city.

On the other hand, train journeys began to be appreciated as social practices responding to past times, as well as the steam engines are gradually

¹³¹ However, in the last two decades of the 20th century, there has been a competitive reaction in the high-speed rail network (Vickerman, 1997).

¹³² This is what happened in the 1963 Madrid General Master Plan on the occasion of the dismantling-redevelopment of Imperial and Peñuelas railway stations (Álvarez Mora, Palomar Elvira and Sánchez Rodenas, 1980: 179).

becoming energy boosters and transportation media linked to romantic reflections on the past.

As a consequence, Railway Stations began to be regarded more as scenic backgrounds in film productions rather than as part of people's usual travel experiences. In Europe, this "era of decline" extended into the 1980s. The elimination of the passenger service and the definitive closure of a remarkably high number of Railway Stations have contributed to a progressive deterioration of their facilities, such as the main roof, the passenger buildings, the workshops, and so on. This constituted the basis and the justification on which to consider their speculative reconversion (Capel, 2005: 547-554).

The regeneration of railway premises as the end of their history

As of the second half of the 20th century onwards, it became clear the decline of railway transport as a means of passenger transportation, especially meant for the population mobility. At the same time, the areas where Railway Stations were located have been configured as "privileged places" within the city due to the creation of specific urban infrastructures and equipment linked to them. As a consequence, the change of land use was the phenomenon which was taking shape to make the implementation of a whole series of capital-driven real estate developments possible.

The two main agents in this process, the Railway Companies and the State, required the change of the high-valued railway land via Urban Planning to adapt such land to the new situation. The updating of the Urban Planning regulations boosted a "counter-planning process" by which substantial changes were imposed to the affected land.

Once the railway land has been deprived of its functions, and put in value through new urban conceptions, the real materialisation of its change took place. The territorial transformations obeyed and responded to the "centrality" acquired over time. On the one hand, once railway companies had disappeared as concessionaires of a service granted by the State, they became new real estate companies to manage the land formerly occupied by the Stations and Railway Lines to turn them into residential and tertiary uses. On the other hand, the State

took over the disposal of the land, as it was a public-owned property, by the procedure of public auction, or the direct sale to the real estate developer-financial capital.

This is the case of the former Arganda and Goya Railway Stations in Madrid (Álvarez Mora, 1980: 227-250). Initially, the 1946 General Master Plan proposed the conversion of both stations into “green areas”, but the successive Plan approved in 1963 changed such regulation. In the case of Arganda Station, the Plan proposed the implementation of new high standing housing settlements, while the construction of high-rise buildings in the case of Goya Station.

Strategies for the management of great industrial and railway properties aimed at creating new areas of centrality within the framework of new metropolitan spaces. The cases of Barcelona and Bilbao¹³³

The approach to the issue

After having analysed the theoretical issues about the great property, now I am going to approach two international case studies. I have chosen Barcelona’s Poblenou neighbourhood and Bilbao’s Ría riverfront as cases I consider to be pioneering within the framework of a general trend that can be seen in other Western European cities. These two urban realities assumed the production of the urban land rent as inducer of urban development, consequently the use of the urban land rent allowed the real estate-oriented exploitation of the great industrial and railway properties. The abandonment and functional dismantling of such activities has been induced by the agents involved in their management, making use of precise instruments derived from the Urban Planning practice. A related aspect to take into account was the industrial restructuring taking place in the existing economic framework, especially the change in economic paradigms towards a flexible mode of production. In addition, the development of modern highways, as well as changes in transport systems, brought advantages both to the relocation of industries and storage and distribution processes

¹³³ This paragraph is the result of the considerations of the author of the thesis and of Alfonso Álvarez Mora, who during the doctorate have developed several articles (Camerin, 2019; Camerin and Álvarez Mora, 2018; Camerin and Álvarez Mora, 2019).

(Martinelli and Gadrey, 2000). This allowed the inclusion of the “freed” land into spatial production-reproduction processes in order to proceed with the formation of new “areas of centrality”.

I am looking into two capital cities pioneers in the regeneration of their old industrial-railway areas, as well as in the way they conveyed precise “ideological messages” expressed in the form of world-renowned architectural icons. Once these urban regeneration processes had been completed, the two cities offered a way of management and administration of new forms of production-reproduction of capital through the so-called “productive services”. The latter set up the new functional contents of the renewed-regenerated industrial and railway artefacts. The reminiscences of the Fordist city being subjected to regeneration practices adopted an almost exclusive condition of tertiary spaces. Here there was no lack of an important quota of high-end housing, which made these renovated places express themselves as “exclusive and excluding urban environments” absent of spontaneous collective life. The relationship great property-capital in land emerged with all its force, creating new central spaces through the mechanism of urban regeneration. Both the proposals and actions carried out on Poblenou and on the Ría riverfront were characterised as “metropolitan-scaled centrality projects”.

Barcelona. The management of the industrial and railway heritage of Poblenou. From the Ribera Plan to the current situation

The creation of new areas of centrality in Barcelona’s Poblenou was not only an operation planned on the occasion of the great events taken place in Barcelona in the last three decades, such as the 1992 Olympics or the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures. The areas of centrality were the result of a global strategy of “urban renewal-regeneration” promoted as of the second half of the 20th century. Such strategy was prompted by the abandonment of the old industries and railway installations located in the so-called ‘Catalan Manchester’, i.e. the Poblenou.

Two factors affected this process. Firstly, the abandonment-/emptying of railway and industrial installations based on the provisions of Law no. 102/1965

(Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1965). This law promoted the creation of the free trade zone –*Zona Franca* in Spanish– in the south of the city by means of the application of tax incentives to facilitate the relocation of pre-existing industries in Barcelona’s urban area. Such regulation prompted a radical transformation having influence on the great industrial and railway properties linked to their Fordist mode of production.

Despite the 1953 Regional Plan classified the Poblenou area as an “industrial zone”, the 1965 Law opened the way for real estate developer-financial capital to propose a radical transformation of these industrial properties. The achievement of such proposal happened via the Successively, Urban Planning legalised the speculative proposals, as it could not be otherwise. The owners of industrial and railway land began to underuse these properties bu virtue of the incentives they were given to dislocate their factories. The affected industries were mostly located in Poblenou and La Sagrera neighbourhoods (Nadal and Tafunel, 1992: 242).

The process to put into operation the so-called “Ribera Plan”, namely the “*Plan Parcial de Ordenación Urbana de la Ribera de Barcelona*” started one year after the approval of this Law, in 1966, all of which coinciding with the mayoral service of Jose Maria de Porcioles, the so-called “porciolismo” from 1957 to 1973 (Alibes, 1975). However, the urban renewal did not take place, this would be happening only a couple of decades later.

The 1976 Metropolitan Master Plan (PGM-76) confirmed the indication of the Ribera Plan, thus boosting the underuse and abandonment of many of industries in Poblenou. The 1976 Plan effectively described the Ribera sector as an area to be transformed via “urban renewal projects”, so without ruling out the model proposed in the late 1960s.

The proper occasion to realise the redevelopment of Poblenou occurred after Barcelona was awarded to hold the 1992 Olympic Games. The Ribera Plan was finally carried out through an updated version of its original version, the so-called “Urban Development Special Plan from Barcelona seafront to Carles I promenade-Icaria Avenue’s sector” –“*Pla Especial d’Ordenació Urbana de la Façana al Mar de Barcelona en el sector del Passeig de Carles I i Avinguda d’Icària*” in Catalan– (Bohigas et al., 1986).

Under this circumstance, Poblenou was about to turn into an “area of new centrality” (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 1987), as well as to make Barcelona no longer a city living “with its back on the sea” (Duran i Farrell, 1965). The idea was to transform this neighbourhood in search for the economic progress of Barcelona, thus offering appropriate services to the new requirements of a global economy (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 1990: 56-57).

From the late 1980s onwards, a whole series of strategic plans were promoted in the attempt to drive the urban regeneration processes: the final aim was the creation and consolidation of Barcelona city as an “European entrepreneurial metropolis”. The first official strategic document was the so-called “2000 Economic and Social Strategic Plan for Barcelona”¹³⁴. A total amount of 1.3 million m² of old railway and industrial properties in Nova Icària neighbourhood were regenerated to the detriment of their former economic and social connotations: the industrial and popular neighbourhood of Nova Icària would not be the same anymore¹³⁵. The gentrification was a very significant result of the urban regeneration. Despite the 25% of the houses in Vila Olímpica were initially conceived to be used as social housing (Juliana, 1990; Casellas, 2016: 63 Navas Perrone, 2017: 94), the established sales price, in 1990, was 203,000 pesetas/m², almost 2,660 euros/m².

A most recent project called “Diagonal Mar”, carried out on the remains of the Macosa SA factory, was the successive phase of the urban development of Poblenou, this being strictly related to the extension of Diagonal Avenue to the sea, inaugurated in 1999.

The approval of the 22@ Plan in 2000, which modified the 1976 Metropolitan Master Plan (P.G.M.), can be argued to be the point of no return. This urban planning tool made the metropolis competitive from the regeneration of Poblenou’s 1,982,700 m² previously classified by the 1976 P.G.M. as an “industrial zone”. Such an area would be transformed into the so-called “22@BCN Activities District” –*Districte d’Activitats 22@BCN* in Catalan– where new economy companies settled, especially those related to information and

¹³⁴ This first plan was approved in 1990. The documents of the Strategic Plans are available in the “Barcelona Metropolitan Strategic Plan (PEMB)” portal, https://pemb.cat/es/estatico/antecedentes_del_plan/11/.

¹³⁵ This operation meant the loss of an interesting industrial architecture and its daily social life, well documented respectively in Arranz et al. (1988), in the anthropological work carried out by Doncel (1988), and also during the process of destruction and transformation by the photographer Martí Llorens (2013).

communication technologies (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 2000: 5). Built by Jean Nouvel between 1999 and 2005, the 145-metre high “Glòries tower, previously called “Agbar”, symbolised the new character of the neighbourhood. This iconic artefact expressed the aim of giving Barcelona a new status as a “global city”. This is essentially how Poblenou, on the occasion of the 1992 Olympic Games, was considered the ideal place to carry out a series of large urban projects to attract new investments and create a creative and sustainable neighbourhood, it was said. In reality, the contribution of such projects to regenerate the former industrial land with the aim of sustainability was to make Barcelona a segregated city with a high degree of social exclusion.

The 22@ Plan aimed to create an “innovation district” unlike its predecessor, the 1986 Urban Development Special Plan, the latter helped develop a new upper-class-oriented residential, commercial, and leisure area. This fact brought about a definite change in the character of Poblenou. Nowadays, the neighbourhood is no longer a place identified with the Fordist industrialisation, but it is the object of special treatment justified by innovative needs responding to the concepts of ‘cluster’, ‘hub’, and ‘intelligent city’ (Tello, Martínez and Boba, 2000; Alberich González, Muro Morales and Roquer Soler, 2014).

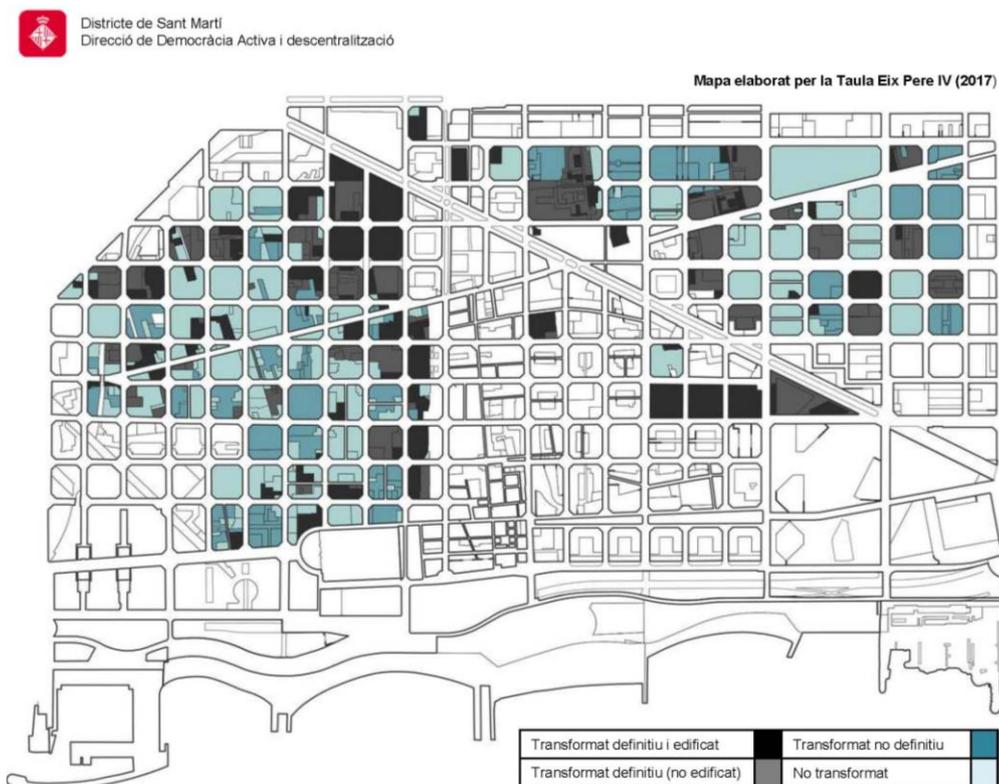
The 22@-fostered regeneration actions (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 2017a) have contributed to a change in Poblenou’s economic-social composition, with a slight increase of 3.7% in its population between 2007 and 2014. The average per capita income is higher than the city average, which is located in those urban sectors most affected by the large urban regeneration projects, such as Nova Icària and Diagonal Mar. As a matter of fact, Poblenou witnessed the appearance of symptoms of the “inevitable” process of gentrification which, since the 1992 Olympics, has generally affected the city centre.

Several projects have been carried out to improve the provisioning which boost the economy and services involved with the global labour market. Such provisions had led to the materialisation of a new urban landscape in contradiction with the old industrial past¹³⁶. By contrast, very little has been done to implement an improvement in the quality of citizens’ life. According to a recent

¹³⁶ In fact, between 2002 and 2016, 24 over-60-meters-high-rise buildings were realised along Diagonal Avenue from Glories down to the sea in place of the previous industrial land, with six exceeding 100 m.

survey by Barcelona's City Council (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 2017a and 2017b; fig. 16), a total of 4,500 new companies were set up in the 22@ district. 93,000 new jobs were actually created between 2000 and 2015, corresponded to the 71.5% of the 130,000 initially planned by 2023. Of the 4,000 new social housing units, only 1,600 have been built (40%), accompanied by only 14,000 m² of new urban facilities, despite the fact that the planned area for equipment was 145,000 m². The same thing has happened with the green areas. Until 2015 a surface of 40,737 m² was provided, while the initial goal was 114,000 m².

Fig. 16: State of implementation of the 22@ Plan.



Source: Ayuntamiento de Barcelona (2017b: 6).

Bilbao. The regeneration of industrial territories of Ría riverfront. From Abandoibarra to Zorrotzaurre

The urban regeneration process of the old industrial and railway facilities located along both banks of Bilbao's Ría riverfront has affected an estimated surface area of some 6 million m², over 12 km of linear route. The process was managed by a

supra-local territorial entity, the so-called “*Bilbao Ría 2000*”, acting in a metropolitan-scaled territory named “Metropolitan Bilbao” made up of 35 municipalities where around 900,000 inhabitants live. This meant the submission of the Territorial Urban Planning to a strategic urban policy to develop a whole series of large urban projects, as well as the materialisation of important infrastructures suitable for building the metropolis of Bilbao.

The criteria for the constitution of this new metropolitan entity were defined in the Partial Territorial Plan –*Plan Territorial Parcial* in Spanish– (Leira, Argueso and Subieta, 1994). Such Plan began to be drawn up in 1992, it was approved in 1997 and a second version was launched in 2008 (Metropolitan Bilbao 2008)¹³⁷.

The railway and industrial areas of the Basque capital were defined as “areas of opportunity”, being managed by the public entities *Bilbao Metr poli 30* and *Bilbao R a 2000*. Their new use was planned according to the character of “new central spaces” in which appropriate values and uses stand out for the establishment of private and economic functions “of excellence” at the expense of the collective needs ( lvarez Mora, 1999).

According to the Bilbao mayor 1991-to-1999 Josu Ortuondo Larrea, the challenge for the revitalisation of Bilbao implied the creation of a brand with the capacity to attract companies and people. During his mayoral term «*a museum city of architecture was being created... Accepting that there are different Bilbao in one and not in good conditions... all have improved, in all the sectors of the city [urban regeneration, ed.] actions have been carried out under five objectives that were proposed: industry, human resources, environment, communications and culture, and external projection*»¹³⁸ (March, 1999: 15).

The regeneration of the Abandoibarra sector appears as the most emblematic case in the framework of the urban regeneration processes undertaken in Bilbao. This area «*around 1993 ... was a railway beach, no longer used, which had large warehouses that were almost abandoned*»¹³⁹ (Perri, 2007: 5) has been dispossessed of its former railway and industrial functions. This process has been driven by the relocation of the port, which allowed the

¹³⁷ Meanwhile, the General Master Plan for Bilbao was approved in 1995.

¹³⁸ Translated from Spanish by the author of the thesis.

¹³⁹ Translated from Spanish by the author of the thesis.

dismantling of the facilities located in Abandoibarra, especially the Uribitabe docks and the freight station.

This process freed 348,500 m² of land making it possible the realisation of several architectural landmarks, such as the Frank O. Gehry-designed Guggenheim Museum, built between 1992 and 1997. This new icon was accompanied by 137,000 m² of new tertiary functions, such as shops, offices, luxury hotels, as well as some 700 luxury homes, without providing this area with social housing. As for the public spaces, such as new open areas incorporated near the square of the Guggenheim Museum, they does not benefit the local population so much as the users of the museum.

Such a far-reaching urban project had inevitably brought the entire city to its peak, being defined as the “Guggenheim effect” (Vicar and Martinez Monje, 2003; Plaza, Tironi and Haarich, 2009), even contributing to award Bilbao as the “2018 European City”¹⁴⁰. Urban regeneration led this city to a situation where the new centrality is hardly useful for the real inhabitants of Bilbao. The choice leading to such consequences were related to the commitment of Bilbao to national- and international-scoped tertiary economy (del Cerro, 2006), as well as the development of mass tourism based on the cultural-led regeneration involved with the architecture of the 21st century. The most important symbol has been surely the Guggenheim museum. As a consequence, the price of the regenerated Abandoibarra sector was valued by real estate developers at 650 euros/m² in 1993, being increased to 2,700 euros/m² in 1999 (Otaola, 2001: 51).

Other world renowned architect-designed buildings improved the urban and mobility quality of the city. Above all, they have promoted Bilbao as a “global-attractive city” aimed at developing a strict range of economies, as well as creating a unique and exclusive lifestyle. Among others, it is worth highlighting the following projects: the Norman Foster-designed underground, 1995; the Santiago Calatrava-designed Zubizuri bridge, 1997; the Dolores Palacios- and Federico Soriano-designed Euskalduna building, 1998; the Arata Isozaki-designed Isozaki door, 2008; the Rafael Moneo-designed library of the University of Deusto, 2009; and the César Pelli-designed Iberdrola tower, 2012.

¹⁴⁰ Delivered by “The Academy of Urbanism” (see [https:// www.academyofurbanism.org.uk/bilbao-wins-european-city-of-the-year-at-2018-urbanism-awards/](https://www.academyofurbanism.org.uk/bilbao-wins-european-city-of-the-year-at-2018-urbanism-awards/)).

Taking into account the transformations carried out in other sectors of Metropolitan Bilbao, such as the city-centre-located 110,000 m² of railway land in the old station of Ametzola, and the peripheral Galindo river mouth-located 501,000 m², there is the presence of social housing. It can be seen that the percentage of social housing is related to the distance of the intervention sectors with respect to the city centre, being Abandoibarra the sector acting as a reference for this “centrality”. In Ametzola¹⁴¹, closer to the former shipyard area of Abandoibarra, this percentage is 16%, i.e. 150 social housing units out of a total of 900. Galindo¹⁴² was the place where the former blast furnace *Altos Hornos de Vizcaya* was located, the percentage of social housing units reaches 25%, corresponding to 500 social housing units out of a total of 2,000. It is clear that these operations are subjected to a “socio-spatial segregation” strategy preventing the most popular classes from living in the most central areas.

One of the latest operations carried out in Bilbao’s Ría riverfront is the project on the Zorrotzaurre peninsula, which is expected to become an artificially created island by opening up the Deusto Canal (Vivas Ziarrusta, 2017). This zone presents the typical character of an “urban periphery” where industries and workers’ residences are mixed. This means that Zorrotzaurre stayed apart from the dynamics affecting the “central city”, despite being classified as an “area of opportunity” in the Urban Planning documents (Bilbao Metropoli-30, 2001: 21).

The creation of a “marginalisation” effect has been the result of a well-considered strategy by the agents involved in the creation of the Metropolitan Bilbao. Such marginal character is verified by the disconnection between Zorrotzaurre and the means of transportation, such as the underground and the tramway. The peripheral position has resulted in the accumulation of residual housing dispersed among the semi-dismantled industrial and port properties. In spite of this, Zorrotzaurre shows an important associative social fabric (Vivas Ziarrusta and Lekerikabeaskoa Gaztañaga, 2016-2017).

The area to be regenerated totalling 838,781 m², more than half of which is owned by public entities, such as the Basque Government, the Bilbao’s City Council, and the Port Authority. This urban sector is currently undergoing an

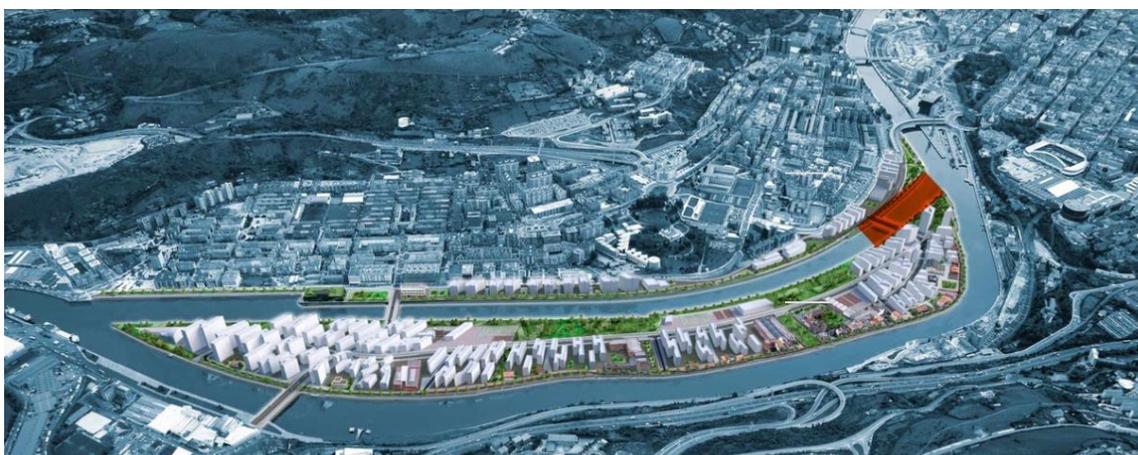
¹⁴¹ See <http://www.bilbaopedia.info/ametzola>.

¹⁴² See <https://bilbaoenconstruccion.com/2012/11/28/proyecto-urban-galindo-el-emblema-de-la-transformacion-de-barakaldo/>.

urban renewal operation aiming to annihilate its economic and social characteristics, as well as its heritage, in order to create “an island to live, work, and enjoy”.

Zaha Hadid Architects’ master plan (fig. 17)¹⁴³ divides Zorrotzaurre in three areas of intervention based respectively on tertiary functions, health care facilities, and mixed use –i.e. housing, economic activities, and urban facilities. The latter is the most important transformation, affecting 651,861 m² of land to house new 15,000 inhabitants.

Fig. 17: master plan for the transformation of Zorrotzaurre.



Source: <http://www.zorrotzaurre.com/apertura-del-canal-de-deusto/>

The idea argued by Bilbao Metr poli-30 (2001: 34) for Zorrotzaurre «*could be a suitable location for the construction of this “city of innovation and knowledge”*»¹⁴⁴. It is a matter of proceeding to a social dispossession of this sector, eliminating its original popular character in order to make it available to the “Bilbao as a global city” concept (Bilbao Metr poli-30, 2001: 1), this being in accordance with «*the image of prosperity and change that the metropolis is projecting in recent times. Likewise, the image of an attractive and future-oriented city that aspires to be an “avant-garde metropolis” would be reinforced*»¹⁴⁵ (Bilbao Metr poli-30, 2001: 34). It can be observed that the social mixing is not guaranteed, which is a rather similar character of Abandoibarra. In Zorrotzaurre 50% of the homes will be social housing for an under 35-year-old population. The

¹⁴³ See <http://www.zorrotzaurre.com/>.

¹⁴⁴ Translated from Spanish by the author of the thesis.

¹⁴⁵ Translated from Spanish by the author of the thesis.

conservation of the industrial past and the port memory will be guaranteed through the conservation of 14 industrial buildings. There are also plans to keep the 500 inhabitants still living in Zorrotzaurre, who will not be expropriated from their former homes.

By way of conclusion. Poblenou and Abandoibarra as strategic areas for the materialisation of 'profit-driven spaces'

The management of great railway and industrial properties in Barcelona and Bilbao has been, and is currently, a challenge to the transformation of the two cities as a whole. These areas have been classified by the corresponding General Plans as “zones under transformation”, “opportunity zones”, “new centrality areas”, and so on. These proposals derived from the occupation-appropriation process following the dismantling-functional abandonment. As said in the previous paragraphs, these are activities consume a large amount of land, and such characteristic facilitates their management towards the regeneration.

The land belonging to the old Catalan Manchester, i.e. Poblenou, and Bilbao's Ría riverfront¹⁴⁶ was peripheral to their respective urban centres, so they have been characterised by a condition of being “marginal areas”. Its urban morphology has been the product of a long historical process. This character has been expressed, in its origin, by the following factors: the presence of popular buildings; the proliferation of self-built housing; the absence of an efficient infrastructure network system; the mixture between housing and uses declared incompatible; a certain degree of unhealthiness due to the presence of industrial and port facilities; the lack of social facilities capable of meeting the local population needs; and the relatively low cost of land. These characteristics allowed the consolidation of their working-class identity over time. At the same time, such identity has become an opportunity in economic and real estate terms for the creation of new income-producing spaces.

The urban regenerations undertaken in Nova Icària and Abandoibarra have definitively reconverted the old railway and industrial installations. The latter were involved in a capital-driven functional obsolescence process but not due to

¹⁴⁶ To understand the construction process of the industrial Barcelona and Bilbao, see Arxiu Històric del Poblenou (1996 and 2001) and Gonzales Portilla (2001).

the crisis of such activities. Such process was carried out along with the Western capitalist cities economic-urban restructuring in parallel with the reorganisation of the employment sector.

In the two cases, it can be observed the subordination of the urban regenerations to the demands in the land availability and capitalist-fostered land use change. The functions originally related to the Fordist mode of production were then exposed to very concrete real estate developments interests. The new uses assigned by territorial- and local-scaled Urban Planning instruments set up areas of new centrality, resulting in the raising of the city accessibility. Since then, both cities started to be intended as metropolitan entities whose objective was to claim a leading role chaining them to the international network of the advanced economies.

The new conditions assigned to the study cases of Poblenou and Ría riverfront boosted the implementation of new centralities. The operations completed, such as Diagonal Mar and 2004 Forum in Barcelona¹⁴⁷ and Ametzola in Bilbao, contributed to create new spatial realities shaping a segregated city: such areas are “entrusted to the upper class”.

The new economy is crucially based on keywords such as “knowledge”, “innovation”, “talent”, and so on, whose materialisation needs the appropriation of the strategically-located great properties resulting from the functional obsolescence of Fordist-oriented functions, such as industrial and railway.

The way of proceeding to the appropriation of these historically-produced spaces allows their regeneration into the new icons of capital. In order to do so, it is important that the sense of collectivity and the essential spirit of the city as a public entity disappear. The new areas of centrality contribute to the privatisation of the city, and to the cancellation of its collective identity. In the two study cases, railway and industrial land is being regenerated not so much because a social demand arises, but because an economic and financial real estate action can be carried out on the land released following the dismantling of the artefacts.

The availability of a large amount of land released from its former functions, such as the industrial and railway ones, as it cannot be regenerated in its entirety, hardly any operations are undertaken other than the ones providing

¹⁴⁷ According to several studies, such as the one edited by Montaner, Álvarez and Muxí (2011), these two operation in Barcelona decreed the failure of a Catalan capital model of city-making process.

substantial profit. Such operations contributed to the materialisation of “exclusive areas” unattainable for the majority of the population, thus renouncing to create a city for everyone. For instance, the application of Barcelona’s 22@ Plan fulfilled 71.5% of the forecast of the new jobs, while the urban facilities barely reached 10% of the proposed percentage. Similarly, in the case of Bilbao, two-three operations were enough to start a process of placement of the city in the international economic circuits of the exclusivity, being far from the real needs of its population. Ría riverfront has not been entirely regenerated, but only the most strategic lands financially and real estate speaking. Though the rest of the territory has been subjected to a regeneration process, nowadays it actually remains in an advanced state of ruin. This contrasts with Bilbao’s icons shown across the world.

CHAPTER 3. THE PROCESSES OF CONSTRUCTION, DISMANTLING, ABANDONMENT AND REGENERATION OF MILITARY PREMISES IN THE CITY. FROM AN INITIAL APPROPRIATION TO A SOCIO-SPATIAL DISPOSSESSION OF A PUBLIC-OWNED URBAN HERITAGE

Introduction

The chapter aims to understand the processes of materialisation, abandonment, and regeneration of great military properties in Italy in order to extrapolate the dynamics and impact on the city of their construction, the reasons of dismantling and abandonment, and the explication of urban regeneration processes. This analysis shows the role the Defence assets had in the city-making process so as to identify the casuistry which helps me to classify the urban regeneration in the following chapter. Overall, I should remark the importance of the first phase –the materialisation– as it is an essential step of deep the knowledge about the slow and tedious process of abandonment-dismantling before the regeneration. This first step comprises the incorporation of the military premises into the city, both in its traditional urban fabric and in the new peripheral zones, all of which between the second half of the 19th century until the 1960s.

In first process I deal with the materialisation of the military artefacts in Italy in the context of the traditional city, thus contributing to the creation of its spatial configuration. In the second phase I critically interpret the reasons behind the dismantling, abandonment, and disposal processes, as well as the way such processes were carried out starting from the last third of the 20th century, which is still occurring. In the third process I review the casuistry of urban regeneration and explain the different reasons on the ground of the change of use of military premises. Here I highlight the role of such regenerations in shaping the urban centrality and creating profit-driven spaces. The reasons of this analysis refer to the fact that the urban regeneration of great military properties derived from the indication of Urban Planning instruments in accordance with the urban development patterns, all of which pushed the functional obsolescence of military premises. Despite an approach which sees the obsolescence as a result of the impacts of the end of the Cold War and of the process of modernisation and reorganisation involving the Ministry of Defence, these factors are collateral. They

surely contribute to the abandonment and the dismantling, but it is the proper dynamics of city-making process which cause the abandonment and regeneration. Once the process of abandonment become a reality, the management of the disposal process is subsequently subjected to ad hoc legislation in order to regenerate such premises (see Annex 1).

The materialisation-construction of military premises in Italy. Their typological diversity

The quartering of the city began in the 18th century¹⁴⁸ and consisted in the realisation of barracks to house the soldiers for a long time period. Until that time, the traditional Armies had a markedly itinerant character, so that the troops remained in one place for a short time and were accommodated in private homes. When in the second half of the 18th century the military started to be steady, the quartering started to appear.

Following the second half of the 19th century-reform of the European countries, the quartering of the military in large properties of land of the most important Italian cities started after the Unification of Italy¹⁴⁹. The quartering began in the frame of the new organisation of the new-born Italian state and had a strong influence in shaping the urban context where the military settled. This fact had huge impacts in the dynamics of the city, thus boosting commerce, industry, real estate developments, and so on. At that time, military artefacts usually proceeded from the reuse of pre-existing aristocratic and ecclesiastic buildings¹⁵⁰, but also new-built structures. Both existing and new buildings had to meet the need of military activities and functions, which consumed large quantity of land. These settlements were obviously different with respect to other uses, such as industries, commercial activities, housing, and equipment and easily recognised in the urban morphology for their forms and structures (Principe,

¹⁴⁸ For more information about the quartering before the 19th century see Buono (2009), whose analysis focuses on the case of Milan.

¹⁴⁹ For the case of Milan during the 19th century, see Pertot (2012).

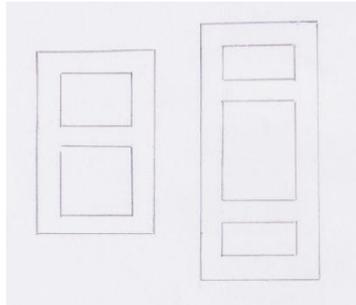
¹⁵⁰ Such phenomenon, known as “confiscation of assets”, was promoted by Law no. 384 of 22 December 1861 in order to proceed with the temporal occupation of the Church assets for governmental use, such as public, civic, and military. The advantages of these buildings to be reused in such functions were the presence of a large recreational area within the enclosure and the favourable location in the existing urban fabric: 51 were the occupation in Emilia-Romagna, Toscana, and Sicily. This Law was extended until the end of 1864 (Camera dei Deputati, 1864). See Bartolozzi (2017) for the debate on the management of religious architectural heritage between the 19th and 20th centuries.

1986). In 1863, the elaboration of a series of project for the different bodies of the Armed Forces acted as reference to build new installations in the whole country¹⁵¹.

The classification of the models on the basis of which the barracks were built until WWII can be the following¹⁵²:

1. “Barracks with central patio” (fig. 18, 19, and 20), consisting of a sole building organised around one or two interior courtyards. In Italy this type was proposed in 1863 for the infantry barracks, but such model was not very used due to problems derived from the poor ventilation of the patio.

Fig. 18: Cantore barracks (Piacenza) is an example of a barracks with a central courtyard, consisting of a single building developed around one or more internal open spaces, separated from each other.



¹⁵¹ Following the first studies, successively other ones were published in military journals and specialised manuals. In Italy, the School of Weapons Application of Artillery and Military Engineering Department – *Scuola di Applicazione delle Armi di Artiglieria e Genio*– provided standardised patterns and examples to design the military settlements according to functional, structural, hygienic-sanitary, and morphological criteria. The designers of the Military Engineers Department were originally coming from the Kingdom of Sardinia, being successively incorporated in the new Italian state. They were culturally and technically prepared both in civil and military sphere, especially in the building of fortification and military architecture. Their work was in line with the evolution of the European debate on national defence systems and criteria and innovations in quartering. In fact, they were also very active in the development of a European culture of quartering (Donesana, 1875; Fara, 1985).

¹⁵² The quartering not always belonged to a specific typology as some structures showed an overlapping of models, such as the case of quartering “by blocs”. The building could be organised following any models due to the irregular shape of the plot. Moreover, according to the “General Master Plan of the barracks” – *Piano Regolatore della caserma*– (Eccellente, 1990: 49-54) before WWII the typology of the barracks was characterised by three different models:

- Square-shaped structures with an open and unbuilt central space. Its construction period dated back to the post-Napoleonic period, 1825, until 1930;
- U-shaped functional barracks built in the 1930s and 1940s on the city's outskirts;
- Barracks not belonging to the aforementioned categories, being substantially the buildings originally intended for other functions, such as convents, prisons, and other institutions. These buildings were inadequate to the military for reasons related to their previous use and the historical and monumental values: the functional antiquity; their location, in general, in the Historic Centres; the impossibility of modernisation of their structures; and the lack of adequate spaces to house the military activities of the military. For more details, see the classification of Turri, Cappelletti and Zamperini (2008: 72-74). Here I would like to point out that neither the latter categorisation nor the one by Eccellente took into account the reutilisation of the industrial spaces for the military between the Italian Unification and WWII. Among others, an outstanding example was the ancient car factory S.C.A.T. – *Società Ceirano Automobili Torino*. It was built between 1912 and 1913 in the popular neighbourhood of Campidoglio in Turin; only two decades later, in 1935, it was reconverted in the Amione barracks.

Source: elaboration by F. Camerin (2020).

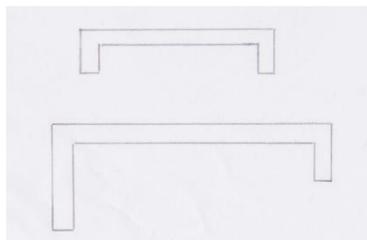
Fig. 19 and 20: position and photograph of the Cantore barracks.



Source: Google Maps aerial photography (2020) and photograph by F. Camerin (2017).

2. “Linear barracks” (fig. 21 and 22), set up by a long central building whose ends were provided by two wings. All of them were used for the troop accommodation, command offices, and ancillary services, while the stables of horses and other places for animals were located in different buildings. The projections of the wings generally measured no more than a third of the length of the central body.

Fig. 21 and 22: the Erariali barracks del Campone (Verona) is an example of linear barracks. The length of the central part assumes variable values in relation to the functions to be installed and the dimensions of the plot.

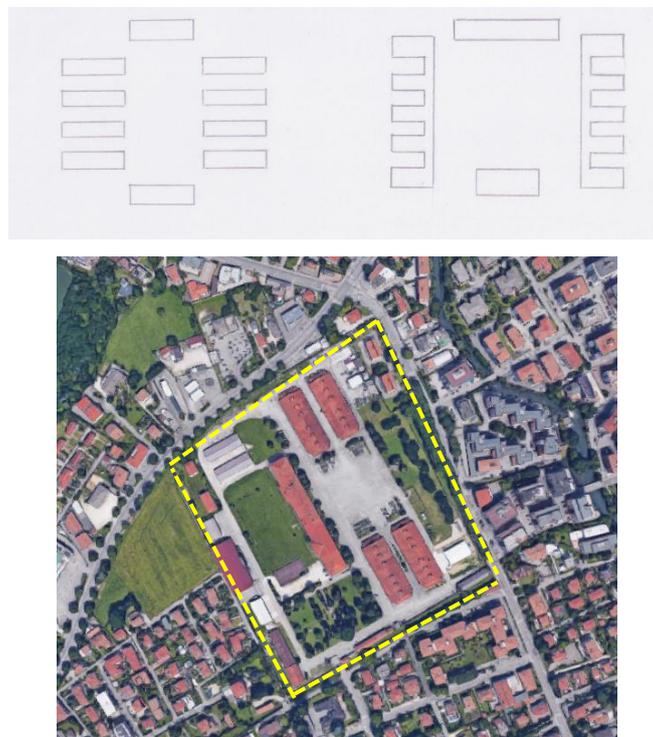


Source: elaboration by F. Camerin (2020) and Google Maps aerial photography (2020).

3. “Isolated block barracks” in the form of pavilions¹⁵³. They consisted of a group of isolated and mono-functional buildings distributed around a large central square, thus seeking the maximum ventilation and sunshine. The Command’s offices were always in a privileged position on the access side of the square, while the other pavilions were organised in three different ways:

a. “Comb-shaped blocks” (fig. 23 and 24) on two sides of the square, being orthogonal to the same sides: they were occupied, respectively, by the Command and the stables of horses. This system was adopted in the settlements for cavalry troops with two-storey buildings: the stables of horses were settled on the ground floor and the dormitories on the upper floor. In the artillery barracks, the additional buildings, the canopies, and the armament warehouses were located behind the stables.

Fig. 23 and 24: The De Dominicis barracks (Treviso) is an example of comb-shaped blocks barracks.

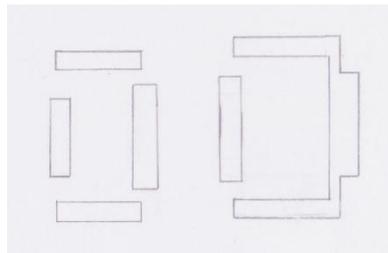


Source: elaboration by F. Camerin (2020) and Google Maps aerial photography (2020).

¹⁵³ The British origins of this system gave it the name of “block system”, even though it took into account the French experience of Tollet. The block system was admittedly more hygienic, but it consumed a lot of surface.

a. “Blocks placed along the sides of the square” (fig. 25, 26, and 27). This solution was adopted for the infantry and cavalry barracks when it was decided to separate the troops from the horses. In the infantry barracks the blocks occupied the three free sides of the main barracks, while in the cavalry and artillery barracks they were located on the sides adjacent to the Command, with the stables occupying the last side. Other buildings, including kitchens, gymnasiums, stables, canopies, and warehouses, were arranged outside the quadrilateral.

Fig. 25, 26, and 27: Tommaso Salsa barracks (Treviso) is an example of barracks in blocks placed along the sides of the square. The pavilions were arranged on both sides of the square, being orthogonal to it. The other sides were occupied respectively by the Command and the stables.



Source: elaboration by F. Camerin (2020), Google Maps aerial photography (2020) and photographs by F. Camerin (2017).

c. “Functional blocks” (fig. 28, 29, and 30) built throughout the whole country following the model designed in 1936. They were U-shaped barracks organised in groups of three on both sides of the square with the central part in front of it.

Fig. 28, 29, and 30: Gonzaga Lupi di Toscana barracks (Scandicci, Florence) is an example of barracks in functional blocks according to the 1936 model project.



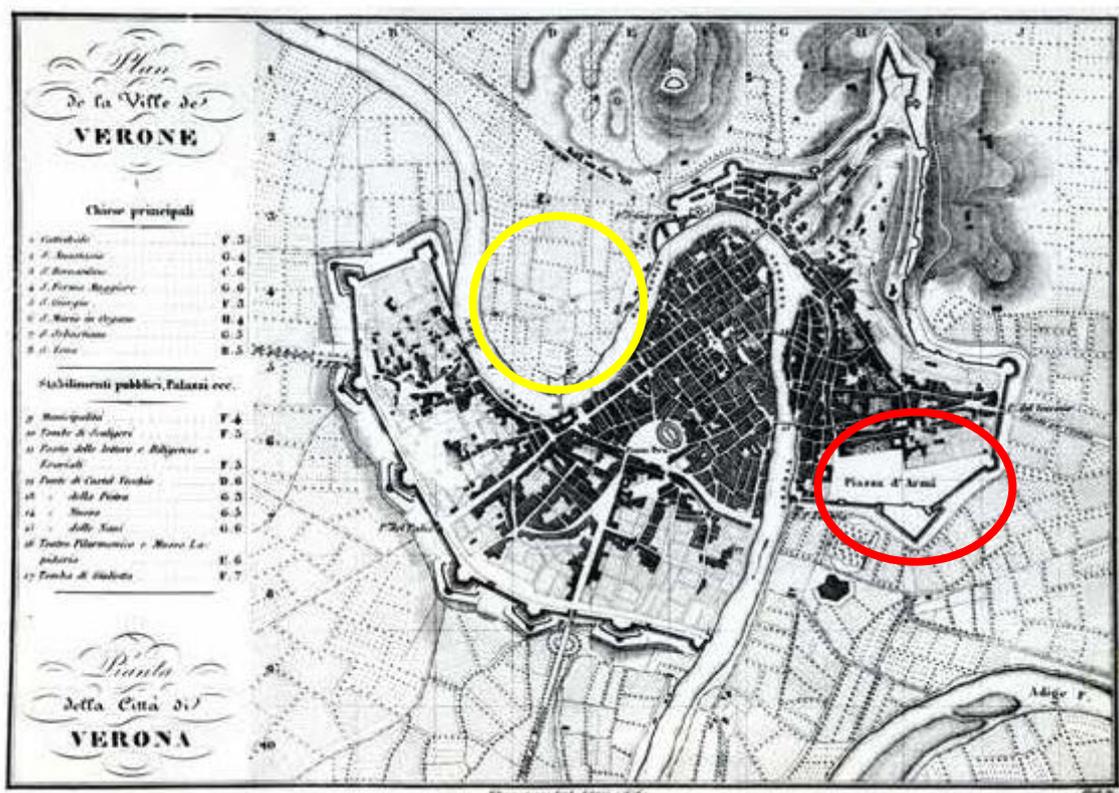
Source: elaboration by F. Camerin (2020), Google Maps aerial photography (2020) and photographs by F. Camerin (2017).

Military premises and urban development

The building of military artefacts has been inevitably related to the urban development dynamics. During the second half of the 19th century-industrialisation, European cities were limited by the ancient walls, which established the boundary between urbanised and rural areas. At that time, cities began a large expansion based on significant urban elements. Italy was a clear example of such dynamics. The construction of a well-structured road and rail transportation network after the Unification, especially in the more industrialised north of the country, thus created the basic conditions for building new military settlements (Melis, 1941). This fact provided the national territory with a more unitary organisational structure from the military point of view, this being also

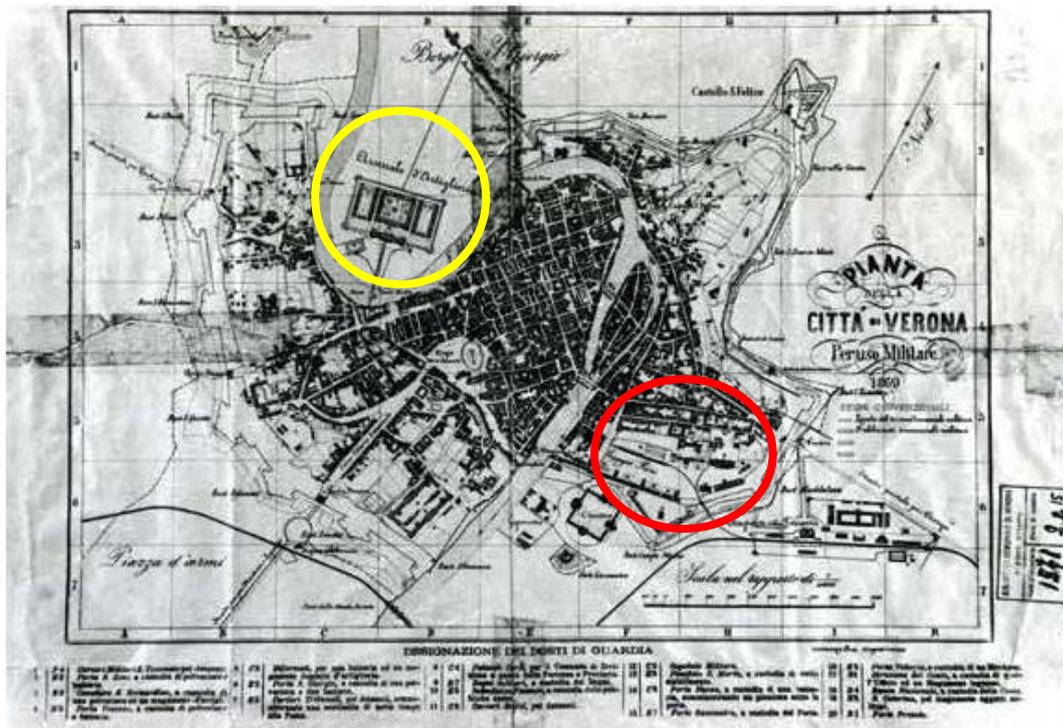
supported by the spread of the compulsory military service (Labanca, 2007; Quirico, 2008). The realisation of new military installations in the immediate periphery of the city where a huge quantity of land was available for such purposes conditioned the next urban transformations. This dynamics triggered the urbanisation of the spatial context where these installations were located. For instance, it is worth mentioning the case of Santa Marta barracks and the Arsenal of Verona, located respectively in the meander of the Adige river and in the south-eastern part of the city (fig. 31 and 32). Their materialisation in the 19th century was the triggering element of a new urbanisation process outside the old city walls.

Fig. 31: the *Plan de la ville de Verone* in the Lombard Veneto guide (1842). The yellow circle indicates the location of the Arsenal and the red circle the Santa Marta barracks one.



Source: reelaboration starting from Comune di Verona (2011: xlv).

Fig. 32: the “Plan of the city of Verona for military use” (1869). The yellow circle indicates the location of the Arsenal and the red circle the Santa Marta barracks one.



Source: reelaboration starting from Comune di Verona (2011: xlv).

The localisation of the quartering dealt with the new economic, political, and social conditions of the new State and faced with two kinds of situation. On the one hand, the military settled in existing military assets built in the pre-Unification period and, on the other hand, the Ministry of War aimed to fulfil the objectives of a new national defence system. The main goal was to distribute the Armed Forces in the whole territory with an organic approach that would facilitate the supervision of the most important strategical points, the protection of the borders and the access routes to the national territory, and guarantee the movement and convergence of troops in case of war (Bettinaria, 1989). Moreover, the localisation responded to the establishment of a precise criteria to stay away from the working-class neighbourhoods as the latter could be truly centres of infections on the grounds of their poor hygienic conditions. Several reasons were therefore outlined in order to proceed with the localisation of new military facilities. Firstly, hygiene and health reasons were considered the most

important factors in order to seek the best area to locate military installations¹⁵⁴. Secondly, the need of free and large unbuilt space for military manoeuvres and the future need of new buildings. Thirdly, the poor public resources given to the Ministry of War allowed it the purchase of only low-cost land. Such criterions¹⁵⁵ propelled the localisation of the barrack out of the “polluted” areas of the city, far from the last suburbs, and close to the fields. The localisation, however, was not too far from the urban centres in order to avoid the isolation of the soldier from urban life, which would probably have repercussions on his vital spirit (Bruni, 1937).

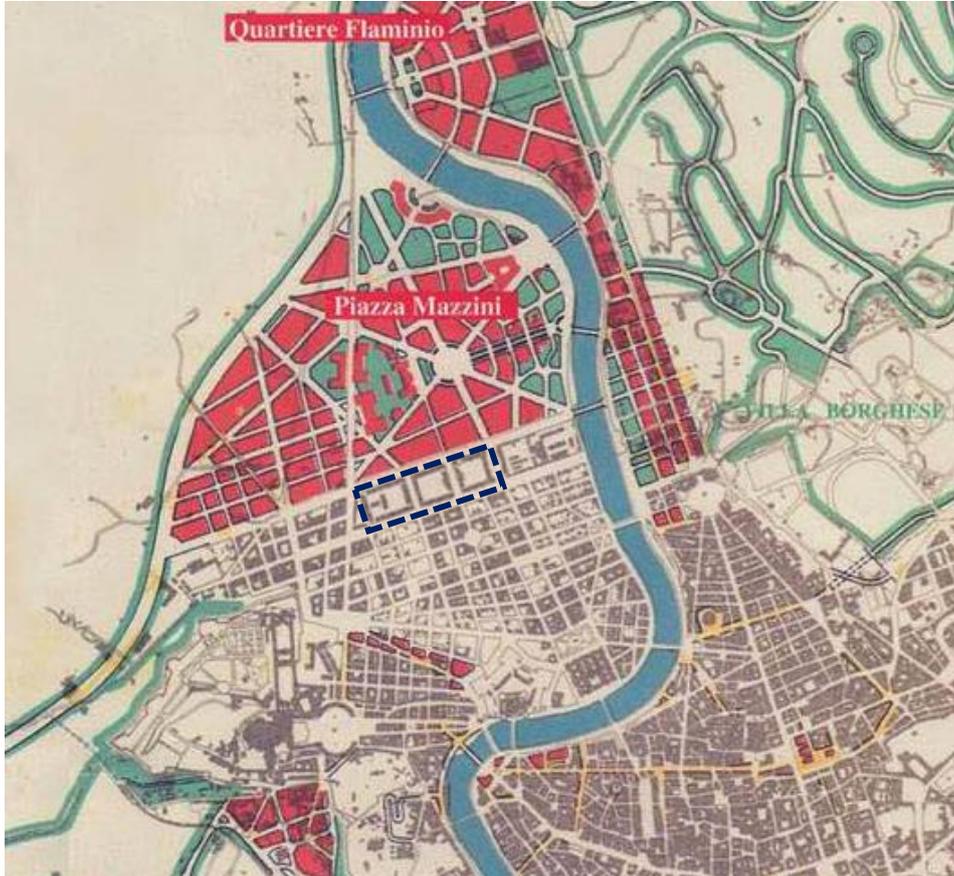
Between the late 19th century and the Fascism epoque, the new barracks were usually located in the perimeter of the historic cities –beyond the ancient walls already demolished– along the urban and extra-urban communication routes, or near the main railway lines and stations. Such patterns were surely linked with the development of a state techno-bureaucracy involved in the implementation of new urban planning and development policies. The difficulties to carry out large operation to materialise new military settlements was a symptom of the difficulty that has historically marked the construction of the state architectures. In spite of such problems in the realisation of military artefacts, entire military districts were built in the provincial capitals and the fortified squares, such as the Santa Rita district in Turin around the Armed Forces Square. Other cases are the military district in Rome along the Militia Avenue (fig. 33) and the area of Cecchignola in Milan, between Monti and delle Famiglie streets.

¹⁵⁴ Carried out mostly in the North Italy. See the case of the fortification system built between 1862 and 1914 in Veneto Region (Posocco, 1990).

¹⁵⁵ As argued by Turri, Cappelletti and Zamperini (2008: 74-76), the choice of the most suitable location for the barracks and the orientation of the buildings was also influenced by factors such as:

- The exposure of buildings to solar radiation. In cold regions the main axis of the buildings was oriented north-south so that the main facades were heated by the sun; in hot climates the orientation was east-west to reduce heat absorption;
- The orography and exposure to the prevailing winds. The highest areas and those ones most exposed to the prevailing wind currents were the criterions taken into account to guarantee a more efficient ventilation;
- The composition of the soil. The non recommended areas were non-permeable soils, which could favoure water stagnation, and soils rich in organic matter of plant or animal origin;
- The proximity to watercourses in order to encourage draughts and use the water for washing clothes and bathing horses;
- The need of keeping the barracks at a distance from sources of contamination or infection, such as industries, hospitals, and slaughterhouses.

Fig. 33: Extract of the 1909 General Master Plan of Rome. In blue the Militia Avenue quartering, in the southern part of Mazzini Square.



Source: 1909 General Master Plan of Rome –*Piano Regolatore Generale di Roma*– (1909)

After the outbreak of WWII, the localisation of the military premises showed an enormous vulnerability to air attacks, which implied the planning of new types of solutions. From then on, the military artefacts started to be positioned out of the urban centres, thus reducing the recognition of military settlements from the air and allowing a greater freedom for soldiers' manoeuvres and exercises. In the post-WWII period, the danger of an atomic attack radically conditioned the distribution of military installations in the whole Italian territory. The new guidelines provided specific spaces for smaller operational units not exceeding one regiment, or battalion, each of them corresponding to different Armed Forces corps. Plus, the minimum distance between two installations was 3 to 5 km so as to rationalise the military presence in the city (Turri, Cappelletti y Zamperini, 2008: 76). Following these patterns, the “standard barracks” would be

established between 2 and 6 km far from the urban centre with a capacity to house 1,000 soldiers in an area of at least 20 hectares, totalling cost around 30 billion Liras¹⁵⁶ (Eccellente, 1990: 53).

Fig. 34 y 35: Example of a military base in peripheral areas in the post-WWII. On the left, satellite image and, on the right, photo of the internal area of the former military base “Launch area 57° Gr. I.T.” incorporated with Nike missiles in Ceggia (province of Venice).



Source: Google Maps aerial photography (2020) and photograph by F. Camerin (2017).

The aforementioned guidelines were only partially applied due to the impossibility of complete the modernisation of the existing military real estate assets. Moreover, a new phase began for the Italian Armed Forces were subjected to specific processes of reorganisation¹⁵⁷ after several events occurred in the post-WWII¹⁵⁸. The Army was reorganised between 1948 and 1954 and the National Navy and the Air Force between 1968 and 1975 (Malatesta et al., 2015: 32-48). These processes had significantly increased military expenditure, also for the provision of Nike missiles to the Air Force in the 1950s and 1960s (fig. 34 and 35) and Hawk missiles to the Army in the 1970s, and the boosting of military industry and the marketing of weapons. Italy was consequently affected by an expansion of the military presence, which also included the arrival of the American Armed Forces¹⁵⁹. The presence of American bases meant the realisation of new military settlements. For instance, new quartering were built in Veneto Region due to the arrival of the American soldiers: the Army in Verona

¹⁵⁶ Nowadays corresponding to almost 28 million euros.

¹⁵⁷ For more information on the history of Italian Armed Forces during the post-WWII see Cerquetti (1975), Ilari (1978 y 1994), Nuti (1989), Jean (1989 y 1994), Ceva (1999), Luppi (2012) y Mariani (2013).

¹⁵⁸ Such as the North Atlantic Treaty, which created the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation –NATO– on 4 April 1949; the German rearmament; the Warsaw Pact of 14 May 1955; and the independence and neutralisation of Austria.

¹⁵⁹ For more details on the military American presence in Italy, see the work coordinated by Ronzitti (2007).

with the so-called “Headquarters of the Allied Land Forces Southern Europe” – HQ-LAND.SOUTH.– in 1951 and the so-called “Southern European Task Force” –S.E.TA.F.– for the nuclear missiles in 1955.

The materialisation of military assets. Origins, developments, and culmination of a spatial appropriation process

The long-lasting materialisation of military installations in Italian cities was characterised by the acquisition of the large properties that supported them following three procedures.

Firstly, by reusing monastic properties located within the consolidated historical urban centres (fig. 36 and 37). They were large properties of historical, architectural, and cultural value and converted into military installations during the second half of the 19th century. In this way, the old buildings coming from religious use have not been affected by significant degradation processes, neither by large demolitions nor by excessive transformations.

Fig. 36 y 37: on the left, satellite image and, on the right, photo of the Redi barracks (Florence), a former monastery built in 1297.



Source: Google Maps aerial photography (2020) and photograph by F. Camerin (2017).

Secondly, by the occupation of properties located on the edges of the historical urban centre (fig. 38 and 39), around the ring road that was usually identified with the old walls. These areas have been gradually affected by the subsequent urbanisation process and are now reabsorbed into the urban fabric.

Fig. 38 and 39: on the left, satellite image and, on the right, photograph of the Piave barracks (Padua) built in the second half of the 19th century inside the old city ring road.



Source: Google Maps aerial photography (2020) and photograph by F. Camerin (2017).

Thirdly, by building military settlements in areas that, at the time of their construction, were located outside the inhabited centre, usually within a radius of one kilometre (fig. 40, 41, and 42). The barracks built during the Fascist period were characterised by being at a greater distance from the historical centres. This, in turn, responded to the growth of the city centres during the post-Unification. Currently, these premises are absorbed in semi-peripheral, or clearly peripheral, areas of cities, predominantly residential areas or, sometimes, in industrial and craft production areas defined by fragmented and not very consolidated urban fabric.

Fig. 40: the satellite image of the M.Ar.di.Chi. Artillery and Chemical Defence Warehouse (Turin), built between 1911 and 1928.



Source: Google Maps aerial photography (2020).

Fig. 41 and 42: two photographs of the M.Ar.di.Chi. (Turin).



Source: photographs by F. Camerin (2017).

Now the interest is on how the Italian Armed Forces acquired property to exercise their military function. With the aim to tipify the process of materialisation of military settlements after the Italian Unification, the classification of the form of taking possession of such properties is the following.

1. The “conversion of ecclesiastical buildings” starting with Law no. 384 of 22 December 1861, later modified and integrated, by Law no. 2077 of 24 December 1864. Such legislation forced the expropriation¹⁶⁰ of the Church-owned assets to exercise the functions required by the new Italian State. All the Italian cities were faced with the need to house the soldiers. The first action carried out was the reconversion of ecclesiastical goods, abandoned or expropriated by the Italian State, into barracks and other kinds of installations, this following the models adopted by other European countries, such as Spain or France. It was an existent heritage that, although old and in generally mediocre conditions, responded to the bureaucratic and financial demands of the military.

2. The “acquisition and sale of land properties” derived from specific agreements established between the City Councils and the Ministry of War from

¹⁶⁰ For more details on the disentailment of the Church-owned assets between 1860 and 1890 see the work of Gioli (1997). Between 1861 and 1864, 102 religious buildings confiscated and occupied by the military. Afterwards, the so-called “Laws on the subversion of the ecclesiastical axis” –*Leggi d’eversione dell’asse ecclesiastico*– were the Royal Decree of 7 July 1866, n. 3036, articles 11, 18, 20 and 21; the Royal Decree of 21 July 1866, n. 3070, article 30; the Law of 15 August 1867, n. 3848, article 7; and the Royal Decree of 22 August 1867, n. 3852, articles 73-75 and 88. Such Laws have gradually led to the abandonment and the functional reconversion of these ecclesiastical assets to civil activities (Breschi, 2014). In particular, until 31 December 1872, 72 ecclesiastical properties were attributed to the Ministry of War (Gioli, 1997: 98).

1861 to the Fascist era. These operations were realised either through exchanges and expropriations of land and buildings between the two agents (being the first case, 2a), or through acquisitions and expropriations by the City Councils (being the second case, 2b). Such way of proceeding aimed to house the military in order to increase the city economic competitiveness within the new organisation of the Italian State.

2a. The exchanges and expropriations on the basis of agreements between local authorities and the Ministry of War aimed at the expulsion of the military installations from the city centre to relocate them in the city's outskirts in accordance with the Urban Planning instruments and their modification/integration. This is why the great military properties located in the central areas of the city started an emptying process, which meant making them available on the real estate market. Such 19th century-capitalist-development-oriented mechanism encouraged the sales of military assets due to the high profitability of their land in an attempt to finance the relocation of the military to more peripheral areas. For instance, in Turin the sign of an agreement on 14 April 1904 was incorporated into the 1906-1908 Building regulation and expansion plan for the city to provide the relocation of the barracks within the city. The reasons of such reorganisation were related to the rationalisation and changes in the strategies of the military with regard to their presence in the city, as well as issues related to the hygiene and health of the troops. However, this type of real estate business was one of the consequences of the continuous urbanisation and city expansion, which uninterruptedly created more and more profit-oriented spaces (Bertelli, 2014: 48-49).

2b. The second case refers to the competition between cities to ensure a military presence on their territory. After the Unification, the arrival of the soldiers was largely desired by the municipalities of the provincial capitals. Despite the expense involved housing the troops, the City Councils goal was to attract the military as they provided an opportunity to increase the economic capacity of the cities. This is the case of Belluno. Due to its peripheral position with respect to other provincial capitals in Northern Italy, such city suffered from an economic crisis between 1880 and 1882, despite the construction of a new railway line connecting it to other territories. The City Council financed the land expropriation and the building of the new barracks in the attempt to attract the military in the

city: they were considered a fundamental pillar in reversing the local economic crisis. As a matter of fact, the construction of the Fantuzzi barracks between 1886 and 1889, this being followed by another four barracks in the following decades, and the subsequent constant presence of thousands of soldiers provided Belluno with an important economic and social injection throughout the 20th century (Mancuso, 1990: 30-31)¹⁶¹. In summary, the economic reasons related to the military presence derived from the following objectives. Firstly, to decrease the number of unemployed people by the creation of various jobs required to the quartering operations, such as those related to the construction of the military facilities, and the residences to house their families. Secondly, to increase the economic transactions, especially those related to shops and public establishments, therefore, to local commerce. Thirdly, to promote the social relationships, the cultural circles, and the public shows. Fourth, to increase the number of inhabitants and the school population.

3. An “autonomous acquisition by the Ministry of War of land properties to realise new military settlements”. It involved either purchasing land with no use (first case, 3a), or reconvert existing artefacts, such as industries, which could easily meet the military needs (second case, 3b).

3a. The case of quartering in unbuilt land referred to great military properties out of the ancient city walls. This is the case of the Military Maritime Arsenal of La Spezia (1862-1869)¹⁶². The construction of these installations had an “urbanising” impact affecting their surrounding territory, as well as an important socio-economic change in the city.

3b. As regards the second case, it is worth mentioning the case of the car factory called “Società Automobili Roma” in Guido Reni Street (Flaminio neighbourhood, Rome). In 1916, the factory was acquired by the Ministry of War, via a General Master Plan Modification, due to the WWI requirements. The old factory was considered suitable for the production of arms and ammunition, so reused as a “Royal Arms Factory” –*Regia Fabbrica d’Armi*.

¹⁶¹ The quartering usually improved the local economy, creating a relationship between the local public authorities and the Ministry of War, or Defence, even during the 20th century. As pointed out by Baccichet (2018: 104), in the municipality of Vittorio Veneto (Treviso province) the quartering was realised according to the General Master Plan. During the 1950s local politicians drew up the first General Master Plan, assigning specific areas to military uses as the presence of soldiers would enhance the city in terms of prestige and decorum.

¹⁶² Its construction was officially promoted by the Law of 28 July 1861, n. 136, which established an extraordinary expense of 36 million Liras, nowadays around 166 million euros.

4. The “incorporation of the fortresses and other military installations”, built prior to the Italian Unification, to the Ministry of War real estate assets. These were settlements of all kinds built in previous decades, or even centuries. Their backgrounds may be the following. Firstly, ecclesiastical, as is the case of the Redi barracks in Florence, a former convent built in the 13th century and converted into a military hospital in 1838, located in the historic city centre. Secondly, the artefacts built by the ancient States, such as the Arsenal of Venice, which was realised during the Republic of Venice at the end of the 12th century. Thirdly, settlements erected in accordance with the interests derived from foreign dominations, before the Italian Unification, especially in the territories of the Northeast of the country. For instance, the period of French and Austro-Hungarian domination, throughout the 19th century meant the building of several military compounds. On the one hand, the late 18th and early 19th century-French domination meant the materialisation of the Marghera fortress in Venice (1803-1813). In the following years, this fortress was incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian military assets and successively was ceded to Italy in 1866 and occupied by the Italian troops until the 1990s. On the other hand, the Austro-Hungarian Empire promoted the construction of “Franz Josef I” Arsenal of Verona (1854-1861) and the reform of a group of former convents converted into military installations during the Napoleonic era. Such structures were modified and integrated between 1863 and 1865 by the Austrian Military Engineers. It happened just before the annexation of Veneto to the Kingdom of Italy, in 1866. The military settlements were called Santa Marta barracks, today converted into one of Verona’s university campuses. Both the Arsenal and Santa Marta barracks were used by the Italian Ministry of Defence until 1996 (Mamoli, 1990: 36-40).

5. The “construction of new military settlements during Fascism” was undertaken for national defence purposes according to the Duce’s power, but without taking into account the real demands of the cities. The bureaucratic procedures of the construction of military installations in cities such as Milan (Camerin, 2018b) went beyond building and urban planning issues. Such processes took place according to the balance between the strategic military needs and the political decision-making process which decided to build new military settlements. Also, the latter were the result of the Fascism’s desire for self-representation and the complex economic management of State-City-

Council-financed public interventions. Often, as mentioned in point 2, it was a matter of promoting the expulsion of the barracks from the city central areas and their relocation in peripheral low-cost land, sometimes owned by the City Council. Such displacement could lead one to believe that this mechanism was inevitably related to a real estate business set up by the sale of state-owned military areas to start a private-fostered real estate development. For instance, in Milan a decree signed by Mussolini in June 1926 tried to conduct one of the most imposing urban renewals in the city. This consisted in promoting the realisation of the powerful “Palace of Justice” according to the rationalisation of the Ministry of War presence in the city. The relocation of the military settlements from the city centre to the periphery aimed to finance the whole operation but, eventually, it failed to be entirely carried out (Poli, 2016).

6. The “land expropriation in peripheral areas of the Italian territory”. The sixth way of quartering was carried out within the framework of specific international collaborations, above all with the United States, in order to face the hypothetical, and overestimated, danger of an invasion by the Soviet Union during the Cold War (1947-1991). The agreements between Italy and the United States in the frame of the NATO alliance drove the creation of new military bases starting from the 1950s. This is the case of the following facilities: Camp Darby (Livorno) and Camp Ederle (Vicenza) for the Army; the Navy bases in Naples, Gaeta (province of Latina), and La Maddalena (Sassari); and the Sigonella base (Syracuse-Catania), for the Air Force¹⁶³. Also, during the 1950s and 1960s, Italy was provided with other smaller-size installations, today most of them abandoned, territorially dispersed, meant for the accomplishment of several tasks, such as the formation of soldiers, weapons and vehicles storage, and powder magazines. The most striking cases can be found in Friuli Venezia Giulia Region: here, the Ministry of Defence was claimed to occupy 103 square kilometres of land during the 1960s. The 50% of such area was restricted by military servitudes (Santarossa and Scirè Risichella, 2016: 30). It is also noteworthy citing the case of Veneto Region, although with a lesser impact than the aforementioned Friuli Venezia Giulia. In Veneto, 94 installations were built in

¹⁶³ In addition, the bases at Cosimo (Ragusa) and Aviano (Pordenone) were already existing before the arrival of the US Armed Forces. Both of them were successively designated as bases for the American Air Force.

the post-WWII, 49 of which have been abandoned over time and later object of a disposal process (Gastaldi and Camerin, 2018: 66).

Military assets and real estate market

The military installations-making process in Italy has conditioned the production and materialisation of certain territorial fragments, which maintained a certain autonomy with respect to the territorial context where they were located. Even referring to the European context, these types of settlements have remained goods of exclusive use for the Armed Forces within the city. Moreover, this type of great property remained on the margins of the real estate market until urban development patterns have committed them to real estate business. Such dynamics happened on some occasions since the second half of the 19th century. However, the rest of great properties failed to escape the real estate market, which forced a profit-oriented change of use according to the patterns of the urban dynamics. In this context, it has to be remarked that the location of military installations in peripheral areas not immediately adjacent to the consolidated urban centre was even driven by a clearly speculative strategy. The long-term objective of this approach was to increase the land value of the territory between the historic centres and the new military installations.

Regardless of the urban transformations of the context where these facilities were located, as Insolera (1989: 668) argued¹⁶⁴, *«there is a huge exchange of social activities and uses from which military zones are excluded. Closed areas, even physically, that follow another logic, that do not participate in urban dynamics. Stable and unchangeable points amidst changes and variations produced by multiple factors»*¹⁶⁵. Military properties, therefore, are excluded from the dialectic of urban transformation: their own dynamics obey to the geopolitical transformations of Armed Forces. This ends up conditioning the surrounding areas, thus military premises constitute an element of extreme importance for the history of the city.

¹⁶⁴ Translation made by the Author of the thesis from Italian to English.

¹⁶⁵ This is not a characteristic of the military premises, although it can be claimed that it is more rigorous in this type of great property. The attributes of being closed and exclusive are also characterised the religious assets, the industrial establishments, and the railway logistics parks.

For instance, the reconversion of religious and monastic buildings into military installations involved, as a first step, the abandonment of these religious complexes, their change of use, and their socio-spatial restructuring. In addition, an important fact was the expropriation the ecclesiastic properties have been subjected to, so they would not be any longer collective goods participating in the urban life as they used to be. The reconversion of these old buildings was certainly a better solution than their demolition, even though the expropriation can be considered as a breaking point disrupting a whole series of historical socio-spatial relationships established in the city-making process. This change was decisive for many cities from an urban planning point of view: at that time, in the late 19th century and early 20th century, Italian cities started to be massively transformed via urban renewal operations.

The arrival of the military in the cities was seen as an economic opportunity, the management process of which was generally carried out by a contract-agreement between the State, i.e. the Ministry of War, and the City Council. The contents of such agreements dealt with the location of the areas where the military installations were about to settle, a decision made effective by the drafting of the first General Master Plans during the second half 19th century, all of which in accordance to Law no. 2,359/1865. As mentioned above, this is the case of the early 20th century- Building regulation and expansion plan for the city of Turin. Depending on the function of the military installation –barracks, firing ranges, powder magazines, warehouses, and so on–, its location in the territory was thus established in accordance with specific models and military needs. The location was strongly influenced by the urban development model according to which the city-making process was carried out. If the barracks were initially located in the city centre, by the end of the 19th century they moved to the most peripheral areas, colonising territories that, at that time, were undeveloped. This dynamics was carried out following the decentralisation process of the unwanted activities located in strategic places under the point of view of real estate market.

In short, the process of development/construction of large military installations in the city expresses an economic, social, and spatial behaviour. After the materialisation of great military properties, they were initially excluded from the complex dynamics affecting the city building. Over time, their presence would influence the assessment of the context where they were located,

exercising, in specific cases, as obstacles to new urban transformations. The internal logic of military installations was not only exclusive and external to the prevailing urban logic and the real estate development, but the former prevailed over the latter. Military premises, in fact, struggled when it came to change their use. In other words, Defence assets are stronger features in the urban context by virtue of their military character. What made them powerful as compared to the urban development was the availability of large amounts of land: this factor would determine the future urban life of their surrounding areas and the city-making process.

The obsolescence of military premises. Their dismantling, abandonment, and disposal

During the last three decades, most of the European countries were affected by a process of dismantling-abandonment-disposal of military premises which would result in their regeneration¹⁶⁶. Italy, in this respect, represents a very particular case. The disposal of the military real estate, as well as the public- and state-owned properties, was part of an extensive process of the State administrative reform. Such change affected the management and rationalisation of the public real estate assets to tackle financial and organisation issues (Artioli, 2016b: 1761-1763), this being the factor pushing to speculative regeneration projects. The disposal was intended, firstly, as a mechanism to proceed with a property transfer of the assets no longer considered necessary for public purposes. Secondly, and no less importantly, military assets were made redundant in order to deal with the financial crisis shaking the capitalist system. The selling of public-owned properties was therefore a measure to tackle the serious budget deficit suffered by Western countries. In Italy, there is no doubt that the alienation has been used to deal with the public debt (Gastaldi and Camerin, 2017c: 156). According to Baccichet (2015: 12), another peculiar aspect of the Italian case was the following. Despite the fact that the original materialisation of the military settlements has been based on a certain territorial policy, although perhaps not

¹⁶⁶ For a general overview, see Bagaeen and Clark (2016) and Ponzini and Vani (2012); in particular, take a look into the work of Dubois-Maury (1998) for the French case and Brandis et al. (2005) for the Spanish case.

explicitly expressed, on the contrary, the dismantling-abandonment has not been the result of a well thought-out strategy. Such process was completely improvised or, better said, carried out in an anarchic way.

In parallel with the administrative reform of public bodies, the U.S.A.'s and European's Ministries of Defence coped with another huge restructuration. The geopolitical international context and the defence security systems were changed (Warf, 1997) according to the guidelines of the main international organisations for the maintenance of peace and world security, well described in the document "A secure Europe in a better world" (European Union, 2003). In countries such as France, Germany, Spain, and the UK the modernisation of the national defence system aimed to improve the efficiency, flexibility, and professionalism of the entire military organisations (Servizio Studi del Senato, 2009). An essential policy was the promotion of a much more rational and less expensive management of the Defence real estate assets, which regarded both the strategic areas to maintain and improve, and the premises to make redundant.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the gradual transition to a professional army being part of a new European- and international-scoped military strategy, meant important territorial transformations. Indeed, the latter regarded a gradual process of dismantling and disposal of numerous military properties, which were already in a state of under-utilisation and/or abandonment. In the late 1980s, many of the European military properties did not meet the needs of the Armed Force for two reasons. Defence assets were outdated according both to the new international geopolitical context and the apparently high degree of obsolescence in comparison with the late 20th century-Defence needs. The existent artefacts required almost always significant expenditure to adapt them to new technologies, legislation, and military standards. In addition, the Ministry of Defence needed heavy investments for the supply of the new armaments. According to Mas Hernández (2003: 239), in the late 20th century and in the early 21st century, the abandonment and sale of many military premises use has become a very common practice in contemporary European societies. It can be argued that the Ministry of Defence was usually the entity showing the greatest interest in capitalising the transactions of such assets: the aim has been always to make high profit for other investments.

In this context, it is important to emphasize the reasons used to justify the abandonment and dismantling of military properties. The disposal of these assets was not only related to the intrinsic logic of the “organisation and reform” of the State, but, as already observed, to the changes in the “national defence system” and the “international geopolitical context”¹⁶⁷. These three factors represented only the starting point, an “excuse” to exploit the patrimonial legacies by the patterns established by virtue of the late 20th century-economic dynamics. Such process, therefore, responded to the logic of capitalist cities-making process, in which the speculative approach of the real estate developments prevailed over collective interests. Here I am referring to the process of urban land rent production and its effects on cities and territories¹⁶⁸.

To understand the process of abandonment of military installations in Italy and in Western European countries, I am claiming the necessary knowledge of the urban dynamics patterns in the context of the “capitalist economic system”. The essential point is to understand the processes based on which the “new areas of centrality” has taken place. In fact, the military decommissioning and abandonment processes have been committed to such processes¹⁶⁹.

As Della Seta and Salzano claimed (1993: 54), in the 1980s the accumulation of wealth in the richest areas of the world took place based on the exploitation of urban land rent. The “speculative investments” derived from the accumulation of bank credit, the amount of which reached 320 billion dollars in

¹⁶⁷ In the existing literature, these three factors were claimed to be the main causes triggering the alienation (see chapter 1, paragraph 2 “The reasons behind institutional abandonment and its consequences”).

¹⁶⁸ I would remark this fact by taking a look into the case of the “education sector”. Why did schools disappear from the city centre, especially during the 20th century? The answer could be the following. Such sector did not disappear or were defined as “unnecessary”, but the society demanded other types of activities for the “central city” in order to generate more benefits based on the speculative extrapolation of urban rent. The traditional urban spaces have been demanded to place new central functions, i.e. profit-oriented spaces. At the same time, other ways of conceiving the educational centres started to be promoted, especially a private-led centres in peripheral urban areas. Comparing this phenomenon with the case of Defence assets, the situation is rather similar. The national defence was claimed to be carry out in a different way with respect to the past, thus supposing their settlement in another location in the territory. The same patterns were followed by the schools, which required both large areas of land for their modernisation, and wealthier population living in luxury suburban developments. These operations concerned real estate developments to displace activities previously located in the city centre in other location. Industries and railway installations showed the same dynamics: they did not disappear in the post-industrial society but they displaced their activities in other areas. By doing so, industrial, railway, and military landowners freed the central-located land to let more profitable activities settled there, thus exploiting the conditions of centrality. Clear examples of this trend are the creation of university campuses in the city’s outskirts (Reques Velasco, 2009).

¹⁶⁹ In the context of the urban sprawl process, the concept of “areas of new centrality” (Storchi and Oberdan, 2010; Mancuso, 2011, Ciardini and Rossi, 2015) refers to the set of functions that are grouped together to create new urban polarities (Alonso, 1964; Martínez Rigól, 2009; Paris, 2013), covering several activities – such as congress, cultural, and directional centres, universities, new residential settlements– and realising the exclusivity of the space.

1982. Ten years later, in 1992, it expanded greatly to 7,500 billion dollars. This value grew from 4% to 44% of the gross domestic product of the industrialised countries. In this way, the urban land rent in the capitalist countries shot up: in the period 1982-1992 the prices of land and buildings increased by 20 to 25% per year. The growing economic dimensions of such phenomenon on a global scale had quite an impact, as demonstrated by the increasing competition between existing urban and regional territories. The growing competition implied the creation of new areas of centrality: this was the case of the overproduction, even duplication, of directional centres containing prestigious equipment¹⁷⁰.

Following the guidelines of Reaganism and Thatcherism¹⁷¹, the promotion of the free market aimed to regulate-deregulate the processes of land production in cities. From this perspective, the “problems”, or perhaps “demands”, affecting the city were managed by the prevailing economic interests. As to the Italian case, the “emergencies” induced by the demands of the capitalist urban development since the 1970s were implemented by massive urban deregulation processes. This way of approaching the urban development meant the simplification and banalisation of the Urban and Territorial Planning practices¹⁷². Although in Italy a “town-planning reform by law”¹⁷³ was being carried out at that time in order to contain the unlimited urban and territorial extension –precisely from the mid-1960s to the early 1980–, during the 1980s a gradual abolition of such reform took place. This reform was stopped as it aimed to control the Urban Planning-fostered overproduction-reproduction of land. The “Laws for the reform” concerned sorting the negative impacts of the real estate development out. The measures to adopt aimed at slowing the speculation down and hitting the real estate developer-financial capital¹⁷⁴.

¹⁷⁰ This is the case of the Docklands operation in London: here 2,200 hectares of disused industrial areas were planned to be reconverted into the new tertiary space of the English capital (Foster, 1999). See Collenza (1990) for more information on the evolution of the directional centres in Italy between 1940 and the late 1980s, and those centres planned between the 1950s and 1970s.

¹⁷¹ The hypothesis of Reaganism and Thatcherism was inspired by neoliberalism, thus acting on the market in two ways. On the one hand, pursuing a fiscal programme to favour the higher incomes and a massive reduction in social spending. On the other hand, reducing and weakening the public health system and privatising different sectors belonging to the State (Frangakis et al., 2009). For further details see Thornley (1993) and the monographic issue n. 35 of the Italian magazine “Ventunesimo Secolo” (Quagliarillo, 2014).

¹⁷² This process started in Milan, afterwards spreading to other Italian cities (Campos Venuti, 2010b: 214-215).

¹⁷³ Derived from the failure of the 1962 Law Proposal by the Minister of Public Works Fiorentino Sullo (Sullo, 1964; Blečić, 2017). In the late 1960s, some Laws promoted the temporary programming of the urban development, thus facilitating the control of building transformations by the City Councils.

¹⁷⁴ The lower capacity of real estate developer-financial capital was demonstrated in the 1981 national census by the lack of housing to sell in the real estate market (Della Seta and Salzano, 1993: 68-69).

In order to restore the real estate developer-financial capital's capacity for decisively influencing the processes of urban and territorial transformation, the Italian governments extensively promoted emergency-led urban policies (Molinari, 1990: 162-163; Della Seta and Salzano, 1993: 67-95). From the 1980s onwards, the great majority of urban transformations introduced derogations in the Urban Planning instruments and programmes. The centralisation of the decisional power in matters of financing in the hands of the State meant granting the large urban, territorial, and infrastructural projects to the 1980s-financial-real estate block¹⁷⁵. This was the mechanism on the ground of which large-scope urban and territorial transformations in Italy came about from the 1980s¹⁷⁶.

The abandonment of large military artefacts to recover their status as “capital in land”

After the explanation of dynamics and approaches of urban and territorial transformations in Italy, here the attention comes back to the Defence assets. How, and why, has the process of abandonment of large military artefacts been developed in order to convert them into specific “capital in land”? The emergencies of transformation responded, in general, to the “need” of Italian cities to adapt themselves to the standards of living of the First World Countries and the new patterns of post-industrial urban developments. The aim of raising Italy to the level of competitiveness of other Western capitalist countries was used as an excuse to provide Italian cities with new functions according to the requirements of the international competition circuits¹⁷⁷. In order to achieve this goal, cities were equipped with new territorial-scoped urban activities in accordance with the global tertiary sector of the economy: the new artefacts were, among others, large directional, exhibition, and shopping centres, theme parks, and museums to promote national and international tourism. All these functions, of course, were accompanied and supported by the implementation of new large

¹⁷⁵ The holdings and large construction companies in Italy in the early 1990s have been reviewed by Della Seta and Salzano (1993: 33).

¹⁷⁶ Even to recover from the catastrophic effects of natural events, such as the Irpinia earthquake in 1980 (Iterar, 2011). Later, a similar approach took place after L'Aquila earthquake in 2009 (Oliva, Campos Venuti and Gasparrini, 2012).

¹⁷⁷ For instance, the extraordinary opportunity to hold the 1990s F.I.F.A. World Cup in 12 cities (Scano, 1990), as well as the Genoa's Expo '92 (Oliva, 1994a: 62-63).

infrastructure systems, such as high-speed railway lines and the improvements in the highways system (Maggi, 2003; Giuntini, 2012). These new transformations responded, above all, to the speculative approach to realise new profit-oriented operations based on the extrapolation of the differential ground rent. Highlighting the dynamics of the Italian urban and territorial development helps to understand the concepts of extraordinariness/emergency required by the global economy and the interests of capital. Such “urgency” was the excuse to act faster in order to shape precise changes in Italian cities and their territorial government instruments. With the aim to realise the aforementioned functions, the large industrial and railway areas were therefore subjected to an induced abandonment and dismantling. This happened also in the case of other traditional facilities, such as warehouses, educational centres, slaughterhouses, and small industries. The expected result of such dismantling-appropriation was making large quantity of strategically-located land available in order to settle there new profit-oriented functions. The fact of basing these urban transformations on the attempt to maximise the differential ground rent has contributed to the creation and/or extension of new “areas of new centrality”. The management of these operation was realised via the so-called “market-oriented urban planning” – *urbanistica contrattata*– to boost new public-private partnerships (Della Seta and Salzano, 1993: 96-125).

Following these patterns, the attempt of real estate promoters and large landowners was boosting the regeneration of the aforementioned facilities to make the highest profit¹⁷⁸. These areas were pushed to the abandonment due to their strategic position in the city, generally settled in the first periphery as a result of the industrialisation process, outside the old walls that surrounded the traditional urban fabric. The promoters justified the abandonment of the Fordist-related activities by the declaration of a hypothetical “obsolescence” in the context of the new capitalism-led global economic framework. This obsolescence, therefore, meant the opportunity to modernise the activities and facilities –or simply ended a certain economic business and lauched nother one– and regenerate the central-located land by taking advantage of the increasing international competition between cities and regions. This dynamics occurred

¹⁷⁸ See the cases of the Northern cities belonging to the so-called “Industrial Triangle”, i.e. Genoa, Milan, and Turin (Oliva, 1988).

once the historic centres have already been the object of intense urban renewal operations, the patterns of which would be the reference for the next transformations to carry out in the post-Fordism period.

In the post-WWII, specifically between the 1950s and 1970s, the interests of capital were focused on the transformations-renewal of the old city. Then, the attempt to carry out major urban transformation shifted to other types of urban spaces, i.e. the high-consumption-land activities, such as barracks, industries, markets, railway stations, schools, and slaughterhouses. This happened in accordance with the capitalist logic of urban development: while it tried to regenerate these great properties, it also helped the aforementioned activities to “jump” to other areas where they could improve their income. In this way, the central spaces where such activities were located underwent new urban developments in order to create new urban centralities. These were the reasons why Urban Planning instruments “suddenly” declared these areas “in state of obsolescence”, or as containers of activities to be relocated, modernised, or renovated. The full consent of the industrial and railway landowners of these “capitals in land” allowed to officially start the state of obsolescence to obtain the highest capital gains through the change of land use.

A similar dynamics took place also in the case of great military properties. Comparing the abandonment-regeneration of industrial and railway properties with the military ones, the “discourse of abandonment” for Defence assets since the early 1980s was more complicated. Over the course of history, the Armed Forces needed to accumulate large properties of land to settle their facilities until becoming one of the largest landowners. Despite being large landowners, Ministries of Defence basically tended to use a rather small percentage of their assets. Even so, the alienation has been always very slow, being linked to state budgetary cuts. It can be easily understand that financing is a completely different issues with respect to the functional needs of the Armed Forces and the demands of cities. The military used to impose a great resistance to the alienation of their assets, even when the areas they occupied were declared useless for the Defence purposes, not actively used by the military, or were destined, perhaps, to other functions (Insolera, 1989: 667).

The adaptation of the Ministry of Defence to its real estate assets is the most common practice to avoid other processes to acquire new properties, such

as make a purchase or exchange. I am referring to the contradiction resulting from betting on the alienation and on the acquisition of new assets. The Ministry of Defence has always preferred to keep its land to face unexpected future needs, even in the case of completely abandoned or degraded areas. The logic of its behaviour has always been the following. If the military needed to occupy new spaces, the same public institution would be prepared to equip an area already belonging to the “military system”, rather than acquire new ones. As Italo Insolera (1989: 667) pointed out, there was a real concern about the long and unpredictable duration of the administrative and urban management procedures affecting the disposal of the Defence assets. The concern about the long-lasting process of alienation created uncertainty when it came to the decision-making process on real estate assets. I can therefore deduce that this question has probably been one of the reasons conducting the real estate developer-financial capital not to take into consideration the military assets to undertake their regeneration, but that of other great urban properties. In the relationship between military properties and urban environment, it is noted that the issues of land ownership had to do with speculative interests and unstable strategies. The merge between the Armed Forces and the civil society produced usually conflicts when proceeding with the land use change: in general, military land was not available to civic society. As a result, large quantity of abandoned military land became available many years after the potential use which could have followed the patterns of the uncontrolled and extensive urban development.

In this delay I find the reason why European and Italian cities can currently take advantage of the opportunity generated by the military abandonment. The use of such land would provide the occasion to launch urban regeneration projects at a time when the emerging issues are not focusing on the spread of cities.

The production of “new areas of centrality” as a goal

Here I claim that the causes of dismantling and abandonment are not unrelated to the patterns of urban and territorial development, especially those ones contributing to the production of the “centrality”. The point is that these dynamics

have been set in motion later in comparison with other types great properties. Actually, the military abandonment occurred after the long process of the post-WWII-large-urbanisation. The latter influenced the renewal of the traditional spaces and boosted the unlimited urban expansion and growth: both of them created the favourable conditions to regenerate the traditional urban working spaces (Campos Venuti, 1994b). Since the late 1970s, this dynamics led to the emptying of great industrial and railway properties located in central areas or on the edges of the traditional city. Such land was suitable for the creation of “new urban centres” in accordance with the indications of the existing General Master Plans.

The determinations established in the framework of Urban Planning regarding the future of former industrial and railway areas also led to the abandonment and transformation of the military ones. In fact, as it has been stressed in chapter 2, there was a significant interrelationship between the presence of the military, the industry linked to military production¹⁷⁹, and rail transportation which ensures the movement of goods and soldiers. Once strategically-located industries and railway had been declared obsolete activities meant to disappear from the traditional urban fabric, this same was true for the military ones. Over time, as urban extension took gradually place, the Defence assets gained a new “position” in the urban-territorial context, thus showing an exponential increase in their monetary value in the real estate market. This growth derived also from the role that the collectivity historically played in such development. In this way, the configuration of new places took place by the assignment of more profitable new functions in comparison with the original ones. The landowner –i.e. the Ministry of Defence, the State Property Agency, or the public/private investors– had a great interest in their displacement to other sites, or making them disappear, thus extrapolating the differential ground rent.

The ongoing causes driving the abandonment of military installations, therefore, are long-held linked to the capitalist city production process. As argued by Álvarez Mora (1996: 52-58), the latter was the result of the juxtaposition of a whole series of “historical socio-spatial ruptures” responding to specific real

¹⁷⁹ Bertelli (2014: 52) showed a strict correlation between the appearance of military settlements and the presence of industries and railway installations in the old villages of Crocetta, Regio Parco, and Rubatto in Turin from the mid-19th century.

estate strategies. Here the reuse of the existing built heritage via regeneration came into play according to the extrapolation of the differential ground rent. This was a genuine sample of the typical impact of the capitalist-led urban development model in which the city centre is valued insofar as it is in the brink of be occupied by the most remunerative functions. Similarly, there is the consequent expulsion of the less profitable activities following the patterns of space production and consumption according to the contraposition “centre-periphery” (Alvarez Mora, 1979).

In the mid-20th century, the capitalist development creating the metropolitan space conditioned new ways of understanding the centrality: the extension of the city meant the dispersion and diffusion of the centrality at territorial level (Indovina, 2009). This is the case of the Northern Italy, as well as many European cities governed by the logic of the capital¹⁸⁰. Initially, great military properties were configured as one of the pillars of urbanisation, but from the 1980s the same process of urbanisation will demand their dismantling. The new configuration of military premises as “urban voids”, i.e. their condition of “capital in land”, will impose new capital-fostered functions.

It is commonly assumed that the capitalistic city-led urban development model guidelines eliminate all the obstacles not responding to the consumerist society, all of which in order to extrapolate the adequate urban land rent. It is certainly true that military properties follow this path. After being subjected to specific state-led administrative and territorial policies, the dismantling and abandonment were close, as previous step to the regeneration. As a matter of fact, it was argued that the military presence in the city was no longer necessary in the original locations as these urban areas were being claimed to hold other types of activities. Here I argue that the Armed Forces did disappear from the place they were located only to the extent of the claim over their assets by a force overtaking military impositions. Such stronger force derived from the urban dynamics responding to the logic of capital, the objective of which was the subjugation of the Defence assets to socio-spatial categories required by the “urban centrality” demands. In addition, as of the 1990s the Legislation managed the disposal of military assets by providing appropriate procedures for an investor

¹⁸⁰ Other example are Frankfurt (Keil and Ronneberger, 1994), the metropolitan Catalan region (Nel·lo, 2001), and several cases in France (Guérois and Pumain, 2002).

to promote any type of operation. This included the General Master Plan Modification if the latter prevented the logic of capital¹⁸¹. The redundant military areas tended to be transformed focused on proposals for public parks or neighbourhood facilities, but, above all, office buildings, business centres, resorts, high-end housing, even the occasional “branch” of the Guggenheim Museum or Disneyland.

The regeneration of military areas as a contribution to the creation of the “centrality”. The classification of the casuistry

The regeneration processes affecting military properties have been incorporated later in the urban development of the city. The transformation of such properties was subjected to strong “real estate pressures” overcoming the more habitual urban dynamics. The effects of the land use change can be argued to trigger new urban renewal/regeneration operations.

In any case, it is important to remark the following pattern, specific to this kind of property. The role played by military installations had historically an imposing character due to the urban quartering of the troops and the fulfilment of the national defence purposes. The quartering was not just a matter of creating new military buildings, as the barracks required other types of facilities as necessary annexes, such as hangars, warehouses, manoeuvring grounds for the training of soldiers, regimental headquarters, and so on. All these buildings, in some way, imposed specific spatial conditions on the urban development.

Over time, real estate operators interested in the benefits derived from the foreseeable new urban development increasingly claimed the military areas located in the city. The operators were willing to dismantle such assets in order to regenerate their forms and contents with the aim of incorporating them in the

¹⁸¹ It is interesting referring to a planned, but not applied, mechanism presented at the 1986 Rome Conference (Breganze, 1990: 144), which proposed a solution to proceed with the disposal. The proposal was the possible selling of the Ministry of Defence redundant assets –i.e. abandoned, although always owned by the military– for a price without a relation with the new use, thus being generally underestimated. This approach could have been let a City Council to pay the purchase of military assets to the Defence. The following change of use could have been carried out in order to make substantial profit from the capital gains then generated. In this way, the mechanism would facilitate the sale of the properties by the Ministry of Defence, and the capital gains would encourage the local authorities to become more quick and efficient when it comes the opportunity to acquire the Defence assets. Indeed, the City Councils should have the possibility to study the form of collaboration with private agents to involve them in the regeneration of military assets.

city-making process. How did this incorporation take place? The management of military premises was carried out to consolidate, or to extend, the urban structure by the creation of “new areas of centrality”. What happened with the military installations was not unconnected with what previously had happened with other “large properties-capitals in land”¹⁸². Both cases of regeneration respond to the guidelines of the urban development model aiming to design a whole series of “territorial-scaled autonomous fragments”. I am referring to the latest version adopted by the production process of the capitalist city (Álvarez Mora, 2004). Both industrial-railway assets and military premises historically showed a similar behaviour in the city-making process even if they expressed it in different time. Despite presenting the same dynamics, military installations are the last great “opportunities” which the real estate developer-financial capital aimed to take advantage of. Such agents tried to carry out the latest urban regeneration operations related to the centrality construction, all of which was based on the availability of the “strategic former military land”.

In order to define the “strategic power” enjoyed by the great military properties, I am going to establish a range of “types of action” with diverse impact on the production of “new centralities” is different. In parallel to this typological relationship, I am going to highlight the role of the regulations in boosting the disposal-regeneration. This is a fundamental step to understand such processes, since I am arguing that these “legal texts” are one of the ruling factors in the management of military areas.

By claiming the “typology”, I am actually proposing two objectives. Firstly, the understanding of the different ways of proceeding with the regeneration of military installations. Secondly, the classification of the “centrality” which such regenerations define. They are the following: 1) the “consolidation of existing centralities”, that is to say, the “extension of the centrality” according to the existing one; 2) the “creation of new centralities”; 3) and 4) the “production of residential centralities” as ‘bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction spaces’¹⁸³. This type regards both the creation of new bourgeoisie-intended neighbourhoods and the consolidation of existing residential centralities. As both of them show a

¹⁸² Such dynamics took place even in the late 19th century in the case of the military installations. See the previous paragraph on the materialisation-production of great military properties.

¹⁸³ By affirming ‘bourgeoisie-intended’ I am referring to the social spaces created and/or meant for the bourgeoisie.

dominant residential character, they are far from the aforementioned centralities linked to the management of the capital to boost other functions; 5) and 6) “acting on the margin of the centrality”. These are cases referring to the creation of popular social reproduction spaces by both implementing new economic categories for the social needs and the case of military compounds being object of a popular occupation. Particularly, the latter action converted them into authentic “social ghettos”, scenarios of protest and insubordination, although responding to the social needs of providing the lacking urban equipment. The aim of these actions is to create a popular social reproduction space; 7) “the reuse for humanitarian purposes”. In this case military areas are managed to tackle emergencies arising from the immigration processes; 8) finally, the last case is the utter “abandonment” corresponding to the remains of military installations not incorporated into the real estate market. They are “ruins”, therefore, waiting for their opportunity to be reused.

Now I am looking into the casuistry, case by case.

Table n. 1: data of the case studies. Source: elaboration by F. Camerin (2020).

Military asset	Relationship with the centrality	Plot size (m²)	Legislation	Current use
Precision Electrical Components Factory-“Guido Reni” barracks, Roma	Consolidation of the existing centrality	55.480	D.M.E.F. 20/12/2013 (L. n. 248/2005, art. 11-quinquies)	Abandoned
“Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground” military compound, Milan	New centralities	618.075	- D.M. 28/02/2005 (L. n. 326/2003, art. 27); - D.D. n. 13/2/5/2010 de 08/09/2010 (L. n. 133/2008, art. 14 bis); - D.D. 88/2/5/2012 (L. n. 135/2012, art. 1., a. 1) - D.M.E.F. 13/05/2016 (L. n. 111/2011, art. 33)	Abandoned
Sani barracks-Military site of Casaralta in Bologna for the preparation of canned beef and concentrated broth for the	Residential centralities (a. new residential neighbourhoods)	105.540	- D.M. 28/02/2005 (L. n. 326/2003, art. 27); - D.M. 25/07/2007 (L. n. 696/2006, art. 1, a. 263); - D.M.E.F. 20/12/2013 (L. n. 248/2005, art. 11-quinquies)	Abandoned

Royal Army, Bologna				
“Alessandro La Marmora” barracks, Turin	Residential centralities (b. existing residential centralities)	19.978	- D.M. 25/07/2007 (L. n. 696/2006, art. 1, a. 263); - D.D. n. 13/2/5/2010 de 08/09/2010 (L. n. 133/2008) - D.M.E.F. 19/12/2014 (L. n. 248/2005, art. 11-quinquies)	Abandoned
“Piave” barracks, Belluno	On the margin of the centrality- Economic categories not conforming an economic centrality	32.832/ 39.706	Property transfer to the City Council in 2012	Re-used
“Mario Rossani” barracks, Bari	On the margin of the centrality- popular occupation for popular social reproduction space	80.000	-D.P.C.M. 12/09/2000 ¹⁸⁴ (L. n. 448/1998, art. 44); - D.M. 28/02/2005 (L. n. 326/2003, art. 27); - D.M. 25/07/2007 (L. n. 696/2006, art. 1, a. 263)	Partially re-used
“Francesco Zanusso” barracks, Oderzo (prov. Treviso)	Use for humanitarian emergencies	73.291	- L.R. n. 54/99; - D.M. 25/07/2007 (L. n. 696/2006, art. 1, a. 263); - L. n. 98/2013, art. 56-bis	Partially re-used as in a temporary refugee reception centre
Logistics base, Ceggia (Venecia)	Fuera de la centralidad, o “marginalidad urbanística”	90.200	- D.M. 28/02/2005 (L. n. 326/2003, art. 27); - D.M. 28/02/2007 (L. n. 696/2006, art. 1, a. 263)- L. n. 98/2013, art. 56-bis	Abandoned
Missile launch zone, Ceggia (Venecia)		186.855		

Acronyms:

a.: section

a.: article

D.D.: Directorial Decree

D.L.: Decree Law

D.M.: Ministerial Decree

D.M.E.F.: Ministry of Economy and Finance’s Decree

D.P.C.M.: Prime Minister’s Decree

L.: Law

L.R.: Regional Law

1. Regeneration which contributes to “consolidate the existing centrality”.

The latter is identified with the creation of tertiary spaces, i.e. the places from

¹⁸⁴ Classified as a “facility currently used and/or required by the Armed Forces”, specifically for the Italian Army).

which the reproduction of capital is managed. This management would be its main activity: I am referring to urban areas provided with offices, shops, hotels, apartments, luxury housing, and so on. Nevertheless, within this casuistry I must consider the urban areas where cultural activities are set up. The transformation processes are usually accompanied by a precise legislation to boost private agents-led operations. For instance, the Law facilitates the public-private partnership starting from specific inter-institutional memoranda of understanding. Such process was carried out according to the General Master Plan Modification, being one of the results of the market-oriented urban planning. As far as the Legislation is concerned, two clear examples of this tendency are Laws no. 248/2005 and no. 133/2008 respectively for the privatisation of public-owned assets and the inclusion of private agents in the disposal process of military areas. We must bear in mind that the regeneration of military installations is set in motion later into the city-making process, which means that the new tertiary functions take over of the Defence assets are sometimes already existing in the city.

The legislative measures encourage the land use change to promote and strengthen tertiary activities, even by the sale of military properties to real estate investment funds, such as *Cassa Depositi e Prestiti* and *Inv.im.it.*¹⁸⁵. In this specific case, the regeneration of former Defence assets will contribute to an economic specialisation of the urban context where they are located. The tertiarisation regards the provision of cultural functions in order to create new profit-driven spaces. For instance, during the whole 20th century, Flaminio neighbourhood in Rome has been the protagonist of an unstoppable concentration of cultural and sports activities. Since the early 20th century, this area was the theatre of several spatial transformations undermining its original popular content. As a result, today Flaminio can be claimed to have become an exclusive place where, with a few exceptions, “the power of culture” shines. The creation of this “cultural centrality” started in the early 20th century with the provision of some cultural and sport facilities but this character was definitely strengthened during Fascism period. Beyond the Flaminio area, on the other side of the Tiber river, the realisation of a sport-cultural equipment called “*Foro Italico*”

¹⁸⁵ It is an asset management company of the Italian Ministry of Economy and Finance (<https://www.invimit.it/?lang=en>).

meant the creation of a landmark leading to extol the virtues of the Italian race by the education of the body. Later, in the 1950s-1960s, the 1960 Summer Olympics continued this process of cultural concentration, which was picked up again in the late 1990s with two new cultural artefacts. They included Renzo Piano-designed Auditorium-Music Park and the most recent Zaha Hadid-designed MAXXI museum, the latter located in place of the ancient Montello barracks. Such regeneration determined the official beginning of the dismantling-regeneration process of Flaminio military facilities. Eventually, as a final culmination of this cultural-led regeneration process, right in front of the old Montello barracks, the abandoned and degraded Guido Reni barracks will be reused as another cultural piece of Flaminio neighbourhood, i.e. the so-called “City of Science”. The “centrality” shaped during the 20th century juxtaposed in the same place a diversity of functions, both eluding any new residential settlements and contributing to create an effect of exclusivity of the place. In Flaminio, the military installations were pushed by the process of cultural construction that the whole sector had undergone, finally unable to escape this new condition. The acceleration of such process was carried out after the property transfer to the real estate investment fund F.I.V. belonging to *Cassa Depositi e Prestiti* promoted by the D.M.E.F. of 20/12/2013 in application of Law no. 248/2005. Between 2013 and 2015 the process was ruled by the General Master Plan Modification (2013), the public participation process (2014), and the launch of an International Urban Design Competition (2014-2015). This type of operation was affected by the evolution of the “cultural centrality” of Flaminio, the latter being product of a long historical process involving, in its last stage, the empty of military activities from some of the existing barracks. The military urban voids contributed, therefore, to the consolidation of Flaminio’s cultural centrality by the extension of its effects.

2. The regeneration towards to the formation of “new centralities”. This is the case of military installations “regenerated” to become new directional and shopping centres, offices, sports fields, and other consumerist activities. This case study deals with the creation of new areas of centrality set up by tertiary functions conceived as profit-driven spaces, such as the Milan’s western outskirts-located “Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground” military compound. This area, along with other four barracks, were classified by the 2012 Territory Government Plan as “areas to be transformed”, to be consequently “renewed” with the aim of

creating new “urban polarities” in the city. This phenomenon has been accompanied by an overproduction of ad hoc regulations over time: such Laws contributed to insert this military premises in various “lists” until its definitive sale to Inv.im.it.’s real estate investment fund. The vicissitudes began with D.M. 28/02/2005 (according to art. 27 of Law no. 326/2003), which was revised in 2010 due to the introduction of art. 14 bis of Law no. 133/2008 which meant the privatisation of several military assets. D.D. 88/2/5/2012 (Law no. 135/2012) led to change the status of the military premises into “State-owned asset” to be handed over to the State Property Agency. The Agency was consequently entrusted with the task to sell the Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground to a real estate investment fund. The indications of the 2012 Territory Government Plan and the inclusion of this property in the 2014 memoranda of understanding defined the parameters for the real estate exploitation of the area, all of which incited the interest of the Inv.im.it.-belonged *Sviluppo Italia* fund. Eventually, the sale to such fund was formalised by the D.M.E.F. of 13/05/2016. This long process created the bases to regenerate the military premises into a “new central area”, in a sector of the city historically characterised by popular activities and contents. In fact, following the construction of the Military City in Baggio during the 1930s¹⁸⁶, this neighbourhood was affected by an urban development aimed to create a marginalised space under the social and economic point of view. During the second half of the 20th century, a significant provision of social housing units and the concentration of foreign population in Baggio determined its popular contents. Moreover, this neighbourhood was provided with a great road and metropolitan accessibility according to the regulations of the General Master Plan and its Modifications. All these conditions contributed to create a high expectation for the realisation of new centralities although the presence of low-quality functions, i.e. marginal activities for low-income classes. I am therefore arguing that the presence of popular social reproduction spaces may become, in the future, the excuse for extracting a surplus value from this “marginality”. It is a matter of fact that in the struggle between “centrality” and “marginalisation”, the former will always overcome the latter, although the popular character is connatural with the logic of the city.

¹⁸⁶ Which included the Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground, the Santa Barbara barracks, and the Civil and Military Hospitals.

3 and 4. Military premises contributing, via their regeneration, to the creation or the reinforcement of “residential centralities”, i.e. high quality spaces for the bourgeoisie needs. We are facing with real-estate-developer-financial-capital-led initiatives aimed to extrapolate an income through the realisation of high standing housing in the frame of wider urban transformation processes. I claim that the regeneration consists in providing new residential functions along with the materialisation of their respective facilities, generating and/or reinforcing the phenomenon of “social segregation”. The proliferation of this type of operations reconverts certain military areas into “exclusive habitats”; yet, they currently occur at a time when the residential real estate market is stagnating. In addition, such transformations will encourage and make possible the privatisation of military assets through the creation of real estate investment funds in accordance with Law no. 135/2012. In this case, the profitability will be realised by means of new high-end housing settlements based on which support the cost of the operation and generate economic gains for the investor. I have found two cases referring to this type of operation.

3. Firstly, the creation of high-standard “new residential neighbourhoods”¹⁸⁷. This is the case of the Giacomo Sani barracks in Bologna, which was required to provide quality to the first historical periphery, i.e. Bolognina neighbourhood, located in the north of the city beyond the main railway station. The regeneration of this military property was intended to contrast the popular character of the sector starting from the late 1990s-early 2000s, specifically after the military abandonment in 2003. The inclusion of the former barracks in two Ministerial Decrees (M.D. 28/02/2005 and M.D. 25/07/2007) referred respectively to Laws no. 326/2003 and no. 696/2006. Starting from 2007 the situation evolved as the disposal was part of the broader operation of the P.U.Va.T. programme, which includes the aforementioned barracks. Despite the attempts to its sale between 2010 and 2012, no real estate operator was interested in its acquisition. Finally, the inclusion of the Sani barracks in

¹⁸⁷ Other cases refer to the large size of barracks, in general around 100,000 m², can generate a “city within a city” as a result of the regeneration process. See the determinations of the Urban Planning instruments for the Lupi di Toscana barracks in Florence, the Mameli barracks in Milan, the Romagnoli barracks in Padua, and the Passalacqua barracks in Verona, whose works are undergoing. In France, the transformation of the de Bonne barracks in Grenoble provided relatively well equipped new high-rise housing.

D.M.E.F. 20/12/2013 (Law no. 248/2005, art. 11-bis), foresaw its privatisation by the transfer to the F.I.V. fund, which will finally manage the operation of urban regeneration. Despite the fact that over the last two decades there have been specific demands for urban facilities to add quality to the neighbourhood, the 2018 resolution of the Design Competition aimed to develop a Master Plan for the regeneration of the former Sani barracks proposed an exclusive and central-intended residential settlement. The actor in charge of the management of this whole process was the *Cassa Depositi e Prestiti*'s F.I.V. fund, i.e. the owner of the area, with the approval of the City Council. The hypothetical "economic and environmental sustainability"¹⁸⁸ of the operation will have no choice but to distort the Sani barracks into a new socio-spatial area for the upper class as a result of the privatisation of a public-owned asset. The plan to provide new "directional towers" to complement the presence of the existing historical heritage, the latter protected and safeguarded due to its historical-artistic values, will add even more exclusivity to this new "residential centrality". It is clear that such project conceived the former Sani barracks as a new bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction space.

4. Secondly, military properties incorporated into "existing residential centralities". They aimed to consolidate *de facto* situations and reinforce the bourgeoisie character of the neighbourhoods. The La Marmora barracks in Turin is an appropriate example of such situation, in fact it is located in one of the richest neighbourhoods of the city. This asset was abandoned by the military and successively used temporarily to house migrants and political refugees in the early 2000s. It was also a place of very important historical events in the history of Italy during WWII and, in the late 1970s, it was used as a prison and a place of trial in the fight against the terrorists belonging to the Red Brigades. Due to its abandonment and sometimes unprofitable use for the logic of capital, the former barracks was involved in the procedure of the 2007 Finance Act. Regulatory changes, as well as the difficulty in finding a new profitable use in an unfavourable context for the real estate market due to the 2007-2008

¹⁸⁸ As highlighted by Bunce (2018) on the relationship between Sustainability, Urban Planning and Gentrification in the practice of Urban Regeneration.

crisis, changed the rules of the game. The introduction of art. 14-bis of Law no. 133/2008, the November-2010-signed memoranda of understanding, and D.D. n. 13/2/5/2010 of 08 September 2010 implied the property transfer from the Defence to the State Property Agency. However, the procedure did not have any effect, being substituted by the August-2014-signed memoranda of understanding, which provided both the General Master Plan Modification and the sale of the barracks to F.I.V. fund. After the sale, in April 2015 the barracks was occupied by the Turin's local association "Freed Via Asti" with the aim of developing cultural and educational activities. In the end, it suffered a forced eviction in November 2015. Instead of tackle the urgent issue of social housing lack, the project commissioned to the international architectural firm "Carlo Ratti Associates" aspired to create a luxury residential settlement for Borgo Po neighbourhood.

5. City Council-owned former military properties to exercise functions for social needs. This case regards the creation of new "economic categories not conforming an economic centrality" for the logic of capital but to be put at the service of citizens¹⁸⁹. Such urban regeneration experiences dealt with the demands of Public Administrations and Institutions which aimed to fulfil their public functions. This type of regeneration provided a certain area with the equipment it lacked or as a requirement of a large-scoped Urban Project. It is under these circumstances that several kinds of agreements have been signed between the State and public bodies, such as City Councils and universities. The implementation of such agreements included even the General Master Plan Modification to realise new popular facilities for the improvement of urban and territorial quality. One of the procedures to carry out these practices is the so-called "federalism state property" according to Lgs. D. no. 85/2010 and the successive art. 56-bis of Law no. 98/2013. As far as these Laws stated, public entities interested in the free-of-charge property transfer of State-owned assets have to show their interest by the presentation of a regeneration project. Such transfer can be done after a careful reflection by the Ministry of Defence and the

¹⁸⁹ Other projects belonging to this category are the following:

- Public park in a part of the Prandina barracks in Padua, and the Di Cocco barracks in Pescara;
- University campuses already built. This is the case of the Santa Cristina barracks in Bologna, the former military district in Treviso, and the Santa Marta barracks in Verona.

State Property Agency. However, it is not surprising the raise of conflicts between the various administrative levels when it came to transferring, handing over, and selling a former military asset. This is the case of the Piave barracks in Belluno, located among commercial and productive settlements in the eastern city's periphery called Veneggia. The private-led "reconversions" of the late 20th century resulted in the proliferation of commercial and directional centres in Veneggia, thus contributing to the creation of specific tertiary profit-oriented spaces along the existing road transportation system. Once sorted the conflict between the Ministry of Defence and the City Council out, the ownership of the barracks was transferred to the local administration. At the beginning, the idea was to redevelop it into a municipal solid waste treatment plant but the situation radically changed after the local government election. The new administration considered to realise new equipment to tackle the lack of public facilities in Veneggia in a context where tertiary activities have been strongly shaped this urban sector. The way of proceeding was undertaking an unprecedented collaboration between the local administration and local associations, this being outside the regulatory framework governing the disposal of the military property. Such partnership led to the gradual rehabilitation of the built and open spaces of the former barracks, all of which are nowadays being used according to the low-class needs¹⁹⁰.

6. Military artefacts affected by local population-fostered "marginal occupations" to defend the right of guaranteeing their collective use to face the (in)decision-making process carried out by the involved public authorities. This case study is affected by an evident difficulty to establish an agreement with state and local administrations on the regeneration process. Once the conflict regarding the ownership has been solved, the difficulties moved to the local level, as outlined by Signorile (2014) in the case of the Rossani barracks in Bari¹⁹¹. In 2000, this asset was included in the disposal programme regulated by the. 44 of Law no. 448/1998. In spite of its evident state of abandonment, the barracks was

¹⁹⁰ Other Italian examples refer to various ancient fortresses in the municipality of Venice, such as the Marghera fortress. At European level, mostly in Germany, two projects are worth being mentioned. They are the former French military base in Vauban (Freiburg) and the Franzosisches Viertel in Tübingen (Stuttgart), both of them redeveloped into new residential areas for middle-low and low class.

¹⁹¹ Other examples in Italy are the Piave barracks in Treviso, (<https://www.openpiave.net/scheda-area-ex-piave/>), the Gavoglio barracks in Genoa (<http://www.comune.genova.it/content/ex-caserma-gavoglio> and <http://www.comune.genova.it/content/lattuazione-del-programma-di-valorizzazione>), and the royal horsewoman in Turin –*Cavallerizza Reale* in Italian– (<https://www.cavallerizzareale.org/>).

declared as an “installation currently used and/or necessary for the Army”. It is worth highlighting the attitude of the Ministry of Defence to defend its advantageous position in the process of real estate exploitation to which the abandoned and degraded barracks would be subjected to. D.M. 28/02/2005 established the property transfer to the State Property Agency, this being confirmed by D.M. 25/07/2007. In 2008, the ownership was definitively assigned to the City Council via an exchange with the Agency in order to finally launch the urban regeneration project. Since this barracks could act as a connection element between Carassi, Picone, Murat, and Libertà neighbourhoods, this asset enjoyed a strategic location from a real estate point of view, but also as crucial element to meet the popular needs in one of the most geographical central city’s sectors. During the second half of the 20th century, the Rossani barracks was surrounded by a highly speculative urbanisation in accordance with the 1965-to-1976 Ludovico-Quaroni-designed General Master Plan. Due to the optimal position of this barracks in order to undertake profitable real estate operations, in the 1990s it was abandoned to be involved in several speculative future scenarios. Afterwards, the barracks was illegally occupied in 2014 by a local association: such action was the trigger for an innovative operation of participatory planning. Today, the former barracks are partially reused with some public facilities, such as the local Urban Center, and others are in progress, such as a public urban park.

7. Several military installations are intended as possible areas to be redeveloped both to respond to the community needs and to realise new real estate developments according to the way the city-making process was carried out during the second half of the 20th century. Though a steadfast position by the agents involved to give military assets an undetermined use due to several circumstances, the reasons of their abandoning is what really imposed their new use. The abandonment usually rules out the other possibilities, either popular or bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction spaces. This is the case of the temporarily use to face a supranational emergency situation, such as the accommodation of the refugees. Public-owned assets are currently chosen for this purpose, even though they were previously classified in the Urban Planning tools to hold a new use for the civil society. Military premises are favourable places to become a reception centre due to their condition of large public areas

and their architectural characteristics. The local Prefectures are empowered to claim such areas to entrust them to specific cooperatives which take charge of all the tasks necessary to house the immigrants. Thus, the reason why the Prefectures choose such settlements to realise temporarily reception centres is because their immediate future is still not completely decided. In other words, in several cases military premises' new use is not defined, nor specific projects/operations of improvement/modernisation have been planned or implemented. This is also why the chosen military artefacts present poor conditions, both in terms of buildings and open spaces. Such characteristics constitute the basis for these reception centres to become real "camps", not minimally equipped habitats, thus developing new forms of social and economic exclusion. In this way, former Defence assets generate phenomena of "apartheid" and create real "ghettos". For instance, the Francesco Zanusso barracks in Oderzo (Treviso province) is an outstanding example of this situation¹⁹².

8. Great military properties being "out of the centrality". The fact of being not located in urban, peripheral or even semi-peripheral areas currently does not allow their involvement into the urban dynamics driving the city-making process. In this case, military properties were built in zones not affected by urban sprawl over time, this also due to the military demands for wide open spaces. In this sense, it can be argued that they are an actual example of "urban marginality", which implied the occupation of open spaces not even incorporated into peri-urban areas. This casuistry is actually not precisely regulated by the Legislation, but the involved military properties have been often included into generic lists aimed to establish a rationalisation process of the Ministry of Defence. As a matter of fact, starting from the 1997 Finance Law, many military areas "out of the centrality" have been included in several Decrees that identify them as potentially alienable assets. Such assets can be also involved in programmes such as P.U.Va.T. or in a generic memoranda of understanding. The common characteristic of these military good not incorporated into peri-urban areas is that the involved actors –i.e. the State Property Agency, the Ministry of Defence, and

¹⁹² In Italy other cases are the following: two in Friuli-Venezia Giulia (the Cavarzerani barracks in Udine and the Monti barracks in Pordenone), two in Lombardia (the Serini barracks in Montichiari, Brescia province), one in Sicily (the Gasparro barracks in Messina), three in Veneto (the Pradina barracks in Padua, the Serena barracks in Treviso, the Silvestri missile base in Conetta di Cona, province of Venice, and the munitions dump in Volpago del Montello powder magazine, province of Treviso).

the City Councils— have generally a no precise idea regarding their future use. The state of abandonment and the fact of “not-knowing-what-to-do” have rapidly accelerated the deterioration. In light of this framework, these assets became ruins very soon, being the subsequent object of acts of crime, robbery, illegal occupations, and converted into spontaneous open-air centres for the deposit of illegal waste. These premises are very often located in small municipalities, in some of the Regions most affected by the diffusion of the military presence in the post-WWII, such as Veneto. A massive quantity of this kind of former military installations have been entrusted to the State Property Agency on the ground of the lists drawn up according to the 2007 Finance Act. Two concrete examples are the ancient military bases of Ceggia, in the province of Venice, one of which is a logistics area, while the other have been used for missile launches. These properties represent one of the common examples of military installations built in the context of the Cold War between the late 1950s and the early 1960s in territories outside urbanised areas. After the abandonment, the two areas were transferred to the State Property Agency through D.M. 28/02/2007, the ownership of which have successively been required in accordance with the 2013 federalism state property. The future of these abandoned artefacts have neither depended on the indications of the General Master Plan, which “classify” them as generically “areas to redevelop” –whatever could be the new use, such as tourism activities for the logistics area of Ceggia–, nor on their ownership. The logistics and missile launch areas of Ceggia were eventually transferred to the City Council, although their destiny will also depends on State Property Agency-provided funding. Today, their future seems to have no other choice than the perpetual abandonment¹⁹³.

¹⁹³ Such as in the case of the armoury located in the near municipality of Salgareda (Treviso province).

CHAPTER 4: DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE CASUISTRY: THE RECONVERSION OF MILITARY INSTALLATIONS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PHENOMENON OF CENTRALITY

Introduction

In the previous chapter, the analysis tackled the urban phenomena referring to the materialisation, abandonment, dispossession, and regeneration of large properties, whether industrial, railway, or military. This chapter proposes a detailed analysis of the cases previously typified, in connection with the formation of new centralities or the consolidation of existing ones.

In this way, the analysis intertwine the classification of the cases of military installations' regeneration with the "strategy of centrality" in which these large properties are involved. Particularly, taking into consideration the methodology planned by Álvarez Mora (1996: 30-31), this chapter aims to interpret the spatial repercussion of the urban development in the city by the military installation's urban regeneration according to the phenomenon of "centrality". This analysis is a matter to understand how historically the strategic power of great military properties and their surroundings did gradually take place to produce the centrality. Among others, the attempt here is to interpret the type of "society", or better said "social space", which is materialising in strict connection with the great military property's abandonment/regeneration processes.

The analysis was carried out by a specific "desk research" activity and a fieldwork, all of which took in consideration the contents and the application of the local urban planning tools¹⁹⁴. Yet, the analysis of the existent bibliographic references was fundamental to support such analysis¹⁹⁵. Another aspect taken into consideration was the legislation¹⁹⁶ on the disposal of the Ministry of Defence's real estate assets to understand the dynamics affecting the abandonment/regeneration of such properties. The aim is to understand, first, how military installations take place and consolidate in the city though the 20th century, having a look of what happened at the end of the 19th century. Such

¹⁹⁴ The consultation of the 19th-century-approved-onwards Italian urban planning instruments onwards was made possible by the "Italian Network of Urban Plans" –*Rete Archivi Piani Urbanistici*, R.A.P.U. –, see <http://www.rapu.it/ricerca/index.php> and Gabellini, Bonfantini and Paoluzzi (2007).

¹⁹⁵ There was no need of an archival research as all the necessary historical documentation to carry out the study is collect in books or in digital form.

¹⁹⁶ See Annex I.

aspect is inevitably connected to the analysis of the urban development models' patterns according to the city's mode of production. Second, the analysis looks into the involvement of great military properties into the dynamics of centrality, thus understanding if such properties have been involved, or no, in the city-making process. The objective is to understand if such involvement takes place by analysing the relationship between the dismantling-abandonment/regeneration of the military installations and the city building. Plus, other aspect to investigate is how the legislation manages the whole process, the effect of which took place lately in the early 21st century.

One of the reasons why of such way to carry out the analysis is the comprehension of the link between city's urban development and the behaviour of the "great property-capital in land", specifically those with a military use. Such connection is what allows to know about the reasons of the military "abandonment" and the consequent strategies of "regeneration" according to the phenomenon of "centrality". Referring to the work on the urban development models by Álvarez Mora (2004) –which are the compact city model, the disaggregated urban development model, and the urban sprawl model– it is worth remarking that others factors are essential in the frame of the chapter 4 analysis. Essentially, a part of the factor "centrality", Álvarez Mora indicated other four variables to take into account in order to understand the historical process and spatial juxtapositions of the city. They are the following: the evolution of the infrastructure system; the process of land production; the indication of the Urban Planning; and the role of the Historic Centre¹⁹⁷.

By doing this, it can be understood the way urban development takes place in the surrounding area of the great military property in a specific city's context. Moreover, the casuistry helps to comprehend the role of military installations in the urban fabric they are located according to the phenomenon of "centrality". For instance, if during the 20th century a military area acquired or remained in a more central positions than other ones, the study should figure out if the new use depends of the centrality such area enjoys. In other words, the study should understand how the centrality evolves over time, if strengthening its effects or no

¹⁹⁷ Moreover, the chapter 4 assumes the classification of the urban planning instruments proposed by the same Álvarez Mora (2004): morphological plans derived from the CIAM's proposal as morphologic paradigms"; "zoning plans" of the urban land; "territorial-metropolitan zoning plans"; and "qualified urban planning plans".

based on the urban regeneration process to redevelop an abandoned military installation. Such comprehension derives essentially from the analysis of the legislation about the management of the abandonment and regeneration of the great military properties and its relationship with the logic of capital respect to the social needs. The hypothesis is to verify if the great military property according to the phenomenon of centrality shows similar patterns to what happened –or better said still happening– to other “great properties-capitals in land”. Specifically, here the reference is on the materialisation-dismantling/abandonment-regeneration process of industrial and railway land in the capitalist European cities previously analysed, i.e. Barcelona and Bilbao.

Thus, the following questions arise: what is the relationship between the phenomenon of centrality and the abandonment-regeneration process of military installations? Referring to the specific link between military artefacts and centrality, in which way the change of the physical-legal status of a military installation is produced? What is the cause of the change of use of a great military property? How can find the factors inducing the abandonment according to the legislation on the disposal of military assets? What kind of city and territory are creating the urban regeneration operations of such great properties? The interpretation of the casuistry under the point of view of the historical city-making process will help to answer these questions. Such approach will provide the understanding of the military properties’ behaviour in a specific moment of the urban development.

The consolidation of the existing centrality: Guido Reni barracks in Rome and the strengthening of arts and cultural leisure activities of Flaminio neighbourhood¹⁹⁸

Flaminio neighbourhood and its origin

Flaminio’s neighbourhood in Rome, in particular the area where the former barracks was located, in the meander of the Tiber river, was urbanised starting from the ancient Roman Empire’s Flaminia Avenue. This avenue was one of the access roads to the city centre since the time of the Empire. Over the centuries,

¹⁹⁸ The issue of the regeneration of the Precision Electrical Components Factory was partially developed in Álvarez Mora and Camerin (2019: 20-22).

this part of Rome's territory was predominantly dedicated to agriculture character until the second half of the 19th century, coinciding with the Italian Unification (1861-1870). In 1870, Rome became the capital of the new Italy and was thus affected by several transformations to adapt it to its new role (Agnew, 1998). Flaminio's proximity to the urban centre and the Tiber, added to the presence of Flaminia Avenue, was what specifically encouraged the urbanisation of this area. The first signs of this process were the construction of new industrial settlements and services for the Capital, and the introduction of the horse tram lines in 1877, transformed in electric tram into 1890. Nevertheless, none of these new developments were planned in Rome's extension plans: in fact, 1873 and 1883 Planning and Expansion Schemes did not implement any zoning ordinance in Flaminio (fig. 1 of the Annex II).

Flaminio was about to urbanise with a specific urban morphology due to the implementation of Edmondo Santjust di Teolada-designed 1909 General Master Plan. This comprehensive plan for development effectively conducted the urban growth of the city by promoting a prevalent residential land use. This urban plan promoted an "extension" of the city towards Flaminio based not only on residential settlements but also on new industrial and leisure functions. In light of these facts, the following decades led Flaminio to be intensively urbanised through three boulevards, the so-called "Flaminio", "Pinturicchio", and "del Vignola" Avenues. As a consequence, 1909 Plan development created a well-recognised "triangular" urban form.

Meanwhile, between 1905 and 1907, the so-called "*Società Automobili Roma*" established its factories for cars production and storage, which would condition its surrounding area. An important residential neighbourhood began to materialise around this new industrial complex, becoming the driving force of Flaminio's urban expansion. This urbanisation process was obviously supported by the new triangle-shaped infrastructure system.

After the 1909 General Master Plan, a series of cultural and sports facilities commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Rome as the Italian capital (1861-1911) were built on relevant great amount of land nearby the left side of Tiber river meander. The creations of the Parioli racercourse and the national stadium are two remarkable examples of this initiative. They were located on the other

side of the above mentioned car factory¹⁹⁹. These installations kept influential for the economic growth development of the following decades in Flaminio²⁰⁰ strengthening the cultural, sports and leisure character of this area.

In 1916, just when Gustavo Giovannoni proposed the redevelopment of the parade ground and Flaminio (Giovannoni, 1916), the aforementioned automobile factory was reconverted into the “Royal Arms Factory” –*Regia Fabbrica d’Armi*. To this conversion followed a restructuring of the existing buildings and construction of new ones due to the WWI-driven military industry needs. Meanwhile, the “triangle” proposed in the 1909 Plan developed gradually (fig. 2 of the Annex II), also being assumed as a fundamental element in the 1931 General Master Plan and the corresponding Detailed Urban Plan –*Piano Particolareggiato d’esecuzione*–²⁰¹.

The detailed zoning ordinance foresaw the demolition of the Royal Arms Factory to make space for new “medium-high density zones for housing (luxury apartment buildings)” and also for “zones of intensive urbanisation”. Years later, architect Luigi Moretti presented his idea for Flaminio in the frame of the 1939 Master Plan for the building of the Mussolini Forum²⁰². His aim here was to reconvert the military facilities into a rectangular square, equipping the neighbourhood with new sports fields and landscaped green areas. Despite the aforementioned ideas to redevelop the core of Flaminio’s “triangle”, at the end of the 1940s the urbanisation of the Tiber river meander was almost finished. The result was the proliferation of a significant amount of private interventions, all of which representing new residential complexes surrounding the Royal Arms

¹⁹⁹ In addition, in the south part of Flaminio the buildings for the exhibition of Valle Giulia (afterwards reconverted in the Faculty of Architecture of the University “La Sapienza”) and the “National Gallery of Modern and Contemporary Art” were located.

²⁰⁰ It is worth citing that on the right side of the Tiber river, in 1907 the building of a military firing range “opened the doors” to equipping this peripheral part of Rome during the Fascist dictatorship in detriment to the progressively huge urbanisation of Flaminio. In fact, this idea belonged to the architect Enrico Del Debbio, who was in charge of the “Mussolini Forum” construction in 1927, hereinafter called “Italic Forum” (see http://www.casadellarchitettura.eu/fascicolo/data/2010-12-20_382_766.pdf). The latter provided various equipments surrounded by a public park of relevant landscape interest, all of which being directly connected to Flaminio via two side bridges.

²⁰¹ At that time, the cultural vocation of the Roman bourgeoisie continued to spread. The building of the so-called “Cine-Olympic Theatre” between 1935-1936 in the Piazza Gentile da Fabriano –on the boulevard over the Tiber river, in Italian “*Lungotevere Flaminio*”, around which today is located the “Bridge of Music”– meant the strengthening of the cultural- and leisure-driven character of Flaminio.

²⁰² Among the interventions carried out within the area of the Mussolini Forum, there is an example of rationalist architecture, the so-called “Fencing Academy-House of Arms” – *Accademia della Scherma-Casa delle Armi*– built between 1933 and 1937 (Nizzy and Giunta, 2006; Ferrari, 2010). This building constitutes another piece of land supporting the character of the area around Flaminio as including sports and leisure facilities.

Factory²⁰³. In fact, this military property affected the *Piano Particolareggiato* due to its great extension in terms of surface, which made the expropriations of military lands difficult to give them back to civil society.

To sum up, this is an outstanding example of the influence of a great military property on the city-making process. In fact, the needs of Defence have always had great repercussion on the territory they occupy, thus overcoming the urban policies of the planning instruments, such as 1931 General Master Plan and 1939 Master Plan for the Mussolini Forum. In these cases the pressure of the great military property overcame even the dynamics of the real estate market. This is largely due to the specific historical moment in which these operations took place, which were aimed to expand the city. In fact, if the real estate capital faced with an obstacle impeding the achievement of its objectives –in this case, the obstacle was the Guido Reni barracks–, the former does not hesitate to move the proposed operation to other areas of the city.

A sports-cultural space

Another key event affecting Flaminio neighbourhood-making process was the 1960 Summer Olympics, which required a great amount of land to establish the functions needed for this mega event.

The most important transformations affected the old parade ground, close to Flaminio, and to the “Parioli” racecourse. Specifically, the latter was the most suitable place to build the Olympic Village on account of its proximity to the Italic Forum and also because it would serve to redevelop the land occupied by illegal developments evolving quickly in a shanty town since the end of WWII. The project involved 35 ha of land, these being divided into 16 ha for green areas; 12 ha for a from-3.50-to-12-metres-width road, squares and sidewalks; and 7 ha for 4-to-5-floors-high 1,348 new housing buildings, representing the 20% of the total intervention area. In addition, the Olympics led to the building of other institutional sports installations in Flaminio, such as the 1956-1957 Pierluigi-Nervi²⁰⁴-and-Annibale-Vitellozzi-designed *Palazzetto dello Sport* –Small Sports Palace–; the 1956-1959 Pierluigi-Nervi-and-Antonio-Nervi-designed Flaminio Stadium; and

²⁰³ After WWII the Royal Arms Factory changed its denomination to “Precision Electrical Components Factory” –*Stabilimento Militare Macchine Elettriche e di Precisione*.

²⁰⁴ To better understand the work done by Pierluigi Nervi, see Iori and Poretti (2005).

the 1958 Pasquale-Carbonara-designed *Palazzo delle Federazioni Sportive Nazionali* –National Sports Federations (Salvo, 2010).

All these operations concerned not only the Summer Olympics, but also contributed to solving a series of urgent problems such as the need to socially “clean up” the Parioli racecourse. To justify such an operation, the declared objectives were to house the Olympic athletes, to build a middle-class residential complex, and to “sanitise” an area where hundreds of families were living in gloomy slums (Della Riccia, 1960). After the Olympics, the 1962 General Master Plan ended the urbanisation of Flaminio with new housing settlements.

Overall, Flaminio’s city-making process from the end of 19th century until the early-1960s concerned as a sum of interventions –also those ones not put into operation– based on a previous definition of historical and new “infrastructures” –such as the “triangle” built up by the Flaminia, Pinturicchio, and del Vignola Avenues. Conceiving the road system as the base to urbanise the neighbourhood set up by urban planning instruments effectively created a newly built environment. The spatial repercussion of this dynamic was the extension of the city of Rome towards extra-urban areas. In this sense, Flaminio gradually acquired the status of “central space” due to the materialisation of cultural, leisure time, and sports facilities in close connection with the development of mega-events that were the driving force behind them.

This period represented a historical phase defined by the political will committed to the urban extension of Rome. In Flaminio, the capitalist interests to extend the city –taking the low-income class’ occupation of Parioli racecourse as an excuse– pursued the objective to extend Rome towards the north boundaries by the creation of a whole neighbourhood. The equipment of Flaminio with services related to sport and culture, plus residential buildings for the low class, coexisted with industrial and military activities previously located there. In this framework, urban planning tools based on the gradual extension of the city –from the early-20th century until the 1962 General Master Plan– played a crucial role. Important factors were the process of “territorial colonisation” that took place following the “historical road axis” represented by Flaminia Avenue, as well as the new “infrastructural system” represented by the new “triangle” Flaminia-Pinturicchio-del Vignola Avenues. Both of them contributed shaping the new urban planning proposals for the neighbourhood. Nonetheless, two factors highly

marked Flaminio's making process. Firstly, it is worth highlighting the particularity of the case of Rome due to its condition of Capital of the State. Secondly, the city was the focus of attention of the fascist architectural and urbanistic avant-garde during the period of the dictatorship between the 1920s and the 1940s.

Dismantling, abandonment, and regeneration of military installations and other unused degraded spaces

Between 1960 and 1990 no new major urban projects took place in Flaminio. Nevertheless, as urban sprawl took place, a specific phenomenon of "dismantling-abandonment-regeneration" of public properties –especially those ones belonging to the Ministry of Defence–, began from the late 1980s (fig. 3 of the Annex II). The spatial consequences of this phenomenon can be seen in the way the large underused, abandoned and declared "obsolete" areas were treated.

Substantially, this stage of Rome's urban development involved the implementation of far-reaching "territorial strategies" adopted by the Municipal Master Plan. Through these "strategies" the city became involved in the context of global economic circuits: the best way to convert the city of Rome into an "object" to be sold in the global real estate market was to implement urban projects whose objective is the creation of "areas of new centrality". This dynamic effectively took place in Flaminio by far-reaching urban projects towards tertiarisation, specifically aimed at booming the arts and the culture. What has to be highlighted here is the relationship between these new strategies and the starting of the social and spatial degradation phenomenon of the second half of the 20th century. Despite the 1990 FIFA World Cup and its goal to improve the quality of Flaminio and the Italic Forum, only the restructuration of the Olympic Stadium and some isolated improvements in the road infrastructure system took place.

After 1990, the first major intervention was the new Renzo Piano-designed Auditorium-Music Park –*Auditorium-Parco della Musica*²⁰⁵– set up in an old car park of about 6 hectares belonging to the Olympic Village. This project aimed

²⁰⁵ The old auditorium was part of the *Augusteo* theatre: however, it was demolished by Mussolini's order in 1936.

both at strengthening the cultural character of Flaminio, and at improving its competitiveness in the metropolis of Rome as a new “area of centrality”.

The place to build the Auditorium was chosen after a huge debate dating back to the 1970s²⁰⁶. The three proposed locations were originally public property, all of them being in a state of degradation. First, an abandoned and degraded 5-hectares municipal property in the area of the so-called “Borghetto” in the south part of Flaminio. Second, the Guido Reni barracks belonging to the Ministry of Defence. The Ministry began to underuse its properties in Flaminio with the aim of implementing a profitable far-reaching urban project to maximize the urban ground rent²⁰⁷. And, third, the area occupied by the City Council-owned Olympic Village car park.

The local City Council dealt with these alternatives rejecting Borghetto²⁰⁸ because both the place was too small for the size of the Auditorium, and the strong environmental impact possibly caused by the volumes of its structures. The Rome’s City Council also rejected Guido Reni barracks due to the lack of agreement with the Ministry of Defence. Consequently, the local administration agreed on June 1991 to choose the Olympic Village car park to develop the project presented by the Director of the Department of Architecture Competitions of Rome’s City Council, Francesco Ghio (Rossi, 2006). Such project was supported by “*Italia Nostra*”²⁰⁹ and its president, the journalist and archaeologist Antonio Cerderna²¹⁰.

The process for the building of the Auditorium began with an international architecture competition of 1993 won by a project designed by the architectural firm Renzo Piano Building Workshop. Despite several difficulties in the construction process of the Auditorium, such as the discovery of archaeological

²⁰⁶ In order to deepen into the debates regarding the localisation of the Auditorium, see the local press where Cederna (1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1995) faced Ripa di Meana (1991). For a history of the vicissitudes of the Auditorium from the 1930s onwards, see Insolera and Sette (2003).

²⁰⁷ Cederna (1991b) reported that at that time a consortium of banks and companies presented a project for the realisation of a mix of functions to redevelop the barracks located on both sides of Guido Reni street. The whole regeneration project involved more than 10 hectares, 2.5 of which to transform in the auditorium, and 9 devoted to a functional mix made up by a directional centre, accommodation, shops, and offices for a total of 190,000 m³. As Cederna (1992b) explains, the implementation of this urban project would lead to several risks: an enormous cost to be financed by the Italian State for the displacement of the military; the huge cementification of the Flaminio trident, with an irreversible deterioration of its urban quality; a surplus of tertiary functions in the neighbourhood; and the increase of traffic congestion and pollution.

²⁰⁸ Currently, its urban regeneration project is only partially implemented, see <http://www.urbanistica.comune.roma.it/progetti-urbani/citta-storica-ambito-borghettoflaminio.html>

²⁰⁹ Literally “Our Italy”. It is an Italian not for profit campaigning organisation, dedicated to the protection and promotion of the country’s historical, artistic, and environmental heritage and values.

²¹⁰ For a review of Cederna’s intellectual works, see <http://www.archiviocederna.it/cederna-web/indice.html>

remains found under the old car park, its inauguration took place in 2002. The new building presented itself as a proper “home” for music and other arts, exemplified by its hosting the venue Rome’s annual Film Festival. The surface of the plot surface reached 55,000 m², while the built volume is around 500,000 m³.

Thereafter, Flaminio consolidated itself as a “centre for arts and culture” by the incorporation of a second building designed by a star-architect. Zaha Hadid’s new piece of architecture is the 113,000-m³ “XXI century national museum of contemporary art and architecture-MAXXI”, built on the pre-existent 27,000-m² Montello barracks²¹¹. A year after the Italian Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Environments purchase of the already abandoned and ruined military property in 1997, an international competition took place. Award-winning Zaha Hadid’s architecture firm started the over-ten-year redevelopment of the area, inaugurated in 2010 with a total cost of approximately 55 million euros (Vittorini, 2004; Pezzini, 2016). Eventually, as feared by Cederna in the early 1990s, the redevelopment of one of the military installations located in Guido Reni Street became a reality after several years of speculative hypothesis about its future use. The degradation of most of the structures imposed their demolition, but the military legacy still remained as one building was preserved.

The redevelopment of the Montello barracks into buildings for arts and cultural new functions modified the still effective 1962 General Master Plan and also constituted the base to rethink the Precision Electrical Components Factory located in front of the MAXXI museum. The debate to establish the new use started in the 2001 memoranda of understanding signed by the City Council and the Ministry of Defence. Its prediction was to reuse the S.M.M.E.P. as the new headquarters for the Faculty of Human Sciences, Arts and Environment of La Sapienza University, and also for the establishment of common activities according to the MAXXI museum programmes (M.I.U.R., 2002). Furthermore, two other instruments boosted this proposal. First, the “Building and territorial plan of La Sapienza University Rome” –*Piano di assetto generale per lo sviluppo edilizio e territoriale dell’Università degli Studi La Sapienza nel comune di Roma*

²¹¹ In 2000 the remaining 6,500 m² of the same Montello barracks underwent to another architectural competition to build the “Italian Space Agency” headquarters, won by Massimiliano Fuksas’ architecture firm. However, the project was cancelled, changing the location of the intervention into southeastern out-of-Rome area of Tor Vergata.

in Italian— and, second, the 2003-2005 Master Plan named “The Neighbourhood of the City of Science-The Urban Project Flaminio-Italic Forum”²¹² (Comune di Roma, 2005a; fig. 43). Particularly, it seems clear that the regeneration of the disused Precision Electrical Components Factory was the most important intervention of the Master Plan for providing Flaminio with a new “City of Science”. However, in 2010 La Sapienza University came to a decision of not locating its headquarters there since the validity of the 2001 memoranda of understanding expired in 2007 due to the Ministry of Defence’s continuous change of decision²¹³.

Simultaneously, as stated in the 2005 Master Plan, the addition of a new “piece of art” took place. The so-called “Music Bridge”²¹⁴ aimed at connecting Flaminio with the Italic Forum. After the 2000 international architectural competition, eventually the construction of the bridge started in September 2008 and finished in May 2011, with a cost of 8,620,635.65 euros (<http://www.urbanistica.comune.roma.it/citta-storica-pontemusica.html>). This new architectural artefact is another built construction whose objective appears to be the promotion of the arts and cultural “centrality” of Flaminio. In this sense, the Music Bridge assumed the role of an infrastructure designed to boost the territorial accessibility of Flaminio but, above all, to provide accessibility to the future “City of Science” and to become a new piece of architecture related to arts, culture, and leisure time²¹⁵.

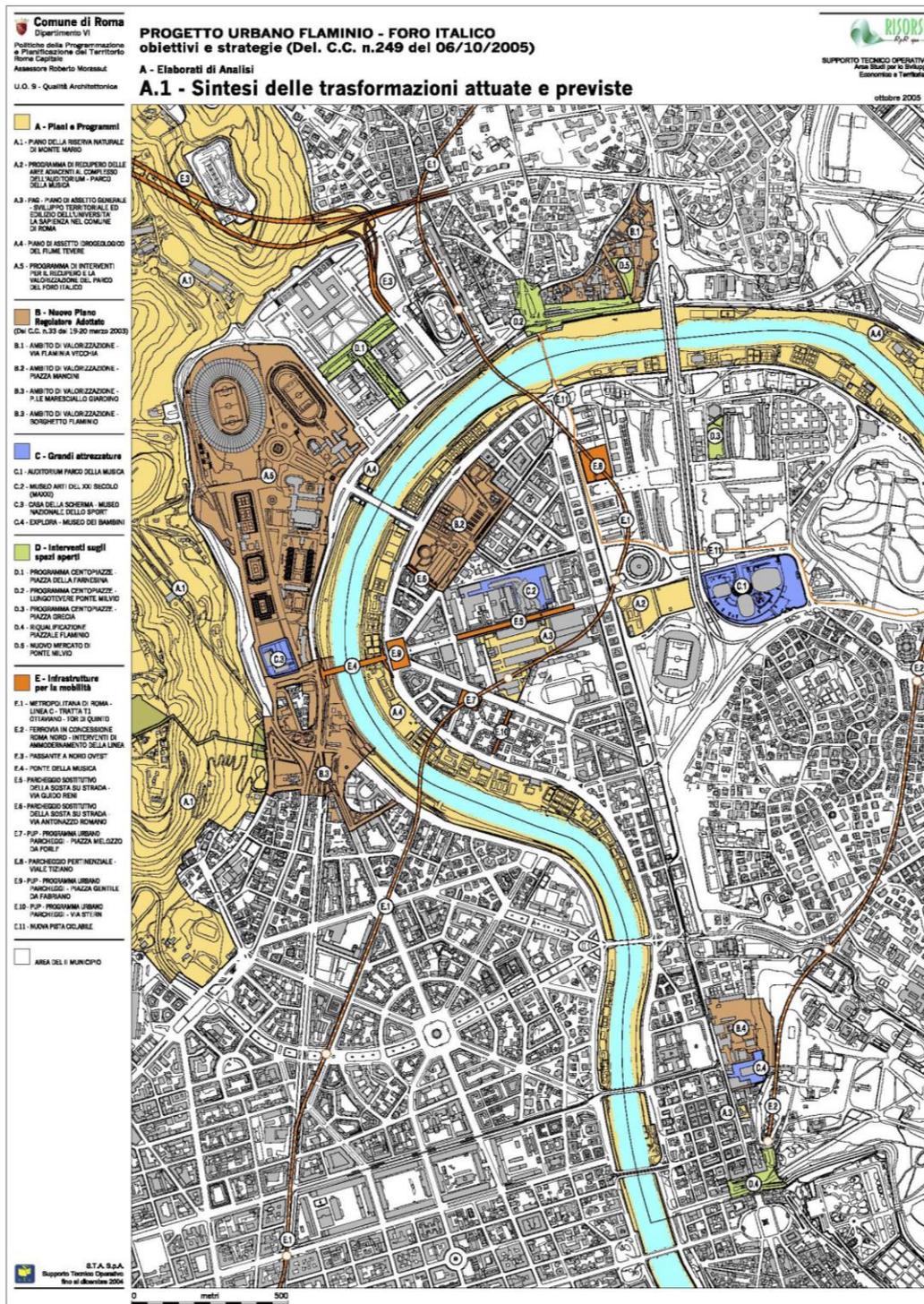
²¹² The location chosen to realise the City of Science changed over the time. First, in 1983 was a former slaughterhouse in Ostiense neighbourhood, in the south part Rome. Second, in 1998, the location changed from the slaughterhouse to the next ancient gasometer. Then, a third location was the Rome’s south-east metropolitan periphery, in Tor Vergara campus. Eventually, in 2007 the latest project regarded the S.M.M.E.P. and an unbuilt area next to such campus. The history and debate for the localisation of the “City of Science” in Rome are well summarised in Vomero (2008) and Tudisca (2014: 64-65).

²¹³ Despite the 2001 memoranda of understanding established the free-of-charge transfer of the S.M.M.E.P. into La Sapienza University’s real estate assets, successively the Ministry of Defence required an exchange for the barracks, i.e. the construction of new accommodation for the military at the expense of the University. This change should have been approved by 2007 through a specific “program agreement” –*accordo di programma*. Finally, the project failed due to the lack of agreement between the entities.

²¹⁴ The realisation of the bridge was already secured by Law n. 396 of 15 December 1990 entitled “Interventions for Rome, the Republic Capital”, but it never took place.

²¹⁵ Despite the pedestrian use of the bridge, the connection between the two banks of the river is not suitable for the slow mobility. The Bridge in fact connects two boulevards of high traffic congestion, making safely pedestrian crossing impossible. In addition, while the bottom of the bridge is gradually becoming a place for temporary high quality activities –such as advertisements, concerts, exhibitions, and even dinners–, under the bridge the degradation of green spaces and acts of micro delinquency are common.

Fig. 43: urban transformation of “The Neighbourhood of the City of Science-The Urban Project Flaminio-Italic Forum”: City of Science (A3); Auditorium (C1); MAXXI Museum (C2); Music Bridge (E4).



Fuente: <http://www.urbanistica.comune.roma.it/partec-quart-scienza/puf.html>.

*Interpreting the tendencies towards the “arts and cultural centrality” in
Flaminio neighbourhood*

The regeneration of the Flaminio neighbourhood between the 1990s and 2010-2011 shows a whole series of completed urban projects. The new artefacts, such as the Auditorium, the MAXXI museum, and the “Music Bridge”, strengthen the arts and cultural and leisure time activities at local, national, and international scales, therefore strengthening the central character of the zone too (fig. 4 of the Annex II). Overall, the historical role of the Flaminio as “cultural and leisure time axis” was influenced by Rome’s own role as the Italian capital city.

In this framework, the study shows how the “degradation-abandonment-regeneration” of large properties of soil was the booster of the late-XX century Flaminio city-making process. The strategy under which the transformation took place was the re-affirmation of Flaminio’s arts and cultural centrality (Guarini, 2010). The generation of the new urban palimpsest directly derived from the Strategic Guidelines of the Local Urban Planning, the strategy of the latter boosted the creation of a mix of high quality tertiary functions. These new urban interventions aim both at improving the “quality” of the neighbourhood and at attracting other activities, such as commercial, and residential ones, including social housing and even tourism. Basically, such trend aimed at fostering and strengthening the tertiary character of the neighbourhood. In fact, the Flaminio’s “centrality” can be interpreted as a representative example of a global city aiming to attract people, activities, and functions of national and international scope. There is no doubt that the prestige acquired by Flaminio affects the existing popular social reproduction space identified with the Olympic Village and with the housing system located in the whole neighbourhood. However, despite the gradual materialisation of the aforementioned architectural icons, nowadays Flaminio presents a number of outstanding problems. One of them refers to the existing public spaces. Actually, the road system shows congestion with a lack of car parks, added to the presence of not pedestrian friendly sidewalks which are in contradiction with the prestigious architectures such as the MAXXI and the Auditorium. Moreover, it is worth mentioning the abandonment of several traditional cultural and sports facilities of the neighbourhood, such as the old Flaminio Stadium and the Small Sports Palace, and the still-degraded “Borghetto” in the southern part of the neighbourhood. Among the abandoned spaces, the

55,480-m² S.M.M.E.P. stands out, in which 28 1-to-4-stories-high buildings are located, supposing a total volume of 223,827 m³. It is a matter of fact that from the future regeneration of this urban void strictly depends the new centrality of Flaminio, and, consequently, the successive transformations to be carried out in the whole zone.

The regeneration of this old military factory into a cultural facility supposes the definite turning point for the character of Flaminio from a residential to a leisure time neighbourhood. This “capital in land” finally promotes the “death” of the original popular character of the Flaminio, turning the neighbourhood into an exclusive place. In fact, as claimed by Cederna (1991b), since the 1980s Flaminio was affected by a growing interest of real estate operators in the production of profit-oriented strategies to regenerate the remains of military barracks. Based on this trend, the Ministry of Defence saw in this growing interest the key element which definitely pushed a profit-driven project for the Guido Reni barracks.

At the beginning, the 2001 memoranda of understanding pursued a public use of the military area so as to decongest the La Sapienza University's headquarters. Despite this fact, Flaminio's city-making process promoted the reutilisation of the military property adopting a different alternative. The latter is much more focused on the production of an income-producing space driven by the new financial priorities of the Ministry of Defence. Once the validity of the aforementioned 2001 memoranda of understanding expired, Defence's “non-intervention” policy accelerated the state of abandonment of the area, further degrading its open spaces and the buildings. Consequently, this dynamic opened “the door” to a much more speculative intervention. In fact, thanks to the Italian legislation, real-estate assets belonging to the Ministry of Defence have been affected by two factors which change the approach of the urban regeneration processes to carry out. The first one was Law no. 191/2009, which introduced the so-called “Disposal and exploitation plan for military real estate assets”, in Italian *Piano delle alienazioni e valorizzazioni dei beni immobili militari* (Roma Capitale, 2014b)– further modified in 2010. Second, the 2010 Ministry of Defence-Rome's City Council memoranda of understanding substituted the previous one signed in 2001. These modifications started a new stage for the management of the former barracks. Its objectives responded to the economic needs of the government and the local administrations involved instead of guaranteeing a social function for the

city and its citizens. This new phase began with art. 2 of Decree-Law no. 225/2010 of 29 December 2010, which integrated the paragraph 196 of art. 2 of Law no. 191/2009.

The application of this legislative tool led to the transfer of S.M.M.E.P. from the Ministry of Defence to the Italian State Property Agency. This fact meant the sale of the barracks in the real estate market, as well as the other military assets included in the 2010 memoranda of understanding. This operation aimed at improving the Ministry of Defence's financial situation and at increasing the Rome's City Council's economic capacity to ensure basic services, including cleaning and public transport. However, Law no. 135/2012 (art. 23-ter, paragraph 2, letters "c" and "d") opted for an operation of valorisation in the real estate market, urging the sale of the barracks to real estate funds. Hence, after the local General Master Plan Modification on 25 September 2013, on 23 December 2013 the Ministry of Economy's Decree transferred the barracks from the State Property Agency to the F.I.V. fund of *Cassa Depositi e Prestiti*. The privatisation meant giving the Fund the task to realise the new project of the "City of Science". A new memoranda of understanding between Rome's City Council, the aforementioned Fund, and the State Property Agency in August 2014 scheduled the procedure to undertake the military area regeneration²¹⁶. Consequently, the entities promoted on 23 December 2014 an International Urban Design Ideas Competition called "Project Flaminio" –*Progetto Flaminio* in Italian– as an essential tool for the redevelopment of the ancient barracks and the improvement of the cultural centrality of Flaminio²¹⁷. "Studio 015 Paola Viganò"²¹⁸ won the competition the following year (fig. 44).

Analysing the bases of the international competition and the winner project, the intentions of the urban regeneration process became clear. The regeneration would take place on a private property as a result of the alienation of a public real-estate asset. A private financial institution, *CDP Investimenti Sgr*, became the new owner of the barracks in 2013; at the same time, Rome's City Council agreed to carry out the urban regeneration process and definitely approved it just the following year.

²¹⁶ <http://www.urbanistica.comune.roma.it/partec-quart-scienza.html>

²¹⁷ For the materials of the competition, see <http://www.progettoflaminio.it/?lang=en>

²¹⁸ <http://www.studiopaolavigano.eu/atS17/roma.php>

Fig. 44: an image of Studio 015 Paola Viganò's masterplan.



Source: <http://www.progettoflaminio.it/>

Three major components characterised this project²¹⁹: first, the materialisation of the so-called “City of Science”; second, the new system of “public spaces” strictly linked with equipment and services; and, third, the construction of “private residential areas” with a small percentage of social housing. The plot size was 51,000 m², 14,000 of which to be transformed into public spaces, and 10,000 m² for the “City of Science”. The remaining 27,000 m² involved the new private housing development. Therefore, private housing occupied more than half of the plot size and was expected to produce both 29,000 m² of gross floor area for homes to sale or rent, plus 6,000 m² of gross floor area for social housing. The latter did not correspond to the Italian legal terminology “*case popolari*”, but were rent-controlled and cost-subsidised flats. Moreover, the prevision was to build 10,000 m² of new gross floor area for touristic and commercial uses and large areas dedicated to parking. To sum up, the City of Science proposal’s objectives became clear with this paragraph:

«... Precision Electrical Components Factory, [...] characterised by the presence of unused buildings and artefacts unlikely to be reconverted into new uses, or with evident physical and functional

²¹⁹ The analysis of the Precision Electrical Components Factory redevelopment refers to three main sources. First, the 2001, 2010 and 2014 memorandas of understanding (<http://www.urbanistica.comune.roma.it/aree-militari/arremilitari-ex-stabilim-guido-reni.html>). Second, the 2013 “City of Science” project by Rome’s City Council (Roma Capitale, 2013a) and its documentation, above all, the *Piano di Recupero* (Roma Capitale, 2014a), and the General Master Plan Modification (Roma Capitale, 2013b). Third, the 2014 International Competition “*Progetto Flaminio*” by *Cassa Depositi e Prestiti* (including historical documentation –Roma Capitale, 2011–).

degradation phenomena [...], as its privileged localisation and the consequently real-estate value due to its position, constitutes a relevant occasion of local and urban scale regeneration» (Roma Capitale, 2014a: 7).

The owner of the old barracks, *Cassa Depositi e Prestiti*, claimed that the total cost of the urban project will approximately be 270 million euros, while the cost of selling the private areas –residential, commercial, offices, touristic facilities – in the real estate market will fluctuate around 4,800-5,000 euros/m² (Nartello, 2015). Fundamentally, the F.I.V. fund immediately proceeded to take advantage of the profitability of its property while waiting for the final approval of the City of Science’s urban project by Rome’s City Council and the beginning of the work. In fact, the investment fund allowed a temporary use of some of the spaces within the former barracks, which contributed to attract new activities and, consequently, to realise an income-producing real estate asset. In order to improve the cultural centrality of the neighbourhood, what kind of activities could be promoted if not those ones related to arts, culture, and fashion design? As a matter of fact, the F.I.V. fund promoted an urban marketing strategy called “Guido Reni District”²²⁰ in which sometimes the former’s activities were related to the MAXXI museum and its own ones.

So far, the work to redevelop the former military area to realise the “City of Science” has still not begun (fig. 45 and 46).

Fig. 45 and 46: two photographs of the former Precision Electrical Components Factory. On the left, temporary activities carried out in 2017. On the right, state of degradation of some buildings.



Source: photographs by F. Camerin (2017).

²²⁰ <http://guidorenidistrict.com/>

By way of conclusion

The study shows that the process of strengthening the existing cultural centrality in Flaminio did not imply the disappearance of the military presence. The Ministry of Defence is actually still present in the neighbourhood, currently occupying the Ciarpaglini barracks, right next to the MAXXI museum. The military also occupies the institutional headquarters of the Defence-owned company “*Difesa Servizi spa*”, adjacent to the former Precision Electrical Components Factory, located along Flaminia Avenue.

In the attempt to make the City of Science' project a reality, a question should rise up: how will this urban project influence the social and economic composition of the neighbourhood? Will the urban transformation encourage the abandonment of the militaries who still remain in Flaminio?

After the City of Science's project realisation, will such project constitute the irreversible base to promote operations to enhance Flaminio's cultural-leisure time character? Will this mean the start of a new trend which inevitably leads to gentrification by promoting high class and exclusive centralised neighbourhood?

Military properties and “new areas of centrality”. The case of the Parade Ground in Milan

City-making process based on the materialisation of Parades Ground in the historic centres –following by successive displacements towards other places far away from the first one until the disappearance of these great properties– is a very recurring theme in Western European cities. In the Italian context, Milan represents a remarkable case. The change of location of the first early 19th century-Parade Ground took place up to three times. This process ended with the definitive disappearance of this specific military activity in the late 1980s, thus becoming an urban void which reuse will probably materialise a new area of centrality.

The reinterpretation of an institutional military space, the Parade Ground, with the aim of creating “new centralities”

This section shows a clear unifying thread regarding the patterns of urban transformations linked to the management of Milan’s Parade Ground over time. This unifying thread has been the creation of new centrality areas in the urban environment. The process of Parade Ground materialisation-dismantling-regeneration referred effectively to three different historical moments between 1800 and the 1920s. Each of them was based on the ground of the evolution of the disaggregated urban development model towards the urban sprawl. It is worth remarking that this process have contributed to materialise several urban equipment and services linked to specific demands derived from the process of capitalist production.

The first phase corresponded to the early 19th century. During the French domination, Napoleon Bonaparte ordered the creation of the Parade Ground in place of the remains of the old city walls. The purpose of this new great military property was to establish an “institutional centre” intended as a “civic space” expressing the republican city’s values. This first Parade Ground –the so-called “Bonaparte Forum”– was adjacent to the “Sforza Castle”, the latter being converted into a barracks.

The second phase concerned the first displacement of the military activities aiming to reconvert the Parade Ground into a new civic “central area”. This resulted in the creation of a large green space called *Parco Sempione* in place of the Bonaparte Forum, while the Castle started to house institutional and cultural functions. By doing so, the military were forced to displace out of the city centre, becoming a new urbanising element of Milan’s outskirts.

The third phase regarded the redevelopment of the Parade Ground into a new area of centrality: here the capitalistic interests took advantage of the gradual realisation of new urban equipment nearby this military installations. These facilities contributed to create the ideal conditions to develop the phenomenon of “urban centrality”: in fact, the bourgeoisie searched for the creation of a new Trade Fair in place of the Parade Ground. The latter was consequently displaced towards the unbuilt periphery of Baggio municipality during 1920s in the context of the provision of a new “Military district” which has been effectively used by the military for more than 50 years. Over decades, this district has been gradually

surrounded by several new urban equipment, although characterised by a phenomenon of social segregation. The condition of marginalisation was caused by a relevant presence of many migrants and, in general, of low-income population. In order to “sanitise” this situation, the Parade Ground started to be considered from the early 2000s as the most suitable area to regenerate by speculative operations Baggio zone.

The construction-displacement-reconversion of the old Parade Ground

After a brief summary of the history of the Parade Ground localisations-displacements within Milan, the analysis looks in detail the different phases of the city-making process –“abandonment-emptying-regeneration”– affecting this great military property.

After the Napoleon-ordered demolition of the ancient star-shaped walls around Sforza Castle in 1800, between 1806 and 1809 a Parade Ground was built next to the same castle, the latter becoming a military barracks. This demolition responded to the need of providing the city centre with a new Republican institutional equipment, the so-called Bonaparte Forum²²¹.

Such an operation responded to one of the objectives of the French domination in Italy, which searched for changing the relationship between the military and civil society. This would mean the assignment to the soldiers of some functions to benefit local citizens, such as health care, bread production, and security. In order to achieve this goal, the localisation of the Parade Ground must be in a privileged place in the city, i.e. its urban centre (Della Peruta, 1988). In fact, the provision of a public promenade surrounding the Parade Ground allowing the development of military and bourgeoisie-intended civil society activities. The Parade Ground was seen essentially as a great property of land in the historic city aiming to combine the military presence with civic society’s leisure time activities.

The presence of the Parade Ground and the barracks in the Sforza Castle in this central location began to be questioned after the Italian Unification during the 1860s (Torricelli and Rampi, 1990: 875-877). In this period, the general trend

²²¹ This new centrality would mean the creation of a new directional centre in contraposition to the religious one corresponding to the Duomo Square. However, Napoleon’s idea did not took place due to the lack of public and private resource (Torricelli and Rampi, 1990: 872-874).

of the urban development pressured a specific reform of the Historic Centres in Italy, specifically in Milan, aiming to strengthen their role as a “central place”. Such change imposed the expulsion of low-income classes and functions –i.e. the military installations– that did not fit the logic of the real estate market.

In the mid-19th century, the refurbishment of the traditional urban space corresponded to the city expansion, which effect was the urbanisation beyond the historic city. This meant the realisation of out-of-the-city-centre working- and lower middle-class housing, industries, railways, and so on. This dynamic occurred at the same time in other large European cities, such as Barcelona, Madrid, and Paris. In Milan the local real estate company “*Società Fondiaria Milanese*” drove such trend by the management of the military displacement within the city and the creation of new bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction spaces. This company acquired some piece of low-cost land to build a new Parade Ground in the northwest edge of the historic centre. The cost of military displacement should have been assumed by the same society on the ground of the economic benefits derived from the redevelopment of the existing Parade Ground into a new residential area. The City Council approved this operation to tackle a wide range of issues to proceed with the urbanisation of the peripheral territory. Among other, I am pointed out the management of public real estate asset strictly linked to a specific urban development process and the reliance of this operation the building of a new railway track and station.

It can be said that the first displacement of the Parade Ground was strictly linked to the Milanese bourgeoisie idea of Milan to become the “moral capital” and the “commercial and financial centre” of the Italian State (Rosa, 1982). Nevertheless, the Cesare-Beruto-designed 1884-to-1889 General Master Plan foresaw a double change. First, the creation of a new large urban park –the so-called *Parco Sempione*– in place of the Parade Ground to develop new leisure time activities and public events. Second, the reconversion of the Sforza Castle in a central place for civil and cultural activities, public institutions offices, and so on. The approval of Master Plan in 1889 eventually ordered the displacement of the existing Parade Ground into a northwest plot respect to the new urban park. The new military settlement took place precisely in the land previously acquired by the *Società Fondiaria Milanese*. In 1887, the society sold an area of about 116,500 m² for the realisation of the “Military quarters” –*Quartiere delle milizie*–

located in the north of the bourgeoisie-intended districts. The close location of the military settlement with the new Sempione railway infrastructure system facilitated the construction of new barracks in low-cost land. This was another historical fact conditioning the new localisation of the Parade Ground. It seems pretty clear the strict connection between the military de-localisation and the local bourgeoisie demands for “centrality”: the creation of a bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction space was a prerequisite to raise Milan as the economic capital of the newborn Italian state.

Other event affecting the destiny of the Parade Ground was the 1906 Milan World’s Fair held in Parco Sempione. Due to the proximity of the military installation to it, the Parade Ground and its surrounding area were equipped with a new sewage system, public green, and new tram system. The military settlement accommodated also some of the Exhibition activities, such as those related to the “Industrial Work Gallery”, which pavilion headquartered was located in Parco Sempione (Botti and Ricci, 2011).

The provision of new public equipment for hosting some events of the 1906 World’s Fair in the Parade Ground boosted its public use and this was basically the “excuse” to take advantage of the new situation in terms of new real estate development. As Milanese bourgeoisie was committed to speculation in the context of urban development, it started to propose a more profitable use of the military installations for the logic of capital. Subsequently, the Angelo-Pavia-and-Giovanni-Masera-designed 1909-1912 General building regulation and expansion plan –*Piano generale regolatore edilizio e di ampliamento*– followed this idea and drove a new displacement of the Parade ground according to the new system of quartering in the city borders. The military decentralisation found its support in the new railway system which had a forceful effect in the territory as it fostered the urban extension.

The approach of this dynamic was quite similar to what had happened in the late 1880s, all this being in line with specific capitalist interests of the local bourgeoisie. Milanese real estate capitalists actually did not cease to interestingly observe the displacement of “inadequate” activities located in the traditional urban space, such as hospitals, industries, university campuses, and sports facilities, as an opportunity. The bourgeoisie’s aim was to redevelop the areas where such activities were located as new “tertiary and representative space”.

This way of approaching the creation of new income-producing assets can be seen as a typical practice of the late 19th century- and early 20th century-Milanese society.

In light of this trend and following the dynamic of urban development patterns heading towards urban sprawl, the Parade Ground displacement took place in a strategic area in western out-of-town land belonging to the municipality of Baggio²²² (fig. 5 of the Annex II). The materialisation of the third Parade Ground took advantage of an existing airfield built in 1907 by the Italian society “Leonardo da Vinci”, whose responsible was the Milanese engineer Enrico Forlanini.

In 1923 the new Parade Ground was eventually built in Baggio, being part of Milanese territory because the latter, plus other 10 peripheral municipalities, was annexed to the city of Milan. Just one year before –1922– the City Council acquired the 326,950 m² of land where the second Parade Ground was located. The purchase allowed both the military displacement in Baggio (Colombo, Mocarelli and Stanca, 2003: 19) and, consequently, the building of the new Trade Fair²²³. In this way, an area of new centrality responded to the local bourgeoisie’s demands became a reality in order to reinforce Milan’s international competitiveness and its role as a representative and economic-financial centre of the Italian State.

*Between the decentralisation of military uses and the strengthening of
“centrality”*

In Italy, the decentralization of military sites resulted from the national and international debate arose on the need to relocate military activities scattered within the city outside the urban centres (Bruni, 1937; Rigotti, 1938; Melis, 1941; Pagano, 1941). During Fascism, the Milan’s City Council proposal aimed both at dismantling military buildings located in the traditional urban space and relocating their activities in a new “Military City”²²⁴ around a Parade Ground in the rural area of Baggio. Nevertheless, this operation was not as successful as expected mainly

²²² For a detailed analysis of the historical evolution of the municipality of Baggio –corresponding to the third location of the Parade Ground– see the historical urban narrative by Uberti (2015) provided by the local Milanese association “*Le Giardiniere*” (<https://www.legiardinieremilano.it/la-piazza-d-armi/>).

²²³ In Italian “*Fiera campionaria*”.

²²⁴ At the same time, new monofunctional urbanisations began to appear in the outskirts, such as the 1921-1927 “City of the Studies” –*Città Studi*–; the “City of Supplies” –*Città annonaria*–; and the “City of the Sport” set up by the 1925 Hippodrome and the 1925-1926 “San Siro” stadium. Consequently new urbanisations arose around all these new monofunctional areas.

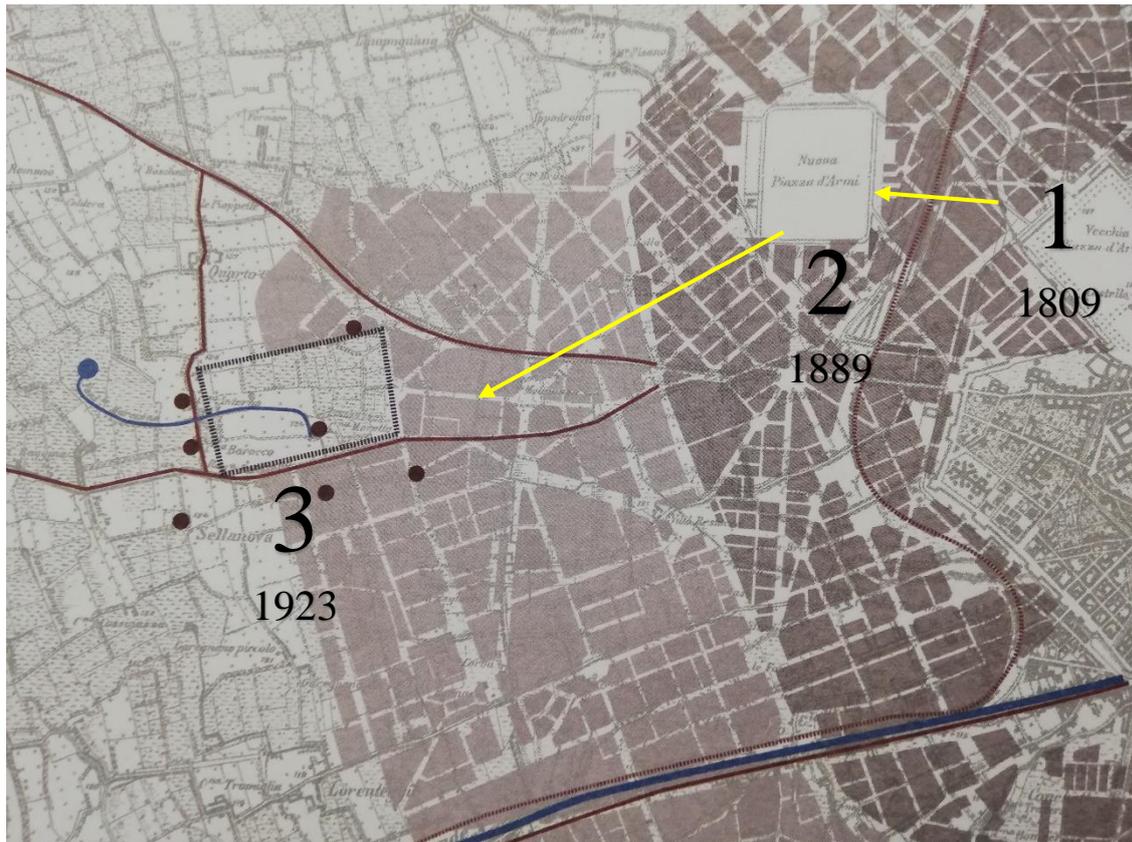
due to economic reasons. The project involved clearly speculative actions, since the central barracks were about to be substituted with new bourgeoisie-intended residential settlements. The Superintendence for Cultural Heritage limited the architectural and urban planning operations to undertake in the barracks located in the traditional urban space, especially those ones with an ecclesiastic previous use. The main issue was the prohibition of the building demolition due to the importance of preserving architectural heritage of historical and cultural value, so the creation of the Military City was only partially implemented (Torricelli and Rampi, 1990: 883-886; Poli, 2016).

Over time, the new military settlement of Baggio became increasingly more and more important (fig. 6 of the Annex II). Between 1929 and 1935 two military installations were built around the 356,630-m² Parade Ground. They were the 170,140-m² “Principe Eugenio di Savoia”²²⁵ Royal Artillery barracks and the about 100,000-m² “Baggio military warehouses”. The total amount of the Military City reached finally a scope of 618.075 m², being enclosed by two historic roads of the Milanese periphery, i.e. Novara and Armed Forces streets. In addition, other military installations appeared in Baggio zone: they were the 130,000-m² army hospital – the so-called “Loris Annibaldi” barracks– and a military church built in 1932. The partial military decentralisation and the subsequently new installations around the Parade Ground strongly contributed to the creation of a wide-ranging military centre. During the 1930s the materialisation of the Military City ended (fig. 47), being one of the most important military settlement in Italy due to its huge dimension.

Military activities –such as vehicles manoeuvring and soldiers training– continued until the 1980s when the Parade Ground was gradually abandoned. The effects of such abandonment were the progressive development of a spontaneous vegetation leading to the establishment of a proper wildlife, and an unauthorised appropriation process by groups of citizens. The latter started to grow gardens, while others turned some spaces into shanties. The uncontrolled human presence provoked also the creation of an illegal and uncontrolled dump site.

²²⁵ Nowadays called “*Santa Barbara*”.

Fig. 47: historical evolution of the Parade Ground localisation in Milan.



Source: reelaboration of the map including in Ugolini (2016: 136)²²⁶.

From the military concentration in the periphery by the decentralisation of its primitive facilities, to a new dismantling-abandonment to generate “new centralities”

The dismantling-abandonment of the last Parade Ground in Baggio did not happen in the same way as well as the process of creation of the Military City between the 1920s and the 1930s. The process of dismantling-abandonment-emptying affecting the area of the Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground –as well as the gradual underuse of Santa Barbara barracks starting from 2000– depended on several factors. The no longer required presence and use of these military installations in the city of Milan responded essentially to the urban development patterns and to external factors respect to the city-making process. These external factors were the international geopolitical changes taking place

²²⁶ Cartography used: 1888 map of the *Istituto Geografico Militare Italiano*, to which the Plans of Beruto-designed Plan (1889) and the Pavia- and Masera-designed Plan (1912) have been superimposed.

since the end of the 1980s, and the military modernisation programmes, such as the abolition of mandatory military conscription since 2005.

The “triggering factor” for the dismantling-abandonment referred basically to the urban dynamics, i.e. to the specific way of carrying out the city-making process. Milanese urban development pushed the abandonment of great military properties according to specific capitalist demands. The reasons why Milanese city-making process pressed the dismantling-abandonment were strictly related to each other, being the following.

Firstly, from the 1950s the dynamics of Milanese urban development were based on boundless-urban-growth patterns, all of which meant the gradual urbanisation of the area surrounded the Military City. In just few decades, this “unlimited urban development” materially gobbled the military installations down, thus losing the peripheral character to become part of the built city (fig. 7 of the Annex II).

Secondly, the implementation of a new “hierarchy of centralities” gradually shaped a new idea of city. This phenomenon started in Milan in the 1980s, causing a change of the spatial relations among the different parts of the city, especially between urban centre and periphery. From the late 1970s, Milan can actually be no longer defined as a “compact city” within its municipal boundaries. Instead, this territory started to be marked by an increasingly dispersion of urban functions out from the traditional urban space into the suburbanised spaces. Such tendency led to the territorial metropolisation and regionalisation, which converted the Milanese region into an attractive centre for global real estate investments. The operations of urban regeneration in Milan were thus subjected to a strongly market-oriented urban planning. In terms of urban planning, this meant that the way Milanese urban development was ruled referred to a deregulation system. Such way of conceiving urban planning practice was subjected to public-private agreements in search for the extrapolation of the “differential urban ground rent”. This strategy led to the conformation of a new “urban model” on the ground of a new hierarchy of centralities which strongly influenced the Milanese territorial development patterns. In this framework, the creation of new centralities depended absolutely on the availability of peripheral-or central-located “existing heritage” to proceed with an “appropriation process”. In turn, such an appropriation took place via urban regeneration projects, or better

said, via the monetary value maximisation of the existing heritage. This heritage surely referred to the industrial and railway land, but also to the military installations. Industries and railway settlements were among the first great properties to disappear from the traditional urban fabric. Why? Because the fordist mode of production activities were gradually being replaced by new capitalist interests less and less interested in the work and more in obtaining profits at lower and lower costs –almost without spending money in salaries, if possible. According to this approach, the old fordist socio-spatial structures disappeared being substituted by the new “icons of power” materialised via urban regeneration. The old Trade Fair management was a clear example of this kind of transformation. In fact, the attempt of the leisure-consumption-oriented urban regeneration project called “City Life” referred to the creation of a new central and iconic space set up by directional centres, high-standing housing, and commercial and leisure time functions. This high-buildability-based urban project manifested itself with a specific built form, a designing high-tech futuristic skyscrapers²²⁷.

Eventually, the third factor referred to the implementation of the “segregated urban development model” which was strengthened by a parallel process of “socio-spatial dispersion”. Such trend was manifested in Baggio by means of the concentration of subsidised housing producing both a ghettoisation process and a certain risk of social marginalisation. Moreover, a considerable presence of immigrants and low-income population supported this dynamics during the second part of the 20th century (Foot: 2003: 72). Here it is important to remark that the social degradation took place despite the presence of urban equipment well-connected to the metropolitan-scale territory, such as the metro system. The segregation of Baggio zone and its great accessibility led to the inevitably creation of a centrality effect.

To sum up, I am arguing that these three factors definitely contributed to the abandonment and emptying of the Military City, enhancing the value of this great property but also of Baggio zone as whole. Nowadays, Baggio appears to

²²⁷ In the local imaginary this urban project is seen today as the new urban centre of the city, being representative of Milanese definitive leap towards a global city. However, the overall programmed transformations on the former Trade Fair are still under construction.

be a new central area where a specific urban regeneration project has to solve the aforementioned social and urban issues (fig. 8 of the Annex II).

The final results of the urban regeneration process

In 2005 the slow process that would end up transforming the Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground officially started (fig. 9 of the Annex II). The Ministry of Defence's Decree of 28 February 2005 declared this asset no longer useful for its institutional purposes and provided the possibility to the property transfer to the State Property Agency. Such action aimed at the alienation of this real estate asset contributing both to wipe out the national debt and to allocate monetary resources to the Ministry of Defence to meet its various requirements. Following this Decree, the memoranda of understanding signed in May 2009 between the Ministry of Defence and the Milan's City Council proposed an operation aiming to rationalise and redevelop nine military real estate assets, all of them totalling 918.899 m² (Comune di Milano, 2012a: 3). Particularly, six of them were classified as "priority operations" to carry out: they were "Montello" and "Mameli" barracks, Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground and the military compound comprising "Magenta", "Carroccio", and "XXIV Maggio" barracks.

Afterwards, the "priority military installations" were included in Directorial Decree n. 1/2/5/2010 of 5 March 2010 to be transferred to the State Property Agency following the indications of a new legislation (article 14-bis.3 of Decree Law no. 112/2008²²⁸). The Agency was consequently entrusted with the task of managing the urban regeneration process in place of the Ministry of Defence with a double goal. First, to decide the possible new use in the framework of the General Master Plan and, second, to proceed to the selling in the real estate market in accordance with the City Council. Nevertheless, the participation of the State Property Agency in the procedure created a certain uncertainty, later leading to the expiry of the 2009 memoranda of understanding and the signing of a new one in 2014.

The modification on the legislation of military real estate assets' disposal was carried out at the same time of the General Master Plan Modification. The so-called "Territory Government Plan", *Piano di Governo del Territorio*, P.G.T.,

²²⁸ Which was converted in Law by Law no. 133/2008.

was approved on 4 February 2011, being in force since 2012. Such Plan classified the former six priority military installations as “urban transformation areas” according to a preliminary project carried out jointly by the Local City Council, the Ministry of Defence and the Lombardy’s Regional Department of Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities. It is important to remark that the latter body established that just one building was worth preserving within the military compound Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground (Comune di Milano, 2012a: 32). At the same time, another change in the procedure referred to the inclusion of Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground into Directorial Decree n. 88/2/5/2012 of 24 August 2012 to definitely transferred the property to the State Property Agency and, consequently, to a real estate investment fund.

In August 2014, the State Property Agency, the Milan’s City Council, and the Ministry of Defence signed a new memoranda of understanding, thus enabling two large urban projects (Vv. Aa., 2014). Such projects regarded Mameli barracks (Montedoro, 2016) and Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground. The second military premises was classified by the 2012 Territory Government Plan as an urban transformation area which new uses should be related to sport and leisure activities²²⁹.

The Plan applied a buildability of 0.70 m²/m² to create a total buildable area of 432,652 m², a half of which for public equipment and public housing, corresponding to 216,326 m². Instead, the half of the former military installation’s plot size –corresponding to 309,037 m²– would be used for public green (Comune di Milano, 2012b: 19-20; Municipio 7, 2017b; see fig. 48).

The privatisation-regeneration of Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground would take place by two steps. The privatisation was carried out via the ownership transfer of the Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground from the Ministry of Defence to the State Property Agency in accordance with Law no. 135/2012 and, subsequently, the selling to the Fondo i3-Sviluppo Italia Comparto 8-Quarter in July 2016. Successively, at the end of 2017 a new entrepreneurial agent came

²²⁹ For each urban transformation area and according to a series of objectives, the Territory Government Plan defines a maximum buildability and attributes a percentage of the area to public equipment for green areas and services. The Plan does not perform the detailed study, postponing it to the guidelines of the programme agreement. The Territory Government Plan does not forcefully define the transformations to carry out, leaving the involved agents a broad space for manoeuvring in the execution phase of the project. The urban planning instrument legalises once again the deregulation which subjugates the Milanese major urban projects execution as well as it has happening since the 1980s.

into play, i.e. “Football Club Internazionale Milano s.p.a.”. Its intentions focused on building a new headquarters in the city as to leave the actual one called “Pinetina” located in Appiano Gentile (province of Como).

Fig. 48: extract of the 2012 Territory Government Plan.



Source: Comune di Milano (2012b: 19).

At this point, a debate started on the Urban Planning instrument guidelines. The fact of having foreseen a large urban project on the ground of provide new sports and leisure activities meant the Territory Government Plan Modification to allow the passage from the original large volumes to the privatisation of those same spaces but to materialise a sort of “public spaces”, namely the football fields. Nevertheless, this idea did not take place was due to two factors. Firstly, the definitive renunciation of Inter to go ahead with this project²³⁰. Secondly, the “Parade Ground Special Commission” –created by the District 7 of Milan City Council in January 2017 (Municipio 7, 2017a: 30)–, rejected the redevelopment project, even submitting a complaint to the European Commission in January

²³⁰ Despite a sale by tender promoted by Inv.im.it. in March 2018, two months later no buyer manifested any interests in buying the property. Inter declared its renounce due to the conditions imposed on the acquisition, i.e. the assumption of the total cost of the clean-up and conversion operations of the entire area (Inv.im.it., 2018).

2019. At the same time, the opposition of local committees –such as “Associazione Parco Piazza d’Armi Le Giardiniere”, “Italia Nostra”, and “Possibile”– to the official regeneration project of the former military installation promoted an international debate on the possible alternatives based on the preservation of the existing green space and built heritage.

The approach towards the preservation was afterwards included in the recent Territory Government Plan Modification published on 5 March 2019²³¹. As a matter of fact, the new version of the Plan displaced the urban regeneration project in favour of the citizenship’s needs. The 2019 Territory Government Plan arguably stated that the former military installation could be a suitable area to host strategic functions due to its condition of a large urban void, its accessibility, location, and shape. This new development should also be integrated with other large urban projects under construction in the Milanese territory. Specifically, the Plan argues that the future of the great military property should be «*of public use and/or of public or general interest, also private [...] to increase the functions of excellence and, in general, the global city attractiveness*»²³² (Comune di Milano, 2018: 63). Additionally, the classification of the area in the broader concept of “great urban function” automatically reduced its expected buildability from 0.70 m²/m² to 0.35 m²/m², being also considered as a suitable place to launch a new “urban forestry” operation.

Despite the fact that Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground area was freed from the abusive occupations by its current owner Inv.im.it., but its degradation is still a quite issue to be solved. The problems are actually related to its partial use as an illegal and uncontrolled dump site, the presence of asbestos in its buildings, and the fires it has suffered over years. Another issue regards the demolition plan as next step to definitely start the regeneration, even though local associations claim that most of the abandoned buildings are presenting the proper characteristics to be protected for their historical and artistic values (fig. 49 and 50).

²³¹ <http://www.comune.milano.it/wps/portal/ist/it/servizi/territorio/revisionePGT>

²³² Translated from Italian to English by the author of the thesis.

Fig. 49 and 50: images of the state of abandonment and degradation of the Baggio warehouses.



Source: photographs by F. Camerin (2015).

By way of conclusion

In summary, the analysis has showed that the city-making process based on the Milanese Parade Grounds responded to a specific mechanism of the urban development model. Among the impacts, it is seen the gradual loss of “compactness” of the Milanese traditional urban space in favour of the territorial dispersion and the progressive urbanisation of the extra-urban territory. This process helped the capitalist interests fostering new income-producing operations through the exploitation of a public-owned land –i.e., the Parade Ground– understood as a fixed asset. Over time this has been the “leitmotiv” of the urban transformations carried out in a city like Milan, whose large urban regeneration projects took place on the ground of the exploitation of the obsolete-declared industrial and railway areas. The latter great properties were considered the perfect base from which starting the implementation of new urban development strategies to carry out in collaboration with real estate private developers, which sometimes even were the owners of the areas to redevelop.

The spatial redistribution of certain activities linked to urban life –such as railway, industrial and even military ones, located at their beginning in close connection with the existing built environment– led to the urban sprawl, the redistribution of the local population in the Milanese regional territory, and the loss of the complexity and the compactness of the traditional urban space. Over time, this pattern contributed to the construction and consolidation of an urban

periphery intended as a new “social space” in contrast to the emptying process happening in the city’s urban centre.

The continuous relocation of the Parade Ground within Milanese territory contributed to the territorial extension of the city, that is to say, to the creation of new marginalised peripheries. As time goes by, on the one hand such peripheries consolidated their condition of social and urban marginality. On the other hand, they were provided with a new infrastructure system to improve the connection with the new areas of centrality that have been materialising all over the city. This was the case of Baggio: its incorporation into the municipality of Milan in the 1920s provoked a consequent rapid urbanisation, especially after 1945. The post-WWII booming real estate contributed to create a working class neighbourhood equipped with services for the local citizens and a good infrastructure communication at metropolitan scale. This fact constituted the key element to promote “a posteriori” urban regeneration processes based on mechanisms of socio-spatial dispossession.

To sum up, Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground’s process of “abandonment-dismantling-regeneration” shed light upon the specific city-making process of Baggio zone. Here the accumulation of good-quality equipment consolidating over time by the collectivity created the basic conditions to undertake a large urban transformation with important local and territorial effects (Neri, 2014; Montedoro, 2016; Pugliese, 2016). The analysis have showed an important dynamics affecting this case study. It regarded the incitement towards the “exclusivity” and the “excellence” of the place based on a public ownership lately privatised. Such mechanism has been one of the symptoms of the 40-year-long-lasting leitmotiv ruling the Milanese urban regeneration processes.

The regeneration of a military installation in a high class residential neighbourhood. “Residential centrality” as “bourgeoisie-intended social space”. The case of Sani barracks in Bologna

The analysis of this case study refers to a military site located originally in a rural area which had been gradually surrounded by an industrial zone where the working class settled down. During the 20th century, the evolution of a new

neighbourhood called Bolognina strongly depended on the consequences of the disaggregated urban development model and its evolution towards dispersion and socio-spatial fragmentation. From the late 1990s, this zone was subjected to a massive abandonment-emptying process affecting its socio-economic patterns.

The importance of the “management of the abandonment” to launch urban regeneration projects was the key factor observed in this case study. The abandonment of Bolognina’s great industrial, military, and railway properties was the base to plan an urban regeneration process to increase the competitiveness of Bologna. Such objective derived from the global tendencies transforming the cities. This case can be argued to be a sample of the late 20th century-capitalist city faced a new global tendency: the city marketing strategies were the “generator” of speculative economies driven by the owners of large properties of urban land, also the public ones. In summary, the analysis showed a trend based on the so-called strategy of “urban surgery” carried out on great properties which originally house local productive activities –such as industrial, military and railway. The typical functions of Bolognina are treated now as “ordinary” goods from which capitalist interests seek the extrapolation of the maximum economic benefit at the expense of the existing built heritage and socio-economic features.

The beginning of the industrial-military-worker Bolognina neighbourhood

The “Giacomo Sani” barracks is nowadays located in the northern outskirts of the Bologna’s historic centre, specifically in Bolognina neighbourhood which belongs to “Navile” district²³³. In the mid-19th century, the strategic localisation of Bologna in the frame of the new Italian State contributed to establish a new railway system accompanied by the arrival of the military due to national defence needs. The presence of railway and military properties in the northern part of the city centre led to the early-20th century gradual process of industrialisation in strict connection with these activities. In this way, small- and medium-sized industries, which played an important role at a national level in the mechanic sector, and worker-class housing started to colonise the northern periphery of Bologna.

²³³ Nowadays Navile is made up of three neighbourhoods, namely Bolognina, Corticella, and Lame. In turn, Bolognina, comprises “Arcoveggio”, “Bolognina classica”, “Casaralta”, and “Montovolo”.

Between 1859 and 1860 a 12-kilometre-long fortification system was built in the rural outskirts of the city (Apollonio, 1990)²³⁴ in order to protect Bolognese territory against possible attacks from the Austrians (fig. 10 of the Annex II). One of the forts was the 1860-1861-built Forte Galliera. In the successive decades the dismissal of the fortification system forced its conversion into a military barracks for food production and storage for all the northern Italy troops.

After the Italian Unification, Bologna's strategic location gave it an important role as a centre of commercial and industrial exchange between the north and the centre-south of Italy. In fact, the factories located within the ancient walls moved into the northern periphery in the late 19th century. Here they could find a better place to build larger installations and, consequently, to improve the industrial production. At the same time, the nearby 1859-built Central Railway Station allowed a better communication of the displaced activities, assuming an important role for the urbanisation of Bologna's northern sector.

The local industrialisation process coincided with the formation and consolidation of the new State –specifically after the extension of the Italian territorial boundaries towards the northernmost Region, such as Veneto annexation to Italy in 1866–, whereupon fortifications for the defence of the city became obsolete. After the incorporation of Forte Galliera to the then Ministry of War, this installation expanded to overcome 100,000 m² of plot size by the occupation of the former convent belonging to the so-called Gaudenti friars –*Frati Gaudenti*– in 1876. The reconversion of the military property towards food production and storage for military consumption²³⁵ played an important role in the whole State.

Meanwhile, the Urban Planning came into play by the approval of the first urban plan, the “Building regulation and expansion plan for the city” in 1889. This tool was a morphological plan aimed to materialise the disaggregated urban development model by at least two types of actions. First, the creation of a new road infrastructure system and the new railway line between Milan and Ancona passing through Rome supported the city extension. Second, several

²³⁴ It was one of the five Italian largest fortification system: the others were located in Ancona, La Spezia, Taranto, and Turin.

²³⁵ Named “Military site of Casaralta in Bologna for the preparation of canned beef and concentrated broth for the Royal Army”, in Italian “*Stabilimento militare di Casaralta in Bologna per preparazione di scatolette di carne di bue in conserva e di boccette di brodo concentrato per l'uso del Regio Esercito*”.

interventions of demolition-reconstruction in the historic centre provided new spaces for the bourgeoisie social reproduction. The 1889 Plan had consequently a big impact in the urbanisation process of the strip of land between the traditional urban space and the fortifications. At that time the forts were already obsolete both on account of the end of the armed conflict with Austria, and the spread industrialisation and urban development, all of which led to the building of the working class neighbourhood of Bolognina.

Following the indications of the 1889 Expansion Plan, in 1902 the demolition of the ancient walls allowed the peripheral urbanisation of Bologna by means of the construction of new territorial infrastructures to connect the urban centre with the northern periphery. For this purpose, in 1904 the Bologna City Council acquired various plots of land; among them, some of the state-owned fortifications which were successively sold to the Public Housing Institute –*Istituto Case Popolari*²³⁶– to build new residential settlements for workers.

In light of these circumstances, in the early 20th century Bolognina strengthened its industrial character due to the establishment of several medium-sized industries²³⁷. This sector gradually assumed the character of ordinary periphery for workers, made up by semi-detached houses of three or more floors²³⁸. This trend was the result of the typical demands of the capitalist mode of production to locate the labour force near the industrial, military, and railway installations.

At that time, Casaralta barracks was consolidating as a food supplier for the soldiers, especially during the WWI. After the war this barracks was about to reconvert into civilian uses mostly due to the Local Administration idea of promoting a local policy of collectivisation. However, the Ministry of War maintained its ownership due to the needs of national defence. As well as

²³⁶

https://www.bibliotecasalaborsa.it/cronologia/bologna/1904/le_porte_e_i_terreni_del_campo_trincerato_possano_al_comune

²³⁷ Such as the 1919 Casaralta Factory –*Officine di Casaralta*– dedicated to mechanical and electromechanical systems for railway and tram lines, located just at the northern end of the former military fortification (Piano B, 2007: 50-52). Also, see <https://www.bolognametalmeccanica.it/areeindustriali/casaralta> and <https://www.bibliotecasalaborsa.it/cronologia/bologna/1919/896>. Other mechanical industries contributed to the formation of the industrial zone, such as Cevolani, Minganti, Acma, Giordani, and Sasib.

²³⁸ New residential settlements operations supported by various agents took place between 1906 and 1908. First, by the local cooperative *Cooperativa per la costruzione ed il risanamento di case per gli operai* (1906); second, by the local bank *Banco Popolare di Bologna e Ferrara* (1907); eventually, by the Public Housing Institute –*Istituto Autonomo per le Case Popolari*, I.A.C.P.– (1908). For more details on cooperatives in Bolognina see Gottarelli (1990).

happened with the Royal Arms Factory in Flaminio, in Bolognina the imposition of military needs prevailed over the civil society demands.

The first phase of the neighbourhood's city-making process (Alaimo, 1984) substantially started in the early 20th century until WWII (fig. 11 of the Annex II). During this period the provision of urban services for the city continued with the implementation of some large urban projects, such as the 1911 Plan for the University Centres, the creation of the Fruit and Vegetable Market and, finally, the inauguration of the railway line called *Direttissima* to connect Milan with Rome –which works lasted from 1911 and 1934. The provision of these new functions strongly contributed Bologna to reach 300,000 inhabitants in the 1940s. Between the two wars the military site was in full operation as the crucial centre for the production and storage of meat for the Italian Armed Forces. In fact, Sani barracks area presented several buildings, each of them was dedicated to different functions, such as storage silos, refrigerators, box factories, slaughterhouses, bakeries, and so on²³⁹. The slow and inexorable process of abandonment-emptying started in the post-WWII according to the Bolognese urban development dynamics. The overall demand for urban land to carry out new urban renewal operations was very strong. One of these operations regarded the need of building a new directional-tertiary centre, which was one of the key factors leading to the abandonment and redevelopment of Sani barracks.

The post-WWII urban planning towards the city extension and the “urban ground rent” as decisive factors of Bolognina’s urban transformation process

During WWII Bologna suffered several bombardments due to its strategic localisation within the Italian rail transportation network. Afterwards, the reconstruction of the war-damaged neighbourhoods took place in accordance with the 1948 Reconstruction Plan, which was carried out driven by a vast real estate speculative approach in search of high profit in terms of urban ground rent. In this way high-density private urbanisations started to appear without the necessary provision of services and green areas (Campos Venuti, 1994b: 235-236). Lately, the 1955-1958 General Master Plan confirmed this speculative

²³⁹ To deep the buildings' architectural aspects see MIBAC (2007: 5-9).

approach for the future urban developments, such as the unrealisable proposal to “build a city” capable to host one million inhabitants. Two kinds of interventions were proposed in order to achieve this goal. On the one hand, a drastic urban renewal of the historic centre based on actions of demolition-reconstruction; on the other hand, an indiscriminate urban expansion as a spreading “oil stain”.

In this framework, the 1950s Italian economic boom had its repercussions in Bolognina. The favourable localisation of the military barracks and the presence of two large interurban roads – Ferrarese and Stalingrado Avenues, respectively on the on the western and eastern side of the barracks– boosted the industrial production, thus leading to the settlement of new factories²⁴⁰. For these reasons, in the late 1950s-early 1960s this industrial zone was the symbol of the economic and social progress of the entire city. The successive decentralisation of tertiary functions out of the urban centre (Goldoni et al., 2004)²⁴¹ drove a new development on the edge of Stalingrado Avenue. Nevertheless, such tertiary decentralisation was not accompanied by the necessary integration with new residential settlements. This development did not provide the multifunctionality and the all-day-long fruition of the new area.

The engulfment of the barracks by an industrial and tertiary urban space was the result of this trend and this fact would successively play a decisive role in the transformation of the Bolognina’s urban fabric. From the early 1960s Sani barracks started to be underused, being affected by both losing its productive capacity to become a warehouse, and the demolition of several buildings. It can be argued that the post-WWII extensive and unlimited urban development²⁴² and the consequent metropolisation of Bologna led to the creation of a huge industrial and tertiary urban space and the abandonment of the military barracks. In addition, the supremacy of the automobile and the construction of highways²⁴³ – that provided so much employment and so many real estate developments– with

²⁴⁰ The most important industrial architecture was the Pier-Luigi-Nervi-designed Tobacco Factory – *Manifattura Tabacchi*–built between 1949 and 1954. Among others, Minganti and Cevolani mechanical factories stood out as other examples of post-conflict industrial architectures.

²⁴¹ The decentralisation took place by the realisation of the Traide Fair by a Leonardo Benevolo-project-led group (1965). New important architectures –such as the Palace of Congress (1975), the Gallery of Modern Art (1970-1975), and the pavilion *L’Esprit Nouveau* by Le Courbusier (1977), plus hotels and banks– were built around the Traide Fair.

²⁴² See Campos Venuti (1987: 165-188; 1994b) and Parisini (2012) to understand the main urban transformations carried out in Bologna in the post-WWII.

²⁴³ The main interventions in the road system were two, both of them located in the northern sector of the barracks. First, the construction of a new ring road, the bypass –*Tangenziale*–, and, second, the A14 highway.

respect to railway and metro systems contributed to aggravate the overexploitation of the Bolognese urban space was being subjected to.

All these factors forced the abandonment of the military installation, which was evidently subjected to a strong real estate pressure. Such “pressure” was one of the effects derived from the urban development model forcing the extension of urbanisation out of the municipal boundaries. Later, urban development dynamics drove a slow phenomenon of deindustrialisation in the late 1970s; as a consequence, during the 1990s Bolognina was affected by the definitive abandonment of the main factories.

The relationship between urban regeneration and the new “directional centre”. The contribution of the “reformist urban planning”

The debate on the creation of a new directional centre in the northern outskirts of Bologna implicitly pushed the idea of abandonment-dismantling of the whole of the Bolognina neighborhood. Between 1962 and 1965 Carlo Aymonino and Pier Luigi Giordani were commissioned a study aimed at creating a new directional district²⁴⁴ which effects on Sani barracks would mean its redevelopment into a tertiary building and a theater. Assuming Aymonino and Giordani’s preliminary project, in 1968 the Japanese architect Kenzo Tange proposed an urban project (Gresleri and Gresleri, 2010)²⁴⁵ confirming the disappearance of the military site. Nonetheless, the new proposed use was slightly different respect to the Aymonino and Giordani’s one: the new idea was to create new tertiary activities surrounded by a green space in connection with Ferrarese Avenue and new residential complexes alongside Stalingrado Avenue (fig. 12 of the Annex II).

In this framework, it is worthy to remark the rise of the “reformist urban planning” approach promoted from the 1960s by the urban planner Campos Venuti (1994b)²⁴⁶. Such way of conceiving the Urban Planning practice strongly rejected the unlimited urban development, promoting instead a qualitative and controlled urban expansion. Campos-Venuti’s intention was to shift the then-urban planning approach which supported an extremely huge urban

²⁴⁴ Published by both architects in 1967 with an intervention of Giuseppe Campos Venuti.

²⁴⁵ The construction of the high-rise-building directional center took place within the Fair Trade between 1974 and 1978.

²⁴⁶ Among the various General Master Plan elaborated on the ground of the reformist approach, I am pointing out the case of Bologna (in this chapter 4), Campos Venuti et al. (1985) for the case of Florence, Campos Venuti and Oliva (1978) and Oliva (1984) for the case of Pavia, and Ricci (2001) for the case of Rome.

development, so a new Master Plan started to be planned to replace the one in force since 1958. The new urban planning instrument became effective in 1985²⁴⁷; nevertheless, the vicissitudes of Italian urbanism plus the capitalist interests brought down its most innovative ideas. Nevertheless, this General Master Plan was impossible to enforce even in its guidelines affecting the study case area. The aforementioned Plan classified the Sani barracks area as an “integrated intervention zone” to develop a project designed in the framework of an urban planning instrument called “Concentrated Urban Design” –*Disegno Urbano Concertato*²⁴⁸–, established in 1987. The strategy aimed at promoting the redevelopment of the military barracks in new tertiary uses according to the new tertiary-decentralised area called *Zona integrata R5.1 Zona Fiera-Stalingrado* (Comune di Bologna, 2009: 160-164).

It seems pretty clear that the 1985 General Master Plan and its detailed tools aimed at promoting the tertiarisation of Bolognina. Meanwhile, the local real estate and financial agents – i.e. the industrial owners– took advantage of the social change induced by the decline of Fordist and Taylorist production systems. The industrial capitalists consequently started to re-orient their interests towards a global market committed to an unbridled consumerism. In this context, the underutilisation of Bolognina factories entered in its decisive phase in the 1990s (fig. 13 of the Annex II). Such a far-reaching process, plus the crisis faced by State-financed rail transportation network, led to the definitive closure of the factories surrounding the military installation.

One of the consequence of the progressive abandonment of Bolognina’s great industrial and railway properties was the depopulation and the abandonment of many of the existing businesses. This phenomenon contributed to foster an immigration process arriving from China, which settled in the neighbourhood on account of its proximity to the city centre. In this way the new inhabitants replaced gradually the former local activities that until the 1990s belonged to the historical residents of Bolognina (Piano B, 2007: 76-80).

²⁴⁷ Definitely approved in 1986; see Mattioli et al. (1985).

²⁴⁸ The aim of this urban planning tool was to provide indications for large-scaled projects to coordinate the private and public interests in the Detailed Plan. Such indications mostly referred to the buildability established by the 1985 General Master Plan.

The future of Bologna's military properties in the Urban Planning Guidelines: Plans, Regulations, and Decrees

An urban planning-oriented action supporting the process of the definitive abandonment of Bolognina's industrial land began in the late 1990s. This trend happened alongside the displacement of the productive activities in other peripheral municipalities belonging to the Bolognese metropolitan territory²⁴⁹. Such dynamics induced also the complete abandonment of Sani barracks in 2003. Yet, in the early 1990s the Ministry of Defence had already begun to question its presence in Bologna (Bolognini and Spinedi, 1994: 107-158). The possible rationalisation process in the city was confirmed later according to the alienation procedure promoted by Law no. 662/1996.

After this Law and the following Decrees for the selling of selected military real estate assets, during the early 2000s the Italian Armed Forces rationalisation in Bologna became true. The military abandonment was basically a long-standing process taken place in parallel with both local Urban Planning strategies and the national legislation on disposal of military properties.

After the closure of Sani barracks, the Ministry of Defence's Decree of 28 February 2005 implied its property transfer to the State Property Agency. Successively, the application of Law no. 296/2006 involved 19 Bolognese military real estate assets –including Sani barracks (fig. 51 and 52)– in the Valuation Unitarian Programme established on 5 May 2007. The management of the disposal process of redundant military assets was planned while the City Council was working on the approval of the new urban planning instruments. They were the 2008 Local Structure Plan –*Piano Strutturale Comunale*–, the 2009 Building Regulations –*Regolamento Urbanistico Edilizio*, R.U.E.–, and the 2009 Local Operative Plan – *Piano Operativo Comunale*, P.O.C.–²⁵⁰. In addition, the

²⁴⁹ Two examples are worth mentioning. First, the 21,698-m² Cevolani factory, being definitively abandoned in 1999; afterwards, it moved its production to the municipality of San Lazzaro di Savena. Second, Sasip factory was sold to a British multinational in 2003; yet, the following year the aforementioned company transferred the activities to the Bolognese town of Castel Maggiore.

²⁵⁰ First, the Emilia-Romagna's 20-years-validity local Structure Plan establishes the municipal general planning schemes, thus driving the urban development of the city. Second, the Building Regulations rules more in a depth the urban and rural land previously introduced by the Structure Plan and defines the direct interventions to carry out. For instance, the R.U.E. defines the uses and the modalities of the direct interventions in the existing urban environment; the transfer of planning gains and the areas of distribution of planning gains –both lucrative and non-lucrative–; the cost of construction of urban interventions; and so on. Third, the Local Operative Plan hierarchically depends on the Structure Plan: for this reason, it is the detailed tool aiming to carry out the urban intervention actions indicate in the Structure Plan. Moreover, if the latter is valid for 20 years, the Operative Plan one is only five years. For more details on Bologna's urban planning system see Bonfantini and Evangelisti (2009).

barracks was affected by the so-called “Railway City” guidelines established by the Local Structure Plan with a vision towards 2030.

Fig. 51 and 52: images of the Sani barracks.



Source: photographs by F. Camerin (2019).

The abandoned military areas were subjected to the elaboration of a feasibility study between 2007 and 2009 resulted in the 2009 Local Operative Plan called “Military Areas”. This urban planning tool aimed at triggering mechanisms of urban equity/equalisation –*perequazione*– in the context of the transfer of planning gains. A successive agreement with the State Property Agency aimed at providing the allocation of a maximum quote of 15% to the City Council of the monetary value derived from the hypothetical assets selling in the real estate market (Vv. Aa., 2009a, 2009b, 2009c).

The case of Bologna can be essentially defined as the most advanced P.U.Va.T. compared to the others implemented in Italian cities as it effectively defines the new uses of old military goods in the Urban Planning instruments (Gastaldi and Camerin, 2017: 167-171). Nevertheless, P.U.Va.T.’s regulations coped with bureaucratic vicissitudes after both the 2007-2008 real estate market crisis, and unexpected changes in the legislation. The latter, since 2009, disrupted the procedures for military assets disposals. In this sense, the signing of further agreements strengthened the cooperation among the City Council, the Ministry of Defence, and the State Property Agency (2010 and 2012) according to the local Urban Planning tools. The results of these new agreements allowed the inclusion of investment funds in the management of the urban regeneration process.

Afterwards, in 2013 a consultancy commissioned by the City Council verified the technical and financial feasibility studies with the aim of including the real estate developers-financial capital in the redevelopment of military assets. In December 2013 the Sani, Masini, and Minghetti barracks were sold to the F.I.V.-Extra Fund through the Ministry of Economy's Decree 20 December 2013 in accordance with art. 11-bis of Law no. 248/2005. Nonetheless, the subjects involved in the operation were forced to agree a new Operative Plan due to the expiration of the previous one, i.e. the Military Areas Operative Plan (2009-2015). The new version of such Plan was named "Regeneration of public-owned assets" –adopted in 2015 and approved in 2016– included military areas and other public real estate assets, such as railway properties, to plan their regeneration under the same vision.

During this process the actors agreed on the new uses to be assigned to the 105.540-m²-sized Sani barracks taking into account the presence of industrial archaeology²⁵¹ buildings: the Structure Plan classified the asset as an "area to redevelop"²⁵².

To sum up, the property sale agreement between the City Council, the State Property Agency, and the F.I.V.-Extra Fund for the Sani, Masini, and Minghetti barracks²⁵³ showed how urban planning practice certainly contributed to make possible public-private partnership. It is noteworthy to highlight that the private agent –F.I.V.-Extra Fund– tried to make profitable the investment with the complicity of the public institutions –the Bologna City Council and the State Property Agency. In other words, the Public Administration and the real estate developer-financial capital strengthened their collaboration to implement

²⁵¹ In 2007 the Superintendence declared some buildings of historical-artistic interest, but in 2014 some of them were excluded to this classification due to their precarious conditions as a result of the long-lasting abandonment. This led to the demolition of some of the buildings: nowadays, the area includes still 17 built structures, although severely degraded (CDP Investimenti Sgr, 2016a: 35).

²⁵² Article 22 of the Structure Plan Regulations classified the Sani barracks in the so-called "Bolognina Est" area to redevelop, which should «...take advantage of the opportunity to transform both the abandoned industrial and military areas, and the availability of unbuilt spaces, [so] it will deal with the Railway City's strategies». In light of these considerations, the Sani barracks should be opened up to this new axis in order to create a connection with the city. «In particular, redevelopment operations must guarantee the supply of appropriate green and collective equipment for the new urban role to be assigned to the Area [Bolognina Est] with the north-south connection (new action) and east-west connection (finalisation of the Fair Trade-Stalingrado sector)» (http://www.comune.bologna.it/psc/quadro_normativo/849/1835/, translated from Italian to English by the author of the thesis).

²⁵³

http://atti9.comune.bologna.it/atti/wpub_delibere.nsf/xsp/.ibmmodres/domino/OpenAttachment/atti/wpub_delibere.nsf/7D8DBC9C52E1EC4AC1257F08005BD40E/allegati/accordo%20con%20allegati%2020150609.pdf.

Bologna's Structure Plan, specifically the guidelines regarding the Railway City. As a matter of fact, it seems evident that the Operative Plan (Comune di Bologna, 2015: 29-30) aimed to create a new exclusive space based on the regeneration of the Sani barracks. Inside the military walls, the future gross floor area would be 53,930 m² set up by old and new constructions. It would be divided in 47,490 m² for private housing, 3,170 m² for public housing, and 3,270 m² for collective facilities and services (school and neighbourhood services)²⁵⁴. Moreover, a public park of a maximum extension of 41,000 m² would be realised as a public equipment, this being practically coincided with the great extension of open spaces inside the former barracks. The minimum amount of affordable housing unequivocally demonstrated the exclusive character attributed to the urban regeneration operation. In fact, only 10% of the total amount of the housing's surface –set up private and public housing, totalling 50,660 m²– was allocated to house the poor (CDP Investimenti Sgr, 2016b: 35-37).

Urban regeneration as a process linked to the interests of real estate developers-financial capital. Several "abandoned areas" to regenerate

In this study case I demonstrated that the strategy of real estate developers-financial capital opted to pocket the capital gains generated by the regeneration of historical peripheries, such as Bolognina. The urban regeneration of this neighbourhood took advantage of two basic factors. On the one hand, the consolidation of its social marginalisation condition from the 1990s and, on the other hand, its close proximity to the city centre, which assigned it a central condition. The most suitable way to carry out a capitalist-led regeneration was indeed the implementation of large urban projects to create income-producing assets. This is what is actually happening in Bolognina, where the historical presence of large industrial and railway properties of land was replaced by the long-lasting state of abandonment. Such trend led to the inevitable degradation and ruin: nowadays most of the former Fordist activities are waiting for the execution of the regeneration projects already established in the Structure Plan (fig. 14 of the Annex II).

²⁵⁴ The total gross floor area –53,930 m²–, would be articulated as follows: 70% for residential functions; 10% for tertiary activities; 7% for commerce; 5% for craft activities; and 4% for both financial and insurance activities.

This is the case of the former factory producing material for rail transport belonging to the company “Casaralta spa”. In the early 1990s two main reasons pushed the abandonment. Firstly, its industrial production was hit by a deep crisis due to the lack of state funding (Ghezzi, 1992). Secondly, the company faced with a legal dispute for the death of 300 workers due to the existence of asbestos-containing buildings. As claimed by Piano B (2007: 72-73), the pollution was seen as a sort of excuse to close down the industrial activities in 1998, allowing to manage the “industrial crisis” by moving its production to another area of the city and compensating the families affected by the pollution-induced death. The closure of the factory subsequently allowed the selling of the asset in the real estate market, which relied –as could not be otherwise– on the indications of Urban Planning. As the Urban Planning practice favoured the industrial company’s interests, a speculative urban regeneration process started on the ground of the dismantled land to make it more profitable.

In addition to this operation, currently there are others existing abandoned properties which are waiting for a real estate developer. The large transformations to carry out in the Bolognina sector are basically the following (fig. 53):

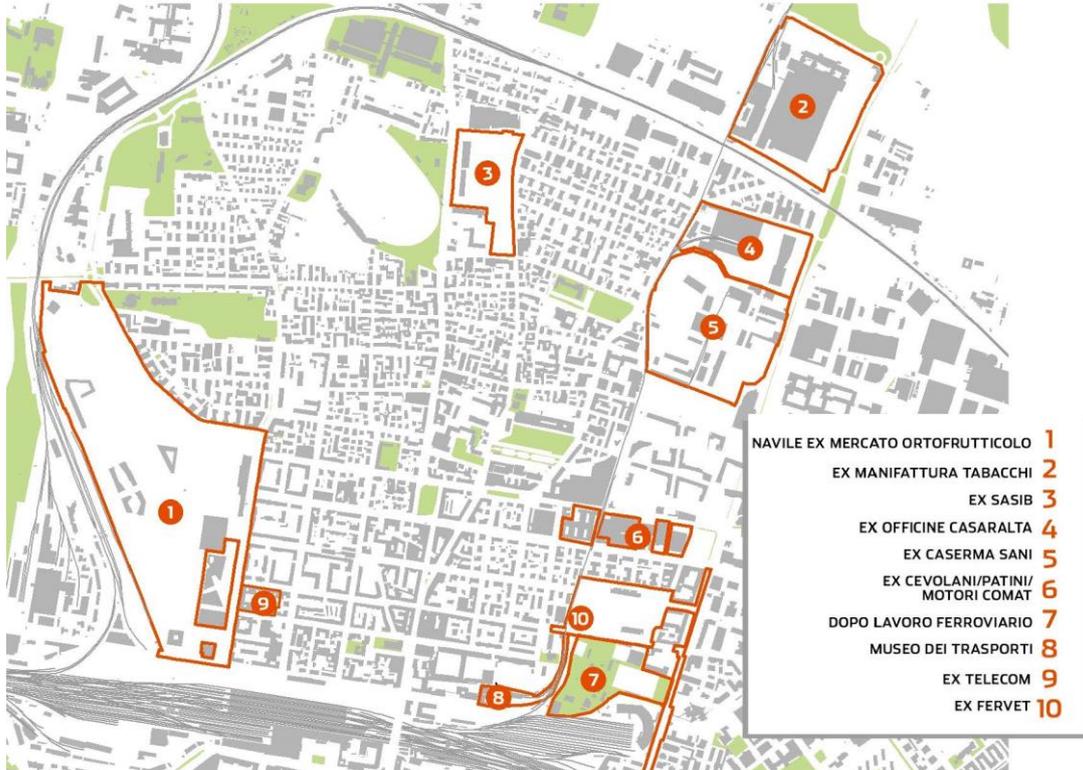
- The 298,611 m²-public-real-estate-asset-size Fruit and Vegetable Market. In 2007 the citizen participation in the urban regeneration’s planning process set up a scenario for the realization of a new residential area with public and private housing. This will be equipped with a mix of uses –such as hotel, commercial, and tertiary activities– provided with green areas, all of which organised within a new system of open spaces. The intervention will generate a new built-up area of 111,662 m², 92,503 m² of which will be for residences –almost 1,200 new dwellings–; 17,159 m² for shops, offices, health, and sports facilities; 15,500 m² for public use²⁵⁵; and 2,000 m² for a hostel;

- The about 105.800-m²-size Tobacco Factory. The aim is to build a new technological centre for local research and activities to promote the

²⁵⁵ The surface is divided into the following uses: 6,150 m² of medical office; 4,200 m² of Federzoni primary school; 3,000 m² to share between the local police and the self-managed social centre named XM24, both located at the entrance of the former market; 1,300 m² of socio-cultural centre; and 850 m² of gymnasium. For more details see the work edited by Ginocchini and Tartari (2007); moreover, for the project’s state of progress see <http://www.fondazioneinnovazioneurbana.it/45-uncategorised/1580-mercato-navile-aggiornamenti>.

competitiveness of the Bolognese territory. Such redevelopment project is currently in progress;

Fig. 53: the localisation of urban interventions to carry out in Bolognina.



Source: Evangelisti (2017: 2).

- The 49.000-m²-size Casaralta Factory is a private asset completely demolished in order to build a tertiary tower surrounded by a commercial building. Even if the construction works started few years ago, today they are stopped;

- The 41.218-m²-size R.F.I.-*Gruppo Ferrovie dello Stato*-owned asset *Dopo Lavoro Ferroviario* to be transferred to the City Council. The property is nowadays partially re-used as a multifunctional cultural centre, but most of the former railway land is currently in a state of abandonment;

- The 35,000-m²-size Fervet factory. According to the Structure Plan, this area is designated to be redeveloped in public services linked to the real estate development planned in the Fruit and Vegetable Market area. The new uses should be university residences provided as a percentage of public housing to assign to Bolognina neighbourhood with the aim of improving the social quality of this area;

- The 8,900-m²-Metropolitan-City-of-Bologna-owned-size Museum of Transport. The actions to be carried out should be the following: the rehabilitation of the existing buildings; the construction of a new building to enlarge the Museum of Transport; new hotels; and a bike lane. The latter will connect Bolognina with the historic centre, the train station, and the planned park in a part of the former Casaralta Factory;
- The 7,500-m²-size Motori Comat Factories. The prevision is to build a 90-residence tower equipped with shops;
- The former headquarters of the Italian telephone company Telecom, of 7,100 m², to be re-used for university student residences;
- The old 7,100-m²-size Cevolani Factory, already demolished. The objective is to carry out a new residential development;
- Eventually, the old Patini Factory should be divided in two new developments. First, new businesses in both small-medium sized buildings and a tower, for a total amount of 3,700 m² of new built-up area. Second, 2,700 m² of new built-up area for 45 housing units.

The old Bolognina as a suitable zone to realise the commercialised, competitive and exclusive “Global Bologna”. Towards a Bolognese’s Poblenu?

This analysis have showed the common path of urban regeneration operations typically undertaken in working-class peripheries, which urbanisation was strongly influenced by industrial and railway presence as happened in Bolognina (fig. 15 of the Annex II). Such dynamics can be verified in both Italian and Spanish cities starting from the 1970s and 1980s. Barcelona’s Poblenu and Bilbao’s Ria riverfront can be intended as other outstanding examples, as argued in chapter 2.

The process of abandonment-emptying of Bolognina substantially followed the same patterns of Barcelona’s Poblenu: in this sense, can Bolognina be seen as the ‘Bolognese Poblenu’?²⁵⁶. It is a matter of fact that these patterns

²⁵⁶ ‘Bolognese Poblenu’ is a term coined by the author of the thesis. Obviously, the comparison between the patterns of Bolognina’s city-making process with Poblenu’s one has to be done bearing in mind the following issues. Firstly, despite the case of Bolognina presents a smaller territorial scale than Poblenu – also with a different urban and urban planning history–, the two neighbourhoods followed the same urban evolution process propelled by Fordism aiming at materialise working-class spaces. Secondly, in Poblenu several large urban projects were already carried out to regenerate the great industrial and railway properties

responded to the profit-oriented strategies affecting the great properties-capital in land. In the specific case of Bolognina, the redevelopment of great industrial, railway, and military properties should guarantee a high profitability in the real estate market, such as happened in Poblenu.

The regeneration generally does not imply the disappearance neither of industries nor military sites. These activities are not totally useless for the capitalist mode of production in the global era. Instead, what really matters for the capital is their displacement to other places beyond the city's outskirts following the urban sprawl model. The capital forces the abandonment of these places considering them as strategic areas to reuse. It can be argued that all these activities constitute traditional functions producing popular social reproduction spaces, but their redevelopment will create new profit-driven spaces. Such way to manage the industrial, military, and railway properties takes place under the expression of "urban regeneration". The common argument of such practice aims to improve the environmental, economic, and social quality of the areas gradually converted into new "central sectors" in the framework of the Bolognese metropolitan territory. In order to do achieve a new quality of the space, the owners and the involved actors justify the urban regeneration operations in different ways, such as the case of Casaralta Factory and the presence of asbestos in its buildings. Here, the contamination was "distorted" to justify the displacement of the industrial activities to other parts of the territory. Such action was supported by both the public institutions and the owners, being also relied on the Urban Planning indications.

Having highlighted the general patterns of urban regeneration affecting working-class neighbourhoods, now it is the time to enter into the specific case of study. The 475-hectares Bolognina is slightly bigger than the historic city centre, which surface is 435 hectares. Nowadays this area presents a high rate of abandoned spaces –totalling 14% of its surface²⁵⁷, about 669,469 m². This is the reason why the neighbourhood is under a great real estate pressure derived from the expectations of its transformation with the aim of creating new exclusive spaces. Up to now, only 45,000 m² were definitely regenerated. The only projects

– from the 1992 Olympic Village, to the 2004 Forum passing through the 22@ Plan–, while in Bolognina the abandonment took place later and most of the land is still abandoned.

²⁵⁷ Area calculated by the author of the thesis based on the data of the 10 areas to be regenerated located in Bolognina.

carried out were the 10,000-m² shopping centre on the old Minganti Workshops inaugurated in 2006²⁵⁸ and the striking Mario Cucinella architects studio-designed 33,000-m² Bologna City Hall (2003-2008) located on the west side of Bolognina²⁵⁹.

Among the new uses to be incorporated in the neighbourhood, it is noticed that housing and tertiary ones are the most significant. On the one hand, the provision of high-income housing meant for a strategy to improve the social quality of Bolognina. Second, the new tertiary character refers to the interventions planned for Tobacco and Casaralta Factories, as well as the already built City Hall.

The analysis of the case study have illustrated how the abandonment and regeneration of the military installation aiming to create an exclusive residential area was involved in a wider large urban regeneration project. This regeneration was based on the redevelopment of a number of great properties to raise this periphery as a new “area of centrality” in the context of the Bolognese metropolitan territory.

Though during the last ten years Urban Planning documents repetitively claimed the opportunity to build new urban artefacts for the tertiary sector, I am wondering about the impacts and the commitment of the process of tertiarisation ongoing in Bolognina. In some way, the answer is provided by Giuseppe Scandurra, one of the researchers who best knows this neighbourhood from an anthropological and sociological point of view. In fact, in 2016 he stated that «*still today nobody can understand it, whereas for everyone it was absolutely evident what was the working-class Bolognina*»²⁶⁰ (Scandurra, 2016: 69).

By way of conclusion

The transition of Bolognina from its original worker class connotation –including its military past– to its abandonment, dismantling, and class dispossession took place as the logic of capital demanded new central spaces to develop the

²⁵⁸ Minganti Workshops were abandoned in the late 1990s to be reconverted in 2006 into a shopping centre under the motto “Minganti Workshops, a factory of charms”. Since its inauguration, this commercial area was affected by the gradual abandonment of the shops.

²⁵⁹ Whose spatial repercussions in the neighbourhood were studied by Manella (2017). Still, it is noteworthy to mention another critical reflection on the way the urban regeneration projects took place in Bolognina. For instance, the self-managed social centre XM24 (2017) critically analyses the project concerning the Fruit and Vegetable Market affected by the same social centre occupation since 2002.

²⁶⁰ Translated from Italian by the author of the thesis.

“metropolitan city” of Bologna. This transformation responded to both the urban sprawl model and the strengthening of “new real estate opportunities” towards urban regeneration processes strictly linked with the conformation of new “areas of centrality”. The Railway City is currently a national and international interconnection centre within which Bolognina is inserted. Its materialisation was justified by means of the spread of the high-speed rail transportation system, and such dynamics drove to the realisation of new functions according to the new role assigned to Bolognina. Rhetorically, I am asking if could exist a better option if not that one assuming the redevelopment of the popular area of Bolognina taking advantage of its social and economic weakness. In other words, was there another better place for capitalist interest to promote the regeneration than a typical Fordist neighbourhood in decline? Why was the capitalism inducing a process of functional dismantling in Bolognina? Was it based on both the strong presence of immigrants in Bolognina and the decadent industrial past which over time led to the degradation of its built areas and open spaces?

Based on these assumptions, I would remark the great relevance of the regeneration of the former Sani barracks. By taking a glance on the 2018 International Urban Design Ideas Competition, the purpose of the urban regeneration project showed the attempt to raise the social, economic, and environmental sustainability of Bolognina. This hypothesis was actually demonstrated by the fact that more than 90% of the 53,930-m² total gross floor area would be for private use –47,490 m²– while only 3,170 m² for public housing.

Turin. Existing residential centralities and military installations. The regeneration of La Marmora barracks and the reinforcement of the bourgeoisie character of Borgo Po²⁶¹

The relationship of the city-making process of a bourgeoisie-intended neighbourhood with “Alessandro La Marmora” barracks

Alessandro La Marmora barracks is located in the so-called Borgo Po neighbourhood²⁶², this being part of district no. 8 of Turin. This area is very close

²⁶¹ The issue of the regeneration of the La Marmora barracks was partially developed in Álvarez Mora and Camerin (2019: 22-2).

²⁶² For a detailed history of the neighbourhood see Ternavasio (2006).

to the urban centre, being located on the right bank of the Po river, and just before the eastern outskirts' hills. The first occupations of Borgo Po on the banks of the river dated back to the Middle Ages. Since its beginnings, its population was popular and humble, i.e. fishermen and laundresses living and working in this extra-urban area adjacent to the Po river's banks. In addition to these activities, new ones took place starting from the mid-18th century, such as manufacturing industries and warehouses, which fostered the construction of healthcare and educational equipment. These facilities were the Militaries' Daughters Institute since 1774²⁶³, and the Royal shelter home for beggars of Turin since 1840²⁶⁴.

A first turning point firmly marking Borgo Po's city-making process (fig. 16 of the Annex II) was the approval of the 1882 Building regulation and expansion plan for the city –which first modification was approved in 1886²⁶⁵–, being strictly linked to the development of the 1884 Italian General Exhibition²⁶⁶. This urban planning tool promoted the first extension of the city and, consequently, the socio-spatial disaggregation of the existing compact city. At that time, the historic centre was characterised by a medieval urban fabric still existing in the second half of the 19th century, but the 1882 Plan proposed the expansion of the city outside the ancient walls and the “expulsion” of the central traditional functions²⁶⁷ to develop there new profit-oriented spaces.

The urban development of Borgo Po fundamentally relied on the existing infrastructural system, specifically the two bridges connecting the neighbourhood to the city centre. The existing transport connections effectively constituted the necessary framework on which the new land division occurred. This was the first step realised to create the basis on the ground of which a specific identify took successively place. Following the new Urban Planning instrument, the city's urban development reached Borgo Po encompassing and strengthening its

²⁶³ In Italian *Istituto delle Figlie dei Militari*, <http://www.museotorino.it/view/s/c8695b7750734b95bc46703ef63c4d5b>.

²⁶⁴ In Italian *Regio Ricovero di mendicITÀ di Torino* (De Rolandis, 1841, Baricco, 1884).

²⁶⁵ For a review of all the Turin's General Master Plans and their modifications see <http://www.atlanteditorino.it/documenti/PianiRegolatori.html>.

²⁶⁶ For further information on the Exhibition see <http://www.museotorino.it/view/s/1c577b094dfc4ab0bdf47f734ebaf192>.

²⁶⁷ In many cases represented by military settlements located within the ancient walls. During the 18th century and 19th century the historical evolution of Turin took place according to its military and political importance due to its strategic position between France and Italy (Cadeddu, 2008). At the same time, its role as capital of the Kingdom of Sardinia gradually proceeded to transform the city during the 19th century to become an “industrial city” (Bracco and Comoli Mandracchi, 2004), although maintaining an important military function (Dellapiana, 2009; Devoti, 2018).

residential character, this being intended as a residential centrality for Turin's upper classes due to its favourable characteristics. Over time, the urban evolution of the neighbourhood consolidated this area as an out-of-the-city-centre bourgeoisie-intended space.

A number of new equipment contributed to create the bourgeoisie residential character, such as those ones settled in large properties of land. The most extended of them, in terms of surface area, was the around-20,000-m² Dogali barracks, built between 1887 and 1888. From 1921 it took the name of Alessandro La Marmora²⁶⁸.

The formal structure of this neighbourhood was the typical late 19th century- and early 20th century-peripheral housing development set up by an orthogonal grid scheme generating a diversity of rectangular blocks (fig. 17 of the Annex II). The reticular layout came from both the land parceling, and the large existing public spaces, such as Great Mother of God square –*Piazza Gran Madre di Dio*.

Alongside the orthogonal grid, new urban design interventions aimed at embellish Borgo Po creating new ornament and decoration during this period. Such actions had no other objective than strengthening the bourgeoisie character of the neighbourhood, thus raising its social standards in contrast with the rest of the city. This way of carrying out the city-making process was strictly related to the logic of capital in order to manipulate the embellishment of Borgo Po as an instrument of “social segregation”. As a matter of fact, the 1906-1908 Building regulation and expansion plan for the city was the fundamental support to let segregation took place. According to Giovanni Astengo (1955), this Plan was conceived as an uncontrolled urban planning instrument to promote the disorder in the city. As a result, the spatial repercussion in Borgo Po was a new residential development to house the upper class.

In this framework, the addition of new activities –such as artisan and commercial–plus the new urban design strengthened the bourgeoisie-intended centrality of Borgo Po. Moreover, the existing green system²⁶⁹ does nothing but affect the social composition of the place. In this sense, green spaces were the

²⁶⁸ <http://www.museotorino.it/view/s/81a5de46dd7d422d8939868c084bde65>

²⁶⁹ On the one hand, the “public” green located along the banks of the Po river and in the hills and, on the other hand, the private green, such as the gardens of private housing.

key elements in the attempt to make the neighbourhood a sort of “urban space” for the rich.

Despite the fact that Borgo Po maintained a peripheral character with respect to Turin’s urban centre in the late 19th century, its city-making process gradually shaped the neighbourhood as an ideal space for the local bourgeoisie. Borgo Po was in effect known as an area of “excellence” due to its location outside the ancient walls. The high quality of this zone made the bourgeoisie felt identified and represented as a social class both at local and national scale.

Another fact adding importance to this area was the selection of Turin as the first Italian city to implement a new type of industry, the cinematography. The location of the business was Borgo Po, specifically the area around Asti Street, just where Alessandro La Marmora barracks was located²⁷⁰. After the brief experience of the cinema industry, the automobile one raised Turin as one of the most industrially developed Italian cities. In spite of this trend, Borgo Po was not affected by the strong industrialisation process, instead remained out of the “negative” environmental effects.

As the local economic growth based on the development of the industrial sector, the demand for a labour force in Turin increased. In fact, between 1881 and 1921, this city saw an increase of inhabitants from 250,655 to 499,823. If the workforce was located nearby the “unhealthy” industries, the bourgeoisie still occupied the “healthy” city’s outskirts such as Borgo Po. In this way the social segregation took place in the city.

In the attempt to interpret Borgo Po’s city-making process²⁷¹, I demonstrated how the segregation derived from the typical Western European bourgeoisie’s strategies to seize an urban space located far from the industrial zones in which the working class lived. This neighbourhood was subjected to the “necessary” high-class urban design improvements providing it a better quality. As a result, these urban reforms established a sort of segregation with respect to the poorest neighbourhoods.

The socio-spatial disaggregation was driven by the 1882 and 1906-1908 Building regulation and expansion plans for the city (fig. 18 of the Annex II). The

²⁷⁰ In 1896 the brothers Louis and Auguste Lumière screened a film for the first time in Italy due to Turin’s proximity to France. For further information, see <http://www.torinocittadelcinema.it/pdf/rondolino.pdf>.

²⁷¹ Whose historical account up to WWII was well summarised by Davico et al. (2014: 192-203).

local urban planning practice substantially aimed at building “two types of cities” in the same space. On the one hand, the “Fordist city”, understood in its close link with traditional industrial activities, which generated a sort of State-controlling welfare state allowing the coexistence “workforce’s wages-industrial production”. On the other hand, the “Expansion city” –i.e. the bourgeoisie-intended social representation space– being the result of the typical Mediterranean city-making process of the late 19th century. From the late 19th century until WWII the bourgeoisie settled in Borgo Po took relatively advantage of the peripheral condition of this zone, as well as the easy way to manage the process of spatial dispossession-possession. Such mechanism led to the elimination of Borgo Po’s popular character, displacing the old fishing and laundry activities that initially contributed to define its original character. In this context, the existing popular facilities –such as the Militaries’ Daughters Institute, the Royal shelter home for beggars of Turin, and La Marmora barracks– were managed in the following way. If these equipment appeared initially in the city boundaries following the displacement patterns of the “unwanted” activities to push out from the urban centre, afterwards the situation changed. The same equipment provided the appropriate “excuse” to realise a suitable environment for the local bourgeoisie demands, thus creating new high-standard housing settlements (fig. 19 of the Annex II).

The 20th century in Turin, between its condition as a Fordist city and its industrial transformation. The creation of areas of new centrality based on the industrial urban voids

In the post-WWII, Borgo Po was affected by a series of specific actions with the aim of building new residential settlements. The latter were different from those built in the late 19th century and early 20th century, although always responding to the bourgeoisie’s needs. Meanwhile, the whole city approached the so-called “Italian economic miracle” between the mid-1950s to the early 1970s (Peirone, 2017). In this context, the “fordist culture” had a fundamental role in developing the city’s economy: the capitalist mode of production was permeating the whole economy of the city. In fact, a strong industrial expansion took place during this period, not being only linked to the automobile sector –such as the case

concerning FIAT²⁷²—, but also to other sectors, for instance the clothing and sweet industries. This new phase of industrial development led to another new strong immigration, thus the population of Turin increased to 1,167,968 inhabitants in 1971.

Simultaneously, the speculative-real-estate-logic-based 1956 General Master Plan promoted a huge extension of Turin leading to a phenomenon of metropolisation. However, this new urban planning instrument did not have repercussions in Borgo Po, which continued to consolidate itself as a bourgeoisie-intended space throughout the second half of the 20th century.

Though my analysis focuses the attention on Borgo Po, I am arguing that the starting point of the abandonment-regeneration process of La Marmora barracks that would take place from the 2000s did not respond to the interior dynamics of this urban sector. Instead, such process strongly depended from the deindustrialisation involving Turin as a whole.

Effectively, a slow process of industrial dismantling of the “one company town” began in the 1970s. This process surely had a strong repercussion in the city as it left 10 million m² of industrial area in state of abandonment, corresponding to 8% of the municipal territory. The urban regeneration actions on the old large industrial and railway properties contributed from the 1990s onwards to change the urban, economic, and social peculiarities that, until then, had forcefully marked the city. The priority objective of these regenerations met the real estate developer-financial capital’s expectations. This meant forcing a number of urban interventions aimed to generate great economic benefits on the ground of the differential ground rent. The actions undertaken on great properties with a central location took truly advantage of the fact that Fordist activities had been previously involved in a dismantling and abandonment process. These dynamics massively affected F.I.A.T. real estate assets²⁷³ intended as a fixed-capital investment starting from which generate a monetary income, such as in the case of San Paolo district and the old Lingotto Factory.

²⁷² F.I.A.T. was the most important large industrial firm in Turin: to understand its role in the city’s urban development, see Vitillo (1993).

²⁷³ Not only in the case of Turin, but also in other Italian cities the localisation of large F.I.A.T. factories— i.e. the 35-ha industries of Novoli in Florence, and the about 21-ha Alfa Romeo factories of Portello area in Milan—became strategic in the frame of the regeneration of the urban fabric. F.I.A.T. properties were seen as large piece of land on the ground of which the owner could make huge profit from the extrapolation of the differential ground rent.

It is a matter of fact that one of the major repercussions of an urban space linked to the disaggregated urban development model was the extension of the city, this until reaching the shape of a metropolis. The case of Turin apparently demonstrated such assumption. Here, the post-Fordist new urban centralities were materialized on the ground of the transformation of the areas where Fordist mode of production's activities were settled. The creation of new centralities in the late 20th century provided new attractive zones in the logic of real estate market for undertaking new future profitable investments in the residential and tertiary sectors.

The huge urban change occurring in Turin in the late 20th century was well described in the report of the local agency "Turin Metropolitan Urban Center" (Urban Center Metropolitano, 2016: 45). According to this, in just two decades, between 1995 and 2015, the city saw the regeneration of around 5,000,000-m² former industrial and railway areas. New functions appeared in their place –i.e. residential, commercial, and tertiary ones following the urban development patterns of the global market-based economy– by the implementation of more than 60 urban development instruments²⁷⁴. Moreover, the profit-oriented strategies carried out in the regeneration of Fordist land were inspired by the so-called "Model Barcelona", which strongly influenced the approval of the 1995 General Master Plan's contents. The new Turin's urban planning tool therefore drove the regeneration of the whole city based on a global strategy which identified new scenarios of urban and territorial development. Additionally, the 2006 Winter Olympic relaunched the city, thus spreading new real estate development opportunities at both national and international level.

After the interventions realised according to the 2006 Olympics²⁷⁵, other types of events²⁷⁶ continue the process of urban regeneration so as to definitively

²⁷⁴ For a review of academic references on the phenomenon of industrial abandonment in Turin see Armano, Dondona and Ferlino (2016). For an overview of the major urban transformations undertaken in Turin see Urban Center Metropolitano (2012).

²⁷⁵ Among the interventions for the 2006 Olympics, it is worth highlighting the construction of the Olympic Village to host the athletes and the large sports facilities. They were both new buildings –i.e. the Palasozaki multipurpose indoor sports/concert arena, premiered at the end of 2005 to house the ice hockey competition and designed by the architects Arata Isozaki and Pier Paolo Maggiora– and renovated buildings –i.e. the Palavela originally built for the international labour exhibition held in 1961 and renovated for events such as figure skating and short track speed skating. Over time, all of them became isolated blocks strictly linked to the collective image belonging to the 2006 Olympics.

²⁷⁶ Such as the World Fencing Championships (2006); the XXIII UIA World Congress of Architecture Torino (2008); the designation of Turin as the first Capital of Design (2008); the 150th anniversary of Italian Unification (2011); the Torino Jazz Festival (from 2012 ongoing); and the proclamation of Turin as European Capital of Sport (2015).

erase the industrial past linked to Fordism. The new Turin aimed to become a “creative city”, with a new image in terms of art, scientific research, leisure time, and sport, all of which being supported by a mechanism of ‘urban mercantilism’ (Vanolo, 2015).

The spatial repercussions of such way of “producing the city” had consequently a huge impact on the existing heritage. Taking a step back to the late 19th century- and 20th century-city-making process, I would like to remark that the great industrial properties and their architectures were planned and realised by a precise integration into the existing urban fabric. For this purpose, public spaces, squares, and streets well integrated Fordist urban landscape and opened it up to the extraordinary landscape of Turin’s mountains, hills, and rivers. In other words, the 19th century-Fordist city-making process superimposed the workplaces to the urban legacy from the past, all of which being quite harmoniously mixed. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that all the General Master Plans –1906-1908, 1956, and 1995– were subjected to the logic of the real estate developer-financial capital. The objective of such logic was nothing but the appropriation of the benefits derived from the realisation of new urban centralities in connection with the speculative real estate market developments.

Nowadays, these areas of new centrality are currently materialising in Turin following a specific “axis of urban transformation”, the so-called “Central Spine” –*Spina Centrale*. This kind of intervention refers to the form of a “backbone” in order to vertebrate the whole city’s urban regeneration. Specifically, various kind of centralities took place²⁷⁷ along the four axis of the Central Spine, respectively named Spine 1, Spine 2, Spine 3²⁷⁸, and Spine 4 (Ciocchetti, 2001).

As claimed by Balocco et al. (2015)²⁷⁹, from the mid-1990s onwards, Turin’s urban planning practice assumed the Fordist artefacts located in large

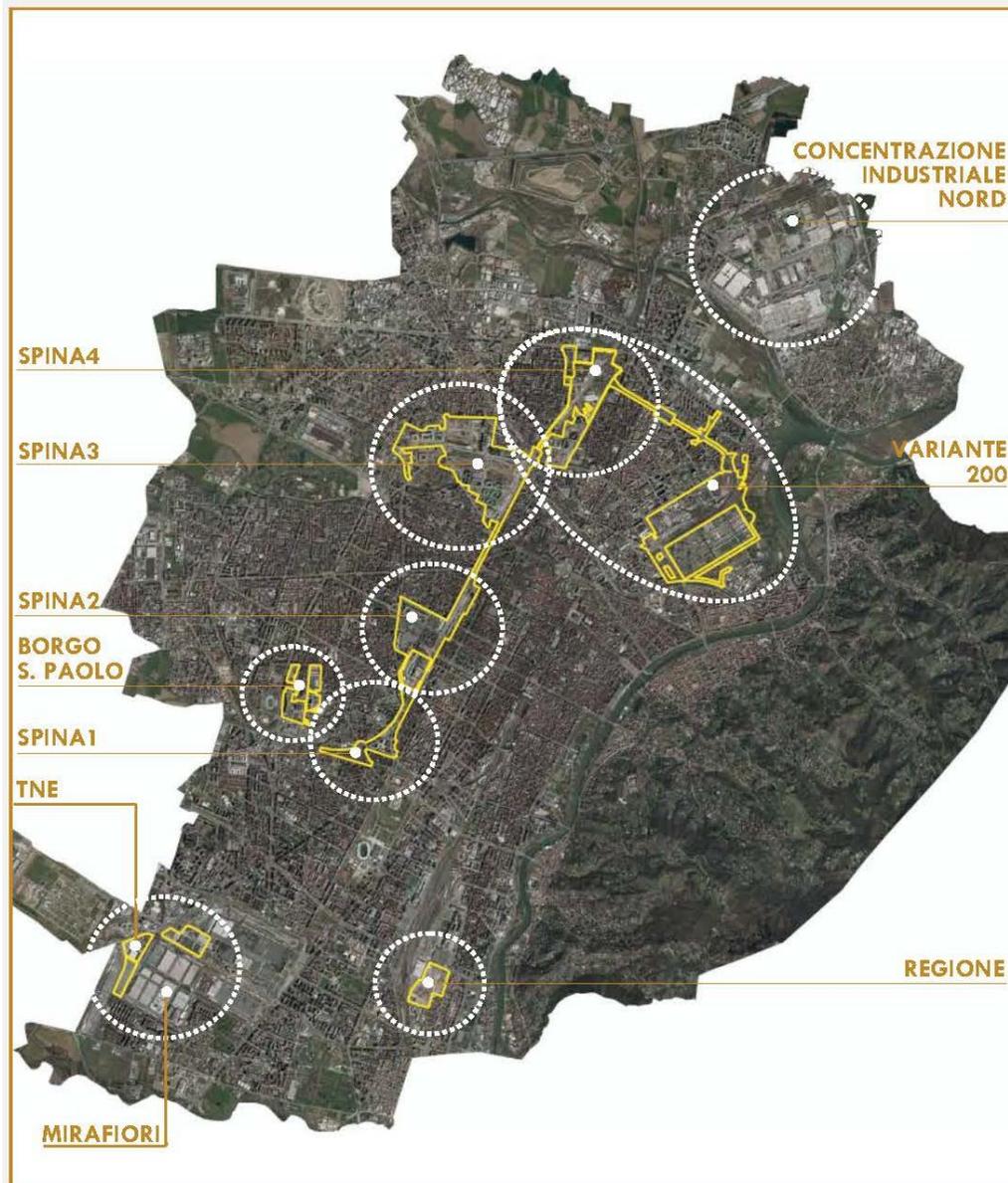
²⁷⁷ Some of the most important projects to develop new areas of centrality are the following, being listed in a chronologic order: the new Porta Susa railway station (2008); the Dora Riparia public park (2011-2012); the reuse of old industries as innovative containers –for instance the Foster + Partners-designed Turin University Campus Luigi Einaudi (2013); the Renzo Piano-designed skyscraper for Intesa San Paolo’s directional-banking centre (2015); and the regeneration of the former O.G.R. workshop for trains –*Officine Grandi Riparazioni*– (2017).

²⁷⁸ The largest axis is Spine 3, presenting a surface of 1,010,748 m², 851,233 m² of which belong to private owners, while 159,515 m² to the Local Administration (Conforti, Dondona, Perino, 2012: 25).

²⁷⁹ For a review of Turin’s major urban transformations from the second half of the 20th century onwards, see http://www.immaginidelcambiamento.it/bibliografia/bibliografia_generale_sulle_trasformazioni_urbane_a_torino

properties of land as elements to destroy in order to face the crisis of local public resources, the latter depended by cutting government spending. The continuous modifications of the 1995 General Plan implied two main changes. First, the reduction of the predicted new green areas and equipment and, second, the increase of the urban transformation area's buildability. Such modifications resulted in the speculation on the likely capital gains which could be generated by these operations, and postponement of the realisation of public equipment. It is clearly evident that the urban planning practice and its way to carry out urban regeneration processes led to the gentrification of many Turin's urban areas.

Fig. 54: an overview of the large urban transformation of Turin. The four Spine stand out.



Source: Conforti, Dondona and Perino (2012: 14).

Despite the fact that the regeneration of the Fordist empty spaces can be seen as an attempt to give new vitality to Turin, the results were quite different. As stressed by the recent work edited by Capello and Semi (2018), this strategy pursued a clear practice of “social cleansing” implemented through urban design interventions aimed to prevent social mixing. Taking the urban transformation of the Turin’s Central Market as an example, conditions such as the lack of banks around the Market and the sale of “non-local” products at high prices are the current impacts of the early 21st century-capitalist society urban interventions. In light of these trends, I can argue that at the moment the capitalist city manages the urban spaces not providing a new socially inclusive environment open to everyone, but transform them into more exclusive places.

City-making process and processes of dismantling-reuse of military barracks from the mid-19th century onwards. Its inheritance and legacy in the 21st century. Are they operations to respond, once again, to the bourgeoisie demands?

Now the analysis focuses on the way Turin’s great military properties have been treated over time. The abandonment and dismantling of the military settlements was one of the pillars of Turin’s city-making process in mid-19th century. At that time the city had considerable expansion needs, consequently its traditional urban spaces and activities were converted into functions responding to the new manufacturing and industrial economy. In light of this trend, the Ministry of War-owned real estate assets were considered ones of the most suitable areas to redevelop with other scope for civic society. The contemplated reuse truly aimed at materialising the Fordist city through the establishment of new factories and the provision of public equipment and housing. At the same time, this way of carrying out the expansion of the city tackled also the arrival of immigrants from other Italian regions to be employed in the one company town’s factories.

Following these patterns, the Turin’s City Council very often promoted real estate business on the ground of the abandonment and relocation military installations (Bertelli, 2014). From the mid-19th century onwards, the expulsion of military activities from the city centre practically involved their relocation in the Turin’s periphery, being the leitmotiv of the local urban dynamics. This situation had two spatial repercussions. First, the (re)appropriation of military lands with

central position inside the ancient walls, with the aim of implementing more profitable functions for capitalist interests, such as equipment, housing, industries, and so on. Second, the provision of the necessary equipment to proceed with the urbanisation of the periphery. Here I am claiming that the supplying of a new road system, sewerage, public lighting, drinking water, gas, telephone lines, among others, gradually created the basic conditions to proceed with a new appropriation process of these relocated military installation. Pushing by the pressure of the late 19th century- and 20th century-urbanisation, over time the peripheral great military properties were abandoned and dismantled to let the successive regeneration takes place.

Among the various examples of such city-making process, I would highlight the following. First, the materialisation of military areas in peripheral neighbourhoods of Turin in the late 19th century, such as Borgo Crocetta, Borgo Po, and Borgo Rubatto. Second, in the early 20th century, the cases of Borgo Regio Parco, Borgata Campidoglio, and Borgata Aurora²⁸⁰. In this context, an important stage was the agreement of 14 April 1904 to expropriate some military installations located in the city centre²⁸¹. Third, the continuous materialisation and relocation of the Parade Ground from its primitive central location to its definitive disappearance in 1971 (Cadeddu, 2008: 25-28) can be seen as another clear example of the above-mentioned mechanism.

Among these transformations, the redevelopment of the Parade Ground in the early 1970s—which last position was in the southern part of the urban centre—contributed to create a number of civil functions, such as the Cavalieri di Vittorio Veneto public park, a sports area, and a heliport. No matter these reuses, but some of the existing early 20th century-military settlements surrounding the Parade Ground were preserved until today. These were Morelli di Popolo, Dabormida, and Montegrappa barracks –still operating for military purpose–, and the former Riberi army hospital. Afterwards, in the early 1980s, the regeneration of the old Arsenal located in Borgo Dora began after suffering more than 30 years of abandonment due to the aerial bombing attacks during WWII²⁸². Since 1983,

²⁸⁰ For more details on city-making process of each zone see Davico et al. (2014), while see Bertelli (2014: 51-52) for the case of military properties.

²⁸¹ Already analysed in chapter 3 for the casuistry referring to the agreements between Turin local administration and the Italian Ministry of War.

²⁸² <http://www.museotorino.it/view/s/f11ef8cb700c4f7dbfbad51d92f2f27d>

the former military workshops were rehabilitated for welfare functions, such as a Christian missionary and outreach group, the so-called Youth Missionary Services –*Servizio Missionario Giovani*. In a certain way, this project was one of the few that evaded the real estate capitalist logic since it tried to create a suitable place for Turin's youth needs and, in general, for the low-income classes.

As regards the out-of-the-real-estate-business Defence real estate assets –i.e. those properties far from the extrapolation of differential ground rent–, it is noted a radical change from the late-1990s. The 1995 General Master Plan classified Cesare di Saluzzo, De Sonnaz, and La Marmora barracks as “urban transformation areas” –*Zona Urbana di Trasformazione*. Following this scenario, ten years after the approval of the General Master Plan another step towards the transformation of such barracks took place. Ministerial Decree of 25 July 2007 in application of Law no. 296/2006, art. 1.263 officially searched for their selling on the real estate market, along with other Turin's military installations. The aforementioned Decree established the alienation of six military areas, but only in the case of the previous relocation of the regiments quartered in each of them. The installation were the Amione, Cesare di Saluzzo, De Sonnaz, and La Marmora barracks, the old Military Academy, and the Mar.di.chi. warehouses – Artillery and Defence's chemical weapon warehouses, *Magazzino di Artiglieria e Difesa Chimica*. In this context, the memoranda of understanding signed on 5 November 2010 selected four assets, i.e. Mar.di.chi warehouses and Cesare di Saluzzo, De Sonnaz, and La Marmora barracks. The agreement aimed to modify the 1995 General Master Plan, thus establishing new uses for the four installations in order to sell them in the real estate market. However, this agreement would not be applied by virtue of the changes in the regulations.

Successively, in 2013 Turin City Council asked for the property transfer of such assets in the frame of the federalism state property, but the Ministry of Defence rejected the request between March and August 2014. In the same month of August 2014, the sign of a new memoranda of understanding involved again these four military settlements in an operation aimed at the rationalisation of the Italian Armed Forces in close connection with the proposed urban regeneration (Vv. Aa., 2014c). Shortly after the new agreement, by the end of 2014 the new use of the three barracks in the General Master Plan was effective (Città di Torino, 2014). The Modification of the 1995 Plan established new

“exclusive” functions in order to take advantage of the assets’ privileged position, all of which with the attempt to search for new capital gains.

From this perspective, the suitable localisation of the La Marmora barracks in a prestigious residential neighbourhood should make it easy to find an entrepreneur willing to carry out a profit-oriented strategy. The same situation can be seen effectively in the case of the Cesare di Saluzzo (4,418 m²) and the De Sonnaz (7,373 m²) barracks, both of them located in the historic city centre, this being a privileged area in the heart of the city. This favourable location should allow undertaking an urban regeneration process aimed at making the former military sites inaccessible to the low-income class.

The possible exploitation of the profitable location of the assets and the agreement between the Turin’s City Council, the Ministry of Defence, and the State Property Agency meant speeding up the administrative procedures to modify the General Master Plan. In this way, the operations of privatisation should immediately guarantee an income, the latter used to reduce the public debt according to the 2015 and 2016 Finance Acts. In fact, the classification of the three barracks as “urban transformation areas” by the 1995 General Master Plan Modification searched for new uses such as residential, suitable equipment to develop new activities for people and companies, and, more general, public services. It seems obvious that the new housing units would not be made available for the low-income class, but for the upper class. The new inhabitants would be provided with high-quality class services to be realised according with the upper class’ standard of living of the city centre and Borgo Po.

The Turin City Council had a clear goal for these three assets, but the future for 43,461-m²-size M.Ar.di.Chi. warehouses is currently not so clear even though its inclusion in the 2011 large urban project of about 880,000 m² called “Old Vanchiglia Railway Yard” (Metropolitan Urban Center, 2012: 10). Nowadays there are no basic conditions for undertaking an operation to regenerate Mar.di.Chi. warehouses, the latter being every now and then illegally occupied by squatters. The warehouses are actually located on the northeast outskirts of the city, in an area of popular and industrial character “waiting” for its “regeneration”. Moreover, here there are other abandoned and degraded large industrial properties, such as the former 90,000-m² Tobacco Factory –*Manifattura*

Tabacchi. Would the old military warehouses become an area of new centrality in the overall panorama of the future Turin?

To sum up, the launch of the 2014 memoranda of understanding by the Task force State Property Agency-Ministry of Defence in agreement with the City Council meant the definitive change of use of the three barracks. This fact opened the door to undertake a number of urban regeneration operations taking advantage of the former barracks' favourable position within the city. Comparing the current transformations on former military sites with those carried out on military installations from the mid-19th century to the mid-20th century, is there any change in the management of the redevelopments? Excluding the particular case of the former Arsenal, it is pretty clear that the social and spatial repercussions of the transformations are rather similar. In fact, it does not matter what are the administrative and legislative modality of carrying out the urban transformations starting from the dismantling of the barracks. If the past operations of barracks reconversion into civilian uses fostered a profit-seeking transformation of great military properties— i.e. a proper “appropriation” of urban space by the bourgeoisie—, today it seems that this process would have a similar effect.

Now the analysis focuses on the most recent history of the La Marmora barracks to get a more detailed view of the proposals' contents affecting its transformation.

The regeneration of the La Marmora barracks as an urban operation leading to the materialisation of a “residential centrality” for the Turin bourgeoisie

The Alessandro La Marmora barracks lies in a 19,445 m²-plot-size block of Borgo Po, in which seven buildings for a total built-up area of 11,105 m² are located around a large main square (fig. 20 of the Annex II). The barracks, like other military buildings built between the 19th and 20th centuries (Davico, 2018), is an emblematic example of the neo-gothic architecture: the whole plot has a strong visual impact derived from the will to assign a high value to military architecture. In this sense, the medieval castle-shaped main building aimed to be a symbol of the power of Turin as a “military city” (Davico, 2018: 284-286).

The La Marmora barracks basically assumed an important role both locally and nationally due to historical facts happening during WWII. In 1943 –after the

Armistice signed between Italy and the Allies, which occupied Southern Italy—, the barracks became the headquarters of the Political Investigation Office –*Ufficio Politico Investigativo*– of the National Republican Guard –*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*–, with the task of repressing the clandestine struggle of the partisans in Turin and its province.

Afterwards, the underusing of barracks began in the early 1970s and the Ministry of the Interior started to use it temporarily in 1978. The investment for the reuse costed almost 900 million lire –around 3.3 million euro– to realise a fortified holding cell and a tribunal to judge some of the terrorists belonging to the left-wing organisation called Red Brigades –*Brigate rosse*. Under a huge protection of the barracks by 4,000 soldiers, the trial began on 8 March 1978 and ended on 23 June of the same year. During this period, on 10 May 1978, the aforementioned terrorist organisation claimed the assassination of the Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro.

Based on its history from the late 19th century to the late 1930s, the La Marmora barracks can be seen as an important local element that highly contributed to the “bourgeoisie appropriation” of Borgo Po. In addition to this “spatial-morphological” responsibility, from the 1940s onwards its importance spread in the whole national territory. The individual and collective memory related to the aforementioned two historical events occurring between 1943 and 1978 gave to La Marmora barracks a great significance at both local and national scale.

Under these circumstances, here I am asking the following questions: how to deal with the magnitude of such heritage in Turin? What kind of redevelopment can be promoted in this barracks, in a city where the city-making process usually boosted profitable investments in the national and international real estate market far from to the citizen demands? Will the historical memory be eliminated in order to strengthen Borgo Po’s bourgeoisie residential status? Or will the regeneration attempt to “open the doors” of the barracks to satisfy the social reproduction needs?

Though the 1995 General Master Plan classified the La Marmora barracks as an urban transformation area, only ten years later –in 2005– the Ministry of Defence definitely abandoned the military installation. From 2006 onwards, the

barracks was temporarily used for various functions²⁸³, while in April 2015 the illegal occupation of the former military area by the local association *Freed Via Asti* aimed at developing cultural and educational activities. Just after some months, in November 2015, a forced eviction ended this initiative.

Successively, in April 2016 *Cassa Depositi e Prestiti* purchased the barracks from the State Property Agency, as well as it did with the Guido Reni barracks in Rome and the Sani barracks in Bologna. The next step was the presentation of the urban regeneration project drawn up by the architectural firm “Carlo Ratti Associates”. The latter designed a master plan in order to modernise, update, and re-image the modular architecture of the barracks. The aim was to go into labour a combination of functions referring to three main tasks to be performed by future consumer-dwellers. The Italian architect’s forward-looking vision imaged three types of functions, the so-called “co-living”, “co-making” and “co-working” –i.e. “living together”, “doing in collaboration”, and “team working” (fig. 55, 56, and 57).

Fig 55: the La Marmora barracks’ reuse scenary.



Source: Carlo Ratti Associati (2017a: 13).

²⁸³ First, during the 2006 Winter Olympics some spaces housed volunteers and technical staff. Second, in 2009 the accommodation of migrants and political refugees took place in some of the barracks’ buildings. Third, on the occasion of the 2011 National Meeting of *Alpini* –the specialised mountain warfare infantry corps of the Italian Army–, the La Marmora barracks accommodated 1,200 people.

Fig. 56 and 57: images of the exterior part of the La Marmora barracks.



Source: photographs by F. Camerin (2017).

To achieve this goal, Carlos Ratti Associates designed various types of housing –no more than 60% of the gross floor area– and workplace –up to 40% of the gross floor area–, the latter being called “services for people and businesses”. In short, the regeneration of the barracks was seen a question of designing spaces to house laboratories for artisans and housing for citizens and students: as a matter of fact, the project provided a rather high tertiarisation of the former barracks. Comparing this aspect with the types and number of dwellings proposed in the project –between 120 and 140, which surface ranges from 20 to 180 m²– it is worth emphasising that the modality of the projected dwelling was promoting tertiary and luxury residential functions.

As Carlo Ratti Associates (2017a and 2017b) claimed, the whole project would provide Turin with a new and iconic public space based on the former military central main square within the buildings. The aim of transforming this open space into the 100-metres-long-and-80-metres-wide rectangular-shaped “Place of Arts” –under which it is argued to build an underground car park– was to create another great *piazza* similar in scope to Vittorio Veneto square, one of the city’s most emblematic landmark. Additionally, a public equipment would take place, i.e. the 2,200m²-built-up-area Museum of Italian Resistance (Boccalatte, 2018). As the historical events of the 20th century profoundly affected the barracks, this museum manifests itself as the “price” to pay for launching such profit-oriented urban transformation.

By way of conclusion

The public seminar “Data on social and housing problems in the metropolitan area of Turin”²⁸⁴ indicated that in 2015 about 13,122 families of the municipality of Turin –plus other 5,489 taking into account the metropolitan area– were waiting for the assignment of a subsidised housing (Falletti, 2016a: 14). Moreover, the same year, the number of evicted families was 2,945 (Falletti, 2016a: 20). In spite of this trend, the urban transformation of the La Marmora barracks apparently would not take into account the satisfaction of the poorest’ and most marginalised groups’ basic needs.

This problem became even clearer if taking into account the relationship between the number of housing and the number of families within the Metropolitan City of Turin. In the post-2007-2008 crisis, it is worth highlighting an “excessive” increase of the number of dwellings put into the real estate market in comparison with the number of families. In fact, between 2010 and 2015, the offer of housing overcame the number of family, as the former grew of about 9%. Numerically, the surplus of housing units respect to family unit passed from 255,572 in 2010 to 280,706 in 2015. More specifically, on the one hand the number of housing raised from 1,307,577 in 2010 to 1,335,947 in 2015 and, on the other hand, family units incremented from 1,052,005 in 2010 to 1,055,241 in 2015 (Falletti, 2016b: 5).

To sum up, in Turin the “exclusivity” has been given on a silver platter. The effects of urban transformation of the La Marmora barracks could not be different, since this area is located in one of the most prestigious neighbourhoods of Turin, Borgo Po, which is located in an area very close to the hills. Here there is the majestic 16th-century Residences of the Royal House of Savoy, inscribed the World Heritage List by UNESCO since 1997. Today, Borgo Po is still one of the most renowned residential areas in the city, just a few steps from its centre. The “exclusivity” characterising this urban zone is also expressed in the economic value of land. In fact, Borgo Po’s housing average selling price is currently 2,850 euros/m², while the average price in the rest of the city is 1,900 euros/m². Actually, this is how the Turin City Council identifies the neighbourhood as a “prestigious area”: such classification seeks to increment the housing rents.

²⁸⁴ Held in December 2016. See <http://www.cittametropolitana.torino.it/cms/territorio-urbanistica/fabbisogno-abitativo/seminario-atc>

The regeneration of great military properties on the margins of objectives linked to “economic centralities”. The case of the “Piave” barracks in Belluno

The military presence in the city of Belluno as a revitalising element for the urban growth

The Piave barracks was one of the settlements expressing the historical military presence in the city of Belluno and the conflict between the power of Ministry of Defence over the local City Council. The construction of the barracks was closely related to the local urban development throughout the 20th century, specifically to the peripheral hamlet of Veneggia. Nowadays, this military settlement is located in a commercial and industrial area in the eastern outskirts which, in the last decades of the 20th century, saw a reconversion process towards the implantation of new shops and tertiary centres.

The construction of the barracks in the early 20th century was related to the previous City Council's commitment to provide a military presence in the city to reverse the economic and social negative trend after the Italian Unification. In the late-19th century, the Local Administration took effectively charge of the expropriations cost and constructions works to accommodate the Italian Armed Force. The attempt was to trigger an economic, social, and urban change of the whole city (Dal Pont, 2017: 33-36). From a historical and economical point of view, it is worth mentioning that Belluno, as well as Rovigo, represented the most underdeveloped Veneto Region provincial capital compared to the other capital cities, i.e. Padua, Treviso, Venice, Verona and Vicenza. This poor condition was strictly related to its peripheral position, since Belluno is located in the mountains, which made always difficult the connection with other territories.

During the 1880s the arrival of the Army finally boosted the socio-economic progress of the city, helped also by the construction of the railway: indeed, the railway station was built in 1886 (Mancuso, De Vecchi, 1991: 141-142). As a positive repercussion of this fact, the population greatly grew: in 1871, just 15,971 inhabitants lived in Belluno, while in 1922 they increased to reach 22,342. Since the building of the first barracks²⁸⁵ in the northern outskirts of the urban centre

²⁸⁵ The first installation was the Fantuzzi barracks, very close to the railway station and to the other barracks successively built, i.e. the D'Angelo barracks, the Tasso barracks, and the Salsa barracks.

during the late 1880s²⁸⁶, the constant presence of thousands of soldiers thus invigorated the economic and social life of Belluno throughout the 20th century until the late 1990s.

In this context, a remarkable importance was the commitment of City Council of purchase the necessary land to make the quartering of the troops possible. According to the Ministry of War recommendations, in 1900 the Local Administration acquired an about-65,000-m² piece of land in the eastern outskirts of the city to use as a Parade Ground for both the training of soldiers and military manoeuvre. The agreement no. 289 of 5 October 1905 established that this area would be granted for a 90-year-free-use to the Ministry of Defence, this period being prorogable for another 29 years. In exchange, the military transferred a state-owned green zone located in front of Jacopo Tasso barracks in the city centre to build the “*Città di Bologna*” public park.

In light of this fact, it is important to remark how the business between the military and the Local City Councils encouraged two kinds of changes in Belluno’s territory. On the one hand, the setting in motion of specific urban redevelopment operations in the existing urban environment. On the other hand, the construction of new peripheral military settlements. The latter promoted a process of urban expansion according to the disaggregated urban development model’s patterns, this being encouraged by the 1921 Building regulation and expansion plan for the city.

As Mancuso and De Vecchi (1991) argued, two factors supported the tertiarisation process of the city centre in the early 20th century. Firstly, the arrival of the military involved the change of use of old noble palaces and ecclesiastical goods, as well as the construction of new non-residential buildings near the railway station. Secondly, the new organisation of the Local Administration in the territory meant the consolidation of specific tertiary centralities. Both dynamics contributed to the city extension and, consequently, to attract new population coming from the neighbouring small municipalities. Belluno reached 25,547 inhabitants in 1936 as a result of such trends. Nonetheless, only in the 1970s the

²⁸⁶ Until the WWI, 2,000 soldiers were counted each year in Belluno, corresponding to 10% of the resident population. Their presence implied the arrival of their families in the city.

urban sprawl took definitely place which resulted in boosted new out-of-the-city-centre commercial, productive, and tertiary activities²⁸⁷.

In order to explain Belluno's eastern outskirts city-making process, it is important to refer to the progressively expansion leading by a forceful role attributed to the great military property. Indeed, in 1950, the Ministry of Defence decided to reorganise the military presence in Belluno through the redevelopment of the old Parade Ground. The owner of the area, i.e. the City Council, refused the military expansion; despite this, two new installations were built in place of the Parade Ground: the so-called Piave²⁸⁸ barracks and a military firing range, both of them adjacent to the new Arturo Dall'Oro military airport.

Once the Piave barracks was built, a controversy between Belluno City Council and the Ministry of Defence began. After the approval of the new "Substantive Law Code" by the circular no. 361/1971, the then-Ministry of Finance considered that agreement no. 289/1905 had to expire on 28 October 1971. This fact implied two consequences. Firstly, the beneficial owner of the former Parade Ground—i.e. the Ministry of Defence—had to pay for the use of the Piave barracks and military firing range; secondly, also the City Council had to pay a rent for the use of *Città di Bologna* public park. Although the order by the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Defence never paid the rent for the occupation of the Piave barracks. Such non-fulfilment forced the local City Council to a legal action based on the fact that it accomplished the contract and paid for the concession of the park. The issue would not be solved until the early 21st century (Comune di Belluno, 2012a).

The Piave barracks and the development of a "productive-industrial" centrality. An abandonment induced by the dynamics of urban development

The origin of the bureaucratic conflict between the Ministry of Defence and the City Council referred to the proper Belluno's city-making process in the post-WWII. No matter the introduction of various changes in the management of the state-owned property since the 1950s, the most decisive factor to boost the

²⁸⁷ From the 1960s onwards, Belluno's population has been constantly more than 30,000 inhabitants (<https://www.tuttitalia.it/veneto/31-belluno/statistiche/censimenti-popolazione/>).

²⁸⁸ This name derives from the proximity to Piave river.

dispute was another. Above all, the conflict arose starting from the difficulty to find an economic agreement due to the increase of monetary value of the land occupied by the military. Besides, the growing value of the military asset took place once an important industrial and commercial development spread over Venegia. Although in the early 1960s the military installations' position was on the fringe of the urban dynamics (fig. 21 of the Annex II). Yet, the Piave barracks faced an intensive urban sprawl in its surrounding area. This phenomenon was the result of the extensive urban development model linked to the industrialisation of Veneto's territory during the post-WWII era (Tattara and Anastasia, 2003). In light of this trend, a "new productive-industrial centrality" took place in Belluno's eastern outskirts on the ground of the presence of the existing military properties.

The city-making process was affected by the implementation of the 1959 and 1979 General Master Plans to expand towards the eastern periphery. The urbanisation occurred in the northern part of Tiziano Vecellio road, which connected the urban centre with the military settlements. In this period a massive urbanisation of the land located between this avenue and Ugo Neri street took place (see figure x). The important urban expansion in the northern sector of Tiziano Vecellio road depended on the constrictions of the southern part of the streets because both the military settlements –i.e. the Piave barracks, the firing range, and the airport– and Piave river limited the expansion. As Belluno proceeded to its industrialisation and expansion, a "productive-industrial centrality" gradually emerged in the eastern periphery on the ground of the increasing presence of industrial activities and a small provision of shops. It can be argued that the existing military areas drove the "new centrality", as originally the military settlements started the urbanisation process of an unbuilt territory located in a strategic position well connected to the urban centre through Tiziano Vecellio road. This resulted in the construction of new productive-industrial settlements taking advantage of such favourable condition.

The new productive-industrial centrality did not endow an urban environment with identity and quality (fig. 22 of the Annex II). Instead, this urbanisation created a segregated space without a good connection with the urban centre and the proliferation of monotonous peripheral spaces without identity. The main factors causing such urban development were the land fragmentation, the large number of small landowners blatantly self-interested,

and the inability to impose a homogeneous Urban Planning. Belluno eastern boundaries' urbanisation process was consequently carried out according to the satisfaction of individual demands both enabling an irregular and uncontrolled building, and causing saturation and high density without the adequate provision of the necessary urban equipment. The latter could harmonise the built environment with new open and green spaces, but their absence contributed to degenerate Venegia into a space with poor urban and architectural quality (Comune di Belluno, 2012c). In addition, the 1979 General Master Plan boosted Belluno's accessibility, which corresponded to a rapid urbanisation of the eastern unbuilt land. As said before, the presence of military settlements and Piave river limited the expansion even though this strong dynamics (fig. 23 of the Annex II).

In 1994 occurred the Modification of the 1979 General Master Plan to plan the development of Venegia. It substantially consisted in the change of use of industrial plots to establish new settlements, such as commercial and tertiary activities, warehouses, hotels and, more generally, a wide range of public equipment. Though the 1994 Modification aimed at improving the quality of the area, the result of the operation undertaken was detrimental to the public interests as it prioritised the landowners' private interests (Comune di Belluno, 2012c: 1-3). As a matter of fact, the landowners achieved to materialise new tertiary and commercial settlements, such as the so-called "Venegia shopping centre", carried out according to a new road system boosting the required territorial accessibility that would allow a hypothetical new expansion.

The increasing number of productive and industrial settlements contributed therefore to incorporate the great military properties into a new built environment. Belluno's eastern outskirts gradually assumed a peripheral character without identity and lacking the adequate services to meet the social reproduction demands (fig. 24 of the Annex II). This type of development made the Ministry of Defence to leave Piave barracks. Why did the Ministry take such decision? Military areas in an urbanised territory actually saw the disappearance of the positional advantages in terms of urban rent that an extra-urban territory provided them. This new situation clearly implied the increase of the payment that the Ministry of Defence should face for the concession of the City Council-owned area where barracks-firing range-airport settled.

Consequently, this factor –plus the 1990s Defence’s administrative reorganisation policy affecting the distribution of military settlements at national scale– certainly forced the abandonment of Veneggia’s military compound.

The conflict between the City Council and the Ministry of Defence. From the abandonment to the obsolescence and degradation

According to the aforementioned trends, in the late 1990s the urban sprawl booming the eastern peripheral’s urban development being a factor pushing to the creation of a productive-industrial centrality. This urban development substantially created the basic conditions to incorporate the great military properties in the productive-industrial centrality. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Defence exerted a certain influence in the decision-making process regarding the military assets’ rationalisation in the city.

The process of military abandonment officially started with the application of the 1997 Finace Act: in Belluno, the Italian Armed Force’s reorganisation and rationalisation emptied three barracks during the following decade. In 1997, the Fantuzzi and Tasso barracks were abandoned in order to create new profit-driven spaces leveraged their central positions. Then, also Vaneggia suffered the official military abandonment. To make matter worse, in the late 1990s the conversion of the military airport to civilian use (Camera dei Deputati, 1998) subsequently contributed to make redundant the use of Piave barracks to house the troops working in the military airport (fig. 25 of the Annex II).

In light of these trends, a portion of Piave barracks²⁸⁹ – corresponding to 32,832-m² plot size and 39,706-m² existing volume–, was officially abandoned in 2004 by the Ministry of Defence’s notification n. 419886/251/104/04 of 18 November 2004. The Ministry of Defence consequently entrusted the State Property Agency the task to find a solution for the conflict with the local City Council about the use of such barracks.

The resolution of the conflict eventually occurred on 5 April 2012 due to the free-of-charge property transfer of the abandoned portion to the City Council (Comune di Belluno, 2012b). This fact sought the barracks reconversion into a

²⁸⁹ Only the 31.998-m² firing range still belongs to the Ministry of Defence, as confirmed by the note n. 3-4269 of 15 April 2011. This communication avoided its property transfer in the frame of the federalism state property.

municipal solid waste treatment plant in accordance with the industrial character of the surrounding area, thus responding to the local community's demand for recycling (Comune di Belluno, 2009).

Notwithstanding this option, a new administration resulted from the 2013 local government elections carried out a specific report of the former military area as the abandonment was lasting for almost a decade. This statement aimed to put into foreground the great property's future possible uses in a financial context affected by the 2007-2008 crisis, and the possibility to successfully sell the asset in the real estate market. The detected problems influencing the urban regeneration process referred to a number of issues. Firstly, the City Council's low economic resources to tackle a radical redevelopment of the barracks. Secondly, the high uncertainty related to the efficiency of the state-based reuse procedures of public-owned property, conceived by the Belluno's City Council as a non-appropriate institutional support to proceed to the urban transformation. Additionally, the former barracks faced a long-standing abandonment which contributed to considerably degrade the existing urban fabric. The report showed to the citizens that the old military site quickly became a ruin, being completely invaded by exuberant vegetation growing everywhere. From its access gates to the existing green areas, passing through the grass and asphalt paving, the vegetation even invaded the interior of buildings, making them, in fact, inaccessible.

Towards the creation of a “social reproduction” space: the urban regeneration project “The Third Sector City”

After the 2013 report, the Belluno City Council sought the implementation of an urban regeneration project called “The Third Sector City” –*Cittadella del terzo settore*²⁹⁰ in collaboration with several local associations²⁹¹. A growing number of third sector associations entered progressively in this project as they considered the Piave barracks as a suitable space to set up their headquarters and even took charge of the task of removing the exuberant vegetation. Having purposely exposed these intentions, the City Council's strategy was providing

²⁹⁰ <http://excasermapiave.comune.belluno.it/>, <https://www.facebook.com/Spazio-EX-ex-caserma-Piave-1885706678409436/>.

²⁹¹ Such as the House of Commons, Val Belluna emergency and Alpini's Regiment Group Cavarzano Oltrardo.

Veneggia with a popular social reproduction space. The aim was clear: conceiving and designing spaces of social coexistence to group different types of activities and people. The idea of providing Veneggia with suitable spaces to meet the local association demands was the key element to set in motion such an urban regeneration project.

Fig. 58 and 59: the Piave barracks in summer 2013 (on the left) and in winter 2018 (on the right).



Source: https://www.facebook.com/pg/spazioex/photos/?ref=page_internal.

The aforementioned local associations spontaneously began to propose to the Local Administration their direct participation in the recovery of some buildings in exchange for a free-of-charge usufruct (fig. 58 and 59). It is worth observing that the Belluno City Council opted for an “innovative” alternative of urban regeneration not responding to the capitalist purposes in search for the highest yield, which could also boost a new expansion for Veneggia. In contrast, the decision supplied the spaces of the old barracks with functions whose purpose would respond to the demands of low-income classes, such as the young and the elderly, pensioners, and political refugees. The new activities responded to community services; public meeting places; spaces for social enterprises, art, and cultural production; and a new creative district. Such interventions aimed to improve the local association-oriented capacity and the social interaction between heterogeneous agents. The project will therefore be capable of producing positive “public effects” and safeguarding the local identity values (Camerin, 2017b). The institutionalisation of this programme was the aim of the 2014 General Master Plan Modification, which classified the old barracks’

“common” to enhance the social local values. From 2017 onwards, all the buildings have gradually being occupied by several local associations, as can be seen from the updated situation published by the Local Administration in August 2019 (fig. 60).

An important factor of the process through which urban regeneration took place referred to the non-inclusion of the real estate developer-financial capital in this operation. No real estate investors besides did manifest any intentions of taking part into the redevelopment project. Although the property transfer to the City Council seemed to be an opportunity to strengthen the “productive-industrial” aspect of Venegia, the Belluno’s new Local Administration eventually reverted such expectation. The result was a project being not in compliance with the existing “economic centrality”. From 2014 this initiative is effectively shaping a new urban space related to local culture in order to promote social aggregation. It can be argued that this is a case of true application of the principles of solidarity, pluralism, and subsidiarity.

By way of conclusion

The cases study have showed a process of urban regeneration led by a great military property located in an area intended as a “productive-industrial centrality” in Belluno’s eastern periphery. This productive-industrial centrality meant the presence of a spatial category in which the so-called “agglomeration economies” (Remy, 1966) converged, thus contributing to the development of the productive and industrial activities located there.

Since the Italian Unification, the city was not involved over time in a process of real estate developer-financial capital’s large investments such as happened in the rest of the Veneto Region’s capital cities. Belluno’s “peripheral” location prevented such type of dynamics, even though the huge urban development of the nearby provincial capitals of Treviso and Vicenza. Belluno, in effect, preserved a homogeneous urban morphology in its central places, without being involved in a pervasive phenomenon of zoning for economic reasons. As a matter of fact, the urban sprawl process occurred belatedly and Belluno’s population now stands at 40,000 within the municipal boundaries.

To sum up, this study case have demonstrated how the materialisation of three military areas on the city’s outskirts played an “urbanising” role. Their

construction was one of the consequence of the disaggregated urban development model; the military presence consolidated this trend and contributed to the urbanisation of the eastern periphery over time. Starting from the 1970s, the development of a productive-industrial centrality was carried out on the ground of the road system connecting the urban centre with these military settlements. The new “area of peripheral centrality” meant the creation of what can be called, socially speaking, “empty neighbourhood”. The latter was placed at the service of private interests represented by the industrial landowners at the expense of the urban quality. Here it is noteworthy to point out that the poor urban quality of Veneggia strictly depended on the lack of equipment to satisfy the landowners in search of high returns. All this contributed to create a segregated, congested and disordered urban environment. In order to sort this situation out, once the property of the military barracks was transferred to the City Council, the prevention from a speculative action kept away from the possible negative consequences derived from such operation in Veneggia. Essentially, from the initial idea of providing this area with a municipal solid waste treatment plant to strengthen the productive-industrial character of the area, another project was launched. This regeneration aimed at turning this sector of Belluno into a place that would meet the local association’s demands for the low income class’ cultural and social activities.

“Occupations” in contrast with the capitalist objectives. From “real estate squandering” to an alternative of “qualitative austerity”. The case of Rossani barracks in Bari

The post-Italian-Unification disaggregated urban development in Bari starting from the arrival of the railway, and its relationship with the out-of-the-urban-centre Parade Ground

The San Lorenzo barracks –today also known as the Mario Rossani barracks– is located between Picone and Carassi neighbourhoods in the southern part of Bari’s Railway Station. This location corresponded to the first “socio-spatial disaggregation” process taking place in the southern edge of the 19th century-

city's peripheral expansion zone²⁹³. Its creation obeyed to the typical urban extension patterns occurred during the late 19th century, which corresponded to the urban development process after the Italian Unification²⁹⁴. Such a development was supported by both the materialisation of the new Central Railway Station –inaugurated in 1864– and the urbanisation of its nearby areas. The construction of the new Railway Station took place at the same time that the close Parade Ground, all of which in an attempt to provide the city with a training area for the troops of the new Italian state.

The railway and the successive approval of the first Urban Planning instrument were important events to boost the extension of the urban centre. The 1884 Building regulation and expansion plan for the city was based on Law no. 2,359 of 25 June 1865 and drove the city to a huge expansion. This resulted in the increase of Bari's population from 72,624 to 94,236 inhabitants between 1881 and 1901. As a consequence of such a growth, the adopted measure to tackle the new arrivals and achieve their incorporation into the city was the expropriation of land for a public purpose. In this context, it is worth remarking that the 1884 Plan's contents explicitly referred to the extension of the historic centre towards the south of the city already planned during the early 19th century-French domination period. Such extension started to be built in 1816 and successively took the name of "Murattiano" neighbourhood –or also Murat– by virtue of General Gioacchino Murat's intentions to extend the city (Falanga, 2014).

During the second half of the 19th century, the proposal of a series of transformations surrounding the historic city centre were based on a grid set up by well-equipped orthogonal blocks. Such interventions had the effect of provoking a socio-economic decomposition of the existing urban fabric. The interventions neither took into account the issues relating to the road connection between the Port, the Old Town, and the railway, nor began tackling the issues related to the establishment of new industries around the railway line (Di Ciommo, 1984: 216).

²⁹³ The historical cartography of Bari can be found at <https://www.comune.bari.it/web/edilizia-e-territorio/cartografie-storiche>.

²⁹⁴ To understand Bari's urban development during the 19th century and 20th century, see Di Ciommo (1984).

In 1870, the realisation of a customs barrier system following the railway line boosted the residential expansion of the city towards the southern part of Murat. During the 20th century, the aforementioned customs barrier acted as a strong delimiting element, thus provoking the segregation between Murattiano and the new urbanisations developed in Bari throughout the 20th century.

Between the late 19th century and the early 20th century, Bari was subjected to two disaggregated-urban-development-model-oriented phenomena responding to the late 19th-century “demand for modernity” (Álvarez Mora, 2004). On the one hand, the materialisation of the bourgeoisie city through a first “extension project” located between the old city centre and the railway line. On the other hand, the renewal of the historic city using as an “excuse” the consequences of 1886 cholera epidemic: the sanitisation actions aimed to reverse the existing unhealthy historic urban fabric.

At that time, the area nearby the Parade Ground kept maintaining its agricultural character (fig. 26 of the Annex II). However, starting in the 1870s, the first industries and shops spread around this great military property, thus being the basis on the ground of which build the suburban Picone and Carassi neighbourhoods in the early 20th century.

Two factors highly encouraged Bari’s expansion. Firstly, the presence of the railway, which also searched for the connection of the city with the regional territory. Secondly, the gradual transformation of Murat demanded the expulsion of the unwanted activities from the “bourgeoisie centre”. In this context, the great military property held an important urbanising role in the city-making process of Bari’s southern periphery. The military presence boosted a “real estate pressure” due to its location, resulted in a huge urbanisation process around the Parade Ground. This process fostered a private land developments to create new industrial and commercial settlements, as this location –so close to the railway station– was suitable to generate positive externalities. The urban development of the northern part of the railway station reached finally the customs barrier perimeter by 1920.

From the reconversion of the Parade Ground into a barracks to WWII. A first hypothesis of dismantling Rossani barracks

The Parade Ground was affected by the construction of the San Lorenzo barracks between 1907 and 1912, which empty central green space was left to the local football team (fig. 27 of the Annex II). The successive agreement between the Ministry of War and the Local City Council searched for strengthening the military presence in the city so as to boost the local economic development. The construction of the barracks was based on the ground of a local public funding of 20,000 lire²⁹⁵. As argued by the local association “*Comitato Rossani*”²⁹⁶, it seemed that the aforementioned agreement apparently contained a clause providing the payment return to the City Council in the case the military would not respect the contract. In short, if this would happen, the clause implied the restitution of the barracks’ area to the local administration.

The new barracks was affected by the hypotheses of the 1913 and 1918 General Master Plan Modifications, which foresaw the construction of popular neighborhoods in the southern part the railway line, thus surrounding the military settlement. According to these indications, new urban settlement appeared but without a proper strategy of urban integration as the projects were entrusted to the profit-oriented strategies of the private actors, i.e. the bourgeoisie. These dynamics resulted in the city’s expansion, with an increment of inhabitants from 94,236 in 1901 to 136,247 in 1921.

After failing the adoption of a new General Master Plan, finally during Mussolini’s regime the approval of the 1926 General building regulation and expansion plan aimed at launching Bari –as well as Naples– as the “metropolitan city” of Southern Italy (Corvaglia, Scionti, 1985: 147-159).

Between the two world wars, the Bari City Council gave consent to carry out an urban, social, and economic development strongly depended on uncontrolled real estate activity by the local real estate developer-financial capital. After the severe recession of 1927, the building sector benefitted from official subsidies allowing the realisation of public work facilities and improvements²⁹⁷. The goal of the public funding was not only to face the high rate

²⁹⁵ Taking into consideration the year 1907 as a reference, currently this sum totalling almost 81,300 euros.

²⁹⁶ https://www.facebook.com/notes/comitato-rossani-parco-polifunzionale/doc_origine-del-comitato-rossani/250600521674580/.

²⁹⁷ Among them, it is worth remarking the airport, the Football Stadium, the Trade Fair, the Slaughterhouse,

of the local unemployment, but also to strengthen the consensus of the fascist regime²⁹⁸.

The 1926 General Master Plan's foresaw the urbanisation of the unbuilt area around Murat to create new peri-urban crowns, nowadays corresponding to Carassi and Picone neighbourhood. The way of carrying out the city-making process assumed therefore the form of a "monocentric city", in which urban renewal actions affected the urban centre in order to increase its built volume and expelling unwanted activities, such as low-income class' housing and industrial and military installations²⁹⁹. Both old city centre and 19th-century extension were essentially affected by a bourgeoisie-led transformation. The aim was to proceed with the appropriation of the collectively-shaped historical product, i.e. the historic urban fabric, by the extrapolation of the differential ground rent. In order to achieve such appropriation, the indispensable operation to carry out referred to the expulsion of the working class towards the city's peripheral spaces. In turn, the new expansion responded to the goal of turning Bari into a regional-shaped "attractive administrative centre" for the whole Southern Italy. The general strategy during the regime was double. On the one hand, Bari was seen as the proper city to seek a commercial expansion from Italy to the Eastern European and Asian territories. On the other hand, the development of Bari aimed to reach the shape of a metropolis according to the Italian capitalism interests (Colonna, Lastilla, 1987: 14).

During the 1930s the new Urban Planning tools eventually had a very scarce application due to the power-exerted Mussolini's regime and to the beginning of WWII. They were the 1931 General building regulation for Bari's old city centre and the 1938 General building regulation and expansion –respectively *Piano regolatore e diradamento edilizio della città vecchia* and *Piano regolatore di massima e di ampliamento della città di Bari*.

and the Fruit and Vegetable Market, all of them built before the beginning of WWII (Colonna, Lastilla, 1987: 23). Moreover, during Mussolini's regime the city was equipped with a new seaside promenade and the installation and improvement of public services, such as sewerage, lighting, and the extension of the road network system.

²⁹⁸ During the regime, the policy of boosting the real estate activity occurred in the whole country as a general incentive to increase Mussolini's consensus throughout Italy (Colonna, Lastilla, 1987: 13).

²⁹⁹ The expulsion of military functions from the city centre led to the construction of the 70,300-m²-sized Giuseppe Bonomo army hospital (1933-1936), plus two barracks, i.e. the 68,979-m²-sized Capozzi and the 71,477-m²-sized Milano barracks, in the attempt to build a Military City in Bari's southern agricultural land.

It is a matter of fact that the dictatorship-led Bari's city-making process hugely increased the city, reaching 197,918 inhabitants in 1936. Such process was based on a policy of "modernisation" and "monumentalisation" through the promotion of public works subordinated to the large national real estate developer-financial capital's interests (Di Ciommo, 1984: 484). This trend led to new urban interventions aimed to embellish Bari so as to create majestic palaces set on large properties of land, some of which performing public functions (fig. 28 of the Annex II), such as the construction of the Polyclinic in Picone, which began in 1936. After WWII, around this large property of public land –which corresponded to an imposing architecture of about 230,000 m²–, a huge and very disorderly urban development occurred.

On the ground of the urban policy of modernisation and monumentalisation, the 1938 General Master Plan suggested the displacement of the railway and the creation of new settlements around the hospital. The main intervention to reshape Bari was actually the displacement of the Railway Station towards the southern boundaries by two types of interventions. The proposal consisted both in the creation of a large longitudinal public park in place of the railway, and a new urban development around the hospital. In this framework, a policy of urban densification was the main measure to put into practice, also for the replacement of Rossani barracks. However, the outbreak of WWII stopped this intervention.

An extensive urban development starting from 1945. The 1954 and 1976 General Master Plans and their links with the abandonment of Rossani barracks

After 1945, the new 1952-to-1954 General Master Plan was approved according to the Law no. 1,150/1942. This instrument foresaw an "unlimited" city expansion aimed to reach 500,000 inhabitants despite the fact that in 1951 Bari presented only 268,183 inhabitants.

This idea confirmed the one proposed in the 1926 General Master Plan to consolidate the "monocentric city", the centre of which coincided with the historic centre-Murat where the most important directional and commercial functions were located. A new wave of residential settlements was also encouraged in the crowns around the monocentric city, thus contributing to create an anodyne and

monotonous intensive 7-and-8-floors-high-rise urban periphery. As a matter of fact, between the 1950s and 1960s, the demolition of the industries adjacent to the railway line –which separates the 19th century-Murat and -Carassi and -Picone neighbourhood–, served to the construction of new high-density housing blocks (Petrignani and Porsia, 1988: 175). Moreover, the accessibility of both Carassi and Picone neighbourhoods improved as a result of the realisation of Unità d'Italia Avenue. This operation implied the annihilation of the existing built environment hindering its realisation, thus making possible the connection between these neighborhoods and the historic centre-Murat. By doing so, Bari hugely expanded towards its southern boundaries. This great urban reform got rid of the ancient urban fabric, intended as urban historic heritage, thus opening the doors to a new wave of even-more-southern-located peripheral settlements.

In Bari, the post-WWII capitalist city-making process implied the proliferation of a typical Italian Reconstruction-led “urban form” according to the socio-economic contradictions of the urban-land-rent-searching-oriented strategy. This urban form implied the following impacts: the high increase in population and urbanisation process; the lack of collective facilities; the industrial decentralisation; and a first symphoton of the process of conurbation. This new morphology occurred on the basis of a permissive approach to urban planning practice, which continuously introduced modifications to the General Master Plan. As claimed by Campos Venuti (1967: 3-15), in Italy the search for “exceptional” planning permission made the autorisation of new development possible, this being in contrast with the then-Urban Planning instruments. Of course, this happened in Bari too. The profit-oriented strategy contributed to destroy the 19th century-built urban fabric by both undertaking demolition-substitution operations and an uncontrolled increase of residential density in Bari’s Murat. It is worth highlighting that the 1954 General Master Plan favoured urban transformations based on the private-led extrapolation of the differential ground rent without taking into account the relations of the Extension with its surrounding areas. Moreover, starting from the late 1950s, a strong process of industrialisation took place in Bari’s eastern rural lands³⁰⁰. This phenomenon clearly led to a rural-urban

³⁰⁰ In Bari the industrialisation led to the creation of middle and small private industries. This trend was in pretty contrast with other Puglia Region’s cities, such as Brindisi and Taranto, where large industries were built at that time.

migration, producing a consistent increase in population: from 268,183 inhabitants in 1951 to 357,274 in 1971 (fig. 29 of the Annex II). Such trend was the last large population growth recorded in the capital of Puglia Region.

Once the reconstruction's epoch ended, Ludovico-Quaroni-designed General Master Plan's started, but its definitive approval lasted more than ten years, from 1965 to 1976³⁰¹. This Plan set out the transition from the monocentric structure of Bari to a metropolitan-scaled "polycentrism", based on the following actions. First, the strengthening of the existing out-of-the-city urban agglomerations; second, the urban renewal of the 19th century-urban centre; and, eventually, the boosting of new peripheral expansions supported by a new supra-local scale infrastructure system. The 1976 General Master Plan implementation remarkably contributed to the residential growth of Picone's area. The densification process (Cucciolla, 1980: 210-211) based its central point on Giulio Cesare square, which was opposite to the Polyclinic. The General Master Plan classified this area as a "B3 residential completion zone" to carry out only by planning permission without approving any type of Detailed Plan –*Piano Particolareggiato*. More specifically, the new housing units were about to be built in a 600-m²-size plot, which buildability was 3 m³/m² so as to allow the realisation of up-to-25-metres-high buildings.

In this framework, Quaroni-designed General Master Plan hastened the abandonment and dismantling of Rossani barracks by means of its redevelopment into public green, urban equipment, and a high density housing development (Cucciolla, 1980: 210). This transformation envisaged an operation aimed to create a new private settlement consisting of high-density housing, a nursery, and a swimming pool. The General Master Plan boosted a residential saturation of the zone, even though the opportunity to provide the necessary public equipment in the unbuilt area nearby Rossani barracks. This Plan unquestionably aimed at developing a massive residential expansion without

³⁰¹ Quaroni-designed General Master Plan's contents derived from the guidelines of the so-called "Project 80" –*Progetto 80*– (Ministero del bilancio e della programmazione economica, 1969a and 1969b) on the current problems and future issues facing by the Italian metropolitan areas towards 1980. In this Project, Bari was considered as a city tending to a metropolitanisation process. Quaroni-designed Plan experienced enormous delays in its implementation, this being the main cause of its inapplication. Nevertheless, the nature of this modernist-culture-inspiring instrument contributed to incite an unreal and excessive development during the second part of the 20th century. Such dynamics were strongly supported by the Local Administration's ambition (Comune di Bari, 2009: 100) in light of the latest demographic trends of that time –1971– (Chiesa and Podda, 2010).

providing the urban equipment and services for the satisfaction of the social needs.

Underutilisation and abandonment of the great military properties in the city of Bari. A phenomenon induced by Urban Planning and real estate market tendencies

In the late 20th century, Bari's urban structure grew and spread like an oil stain (fig. 30 of the Annex II). Following this pattern, the city definitely became a real metropolitan area, whose urban transformations relied on private-led interventions to modify the 1976 General Master Plan. Nevertheless, not all the expansionist proposals of this Plan were implemented. At that time, a slight underuse and abandonment process affecting railway properties, industries – mostly the tobacco production, slaughterhouses, and public services–, and military settlements began. After some decades, this growing phenomenon had serious repercussions in the city. According to the 2013 WWF Report “Reusing Italy”, in Bari's metropolitan territory –224,051,043 m²– the abandoned areas totalling 7,610,064 m². More than 16% were underused military settlements, about 1,251,770 m², 251,334 m² of which were definitively abandoned (Calace, Angelastro and Lo Muzio Lezza, 2013: 73). These data highlighted an urgent issue: the military real estate asset's state of underuse and abandonment. Consequently, I am asking why such phenomenon occurred. Two were the main issues affecting the military presence in Bari. Firstly, the uncertainties of the Local Urban Planning and, secondly, the attitude of the Ministry of Defence as a landowner of large land searching for undertaking profit-oriented urban renewal interventions.

This situation of “standby” affected not only the Defence-owned assets, but also several other devalorised and unprofitable properties located in Bari due to the logic of capital. The capitalist profit-oriented strategies treated these properties as “capitals in land” to involve them into new urban regeneration processes.

Insofar as Urban Planning tools –I am referring both to the local level and the strategic and supra-local territorial level tools– proposed a new destination for devalorised industrial, military, and railway land, the former promote the appropriate measures-norms encouraging the abandonment. It was certainly true

that even though these activities were surely not affected by internal crises, the aim for changing the land use strongly influenced the future of the areas. No matter if these properties were subjected to a speculative approach or they would be responded to collective needs, the result was their abandonment. The underutilisation and the following abandonment affecting the properties could be last for many years or even decades. When would the situation can change? The answer was always related to the capitalist city-making process. The abandonment would be replaced by a new use only when the capital would be capable of extracting a profitable surplus-value of the land. This fact would allow to start an urban regeneration operation.

In a nutshell, this is what happened in the case of Rossani barracks. As far as the military real estate assets' state of underutilisation and abandonment were concerned, in Bari the other cases of devalorised military installations are currently the following. Focusing on the urban centre, the Capozzi, Milano, and Sonnino barracks, and the Bonomo army hospital underwent to a process of functional dismantling in the early 2000s, nowadays being officially abandoned. Moreover, the underutilisation of the Betti military palace and the Picca barracks (Pepe, 2012) seems today quite undeniable. The slow abandonment of these properties had not only affecting the physical state of their buildings and open spaces, but also their nearby socio-economic built environments, which were destabilised and affected by a phenomenon of degradation. It is in this sense how I can argue that the search for new buildable land areas based on Urban Planning instruments could induce the real estate system to condition the fate of certain urban artefacts. These properties, usually located in a hypothetically strategic position for the logic of capital, were about to become the suitable elements to profit-oriented actions on the ground of the exploitation of the differential ground rent. Seemly, these artefacts are about to develop a project focused on transforming them into "new central areas" of different type, i.e. residential, industrial, commercial, and so on.

The 1976 General Master Plan pursued to build several new areas in the attempt to reach 1.5 million inhabitants. For more than 40 years, this prevision led to the exploitation of the local real estate market in the whole metropolitan territory, being one of the decisive factors leading to the increase of land value. In a favourable context to spread the urban land market, if a certain activity –such

as military one— was settled in a privileged position, sooner or later a real estate mechanism would force its dismantling/displacement. Such action would change the land use in order to extrapolate the maximum economic profit, either according to the existing urban planning instruments, or proceeding with a General Master Plan Modification. This was the reason why important processes of abandonment affecting large properties occurred. No matter what activity was developed there at that time, whether industrial, military or railway; the effect was its rationalisation or displacement into peripheral territories. Such operations resulted in the loss of a public-owned “collective heritage” belonging to the collectivity—in this case military real estate assets—, all of which enhanced the private profitability against the public use-value dimension.

The extrapolation of the differential ground rent. The transformation of the Rossani barracks in relation to the Urban Planning Guidelines and the attitude of the Ministry of Defence

In the late 19th century, the peripheral position of the Parade Ground respect to the still-unbuilt Expansion was unsuitable for hosting “central functions”. After its transformation in barracks, the gradual development of the “monocentric city” involved the military settlement in a new socio-spatial configuration. This happened in two different steps. First, during the early 20th century the urbanisation around the barracks took place via the exploitation of the absolute ground rent. The urban growth of the southern zone of the Railway Station took advantage of the agglomeration economies shaping a new kind of centrality according to the logic of capital. Here, a new Fordist-shaped urban space appeared, this being set up by commercial and industrial facilities, plus the working class housing settlements. Between the late 19th century and the beginning of WWII, the land changed from agricultural to urban, although the latter lacked the necessary equipment to satisfy the social needs. Second, after 1945, the accessibility improvements in order to better connect Carassi and Picone with the urban centre and the more southern peripheral territories led to a new process of urbanisation. In this sense, the effect of distance reduction contributed to the increase Murat’s land value, thus acquiring new exchange values. Such growth led to the incorporation of the 19th-Extension land into the real estate market because was intended as a suitable place to create a new

centrality in the frame of a new wider territory. This dynamics resolutely boosted a change in land use, thus shifting Murat from being a mostly residential area to other more profitable uses, such as commercial and directional ones.

Carassi and Picone neighbourhoods did continue to respond to the low class residential demands and still remained poorly equipped. Nevertheless, the changes affected Murat consequently drove to the urban density increase in Carassi and Picone. This trend exerted consequently a huge real estate pressure on Rossani barracks.

The military finally abandoned the barracks in 1991 –after occupying it for more than 100 years– as the result of the 1985 large urban project launched to improve Bari’s infrastructure, railway, and road transportation network. This project aimed to reshape Bari into a new condition of “metropolis”, thus strengthening the Central Railway Station as an area of centrality. Notwithstanding the military left, the Ministry of Defence would continue to hold the ownership of the area for more than 15 years.

The problems to realise the urban project, such as the endless bureaucratic vicissitudes, slowed down and continuously change the kind of action planned to redevelop the barracks. Such transformation foresaw the reconversion of Rossani barracks into an enormous underground car park and an interchange park for the railway, being institutionalised via the 1976 General Master Plan Modification. What can be understand here is the following fact. The great military property assumed over the years a privileged location in the metropolitan context of Bari, and such change was also caught by the Ministry of Defence. The latter, starting from the 1997 Finance Act, expressed the pressing financial needs which could be satisfy by the exploitation of the advantageous position of the properties no longer required for military purposes. In other words, since the progressive cut of national funding for military purpose by public policies, the Ministry of Defence’s real estate assets had to be alienated in order to face such cuts.

The speculative mechanism used by the military was definitely revealed by the inclusion of Rossani barracks in the President of the Council of Ministers’ Decree of 12 September 2000. This military installation was classified as “still used and/or necessary for the Armed Forces”, although it was considered “suitable” for its disposal in application of art. 44 of Law no. 448/1998. Only nine

years after the abandonment by the military, the latter declared the intention to proceed with the sale of the asset.

After the inclusion of the barracks in the urban project affecting the Central Railway Station, why did the Ministry of Defence propose to include Rossani barracks in an alienation procedure, but defining this asset as an “installation still in use/necessary” for the Defence purposes? Was it a “hidden” strategy to increase the barracks’ real estate market value, also aimed to raise funds taking advantage of its privileged location in a consolidated urban fabric?

To answer these questions, it can be argued that two main factors contributed to aggravate the state of degradation of the barracks³⁰². They were the speculative strategy of the Ministry of Defence and the ineffectiveness of the Urban Planning tools. It can be argued that the situation of degradation and uncertainty would become the “adequate” excuse to proceed with the definitive dismantling to redevelop the old military enclosure into new uses producing economic benefits according to the logic of capital. The more the abandonment lasted, the easier would be to create a new centrality destroying the inherited military settlements. This real estate strategy corresponded to the new role attributed to the former barracks linked to the enhancement of the Central Railway Station’s role in the metropolis of Bari.

Afterwards, Rossani barracks was included in the Ministry of Defence’s Decrees of 28 February 2005 according to the art. 27 of Law no. 326/2003, and of 28 February 2005 in application to art. 1.263 of Law no. 696/2006. These Decrees allowed the property transfer from the Defence to the Real Estate Agency and, then, to the City Council in 2008. The vicissitudes related to the long-lasting abandonment and the regeneration would continue in the following years, being in close connection with the implementation of the 2006 General Master Plan and the 2008 Metropolitan Strategic Plan named “BA2015”. None of these Plans found a definitive solution for the reuse.

To sum up, the “urban development model” affecting the regeneration process of the Rossani barracks and its surroundings refers to the patterns of the metropolitan dispersion according to the large-scale strategic urban planning. It

³⁰² In 2004, a survey found buildings where asbestos became degraded (Senato della Repubblica, 2004: 6,824-6,825).

is important to remark the territorial scope of the strategic plan, which target is the metropolis and not just the solely municipality of Bari.

Class interests and reappropriation of the Rossani barracks

In the 1980s the urban debate in Bari paid special attention to the regeneration of the Central Railway Station and the neighbouring road system. Both railway and road system were seen with two different perspectives. On the one hand, they were considered elements blocking the connection between Murat and Bari's southern areas. On the other hand, they were axes based on which proposing a new system of metropolitan mobility, which would strengthen the Central Railway Station area as a high-end commercial, residential, and tertiary centrality.

On 27 December 1985 the City Council, the Region, and the State Railway Company –*Ferrovie dello Stato*– signed a memoranda of understanding, which was followed by a feasibility study provided by the Ministry of Public Transport in 1989. Three years later, in 1992, *Ferrovie dello Stato* commissioned the architect Renzo Piano to design a future scenario for Bari Central Railway Station³⁰³. Despite the ideas to develop were very clear, including, the redevelopment of Rossani barracks, eventually none of the planned projects were carried out.

More than ten years later, in 2006, Bari City Council decided to propose a new use for the old military installation. Such proposal referred to the urban regeneration programme called P.R.U.S.S.T., which was supported by the new 2006 General Master Plan. The basic idea underlying the P.R.U.S.S.T. was the reconversion of the barracks into public offices and the creation of a 800-space-underground car park, totalling cost 30 million euros.

Notwithstanding this hypothesis, uncertainty about the future of the barracks continued to be a problem to solve, mainly due to the 2005 and 2007 Ministerial Decrees. After the property transfer to the State Property Agency, the latter agreed with the City Council an exchange of properties. Such transfer regarded two City-Council-owned assets –the Russian Church and the Palace of the Prefecture– and the State-Property-owned-asset Rossani barracks, plus the

³⁰³ This project was coinceived within a national programme for the reform and improvement of some of the main Italian Railway Stations located in capital cities. *Ferrovie dello Stato* company entrusted Renzo Piano with other two railway stations, i.e. Turin Lingotto Railway Station and Venice Central Station (Pucci, 1996: 68).

allocation of 13 million euros to Bari Local Administration to proceed with the regeneration³⁰⁴. This exchange took place on 29 April 2008, rising a strong local debate³⁰⁵ about the decision-making process to finally redevelop the barracks. The debate focused on two opposing positions. On the one hand, a strong position by citizens was based in finding a solution for the problems of urban vitality in Carassi and Picone. They claimed an improvement in the neighbourhoods which were affected by the negative impacts of the city-making process during the whole 20th century which did not provide adequate spaces for social reproduction. Thus, the social struggle aimed to promote the local development through citizens' empowerment, being represented by the local association called "Rossani Committee" –*Comitato Rossani*. In this case, the interest of popular classes referred to the lack of equipment of Carassi and Picone to fulfill with new functions that the logic of capital did not perform during the 20th century. As claimed by Campos Venuti based on his work on Pavia's General Master Plan (1968: 7), the interest of capital avoided proving the so-called "urban liberties", which would make possible the «*most elementary manifestations of community life, namely living, working, and exchanging*». On the second hand, an opposite position sought to strengthen the profit-oriented city-making process in accordance with the path established since the materialisation of Murat. The possible repercussion of such approach for Rossani barracks would meant its privatisation to tackle the lack of public resources, guaranteeing its public use but in the form of a "private service for the public". For instance, this is the position of 1980s proposal to build a car park to serve rail transport on a metropolitan scale, proposed again in 2006 P.R.U.S.S.T. .

The submission of the Rossani barracks to a "megaproject" for the creation of a new metropolitan-scaled "urban centrality". The understanding of Urban Planning in the framework of the capitalist mode of production through by means of the analysis of "Baricentrale" competition

The different types of interest in the management of the Rossani barracks inevitably met in the frame of the Urban Planning. Particularly, such interests

³⁰⁴ Funding allocated to Bari's City Council by the Art. 22-quinquies "Interventions for the redevelopment of the Rossani barracks and the Carassi neighbourhood of Bari" of Decree-Law no. 248 of 31 December 2007.

³⁰⁵ Well documented in Signorile (2014) between 2008 and 2014.

faced with two types of instruments. On the one hand, the “local-scale” urban planning tool. The General Master Plan, the approval procedure of which started in 2006, being currently underway. Only the preliminary instrument to this Plan, the so-called “Preliminary Programming Document” –*Documento di Programmazione Preliminare*, D.D.P., elaborated between 2008 and 2011–, was approved³⁰⁶. On the other hand, the “metropolitan-scale” urban planning tool. The “Bari Metropolitan Land Strategic Plan”, or simply “BA2015”, was adopted in 2008. This instrument artificially created a new territorial-scale-based “urban entity”. It involved 31 municipalities with an area of more than 2,000 km², where one million people live. Despite the fact that these two instruments did not set out prescriptive rules³⁰⁷, they promoted the incorporation of Rossani barracks in the 2012 International Urban Design Competition “Central Bari” –*Baricentrale*– (Comune di Bari, 2012a; Garofalo, 2013; fig. 61).

The aim of the Competition was to create a 78-ha-size new area of centrality covering an urban longitudinal area of 3 km. It was no coincidence that the name of the project was Central Bari, since it aimed to strengthen its “central” character, around which the new metropolitan entity would gravitate. The construction of a metropolitan-scaled centrality arose from the reconsideration of the whole railway system located around the Central Station, including the old barracks, concretely the area separating Murat from Carassi and Picone. The programme of the Competition’s “Preliminary Document” (Comune di Bari, 2012b: 5) foresaw three types of actions. First, the redevelopment of the existing infrastructure system, totalling cost 160 million euros. Second, a series of urban regeneration interventions in the urban landscape based on public-owned properties, the cost of which depends on the designer-winning’s proposals. And, third, a new private housing and tertiary development.

³⁰⁶ Consisting of three parts: a general part (2010), the cartography (2010), and a specific “Document for Urban Regeneration” (2011). See <https://www.comune.bari.it/web/edilizia-e-territorio/documento-programmatico-preliminare-dpp->.

³⁰⁷ The D.P.P. is the preliminary document to the new General Master Plan, while the Strategic Plan aims to define the possible scenarios to be included in the General Master Plan of each municipalities of Bari’s metropolitan territory.

Fig. 61: extract of the *Baricentrale's* report. In red the Rossani barracks.

Source: Comune di Bari (2012c: 1).

The speculative approach of all these operations was very evident. The actions on public-owned assets would directly depend on the improvements in the infrastructure system, which would shape the environment where private functions would take place. Also, the regeneration of the public properties should be realised after the building of the new housing and tertiary settlements, the former being strongly depended from the financial resources collected by the implementation of the residential and tertiary settlements.

In this context, Bari's City Council planned to carry out a master plan based on three main projects. First, the revitalisation of the existing vegetation should lead to the regeneration of the Rossani barracks' open spaces as a "central urban park". Such action aimed to open "a breach" in the old military walls to guarantee accessibility to citizens, as well as urban permeability and connectivity. Second, the former barracks could house a combination of public and private functions, which a preference to cultural and artistic ones. In this sense, the attempt of the City Council was to create a new "creative centrality" for art education and training (Comune di Bari, 2012b: 9). Third, it was confirmed the realisation of the 800-space underground car park already planned in the P.R.U.S.S.T. . A related point to consider in these three projects was the restrictions established by the Regional Superintendence for Architectural Heritage and Landscape. It is worth remarking a substantial change in the evaluation of the Rossani barracks' architectural, cultural, and historical values. Before the Competition, in 2010, the

Superintendence established only the protection of the existing buildings within the old site, corresponding to about 14,000 m² of the total plot size of more than 80,000 m². Afterwards, in June 2012 the protection was extended to the entire area, thus avoiding any increase in the buildability.

From a possible economic and real estate “squandering” to an “austerity” aimed at a social-democratic recomposition

In 2013 the architecture firm “*Massimiliano e Doriana Fuksas Design S.r.l.*”, in collaboration with Jordi Henrich I Monràs, won the international competition to exploit the railway yards and its surroundings³⁰⁸. The proposal aimed at redeveloping the barracks in two main functions. On the one hand, the ancient military built-up area would hold cultural activities to build the new “city of culture”. On the other hand, the opens spaces would be used as green spaces in order to create a new “green lung”. The large urban project included several new facilities, such as an 800-space underground car park, a public park, a Performance Centre auditorium, a Regional Library, a Contemporary Art Gallery, and an Academy of Fine Arts (Signorile, 2014: 76).

While the official proclamation of Fuksas’ project was delayed until 30 October 2015 due to an intense two-year-last debate, eventually Baricentrale did not take place. The whole competition could be assumed as a glaring example of “market-oriented urban planning” –*urbanistica contrattata*³⁰⁹–, whose objective was shaping the new and most important profit-driven space of Bari’s metropoly. Among the various interventions proposed in the frame of this “megaproject of new centrality”, only one has successively emerged in the local decision-making process. A concrete urban policy action was carried out to redevelop the Rossani barracks.

Fuksas’ proposal to create a “cultural centre-urban park” at the service of the metropolis was seen by the City Council as an oversize project providing public functions for the upper class. This intention was in contrast with the local population demands to build new popular social reproduction spaces for the inhabitants of Carassi and Picone neighbourhoods. As Fuksas argued, the initial

³⁰⁸ The official proclamation of Fuksas’ project was delayed until 30 October 2015 due to an intense two-year-last debate.

³⁰⁹ Also, see “private sector-led urban development projects”.

project idea of a high level of complexity due to the new therein functions would be reduced to a simple garden, «*with all due respect for the gardens*»³¹⁰.

Fig. 62: planimetry of the urban project approved by the Municipality of Bari in February 2018.

La caserma domani



Fuente: Comune di Bari (2018a: 6).

The change of approach in the management of the project arose in February 2014. The illegal occupation of a part of the old barracks by the self-managed social centre *Ex Caserma Liberata* started to raise a collective conscience to provide finally a proper popular social reproduction space³¹¹. Following the occupation, in 2015 an unprecedented participative urban planning project called “*Ri-Accordi Urbani*” –“New urban agreements”– began a creative and participated process to support the decision-making process of the barracks’ regeneration. This initiative resulted in new public services fully financed by Bari’s City Council (fig. 62). They were the so-called “Bari Urban Center” inaugurated in 2016, totalling cost 650,000 euros³¹²; an urban park and local sports structures,

³¹⁰ In an interview to the newspaper *Corriere del Mezzogiorno* in 2018 (Di Tursi, 2018).

³¹¹ For instance, in 2018 the City Council launched an auction for concession to assign the works of the new project to a specialised company. This procedure was contested by Regional Administrative Court – *Tribunale amministrativo regionale*, T.A.R.–, blocking the regeneration process for one year.

³¹² Plus an area for dogs, an urban gardens, a skating rink, a basketball court, and a number of play areas for a population of different ages.

whose construction will cost 1.7 million euros³¹³; the Academy of Fine Arts; and the new Centre Region Library³¹⁴ (Comune di Bari, 2019).

By way of conclusion

The analysis demonstrates how Bari's city-making process had gradually included a great military property in a proper urban environment. A social demand steadily grew to rethink the old artefact in order to satisfy the citizens' "urban liberties" in contrast to the speculative urban development. Rossani barracks' abandonment-regeneration process saw a contraposition between two social forces oriented respectively towards profit-oriented strategies and the provision of popular social reproduction spaces.

This study case underlines issues related to the phenomenon of abandonment and degradation of the Rossani barracks. Throughout most of the 20th century, the General Master Plan Modifications was a perpetual factor characterising Bari's city-making process. The redevelopment of the barracks has largely faced severe speculative expectations by the Ministry of Defence and the potential investors. In the late 1980s, once the military made the abandonment effective, such agents had no hesitation to undertake an operation to create a "new centrality area" at the service of the metropolitan territory. It is worth remarking that, over decades, this abandonment led to a severe degradation of the barracks' open spaces and buildings.

After more than 30 years since the first urban transformation proposal in the mid-1980s, the degradation of the military urban heritage has reached a turning point with the illegal occupation in 2014. The pressures of the citizens' movement eventually overcame the expectations created around the urban regeneration process based on the Baricentrale competition. The situation broke out since the occupation of Rossani barracks, in so far as Carassi's and Picone's inhabitants claimed the "right to the city".

It can be argued that the "austerity" finally triumphed. The real estate squandering via an internationally renowned architect's megaproject

³¹³ For more information on the urban park's and the Academy of Fine Arts' projects, refer to <https://www.bariinnovazione sociale.it/parco-urbano-polo-arti-caserma-rossani-fuksas/> and Comune di Bari (2018a).

³¹⁴ For more information on the project, see <https://www.bariinnovazione sociale.it/caserma-rossani-biblioteca/>. The cost will be 9.7 million euros financed by the public sector.

was not considered the proper solution to the problems of vitality of Carassi and Picone. The austerity planned for the regeneration of the Rossani barracks seems to be the only way to proceed to a “qualitative” alternative in order to achieve the “social justice”. To sum up, the citizens reconquered an urban space in order to create new popular social reproduction spaces.

The use of great military properties for humanitarian emergencies: the case of Zanusso barracks in Oderzo

The growth of a rural municipality involved in the city-making process towards the extension of the city. The case of Oderzo

The municipality of Oderzo is located in the eastern part of Veneto Region between the capital cities of Treviso and Pordenone, with a current total population of 20,500 inhabitants. Starting from the 1950s (fig. 31 of the Annex II), Oderzo was involved in a major economic transformation relied on a strong industrial-artisanal development. Over time, this development contributed to rise Oderzo as “service centre” in the frame of the so-called “Opitergino-Mottense District” (IPA Opitergino Mottense, 2010) built up by 13 northern-Piave-river-located municipalities. This District was created in the 1980s and comprised a total population of around 75,000 inhabitants.

In the post-WWII, the need of military protection to face the possible threats of the “Soviet Bloc” the north-eastern Italy resulted in a process of militarisation, thus leading to the construction of 25 military installations in the whole province of Treviso between the late 1940s and the mid-1960s (Gastaldi and Camerin, 2018: 66). In light of this trend, Oderzo was considered one of the suitable municipalities for American and Italian soldiers quartering in the Francesco Zanusso barracks, located in a more-than-100,000-m²-sized southeastern rural area of the urban centre. In the late 1950s, the construction of the military enclosure furnished several kind of spaces for the soldier, such as buildings for their accommodation, a cinema, offices, and warehouses, this totalling 12,108.20 m² of built-up area, corresponding to 73,291 m³ of volume. At the beginning, this barracks occupied a peripheral position in an extended rural

area, but during the second half of the 20th century it was gradually integrated into a new urban context due to Oderzo's urban sprawl dynamics.

The huge development suffered by Oderzo started in the 1960s, when its urban centre was still maintaining its original urban morphology (Vendrame, Mingotto and Tolotto, 2017). The 1963 General Master Plan proposed a high buildability to carry out through interventions of urban renewal. Following the general post-WWII profit-oriented urban planning strategies, this plan clearly promoted a massive urban development, the repercussion of which were the expulsion of productive activities from the historic centre towards the new peripheries.

For instance, it is worth highlighting the displacement of the local Forum Boarium from the urban centre to the periphery. Such relocation opened the way for a densification action in the former cattle forum venalium so as to new buildings started to appear: their volumes were much higher than those of the pre-existing urban fabric. The peripheral location of the new Forum Boarium spread new productive and industrial settlements, which subsequently contributed to an intensive residential expansion. In fact, the urban growth between 1961 and 1971 led to an increase of 18% in the resident population from 12,163 to 14,423 inhabitants.

During the 1970s, two processes affected the territory of Oderzo: an increasingly process of urban expansion and land consumption driven by local industrial and business development, and the consolidation of its urban centre as a service centre. Oderzo was evolving into an "extended city": here the urban development model was based on a low-density urbanisation process³¹⁵. This mechanism followed the patterns of the large-scale urban sprawl process which at that time was forming an incipient "metropolitan area" between the provinces of Padua, Treviso, and Venice (Indovina, 1990 and 2009). The Zanusso barracks was not involved in the rapid urbanisation, but following this trend the urban sprawl would not take long to "swallow" the barracks.

The "unlimited urban expansion": a solid basis to encourage the abandonment of the Zanusso barracks

³¹⁵ In this model, the exploitation of medium- and small-sized industrial and productive activities led to the urbanisation of rural areas. Such phenomenon is the so-called "urban sprawl" (Ingersoll, 2004).

The 1976 General Master Plan confirmed and reinforced the “extended city” model. The new Urban Planning instrument encouraged some actions of rezoning process still not carried out, and a residential expansion just slightly reducing the buildability of the previous 1963 Plan. Among the repercussions of such indications, an important residential development took place by the saturation of the neighbouring areas of the historic centre, as well as the building of new neighborhoods surrounding the existing ones. Such Plan boosted also the local infrastructure system to connect Oderzo with the existing villages of the municipality. As a result, in the period 1971-1981 Oderzo reached 16,353 residents (fig. 32 of the Annex II).

In the 1980s, the enhancement of Oderzo’s attractiveness and its condition of extended city provided the construction of important public, sports, and school facilities. This expansion was supported by the construction of new commercial and tertiary settlements on large land properties, plus new qualitative housing developments. The Plan focused also on the small villages. The objective was the reinforcement of the image of their existing centres through the concentration of the functions at the service of the residence, especially commercial ones, in order to turn them into real urban centres.

The new 1991 General Master Plan started to face the urban sprawl patterns by the proposal of the following objectives: the provision of services and equipment to strength the “urban quality”; the improvement of the villages’ attractiveness according to their rural environment; the development of the connections between the villages and Oderzo; the recovery and reuse of the existing buildings, both in urban and rural areas; and the separation of traffic flows between the heavily congested state and provincial roads and the less congested municipal traffic flows.

All of these objectives demonstrated the change of scale affecting Oderzo and the newly-built Opitergino-Mottense District: in fact, the Plan boosted a new private residential development expansion following the patterns established in the previous 1971 General Master Plan. The ultimate goal was to reach 35,139 inhabitants, more than the double number of the residents registered in 1981 – 16,632³¹⁶.

³¹⁶ In the local Urban Planning documents available on the website, it is not stated in which year Oderzo will reach the estimated 35,139 inhabitants.

Based on the aforementioned objectives and trend, it can be argued that the urban development of the second half of the 20th century and the indications of the 1991 General Master Plan had a decisive influence on the Defence's decision to abandon the Zanusso barracks (fig. 33 of the Annex II). The double of Oderzo's inhabitants and the consequent policy of massive urbanisation of the agricultural territory around this large military property forcefully conditioned the decision taken by the military to leave the barracks. The Ministry of Defence started to speculate on its real estate asset based on the favourable position which the barracks would be acquired by the implementation of the 1991 Plan. In light of this consideration, the underuse began in 1992, resulting in the definitive abandonment in 1996.

Despite the military left, the installation continued to belong to the Ministry of Defence until 2007. The Ministry of Defence' Decree of 25 July 2007 in application to Law no. 296/2006 arranged the property transfer to the State Property Agency. According to the financial goal foreseen by Law no. 296/2006, a General Master Plan Modification for the redevelopment of the barracks should be planned through a profit-oriented strategy. This meant the sale of the Zanusso barracks in the real estate market so as to contribute to collect 4 billion euro to wipe the public debt out.

Conflicts and divergent inter-institutional interests in the regeneration of the Zanusso barracks

After the property transfer, the Treviso's Fire Department manifested an interest to settle down in a piece of land belonging to Zanusso barracks, thus asking the City Council and the State Property Agency for a free-of-charge purchase. Nevertheless, the 2007 agreement signed between the local administration and the Italian Prime Minister's delegates³¹⁷ was not carried out due to the defeat of the democrats in the following year. After this option failed, the State Property Agency attempt to sell the asset in the real estate market was not successful. In 2008, the City Council showed its intention to purchase the barracks by asking the Veneto Region a co-financing of about 250,000 euros, which was confirmed in early 2009 (Veneto Region, 2008b). Despite the local administration claimed

³¹⁷ At that time, the centre-left government was led by Romano Prodi.

for the ownership of the property, several circumstances blocked the purchase. Firstly, the sporadic use of the old military installation by Italian and American soldiers as a training camp for the regiments located in the nearby municipality of Motta di Livenza. Secondly, the introduction of a new legislation aiming to privatise the military assets. Such change provided the possibility to allocate Zanusso barracks into a real estate investment fund according to Articles 33 and 33-bis of Law no. 111 of 15 July 2011. And, eventually, the economic constraints imposed by the Stability and Growth Pact, which did not allow the local City Council to invest any funding to purchase and redevelop the barracks.

In light of this situation, since 2008 the City Council searched for providing new social, cultural, and sports facilities in Oderzo's outskirts via the urban regeneration of the barracks. The attempt to proceed with the transfer of the barracks ownership occurred in accordance with the new urban planning instrument, the 2008 Structure Plan, in Italian *Piano di Assetto del Territorio* (P.A.T.). The Urban Planning tool classified the old military installation as a "strategic area" in order to propose a decidedly non-speculative operation. Such idea both limited a new residential development, and excluded new commercial and productive activities (Comune di Oderzo, 2015: 3-7). Taking into account the Plan's contents (Comune di Oderzo, 2018), it is worth highlighting that the purpose was the allocation of a number of public functions that the municipal territory was lacking. The successive Operative Plan –*Piano degli Interventi*, P.I.– would give more precise indications on the regeneration project (Comune di Oderzo, 2008a: 10).

Oderzo City Council tried to convince the State Property Agency to change its mind, so that the barracks would not be sold to a real estate investment fund in order to promote a speculative project. As pointed out in the 2008 Structure Plan, the territory of Oderzo did not need more urban interventions seeking to privilege the high-income class, but the creation of new popular social reproduction spaces. As a consequence of this intention, between 2013 and 2014, the Local Administration and the then director of the Agency, Stefano Scalera, held various meetings in the attempt to sort the military installation abandonment out. The future of the barracks was uncertain due to divergent interests. While the State was encouraging the economic exploitation of the Zanusso barracks, the City Council classified the old military space as a suitable

place to develop projects of public utility, thus excluding *a priori* any speculative projects. The P.A.T. classified the “abandoned military area” as a zone to allocate new “collective equipment/public facilities” provided for the whole Opitergino-Mottense District.

As stated in the “2014-2017 Single Programming Document” by City Council (Comune di Oderzo, 2014: 33), the reuse of this void should be carried out via the «*promotion of regeneration projects of spaces originally conceived for different purposes, [such interventions must be carried out, ed.] by forward-looking urban regeneration interventions whose guidelines refer to a sustainable, inclusive, and intelligent development*»³¹⁸. The new uses of the barracks would satisfy different needs of the whole district³¹⁹, especially to materialise new spaces for social inclusion and for assistance of low-income class, sports equipment, and citizen participation. The following 2017-2019 Single Programming Document specified this objectives. Once the barracks’ property transfer to the City Council would take place, the idea is to realise a new “Safety and Security city” to house the new *Carabinieri* barracks and to use the green and open spaces for social purposes (Comune di Oderzo, 2017: 131).

“From the federalism state property to the new refugee reception centre.

Open issues and future uncertainties to regenerate the barracks

On 27 November 2013, Oderzo’s City Council asked for the free-of-charge Zanusso barracks’ property transfer in the frame of the federalism state property process; successively, in May 2014, State Property Agency accepted this request. The Agency, however, remarked the possibility of not transferring to the City Council a portion of the barracks’ surface to meet some of the State Administrations requirements, specifically for *Carabinieri*, Fire Department, and State Forestry Corps.

In accordance with the Law on the federalism state property –i.e. the art. 56-bis of Decree Law no. 69/2013–, the acceptance of the property transfer implied entrusting the competence from the state level of the State Property

³¹⁸ Translation made by the Author of the thesis from Italian to English.

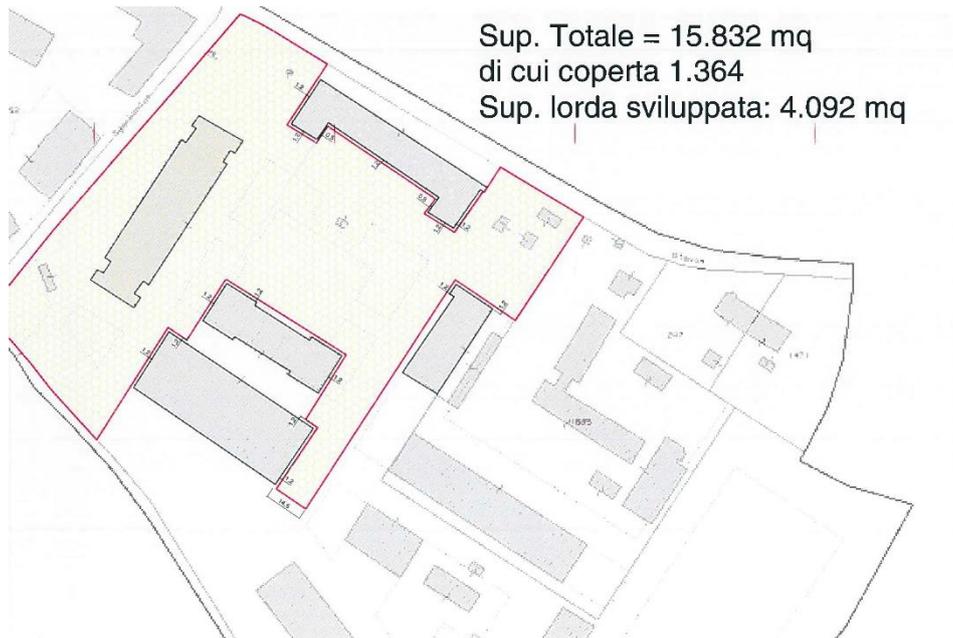
³¹⁹ The Single Programming Document described a number of thematic areas that can take place in the Zanusso barracks: work, competitiveness of production systems and innovation; improvement, management, and protection of environment; quality of life and social inclusion to boost the creation of a “smart city”; education, training, and skills; and sport and tourism (Comune di Oderzo, 2014: 33-34).

Agency –*Direzione Centrale Gestione Patrimonio Immobiliare dello Stato*– to the regional one –in this specific case, *Agenzia del Demanio-Direzione Regionale Veneto*. The Regional body was given the task of taking care of the necessary formalities to carry out such property transfer. Before handing the barracks ownership over to Oderzo’s City Council, *Agenzia del Demanio-Direzione Regionale Veneto* should ensure that none of the government administrations would be interested in settling in a portion of the asset –i.e. *Carabinieri*, Fire Department, and State Forestry Corps– (Comune di Oderzo, 2015: 4-5).

In 2015, the state agents involved in the operation reached an agreement to divide up the old barracks and share it with the City Council. In August of that same year, the reception of immigrants and political refugees raised as an unexpectedly serious issue. Therefore, the possibility of redevelop a portion of the former barracks into a reception centre became a priority in order to respond to this international emergency. On 24 December 2015, the Prefecture of Treviso ratified this decision (Prefettura di Treviso, 2015) and, successively, on 2 February 2016, the State Property Agency Regional Department did so (*Agenzia del Demanio-Direzione Regionale Veneto*, 2016b). Nevertheless, Oderzo City Council did not support the decision to accommodate 100-200 people of different ethnicities in the degraded spaces of the barracks. The local administration claimed that this partial reuse would create a critical situation, making the integration between the refugees very difficult, as well as creating a sense of danger for the local citizens (Comune di Oderzo, 2016a).

After an intense debate at local and state levels, in April 2016 a small portion of 15,832 m² –presenting a built-up area of 1,364 m², corresponding to 4,092 m² of gross floor area (fig. 63)– was opened to migrants, who began to house the former barracks between the existing buildings and field tents in the open spaces. Despite an initial forecast of 100-200 people, in several occasions up to 600 migrants occupied this piece of Zanusso barracks’ land. The excessive presence rose up numerous protests of local politician and citizens, as well as several difficulties in the management of such high presence in a small-size degraded space (fig. 64 and 65).

Fig. 63: the portion of the Zanusso barracks converted into refugee reception centre.



Source: <http://www.comune.oderzo.tv.it/citta/ex-caserma-f-zanusso/Sollecito%20VVF.pdf>.

Fig. 64 and 65: the Zanusso barracks before the partial reuse as refugee reception centre.



Source: photographs by F. Camerin (2015).

Nowadays, this part of the former barracks is still using as reception centre. There is no doubt that the future of the urban regeneration operation proposed back in 2008 by the Local Administration is closely related to the permanence of the refugees. The reception centre, in turn, will depend on the decisions taken at the State level, and not on the will expressed by the Oderzo's City Council and local community. In 2008 the decision taken at the local level contradicted the way of "producing the capitalist city" as it aimed to provide the municipality with public equipment and services it lacked so as to guaranteeing an improvement in the quality of life of the low-income classes (fig. 34 of the Annex II). In contrast to

this perspective, the unexpected decision to house the migrants has been slowed down the urban regeneration. Nowadays the Zanusso barracks is facing with an “emergency” that exceeds the prescriptions of the Urban Planning.

By way of conclusion

This case study shows how the “urban development model” driving Oderzo’s “production of space” meant the disaggregation and the extension of its urban and territorial spaces. Such dynamics gradually allowed a profit-oriented real estate strategy to extend its influence to the 14 municipalities belonging to Opitergino-Mottense District. In the second half of the 20th century, these patterns were also linked to the demands of the growing mass consumption gathered in the District’s “area of centrality”, i.e. Oderzo urban centre. As a consequence, it can be said that Oderzo has become a “medium- and high-class residential space”. This fact was especially demonstrated when the 1991 General Master Plan entrusted Oderzo with the central space of the District: the new role meant doubling its inhabitants. These trends considerably influenced the “speculative abandonment” of the Zanusso barracks. In this context, it is worth highlighting that, perhaps, the military abandonment was justified by the needs arising from the territorial reorganisation of the Ministry of Defence. The owner of the barracks –originally, the Ministry of Defence, and then the State Property Agency– was highly interested in carrying out a profit-oriented strategy of urban regeneration, being failed as the local City Council steadily carry out an anti-speculative project.

While the urban regeneration process was about to start, the international emergency represented by the need to house the migrants by the Italian government involved the Prefecture-of-Treviso-led “requisition” of part of the barracks³²⁰. At the same time, other four Veneto Region’s municipalities were affected by the decision to create a refugee reception centre in three former military sites. They were Serena barracks, located between Casier and Treviso municipalities; the former missile base of Cona, province of Rovigo; and a part of Prandina barrack, in the city of Padua (Ministero dell’Interno, 2016: 61).

In the case of Oderzo, the property of the old Zanusso barracks was entrusted to the State Property Agency following the legislative patterns to find a

³²⁰ For more details on the realisation of the refugee reception centre between 2015 and 2016 see the official documents in the City Council’s website (Comune di Oderzo, 2016b).

solution for its reuse in the real estate market. The regeneration was facing a long-lasting indecisions, as shown by the uncertainties of the three government entities –*Carabinieri*, Fire Department, and State Forestry Corps– involved in the decision-making process. Oderzo’s City Council explicitly rejected the decision to accommodate the migrants in a camp-like structure with lowered housing standards, such as the Zanusso barracks. Instead, the local administration supported the accommodation of migrants distributing them in the whole territory, thus avoiding the creation of ghettos. This approach would promote a policy of integration with the local population. No matter this approach, a number of factors contributed to turn the Zanusso barracks into a real “ghetto”. They were the protests of the citizens against the partial reconversion of the area for the refugee’s emergency, the scarce social integration initiatives, and the recent cuts in the management of the reception centres for migrants by Law no. 128/2018³²¹.

Open issues for the regeneration of great military properties located at the margin of consolidated centralities or in a situation of expectation. The military bases of Ceggia (Venice)

The last study case focuses on great military properties located in isolated peripheral territories, especially in rural areas, which still today remained somehow out of the logic of capital. In such case, it can be argued that capitalism is showing no interest in undertaking any profit-oriented operations. Here the analysis deals with places that over time did not assume any feasible perspectives to realise an economic benefit based on the “centrality effect”. The specific case of Ceggia (province of Venice) has been affected by a city-making process which did not involve the military bases, thus not creating the socio-spatial conditions for the “urban life”.

Since the 1930s onwards, the urban development of the municipality of Ceggia was closely linked to the presence of a specific large-scale production, i.e. a sugar refinery. In the late 1950s, the establishment of two large military bases in the southern outskirts of Ceggia –one dedicated to missile-launching and the other to logistics-telecommunication operations– derived from the

³²¹ <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2018/12/03/18G00161/sg>.

international defensive system implemented in the Northeast Italy during the Cold War. After four decades, in 2000, the military officially abandoned these areas due to the end of their “life cycle”. This was caused by the impacts of the geopolitical changes after the fall of the Berlin Wall –and the successively dissolution of the Soviet Union–, and the improvements in the technological defence systems respect to those ones used in Ceggia military bases. Nowadays, both of sites are still abandoned and in a state of very high physical degradation. The extensive urban development of Padua, Treviso, and Venice did not involve the south part of Ceggia’s urban centre in a process of urbanisation on account of the scarce interest shown over time by the logic of capital in promoting new real estate interventions there. The impact of this “policy of non-intervention” has been the maintenance of the existing rural areas around the military bases. In light of this trend, it can be argued that still today there is no interest of the real estate market in the reuse of the two military premises. They remained isolated, thus being put in a corner as “forgotten spaces”.

The relationship between the transformation of Ceggia’s agricultural and rural territory and the great industrial and military properties

In 1900, the zone of Ceggia –whose name derives from the Latin *cilia maris*, meaning “shore of the sea”– was a marshy territory exercising as a defensive bulwark of the city of Venice. The urban growth of this municipality derived from two main factors happening in the second half of the 19th century. The first one was the annexation of Veneto Region in the former Kingdom of Italy (1866) led the construction of a new railway infrastructure system, i.e. the new Venice-Portogruaro railway line (1886) and its road connections with Mestre. Such improvements consequently promoted new residential settlements allowing Ceggia to begin an economic and social commuting with Mestre-Venice and Portogruaro. The second one was the implantation of numerous aristocratic villas distributed in the whole Ceggia’s territory throughout the 19th century. The landowners –i.e. the new bourgeoisie– promoted several works on their “capital in land”. The cleaning up of the soil boosted land fertility and productivity so as to convert their land possessions into modern agricultural consortiums.

In the early 20th century, the planting of new crops –such as oats, wheat, clover, and sugar beet– was made possible thanks to the recovery of the territory

towards a “profitable” use. Sugar beet was particularly considered the “cornerstone” to develop the local economy: this plant presented the most suitable characteristics for the geological conditions of Ceggia’s alluvial soil. Beet production subsequently encouraged the industrialisation of the local agricultural sector; additionally, the exploitation of this sector followed the Fascism-imposing “autarchic policy”. In 1929, Ceggia was chosen as appropriate territory for the installation of a large-scale sugar refinery –implemented by the limited company *S.A. Zuccherifici Nazionali*, later *Eridania*– on account of its central position in Northeast Italy. This favourable location contributed to generate low transport costs due to the proximity of the refinery to both the Venice-Trieste railway line and the Piavon river waterway.

In the post-WWII, the US Armed Forces aimed to create a Western European system against the Soviet Block, particularly in its borders in the Northeast Italy. This fact implied the construction of two large military settlements in Ceggia’s rural territory, which corresponded to the constitution of a specific Air Force’s military unit of Ceggia, the so-called “57° Ceggia Laser-guided Interceptor Group” –*57° Gruppo Intercettori Teleguidati Ceggia* in 1958³²². On 4 August 1959³²³ the two installations were inaugurated as place to manage and hold the Nike-Hercules’s defense system³²⁴. They were a 90,200-m² logistics base, next to which was erected a 4,300-m² NATO radio tower³²⁵, and the 186,855-m² Nike-Hercules missile launch zone (Malatesta et al., 2015: 56-58), two kilometres far from each other³²⁶.

The military occupied a marginal area in the southern outskirts of Ceggia’s urban centre: the arrival of the military led to the transformation of a significant amount of agricultural land for military use, thus preventing any kind of urban

³²² Which activity directly depended from the American Air Base of Aviano, in Friuli-Venezia Giulia Region.

³²³ The logic of Nike-Hercules system worked with two operational bases divided by function, i.e. the Integrated Fire Control and the Launching Control Trailer, being located at a variable distance one from the other –from a minimum of 900 to a maximum of 6,000 metres– (Department of the Army, 1980).

³²⁴ The “Nike-Hercules” surface-to-air missile represented the evolution of the U.S. anti-missile defense system based on WWII experience. This new system was carried out in order to respond to the Soviet Bloc threats during the early Cold War period.

³²⁵ It came into operation in 1963, continuing to perform its functions today. The military radio station was part of a group of eight radio towers of the so-called “Defense Information Infrastructure” to ensure communications between northern and central Italy in the framework of the wider “Digital European Backbone System”.

³²⁶ The two settlements were isolated from the Ceggia’s urban centre and were belonging to an air defence system for the purpose of air interception and the launching of nuclear missiles, the latter stored in Aviano’s base. The logistics base was run by Italian military personnel, while the missile launch base was controlled by United States Armed Forces personnel. For more information see <http://www.nikemissile.altervista.org/57-gruppo-i.t.html>.

developments in this zone. This lamb of the territory was therefore subjected to such urban impositions driven by the military presence and activities, so in the context of Ceggia the great military properties did not act as boosting elements for the urbanisation. On the contrary, their presence hindered any type of urban expansion in the rural environment due to the American and Italian Air Force demands. Another aspect worth mentioning is the role played by the agricultural land around the two aforementioned bases in the development of the sugar refinery activities. This situation remained stable during the second half of the 20th century, until the dismantling and abandonment of both the Eridania factory and the military bases.

The growth of a small municipality and its connection with the agricultural-industrial development. Ceggia's economic and social regression and scarce capacity to create effects of "centrality"

From the 1920s and 1930s Ceggia's urban centre was constantly developing: over time it gradually became a vigorous agricultural and industrial centre. Despite of this positive trend, in the early post-WWII, Ceggia's territory went under crisis due to some negative circumstances, such as the emigration of the population to other Italian cities, even outside Italy, and the spread of diseases related to the misery afflicting the countryside. In this framework, it is worth highlighting that the military presence was not able to promote any specific urban developments (fig. 35 of the Annex II).

The peripheral position maintained by the two military bases allowed them to carry out all kinds of military activities, not interfering, at least, with those ones linked to the Eridiana factory's crops production. The sugar refinery played a very important part in the process of urban and industrial development of Ceggia, producing up to 12 million quintals of sugar, which represents 1/13 of the national production (Comune di Ceggia, 2007: 7).

Between the 1950s and 1980s the high sugar production boosted a substantial growth of Ceggia and its neighbouring villages (fig. 36 and 37 of the Annex II). However, the gradual crisis of the refinery marked a turning point and the spatial repercussions of its low production began to manifest in the territory of Ceggia. While sugar production decreased, there was an expansion of the industrial and artisanal area adjacent to the refinery installation. The change of

the local crop contributed to turn beet production into a monoculture, thus eliminating the agricultural diversity existed until then.

Towards the end of the 20th century, the Local Urban Planning instrument –i.e. the 1996 General Master Plan and the 2002 Modification– implemented a series of important measures, such as (Comune di Ceggia, 2007: 9)³²⁷:

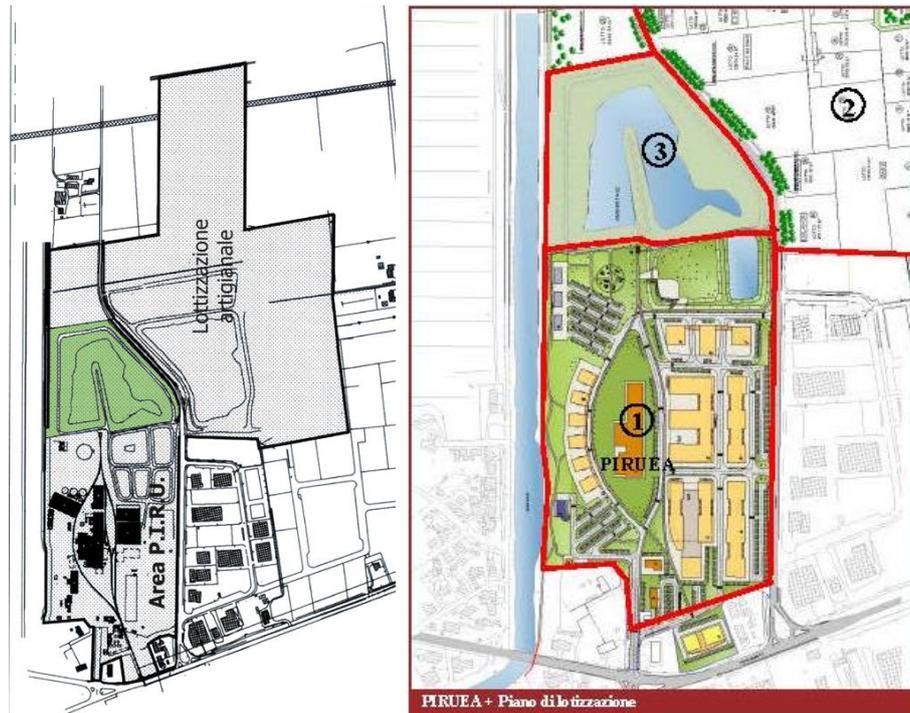
- The “urban renewal” of Ceggia’s urban centre and the enhancement of the small urban centres of its bordering villages;
- The modification of the “road infrastructure system” by the improvement of the connections between the different urban centres (Comune di Ceggia, 2014);
- The provision of new public equipment, specifically school, cultural, sports, and public green facilities.

At the same time, in the late 1990s, the activity of the factory began to be questioned, being definitively abandoned in 2000. During several decades, the about-482,000-m²-size great industrial property was the engine of Ceggia’s economic and social development. The closure derived from the lack of the Italian state funding to continue the industrial production (Senato della Repubblica, 2001). The factory consequently turned into a likely capital in land to exploit the differential ground rent the old artefacts could generate. Between 2003 and 2004, the City Council promoted a specific programme called “Integrated Programme for Urban, Building and Environmental Rehabilitation” –*Programma Integrato di Riqualificazione Urbanistica, Edilizia e Ambientale*, P.I.R.U.E.A.³²⁸–, approved by Veneto Region in 2007 (Regione del Veneto, 2007). The operation on the remains of the industrial heritage aimed to allocate 561 new inhabitants in a new net floor area of 20,045 m², totalling new 84,152 m³ of volume –all this corresponding to no-more-than-three-floors buildings. In addition to the new housing settlements, new 20,045 m² of net floor area will be split between commercial and directional functions. All this would provide a new net floor area of 48,090 m² (fig. 66 and 67).

³²⁷ The Preliminary Document of the Piano di Assetto del Territorio and the Environmental Report were drafted in 2007, both of them being the starting points for the drafting of the new Structure Plan. However, the 2002 General Master Plan Modification is still in force. The Planning instruments are not available to the public on the website of the Ceggia’s City Council.

³²⁸ This Programme was introduced by the Regional Law no. 23/1999 –abrogated in 2004– and involved several kind of large-scale urban intervention to carry out within Veneto Region’s territory.

Fig. 66 and 67: planimetrías del proyecto de regeneración de la fábrica Eridania.



Source: <https://www.secirealestate.it/portfolio-item/piano-di-lottizzazione-industriale-in-localita-ceggia-ve/>.

The total buildability should materialise 151,240 m³ of volume, which comprised the recovery of an old listed building –classified as a worth-saving “industrial archaeology”– and new housing building. The total cost of the operation would reach 74,192,418 euros, and the expected benefits would amount to 83,113,000 euros. The private real estate operator would receive a profit of 8,920,582 euros, 3,570,000 euros of which –corresponding to 40%– would be attributed to the City Council (Regione del Veneto, 2007: 4).

Despite some demolitions carried out between 2003 and 2008, as well as the cleaning up of the area, the indications of P.I.R.U.E.A. actually continued to be unspecified. In 2017, the extension of the Programme’s validity until 2022 represented the last news about the project³²⁹.

It must be referred to a report published by various public agents belonging to the eastern territory of the province of Venice (GAL Venezia Orientale-ANCE Venezia-CRESME Associazione, 2006: 138) for a better understanding of this situation. This document clearly shows why the urban regeneration of Eridiana

³²⁹ <https://www.secirealestate.it/portfolio-item/riqualificazione-urbanistica-edilizia-ed-ambientale-dell'ex-zuccherificio-eridania-a-ceggia-ve/>

factory failed. It is a matter of fact that this failure derived from the patterns of Ceggia's city-making process. Whereas a claim for the "opportunity" to regenerate the Eridiana factory based on its architectural value –only one of the buildings was declared worth to be preserve, which should be recovered to house new functions "of excellence"–, the operation would not appear to be successively achieved. The lack of faith is closely linked to the disadvantageous real estate perspectives to create feasible "centrality conditions" based on the regeneration of the former factory (fig. 38 of the Annex II).

Notwithstanding the good logistical position of the old industrial land in the territory –only two km far from the motorway exit, also being equidistant between two important eastern Venetian municipalities, i.e. Portogruaro and San Donà–, «it is precisely the peripheral position the factor which does not allow the implementation of any functions "of excellence" (fashion showroom, large exhibitions centre, high-tech centres, university laboratories, etc.)»³³⁰ (GAL Venezia Orientale-ANCE Venezia-CRESME Associazione, 2006: 138).

What does the last sentence mean? What does the "peripheral" condition of the abandoned Eridania factory has to do with the impossibility of performing "excellence" functions? This sentence basically said that there are no minimum conditions to ensure the profitability of an investment for the reuse of the sugar refinery in order to maximise the extrapolation of the differential ground rent. This negative circumstance derived from the characteristics of the old factory, mostly its peripheral location not only in the frame of Ceggia municipality, but in the Venetian territorial-scale framework. To sum up, the basic conditions for undertaking a new "centrality" project do not exist. As the analysis will show in the following section, this disadvantage would be the main problem blocking the regeneration of the military bases.

The abandonment of military bases and their regeneration. Indecisions and open issues facing the territorial reconfiguration of Ceggia

The process of the Defence's rationalisation and the changes in the international defence system conducted to the elimination of the 57^o Ceggia Laser-guided Interceptor Group in May 1998, and the successive closure of the two military

³³⁰ Translation made by the Author of the thesis from Italian to English.

bases in 2000. The same year, the dismantling of Eridania sugar factory became a reality too. Despite the inclusion of the two military installations in the Ministry of Defence's Decrees of 28 February 2005 and 28 February 2007 to entrust them to the State Property Agency, yet the local urban planning tools did not regulate the new use of the barracks. The 2007 Preliminary Document of the P.A.T did not foresee any type of solution for the abandoned areas. Also, the former claimed that the Local Administration was trying to reach an agreement with the State Property Agency in order to plan some possible scenarios for their reuse (Comune di Ceggia, 2007: 16).

Pursuant to Law no. 296/2006, between 2009 and 2010 State Property Agency launched two public tenders for the sale of the logistics base. Nevertheless, both of them failed: in 2009 the selling price was 730,000 euros, in 2010 it was reduced to 650,000 euros. Analysing such tenders, the documents said that the Structure Plan classified the former military installation as a "zone for tourist activities", albeit without explicitly stating the motivations for the assignment of this use (Agenzia del Demanio, 2009: 25; Agenzia del Demanio, 2010: 4). A factor contributed to the failure of the public tenders was the introduction of Law no. 42/2009 and the Legislative Decree n. 85/2010 for the federalism state property, allowing the free-of-charge property transfer to the territorial bodies.

It is certainly true that the two former military areas' characteristics did not facilitate any profit-oriented operation in the real estate market. Inside the military walls, the bases included wide open spaces within the enclosure, being surrounded by an extended rural area, and the launch zone's plot size doubles the logistics zone's one. Moreover, both of them presented no buildings of architectural, culture or artistic value. The absence of a supra-local infrastructure system connecting the military premises to the urbanised areas was also a discouraged element to every investors interested in realised a income-producing space. The situation of deadlock depended yet on the failed implementation of the P.I.R.U.E.A. .

Between 2001 and 2011, the population increased from 5,096 to 6,213 inhabitants, corresponding to 21.9%. According to this, plus the future regeneration of the former sugar refinery, the City Council aimed to provide the municipality with "attractive services" for the new housing developments by

getting involved in the European project “From Marginal to Renewable Energy Source Sites. Recovering marginal territories, making them regain their lost value by pursuing sustainable development programs, M2.R.e.s.”³³¹.

Through this international consortium, the European Union allowed the financing of different kind of projects aimed at the production of electricity from renewable energy sources, i.e. solar, photovoltaic, wind, geothermal, biomass, and biogas. In the specific case of Ceggia, the chosen zone was the missile-launching base to provide Ceggia municipality, and the neighbouring territories, with a remarkable “quality” in the field of “sustainability”. The spatial repercussions of a successful project would have been manifested through the development of a new urbanisation process, even on a supralocal scale. A careful evaluation of the feasibility study analysis compared two possible “future scenarios”³³² stated the impossibility to attract private investment. This document also argued the unfeasibility of a public-private partnership to carry out both the alternative projects, even in collaboration with a public-state financing. The expected financial return would be basically lower than the estimated investment to implement both the technological apparatus. Such economic unsustainability remarked that the operation would not be profitable for any private subject interested in taking part in the project.

As the second phase of the state federalism property was introduced in 2013, in November the Local Administration asked for the property transfer of both the military installations. Despite State Property Agency proceed to the transfer of the logistics zone (fig. 68) into the City Council’s real estate assets in 2014, the missile-launching base (fig. 69) was entrusted to Ceggia only two years later, in 2016. This delay concerned the previous negotiation between the Local Administration and the Agency for the sale of the military installation, also evaluating its possible regeneration in the frame of the European project.

³³¹ This project lasted from January 2011 and December 2014, being funded within the “2007-2013 South East Europe” programme (<https://www.keep.eu/projects-programme/131/2007%20-%202013%20South%20East%20Europe>): it involved national and regional energy agencies, research centres, and public administrations from ten countries. M2.R.e.s. aimed to promote the conversion of “marginal” areas (end-of-life landfills, quarries and open-cast mines, abandoned areas and contaminated land, abandoned military zones, barrier areas next to all types of infrastructure) through economic feasibility projects focusing on the installation of renewable energy generation systems (<https://www.keep.eu/project/5946/from-marginal-to-renewable-energy-sources-sites-recovering-marginal-territories-making-them-regain-their-lost-value-by-pursuing-sustainable-development-program>).

³³² The first hypothesis envisaged the joint construction of a solar and biomass thermodynamic system, while the second project considered only the use of solar energy, which cost amounted to respectively 5,621,700 and 6,241,700 euros.

Fig. 68 and 69: on the left, the entry of the logistics zone. On the right, the rural area in the surroundings of the missile-launching base.



Source: photographs by F. Camerin (2017).

In 2017, the State Property Agency launched a negotiated procedure for the assignment of a feasibility study regarding the transformation of both the military installations and the existing roads connecting them, totalling 313,864 m². The objective was to hire a “private agent” –i.e. an architectural and/or engineering firm– to advise state and local authorities on the technical, urban, economic, and financial aspects of the regeneration strategies. This feasibility project should also meet the goals of rationalisation of public real estate assets and their exploitation in the real estate market (Agenzia del Demanio-Direzione Regionale Veneto, 2017a). The private agent was entrusted with the task of elaborating a future scenario of the former military bases in order to create new biological productive settlements in the agri-food and animal husbandry sector. Such a project would allow the reinforcement of the food-biological district called “Biodistrict of Central-Eastern Venice” instituted in 2017³³³.

An “innovative project” based on the launching of start-up companies has been the last idea in the attempt to finally regenerate the military premises in May 2019. The creation of “innovative activities” to spread new knowledge has been the procedure adopted to implement the local labour market (Agenzia del Demanio-Direzione Regionale Veneto, 2017b: 17). Will this idea eventually reverse the state of pollution and degradation of the two former military installations?.

³³³ <http://www.biovenezia.it/>

By way of conclusion

The analysis demonstrated the uncertainties regarding the new use of Ceggia's military sites, being strictly related to the lack of the basic conditions for creating a "new centrality area". The case study, in fact, deals with an "out of the centrality" strategy as not all the Italian military installations were incorporated into the "urban development". Their hypothetical inclusion in this dynamic would have provided the "centrality" effect but the strategic position under the military point of view has converted them as "marginal areas" over time. This condition was imposed by the Armed Forces need, which required the materialisation of the bases in large non-urbanised spaces around them, so sharing the military activity with agricultural uses and even natural areas.

During the 70 years of sugar refinery's life cycle, Ceggia underwent a gradual urban evolution, being strongly depended to the part of the abovementioned industry. During this period of time, Ceggia municipality's peripheral position did not allow to attract "quality" and "exclusive" functions. In light of this unfavourable trend, the idea of creating a new neighbourhood in the southern part of Ceggia's urban centre based on the factory's regeneration project could not be implemented. The realisation of such project could have been a trigger element to undertake the redevelopment of the old military properties, however the starting conditions were not suitable to reach this objective.

The determining factor preventing any regeneration project was the lack of an "element" to boost the reuse operation so as to spread the regeneration effects in the surroundings. The regeneration of the military installations did not effectively deal with an operation located in an urban area, whether central, peripheral or semi-peripheral. Instead, this operation regarded a "marginal area" from the urban planning point of view, i.e. a rural-agricultural zone. Here, not even "exceptional architectures" can be build to attract the real estate developers. Eridania factory did not attract real estate investors willing to undertake the construction of a new residential district. Therefore, how could a "speculative project" be carried out in one, or both of, the two former military bases?

The attempt to "revitalise" the "marginal" area of the missile-launching base by building a power production facility through the European program M2.R.e.s. failed miserably. The alliance "State Property Agency-Ceggia City Council" has consequently tried to regenerate both military bases taking

advantage of the idea of a new “innovative territorial entity”. This new entity was set up as “biological food district” served as the catalyst and triggering mechanism for a public-private investment.

CHAPTER 5. STRATEGIES OF CENTRALITY IN THE REGENERATION OF THE ITALIAN GREAT MILITARY AREAS. CASE STUDIES

Introduction

This chapter³³⁴ aims, first, to interpret the great military properties' materialisation-abandonment-regeneration processes analysed in the previous section and, second, to elaborate a new definition of 'urban regeneration' starting from a theoretical text on military properties. In fact, 'urban regeneration' is a concept frequently used in the current literature to define any type of social and spatial transformation affecting a specific territorial area. The usual non-specificity of the concept leads to the necessity to integrate the current literature for developing a better definition. In order to achieve these two objectives, this analysis puts into evidence the ways of managing the military assets' urban regeneration processes through the critical overview of two aspects. First, the late 20th century legislation season regarding the decommissioning of military real estate assets. Second, the relationships between the entities involved in the management of such assets and their role in the early 21st century.

Specifically, this chapter explains the way the "centrality" effect drives, or not, the urban transformations affecting great military properties during the 20th century. The question is the following: are "dismantling", "abandonment", and "regeneration" producing "areas of new centrality"? In order to answer it, this analysis tackles the areas of new centrality according to the three ways in which they manifest themselves in the urban environment: first, as 'profit-driven spaces'³³⁵; second, as 'social reproduction spaces', and, eventually, in a state of permanent abandonment. Briefly, the research is searching for the factors creating the condition of "centrality" that military properties acquire in the city-making process. In this frame, the analysis highlights the relation between military areas, urban development patterns, and the conditions imposed by Urban Planning, the latter not creating "centrality", but only managing it. In order to detect these factors, it seems necessary to critically analyse the great military

³³⁴ This chapter –and also the others– presents a number of terms not being recognised in the literature of urban studies, such as 'city as product', 'city as oeuvre', 'bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction space', 'popular social reproduction space', all of them explained in their meaning throughout the thesis.

³³⁵ In the analysis other terms will be used as they have the same meaning ('income-producing assets/land/spaces' and 'income-producing units').

properties' urban regeneration processes realising concrete "strategies of centrality".

Specifically, the analysis considers three major strategies in the production of the built environment:

1. Strategies of centrality and the making of 'profit-driven spaces';
2. Strategies of centrality and the making of 'social reproduction spaces';
3. Strategies of centrality 'with no future'. Abandonment and marginalisation as strategy.

Starting from these spatial categories, the first section of the chapter clarifies the concepts of 'income-producing assets', 'social reproduction spaces', and 'abandonment' in order to understand the phenomenon of "centrality" associated with the city-making process. The first and the second categories contradict each other as they respectively aim to materialise the 'city as product' and the 'city as oeuvre' (Álvarez Mora, 2015)³³⁶. The third category relating long-lasting abandonment results from several reasons not allowing operations of urban regeneration.

The second section focuses on the influence of urban development patterns on the creation of new centralities, the consolidation of existing centralities, and the abandonment of military properties. Regarding income-producing assets, the analysis shows that urban regeneration materialises an "economy-based centrality" accompanied by high standard housing, thus seeking a combination of high-quality economic and residential assets. Regarding social reproduction spaces, the study demonstrates in which ways the city-making process "regenerates" military installations to meet the community needs. Finally, the study puts into evidence the effects of the long-lasting abandonment in urban development and real estate activity.

The third section focuses on the relationship between the strategies of "centrality" and Urban Planning decisions, showing how income-producing assets, social reproduction spaces, and abandoned spaces are managed in the Urban Planning practice. In this section, it is worth noting that Urban Planning

³³⁶ As Álvarez Mora argued, the 'city as product' (in Spanish, '*ciudad como producto*') is the city boosting the 'profit-driven spaces', where the urban and territorial transformations are guided by a speculative approach based on the 'exchange value' of the space (Álvarez Mora, 2015: 11-13). The 'city as oeuvre' (in Spanish, '*ciudad como obra*') promotes the creation of the 'social reproduction space' over the 'profit-driven spaces', being the 'use-value' overcomes the 'exchange-value' (Álvarez Mora, 2015: 15-18).

acts to legalise the dynamics boosted by urban development, even when there are not any indications regarding the re-use of the military installation, which cause long-lasting abandonment.

The fourth section analyses the strategies of “centrality” resulting from the national policies on the decommissioning of military real estate assets and from the interinstitutional relationships among the agents involved in their management. Here it is particularly important to understand the production of the built environment (profit-driven spaces, social reproduction spaces, and the abandoned spaces) by two factors. Firstly, by the laws for the alienation and regeneration of the great military properties. Secondly, by the decision-making process adopted by the agents involved in the transformation of military installations. More specifically, the study focuses on the relationships between public –i.e. the Ministry of Defence, the State Property Agency, the Public Administrations, and, above all, the City Councils– and private agents–such as Real Estate Investment Funds and the agents controlling the real estate developer-financial capital.

Eventually, the study focuses on the socio-spatial repercussions derived from the strategies of “centrality”. As a conclusion the chapter ends with a new definition of urban regeneration on the basis of the analysis carried out.

Strategies of centrality and the production of “profit-driven spaces”

What are ‘profit-driven spaces’?

As pointed out by Álvarez Mora (2015: 11-13), a profit-driven space can be defined as space producing an income which economic benefit derived from a certain use of the land. The creation of this kind of space is closely linked to the speculation operations of real estate developer-financial capital, which, in general, does not respond to collective needs. These needs –as better explained in the paragraph on social reproduction space– particularly refer to the «*most elementary manifestations of community life*», such as «*to inhabit, to work, to exchange*» (Campos Venuti, 1971: 7). In general, social demands are not satisfied for reasons at work regarding the anti-democratic mechanisms at work in the production of the built environment, which exclude the citizens from

decision-making processes. Here, it is noteworthy to discern two dynamics. First, the citizenship is the actor who creates an added value in the urban environment, based on which new economic benefits can be realised through a future urban transformations. Second, the anti-democratic mechanisms leading to speculation are approved by the Urban Planning instruments.

Generally speaking, these profit-driven spaces, specifically their status as “real estate products”, can be understood as “imaginary economic places” created in order to realise the most profit-driven operation on a specific piece of land. As claimed by Calvino (1974: 12) referring to the city of Anastasia, «*The city appears to you as a whole where no desire is lost and of which you are a part, and since it enjoys everything you do not enjoy, you can do nothing but inhabit this desire and be content. Such is the power, sometimes called malignant, sometimes benign, that Anastasia, the treacherous city, possesses; if for eight hours a day you work as a cutter of agate, onyx, chrysoprase, your labour which gives form to desire takes from desire its form, and you believe you are enjoying Anastasia wholly when you are only its slave*».

Moreover, there is a specific aspect to carefully assess. In order to possess a high economic performance, social dispossession needs to previously take place. In fact, its materialisation implies a previous social dispossession process which improves the profitability of the existing urban fabric, no matter whether the latter was previously inhabited by popular classes or used for the collective needs. Actually, income-producing land acquires its high economic value due to its previous social composition, which can be very different from what emerges after the privatisation, leading to the definitive cessation of its condition as “collective space”.

It can be argued that the creation of the profit-driven space responds to the capitalist need of materialising the suitable physical support to welcome, and develop, post-Fordist “new economies”. Specifically, the new economies respond to the increasingly globalised world patterns towards the tertiarisation process (McNeill, 2017), characterised by an intensively, even sometimes violent, international competition between cities and regions (Budd, 1998; Low, 1995; OECD Territorial Reviews, 2006). Also, the materialisation of income-producing spaces implies the construction of specific artefacts, i.e. “iconic buildings” (Ponzini and Nastasi, 2011), whose success is guaranteed insofar as their design

is entrusted to internationally renowned design elites. In this way the culture and ideology of consumerism can be extended beyond its precise limits (Sklair, 2017). These income-producing assets express an equivocal “central quality” created via singular, unique, iconic, and exceptional architectures, whose image is world-widely sold, above all, by the media.

These architectures exert a unique function –consumption–, even if they include a mixture of activities with the capacity to create an “effect of centrality”. For instance, such architectures are the emblematic project of the Guggenheim museum, built on the site of Bilbao’s old shipyards, and the MAXXI museum in Rome on the remains of the old Montello military barracks. Both of them have a single function, that is, they are concrete cultural spaces, being surrounded by a series of high-quality new constructions which are usually assigned to tertiary and housing functions. The main function accompanied by high-quality minor functions are offered as “central” real estate spaces producing a high income at the expense of the original industrial and military heritage, being obviously evicted.

As the income-producing spaces are multifunctional, this characteristic results in the creation of “new centralities”. For instance, among the “centralities” expressed as a “mix of activities”, there are those “attractive spaces” linked to the high consumption. In general, they want to obtain a “multifunctional income” as if they were shopping centres. In this sense, the agglomeration of cafés, cinemas, discotheques, restaurants, and shops in the same place is the direct consequence of the dispossession of the previously existing urban fabric and life. It is in this way that the creation of profit-driven space essentially takes place. It seems quite obvious so far that the typical character of a city, or a neighbourhood, is lost in favour of the global “product”, notwithstanding if such product is a type of food, clothing, music, and so on. Two examples are the following. First, the old “Bull Ring” –*Plaza de Toros*– rehabilitation into the Arenas shopping centre, located in Plaza de España in Barcelona (Checa Artasu, 2009; Alonso, 2011). Second, the old “Jiri of Podesbrady Army Barracks” in Prague, now transformed into the “Palladium Shopping Centre” at the service of a city literally sold to the global tourism market (fig. 70 and 71).

Fig. 70 and 71: the former Jiri of Podebrady Army Barracks in Prague, today reconverted into the Palladium Shopping Centre.



Source: photographs by F. Camerin (2018).

Besides, other profit-driven spaces are the “theme parks” based on mass tourism (Zukin, 1991). For instance, it is worth highlighting “Disney World” on the outskirts of Paris, and the “Tropical Islands Resort”, carried out in the former military airport of the municipality of Halbe, in the district of Dahme-Spreewald, in Brandenburg (Germany).

These are some examples illustrating the logic of capital aimed to attract activities and population whose way of life demands high and frenetic consumption patterns. Here, it is important to remark that a large property of land is considered the appropriate physical support for the materialisation of such spaces. In general, these properties hold old urban artefacts which have been gradually driven towards a functional obsolescence under the pressure of the capital-led urban development. The reasons for this slow abandonment are related to the hypothetical economic and social “inadequacy” of the activities carried out in these large properties of land.

Overall, the materialisation of profit-driven spaces encourages a very exclusive trade of goods and services which are affordable for a certain kind of population –the minority–, but unaffordable for others –the majority. Broadly speaking, these spaces suit private needs, the satisfaction of which is related to a certain lifestyle –elitist, consumerist, and insatiable. The manifestations of such lifestyle are the result of the contradictions of the process of capitalist accumulation and production, i.e. class polarisation and ecological

unsustainability. To sum up, profit-driven spaces are the expression of the dominant class' power, being set up by those who possess and control, in this case, a great amount of urban land. These spaces are so far one of the main characters of the 'capitalist city' –also called 'capital city' (Stein, 2019)–, specifically of its continuous evolution and of its "vagabondism" in the search for profit (Katz, 2001).

Therefore, profit-driven space can be defined as "exclusive" and "excluding" spaces treated as commodities and privatised, thus associated with "mass consumption". Specifically, consumption exploits the mass –intended as collectivity– without including them in the sharing of the benefits produced, not even indirectly. Such consumption denies citizens the satisfaction of their basic needs. The creation of these spaces calls the local population's urban life into question, since the objective of the income-producing assets is to realise the 'city as product'. In this way the city is made interchangeable in the global market and subjected to the requirements of the most striking individualism.

During the last century, especially in the post-WWII epoch, the creation of the income-producing assets was carried out by two types of urban intervention: first, 'Urban Renewal' and, second, 'Urban Regeneration'. Despite the second is assumed in the current literature as the proper evolution of the first, both of them trigger the same effects in the urban environment (Álvarez Mora and Camerin, 2019). They are both forms of intervention to effectively transform the existing urban fabric, particularly the "traditional city". Here the authors claim that the two practices are strictly related with the materialisation of the 'city as product' at the expense of 'city as oeuvre'. In other words, both the urban renewal and regeneration projects modify the "pre-existing city", which is the object of a high-income-class-led social-spatial dispossession. In order to carry out these practice, there is nothing better than counting on great properties, in this specific case, military installations. The management of great military properties for their redevelopment becomes possible once the economic system, in collusion with Urban Planning, decreed their functional obsolescence. The appropriation of these spaces and, in general, of the public property, constitutes the usurpation of a right which becomes denied to civil society inasmuch as their "return" to the community does not satisfy social needs.

Urban Development as an inducer of “centrality”. Spatial Production Processes and profit-driven spaces

a) From the “compact city model” to the “urban sprawl model” through the “disaggregated urban development model”. The specificity of the “centrality” in each “model” and its impact on the transformation of great military properties into “income-producing land”

This section focuses on the relationship between the city-making process and the “materialisation-abandonment-regeneration” of military areas. Here it is specifically argued that the creation of the “centrality” phenomenon is derived from the juxtaposition of the three urban development models considered in the thesis –“traditional-disaggregation-sprawl”. In fact, over time, it can be seen how centrality emerges from the treatment of great military properties according to these three “urban models” and their respective spatial repercussions. In the light of this consideration, it is also assumed that the production of centrality in military properties is related to the implementation of major urban transformations in the city. Thus, the following lines aim to explain the relationship between these urban models and great military properties in three different phases.

The first phase corresponds to the “compact city model”. Here the materialisation-construction of military settlements takes place within the traditional urban space. The traditional city presents a condition of “complexity” because it houses multipurpose functions, and contains multiple activities, such as residential, administrative, commercial, industrial, military, railway, social, and leisure and free time ones. In this conceptual model, the whole “traditional city” exercises perhaps unintentionally the role of a “central area”, so military settlements located in the city are part of this centrality.

In the “disaggregated urban development model” –the second phase–, the city doubles itself adopting a new condition of “centre-periphery”, and this fact consequently drives two different dynamics. The first one is the dismantling of the existing military heritage located in large properties of urban land. Here, the very process of urban development contributes to turn the military settlement into a strategic place, thus becoming a possible area to be “manipulated” by the real-estate-developer-financial-capital-driven speculative interests. The second one is the consequent displacement of national defence activity towards more

peripheral spaces. This mechanism provokes a “colonising” effect and contributes to an extensive urbanisation of the territory.

The transition from the “disaggregated model” to the “urban sprawl model” provokes the gradual “abandonment-emptying-degradation” of the artefacts where the military activities are based. This fact leads to the definitive disappearance of Defence from its primitive location and its relocation in the periphery, thus pushing “urban dispersion” patterns. This abandonment process deals with the interest both of the landowners and of the real estate developer-financial capital to transform the military heritage into “areas of new centrality” via far-reaching “urban projects”. In particular, the observed trend is the shift from Defence-owned assets with military presence to new profit-driven spaces in line with the demands of global consumer culture.

The analysis of these three phases –in chapter 4– shows that the materialisation-abandonment-regeneration processes of great military properties is carried out according to the logic of capital. Over time, such evolution demonstrates a unifying threat in the search of new areas of centrality at the expense of the military installation. As an example, this mechanism took place in the materialisation-displacement-regeneration of both Milan’s (Uberti, 2015) and Turin’s (Cadeddu, 2008) Parade Grounds. These two cases present a similar model in the management of their great military properties towards the construction of new “urban centralities”.

Broadly speaking, the relationship between urban development and great military properties takes places according to the specific interests of the capital involved in the city building. In the transition process from one “urban model” to another, it is observed how urban development and the logic of capital have never ceased to keep an eye on –or better said, to push– the displacement of “unwanted” activities, such as the military ones. Military settlements gradually become suitable urban spaces and are thus “forced” to change their use towards profit-oriented operations so as to materialise new “central spaces”. There is no doubt that these unwanted activities are speculatively classified as “obsolete”. Such classification aims to foster the implementation of urban operations aimed at more attractive functions according to the logic of capital.

By observing the urban transformation carried out in Milan’s Parade Ground through its location-relocation, two dynamics can be deduced. On the

one hand, the role that “centrality” plays in each of the “urban models” this study considers and, on the other hand, the impact of this centrality in the management of the military installations. In the compact city model the Parade Ground’s location responds to the typical city-making process of the 18th century. Here, the “centrality” corresponds with the existing urban fabric, allowing the city as a whole to be recognised as an opposite to the “countryside”. In the disaggregated model, although the traditional city corresponds to the historic centre, strengthening its role as a “central” place *par excellence*, there is a substantial change. As more urban space is produced outside the limits of the existing city, the traditional city assumes a condition of an exclusive and unique central space, thus pushing the expulsion of the traditional activities in contradiction with the new logic of capital. In this moment, corresponding to a period of time between the late-19th century and the early-20th century, two urban transformation operations took place in order to dismantle-relocate Milan’s Parade Ground. The first operation aimed to create Sempione Park and the second to materialise the Trade Fair. Noticeably, both of the transformations responded to the bourgeoisie need of boosting Milan as the new Italian “representative and economic-financial centre” at national and international levels.

The corresponding urban transformations responding to this objective have been taking place as the city has expanded over time and, consequently, this dynamics eventually led to the materialisation of the “urban sprawl model”. This implies the abandonment-dismantling-regeneration of the last Milan’s Parade Ground located in the area of Baggio. The regeneration to be undertaken, as demonstrated in chapter 4, meets the capitalist expectation to build a new “central area”. In fact, the 2012 Territory Government Plan foresees a buildability index of 0.70 m²/m², corresponding to a total buildable area of 432,652 m².

b) The regeneration process of military areas: a diversity of “centralities” as a diversity of “income-producing spaces”. The consolidation of the existing centralities or the extension of their spatial categories to other points of the territory.

Chapter 4 shows that the regeneration of military areas as potential profit-driven spaces responds to the “reproduction of capital”. The abandoned military

installations are effectively managed by the capital as suitable areas to regenerate into “new urban centralities”. It is observed that operations of urban regeneration have different objectives in relation to the phenomenon of centrality, either by consolidating existing centralities or extending them to other zones. No matter which goals these operations seek, but their repercussions leave no room for doubt. Urban regeneration truly searches for creating elitist and exclusive places according to the logic of urban sprawl, thus providing new functions which make the consumer society irreversible.

The conversion of military built heritage into most profitable functions in the frame of profit-oriented real estate market's strategy show a similar approach to the regeneration of large land properties on which Fordist functions were located. A no less important question raises referring to the urban sprawl dynamics. Which are the characteristics assumed by great military properties to become new areas of centrality, in particular, profit-driven spaces? This question explicitly refers to the urban regeneration processes of military areas intended as the last step of the triple real estate-driven transformations, i.e. the materialisation-abandonment-regeneration.

To answer this question, I am going to look into the “location” because it assumes an outstanding role in order to materialise new income-producing spaces. It can be argued that the trigger of such transformation is a privileged location, which is measured in terms of differential ground rent to exploit in a short-term period in the real estate market. I proceed to classify the great military properties' “types of position” as the latter is a key factor in the realisation of the profit-driven spaces. The attempt of this classification is to better understand the relationship between the processes of “urban regeneration” and the “centrality” they boost:

- The position identified with a “traditional/consolidated urban fabric” meant that a military premises enjoys a certain “historical centrality”, thus being “exclusive” and “excluding”. This position is characterised by high economic and housing land values, which are strengthened by the presence of high quality services and facilities. The basic condition of healthy consequently induces to new urban transformation operations aiming at reinforce the existing high quality. For instance, Borgo Po neighbourhood in Turin is one of the historical prestigious residential area of the city. Here the average price per m² of houses reaches

2,850 euros/m², while the average price in the whole city is 1,900 euros/m²;

- Location on “non-central urban areas”, although equipped with supra-local services. Over time, this location has been provided with quality urban equipment so as to conform a “centrality” overlaying the pre-existing popular character of the area. The fact of supplying new equipment imposes a stronger “centrality” as far as the urban sprawl model materialises. Flaminio in Rome is an example of such dynamics: the realisation of the Auditorium and the MAXXI museum implied an increase in property values of the low-income housing (Forte, 2012: 212). Once the 270-million-cost City of Science will be finalised, the cost of new private real estate products –such as housing, shops, offices, and so on– is expected to approach 4,800-5,000 euros/m², which could provoke a new increase in the price of land. The city-making process affecting this neighbourhood can help to understand this trend. During the last century, the existing cultural, leisure time, and sports functions coexisted with the industries and the military installations. The social housing settlements ended up being subjected to the new “quality” provided by new profit-oriented spaces which has been built from the end of the 1990s. As a result, the quality has risen the price of land;

- Specific new areas of centralities also occur in “peripheral” location. The starting point of this transformation is fundamentally an urban space for low-income class subjected to the disaggregated urban development model. This mechanism usually corresponds to the period of huge urban extension of the city in the early 20th century. Originally, these peripheral areas present a “mono-functional” character derived from a rigorous zoning, although it does not avoid a condition of complexity due to the accumulation of social services over time. When urban sprawl comes, a social and spatial dispersion takes place here through specific public housing developments, which habitually lead to a “ghettoisation” with a certain risk of “social marginalisation”. For instance, Baggio sector in Milan was a mono-functional neighbourhood created on the ground of a number of military installations. This neighbourhood was gradually provided with several equipment and subjected to a significant socio-economic segregation (Boffi et al., 1972: 66 and 112), even though today it enjoys a great accessibility at metropolitan level due to the existing transport infrastructure system and its future improvement;

- Another type of location corresponds to the “working class

neighbourhoods” close to the traditional urban centre, which materialisation responds to the Fordist-oriented spatial organisation. These neighbourhoods are positioned in peripheral areas characterised by the localisation of industrial, military, and railway activities, such as the case of Bologna’s Bolognina. In this city the unlimited urban development provoked an important metropolitan expansion in the second half of the 20th century, thus assigned to Bolognina a “new position” in the frame of the metropolitan space. This is the factor based on which starting a large urban transformation to empty the socio-economic character of the neighbourhood. Bolognina was consequently “emptied” of its contents, and nowadays presents a major phenomenon of abandonment affecting a total area of 66.95 ha of old industrial, military, and railway land. The Urban Planning instruments, indeed, defines Bolognina as an “area of opportunity” to carry out several urban projects, all of which aiming to shape new exclusive spaces within the frame of the Bolognese metropolis (Evangelisti, 2017).

This classification shows a diversity of military properties’ localisation. The different positions in the city identifies as much ways of extending the city-making process to the Defence’s real estate assets via urban regeneration. In a first step, the materialisation-construction of military installations is the driving force of the future urban development of the areas in which such settlements are located. Subsequently, the supply of new urban equipment in these sectors provokes the urbanisation of a first “periphery” where the military activities are settled. This fact causes a socio-spatial disaggregation of the traditional city and, consequently, reinforces the “centrality character” of the city centre. The evolution of this trend over time involves the existing military installations so as to be regenerate in order to create “new centralities”.

This classification points out that “position” of the military premises directly derived from the impact of the city-making process. The position is the fundamental element based on which provoking the abandonment of the military areas. This action does not mean the completely disappearance of the military activities, instead their rationalisation and displacement in others part of the territory. Bear in mind that the new position is strictly influenced by the late 20th century-national and -international defence policies. The differential ground rent acquired by the disposed military properties opens the doors to the entrepreneurs

to carry out new real estate operations. The regeneration of military premises aims to create new income-producing assets to sell in the real estate market, entering in a strong competition with other abandoned areas to be redevelop.

c) Options for the regeneration of military areas: from the consolidation of traditional “centralities” to their metropolitan dispersion.

Taking into consideration the study cases of great military properties located in metropolitan areas –such as Bari, Milan, Rome, and Turin–, it is seen that two types of centralities appear as a result of the urban sprawl model. The first one is linked to the leisure-consumption activities and lifestyle, being generated according to the global capitalist lifestyle. The second one strengthens the existing centrality in the “traditional spaces”, which is increasingly gaining an exclusive character.

In the following lines the question to answer is the following: how these centralities take place? To answer it I am referring to the city-making process observed in the capital cities, specifically in Milan. The expansive urban development of the Italian post-reconstruction period included the peripheral areas of the capital cities in a new metropolitan scale (Indovina, 1976). The use of the automobile overcame the railway transport, and contributed to aggravate the overexploitation of urban space in the largest Italian cities. Among them, Milan was the one that most developed a similar pattern. The “centrality” took place on a metropolitan scale: the urban development patterns promoted new economic relations not only between the city and the metropolitan area, but also between the metropolis and the regional territory. This pattern is demonstrated by the industrial decentralisation between the 1950s and 1970s, which contributed to halve the industrial presence in the traditional urban fabric, decreasing from 1,860 ha to 789 ha (Oliva, 1994b: 176).

There is no doubt that in the early post-WWII period the centrality of Milan’s city centre reinforces its role as “exclusive space”. The logic of capital prevailed and exploited the remains of the traditional city-located industrial and railway areas: more than 2 million m² of new tertiary settlements were built between the late 1970s and early 1990s, (Oliva, 1994b: 178). It is worth remarking that the activities forced to abandon the urban centre did not disappear from the Milanese economic panorama. They were simply rationalised in the territory, adopted other

modes of production, and moved towards more peripheral places, although better communicated on a supra-local scale.

Following the relocation of “unwanted” activities according to the early 20th century-disaggregated urban development model, in the late 20th century there was a displacement of these productive spaces. The “areas of new centrality” – such as the Milan Trade Fair which hosted the 2015 Universal Exposition– started to appear in the Milanese periphery to the extent that urban sprawl took place. A diversity of settlements materialised in the early 20th century –such as industries, military settlements, markets, and so on– moved from the city centre to the first peripheries in the mid-20th century. Once again, their existence was called into question as urban development spread across the Milanese territory during the second half of the century driving towards the creation of new areas of “peripheral centrality”.

The continuous delocalisation of Milan’s Parade ground until its disappearance was not the only transformation inscribed in the aforementioned process. In the early 2000s, the phenomena of underutilisation-abandonment of this military installation took place at the same time of the Trade Fair (1923-2005), which was previously the second Parade ground. This great property was managed to become a new profit-driven space: its regeneration aimed to create a new area of centrality, the so-called “CityLife”.

The Trade Fair was consequently displaced in a dismantled industrial space on the metropolitan outskirts –between the municipalities of Milan and Rho– to carry out the 2015 Universal Exhibition named “Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life”. The building of CityLife and the new Trade Fair was based on the improvements in the infrastructure system at the local, regional, national, and international scale. In other words, the improvements in the airport, metropolitan, railway and road transport systems encouraged a territorial-scale urban regeneration projects.

This is a clear example of the impacts of the urban sprawl patterns and the consequent new territorial configuration. The metamorphosis of the Milanese territory has been totally committed to a “project by project” strategy which implied the diffusion of “new centralities” to renew and regenerate several neighbourhoods. The regeneration actions therefore increased the rent prices. In light of these trends, the upgrade of Milan towards a new global scale drove the

displacement of the social classes that cannot afford the new housing's rent. Their relocation obviously took place in the most ungrateful peripheries (Semi, 2015: 154-162).

One of the impacts of the urban sprawl model –mostly its aspect of “diffuser of centrality”–, basically eliminates the traditional city as a social reproduction space to transform it in an profit-driven space. A clear example of this mechanism is the “appropriation” process affecting the great military properties carried out by the real estate developer-financial capital, i.e. the real estate investment funds. As observed in the case of the Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground, a huge change led by Inv.im.it. fund took place. In the late 20th century and early 21st century, Baggio neighbourhood presented a strong urban fragmentation responding to the patterns of the “segregated city”: this meant that social marginalisation and poverty are sharply affecting Baggio. How to tackle such a situation? The answer, undoubtedly, is planning new central, exclusive, and excluding functions through the urban regeneration process. This would be the first step to boost a great change in the social and economic fabric of this area of Milan.

Indications of Urban Planning in the consolidation of areas of centrality as “profit-driven spaces”

a) Urban Planning as a legal instrument to sanction a spatial production process. The role of Urban Planning in the organisation and diversification of the “centrality” based on the regeneration of military areas

The attempt is to clarify the relationship between Urban Planning and the areas of new centrality in the frame of the urban sprawl. Urban Planning legally sanctions decisions taken by both public and private agents involved in the process of production, management, and administration of the city and the territory. In the specific case of the regeneration of military areas, it can be seen how these processes are implemented on the basis of far-reaching territorial strategies, which hardly take into account the real needs of the low-income class.

Urban Planning apparently depends from the capital-led city making process, so the former modifies its strategies in parallel to the logic of capital.

These strategies subsequently change over time, and Urban Planning incorporates new technical instruments³³⁷ to tackle the “new territorial order”. The creation of a larger scale of the territory to be submitted to the Urban Planning directly derived from the urban sprawl patterns which create over time a new entity at supra-municipal level. As a result of this new order, Urban Planning broadens its field of action in the attempt to implement, and to rule, the “dispersion of the centrality” of tertiary activities and housing.

The attention is now shifted to the connection between Urban Planning and the creation of new profit-driven spaces. The industrial and railway properties were the precursors for the materialisation of profit-driven projects: between the late 1970s and early 1980s they started to be underused, abandoned and Urban Planning instruments classified them as “areas to regenerate”. Later, from the late 1980s, a similar dynamics has also affected the military installations. Despite these facilities were fully operational, Urban Planning even intervenes before post-Fordism to beforehand promoting the change of use. For instance, this phenomenon is observed in the case of Flaminio: Rome’s 1931 General Master Plan indicated a new use to redevelop the military installations into housing units and correlated collective services. The same situation happened in Bologna, where urban-planning-led changes went back to the 1960s in the attempt to promote the tertiary decentralisation in Bolognina. In line with this trend, Sani barracks and the adjacent Casaralta factory were about to transform into a new mix of uses: a tertiary building, a theatre, and green spaces.

In spite of everything, it is observed that the attempts of Urban Planning to establish new uses for the military installations typically failed. In most of occasions, during the 20th century the military power overcame the city-making process patterns, preventing any transformation due to the Defence needs. In these circumstances, it is important to remark that the operations of urban regeneration search for the easiest land to manage in accordance with the interest of real estate developer-financial capital. If military properties were difficult to manage, real estate developers choose other types of land to transform. When globalisation started, the transformations involved the Fordist

³³⁷ In general, they are strategic plans for the “metropolitan city”: the pioneering experiences of Barcelona and Bilbao in the late 20th-century, discussed in chapter 2, are quite exemplary. In Italy, territorial strategic planning took place since the early-21st century with the precursor experience of Turin (Martinelli, 2005).

activities imposed a new use of land following the new economic patterns. Once the trends of such regenerations were consolidated in the Fordist-activity land, Urban Planning started to include also the Defence assets to redevelop into new areas of centrality.

The new use assigned to the great military properties by Urban Planning instruments boosted their modification, as demonstrated in the case of Rome and Bologna. As the new hypothetical use has been planned according to the “post-industrial city”, simultaneously Urban Planning decisions encouraged the gradual degradation of the military artefacts. The Defence assets were involved in a slow, but inexorable, underuse and abandonment. Military activity –along with those others belonging to the traditional Fordist economies, such as industrial and railway– was affected by a scarce “profitability” in term of position. This low performance highly depended on the new position assumed by military assets within the spatial configuration of the dispersed territory. The case of the La Marmora barracks in Turin is an outstanding example of this phenomenon. The 1995 General Master Plan designated this military settlement as an “urban transformation area”, so it boosted its underuse which resulted in the official abandonment in 2005.

To sum up, the management of the great military properties, especially those with “privileged” locations under the point of view of the differential ground rent, obeys to the decisions of the General Master Plan. It is worth noting that Urban Planning’s decisions follow the patterns of the urban sprawl model. Urban Planning defines and modifies the use of the military premises in order to create the ‘city as product’, whether the use will conform “areas of new centrality” – Bologna and Milan cases–, or “areas to consolidate the existing centralities” – Rome and Turin cases.

b) The “segregated city” encouraged by the rules of urban planning. The “profit-driven spaces” and the “centrality” of former military properties to boost the city as a “segregated space”.

The analysis of the case studies shows that Urban Planning sanctions decisions already taken in the field of the government of the territory. These indications aims to redevelop the built environment, thus influencing the social and economic recomposition of the city. The regeneration implies moving population and

activities from one area to another, and this can be intended as specific processes of spatial “possession-dispossession” which leave some areas empty and recolonise others. While Urban Planning involves great military properties in these initiatives, the attempt is to exploit the differential ground rent, so the aforementioned “movements” definitely consolidated the socio-spatial segregation.

Urban Planning established attractive and sustainable functions to increase the excellence and the quality of the regeneration projects according to the “new economies”. All this resulted in sanctioning the disappearance of activities no longer considered profitable for the capitalist interests. Such urban interventions aimed to extrapolate the maximum economic benefit taking advantage of the military artefacts’ privileged position within the urban context. The undeniable “central position” assumed over time by the Defence’s real estate assets has also depended on the trend led by Urban Planning aimed for the “segregated city”.

Despite Urban Planning is conceived as a theoretical and practical corpus willing to balance the satisfaction of collective-private needs, it is a matter of fact that this discipline has highly contributed to the spread of the profit-driven spaces. Additionally, it is worth remarking that Urban Planning encourages the materialisation of a new metropolitan-shaped urban environment following the patterns of the urban sprawl model.

In the frame of the Italian Urban Planning during the 20th century, the so-called “market-oriented urban planning” has surely reinforced the interests of bourgeoisie. This way to carry out the Urban Planning practice has been used even to provide public facilities that local public administrations cannot achieve due to lack of financial resources (Salzano, 2012).

The market-oriented urban planning has certainly left a certain degree of freedom to private operators in the decision-making process of the urban regeneration projects. Despite the fact that among the deregulation’s objectives there is usually the improvement of the social, economic, and urban conditions under the slogan of the sustainable development, this way to manage the urban developments “opens the doors” to promote new segregated urban areas. In Italy, Milan represented the first case where this specific way to manage the urban planning took place (Campos Venuti, 2010b: 215), which impacts privileged the

rich to the detriment of the poor. The basic point of this dynamic has been the creation of new profit-driven spaces in order to increase a very specific range of consumption at a larger territorial scale, being even international. The attraction of more investors and the increase of levels of consumption have been the goals of these operations.

In the framework of deregulation, it is seen how the new collective equipment attended the real estate developer-financial capital's interests, thus being shaped towards a "private" use. A clear example of this "private appropriation of public facilities" is provided by the case of the Flaminio's "City of Science". This is a historical popular neighbourhood nowadays under regeneration: such process is aiming to improve the "quality" Flaminio actually lacks. This neighbourhood is therefore becoming a space for the upper class, the impact of which will be a higher level of segregation in the context of the Rome's metropolitan territory. This assumption is demonstrated by the "private" use assigned to a former public property. 27,000 m² of the total plot size –51,000 m²– will be transformed into private residences, 14,000 m² into public spaces, and 10,000 m² into the City of Science (CDP Investimenti Sgr, 2014: 29-41).

The regeneration of former military installations clearly demonstrated how market-oriented urban planning has been the proper (profit-oriented) mechanism aiming to propel the socio-spatial segregation and to recreate the profitability conditions to satisfy the interests of high classes. This dynamic led the rise of the "centrality" after the abandonment of the old military installations. Here I am claiming that the enabling mechanism for the creation of profit-driven spaces – which implies the re-creation of the "centrality"– is undoubtedly supported by Urban Planning prescriptions. Urban Planning usually embraces and develop the socio-economic model's patterns of a specific historical moment, all of which corresponding to a specific city-making process.

Taking as reference the cases of Bologna, Milan, Rome, and Turin, it can be argued that the ways of conceiving the income-producing spaces refer, among other things, to a specific Urban Planning tool: this is the "Urban Project". The analysis is therefore going to look at this concrete way of urban intervention. The aim of the following text is to demonstrate that Urban Planning uses the Urban Project to pick up the logic of urban development so as to provide the Project with the "authority" to materialise the different types of profit-driven spaces.

c) The “large urban project”, to which military areas are subjected to, substitutes Urban Planning, being the formal expression of “centrality”.

In this sections I try to explain the creation of profit-driven spaces in connection with the phenomenon of centrality by arguing that Urban Planning fosters the transformation of old military areas the so-called “urban project” (Macchi Cassia, 1991). As Giuseppe Campos Venuti (1984) claimed, there is a dichotomy between the “Plan” and the “Project”. The “Plan” –intended as the urban planning instrument par excellence– would specify the guidelines of the transformation, while the “Project”–“urban”, but in a strictly sense–, would respond to the strategies established by the market-oriented urban planning. In this dichotomy, Campos Venuti, among other academics, argued that the “project” assumes a predominant role by emphasising an urban intervention not responding to the real demands of the citizens.

The relationship between Plan and Project can be very well explained taking into consideration the case of Bolognina, where a specific characteristic allows the capitalists to appropriate the capital gains generated by an historical Fordist periphery. The fact of being a “historical working-class periphery” –which nowadays continues being popular– is the key factor to realise the logic of capital. Bolognina, effectively, shows this attribute by its condition of peripheral space very close to the city centre with the highest multi-ethnic social composition respect to the rest of the city –26% in comparison with an average of 15.4% (Comune di Bologna, 2017: 7). Urban Planning launches a series of urban projects to replace Fordist activities located in large property of urban soil aiming to create new income-producing spaces. This action surely was set in motion to meet the expectation of capital so as to create new areas of centrality. As the urban sprawl has gradually taken place, Bolognina has acquired a new “central” character within the new territorial entity, i.e. the metropolis. The transformation currently affecting Bolognina regards several large properties of urban land – industrial, military, and railway installations– which started to be abandoned in the late 1990s, now in state of degradation and ruin. The only possible alternative in order to reverse this situation under the logic of capital can be an “urban regeneration” operation set up on the basis of large “urban projects”, totalling 669,469 m². In this way, the idea of a commercialised, competitive, and exclusive

“Global Bologna” would become a reality.

Urban projects are nothing but the most emblematic manifestation of the Urban Planning according to the logic of capital. Even if the General Master Plan should be the instrument capable of regulating the urban development of an entire city, it entered into a crisis from the 1980s onwards. The real estate developer-financial capital is the trigger of this crisis, being supported by the State and the City Council –the latter being in charge of the General Master Plan drafting and approval. The real estate developer-financial capital decisively influences both the State and the City Council to eliminate, as far as possible, the effectiveness of the General Master Plan. The three agents opt for the decomposition of the Plan into parts, i.e., the Urban Projects, at the expense of its function of “structure plan”. So far, the Plan is made powerless, while the Urban Projects are the new instrument to proceed with the territorial government.

In this way, new “urban pieces” started to take place in the city. Despite being independent of each other, if put them together, they acquire a hypothetical character of “structure plan” that should have corresponded to the General Master Plan. Fundamentally, these pieces tend to assume recreational, leisure, and cultural functions, thus becoming new “areas of centrality”. For instance, the City of Science and MAXXI museum in Guido Reni barracks in Rome and the former Military City in Milan are examples of this trend. Their character of large urban void is ideal starting point for improving the attractiveness and competitiveness of both Milan and Rome on a global scale, i.e. housing “functions of excellence”³³⁸.

These high quality functions are usually complemented with high-end residential buildings as the adequate support for the consolidation of the centrality. In this way, specific economic and social conditions are brought together, being affordable only to the upper class and producing high economic benefits. This is the case of the types of residences proposed for the La Marmora barracks redevelopment in Turin, which sizes ranging from 20 to 180 m², thus consolidating the exclusive character of Borgo Po. Another outstanding case refers to the importance adopted by private residences in the regeneration of Sani barracks in Bologna to create a new bourgeoisie space in place of the former

³³⁸ Even without specifying which ones in the case of Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground.

military installation. Moreover, the mix of economic and social functions is organised around a new “public space” system. For instance, this mix is settled by the parks proposed for the former barracks in several cases. They are the Parade Ground of Milan and the public spaces for Guido Reni and Sani barracks, respectively of 309.037 m² (Comune di Milano, 2012: 19-20), 6,433 m² (CDP Investimenti Sgr, 2014: 29) and 26,830 m² (CDP Investimenti Sgr, 2016b: 48). Even the new “Place of Arts” to reuse the old Parade Ground in La Marmora barracks is conceived as the key element to organise the economic and social mix. By doing this, equipment and services are linked to the construction of private residential areas. In some proposals –such as in Bologna– the decision to accommodate a slight quota of social housing justifies the “democratic” goal of the regeneration to accommodate the low-income class.

To sum up, the creation of profit-driven spaces, and the subsequent submission of public spaces in favour of middle and high-class families, is only one of the consequences derived from the market-oriented urban planning process. As demonstrated in this paragraph, the new architectural artefacts included in the “urban projects” have to appear in place of former military sites to strengthen the character of centrality of a specific urban sector. Do not forget that these projects are supported by new “infrastructural systems” designed to improve the territorial accessibility of the new functions, such as the future improvement of the metropolitan accessibility of Baggio area, just near the abandoned military installations.

*The management of military installations as potential “areas of centrality”.
Agents and Legislation*

Despite being public entities, the agents in charge of the military areas’ management process of “abandonment-regeneration” –i.e. the owners of the areas³³⁹– are likely to behave as private entrepreneurs. In light of this situation, the administrations in charge of establishing the new use of the old military installations, i.e. the City Councils, also assume a similar behaviour. Like the private entities, the logic of Local Administration appears to be more related to

³³⁹ Such as the Ministry of Defence, the State Property Agency, the Real Estate Investment Funds, even the City Councils.

market-oriented strategies than to satisfy the social demands.

Focusing the attention on the agreements established among the actors involved in the urban regeneration of military areas, it can be seen that the creation of income-producing assets is based on the privatisation of public-owned properties. This change of status leads to the new exclusive and excluding functions, which are organised through the urban projects. It is a matter of fact that the urban project are promoted by Cassa Depositi e Prestiti's or Inv.im.it.'s real estate investment funds, has the capacity to connect the new architectural artefacts emerging from the military ruins to perform the new profit-driven spaces. Looking at some socio-spatial categories of these projects, such as the percentage of "social housing" within the total new uses, such allocation –if it takes place– responds to criteria regarding the maximum economic benefits. For instance, only 3,170 m² of the future 53,930m² gross floor area of Sani barracks will be used for public housing, i.e. less than 6%. Consequently, the quantity of private residences, 47,490 m², is much higher than public housing, 3,170 m². So far, only 10% of the total housing's gross floor area –50,660 m², the latter being set up by private residences, 47,490 m², plus public housing, 3,170 m²–, are expected to be allocated to social housing. This is a small percentage if it is compared with the build-to-rent and –to-sell housing market.

Basically, once understood the clear profit-oriented strategies of the urban projects, the next step is to interpret one of the most outstanding characteristics of the relationship Agents-Legislation. This refers to the legal contents of the agreement among the actors involved in the management of the regeneration based on the public policies for the dismissal of the military real estate assets. In this sense, the memoranda of understanding constitutes the basis on which proposing the regeneration of military areas, by which seeking mechanisms of "urban equity" in the framework of the so-called "transfer of planning gains"³⁴⁰.

In this framework, the speculative mechanism refers to the validity of the memoranda of understanding. Depending on the accomplishment of certain objectives, the State proceeds to attribute to the City Council a percentage of the

³⁴⁰ The memoranda of understanding is a non-binding preliminary pact between the public Agents in order to successively sign the "programme agreement" starting from which the General Master Plan is automatically modified in order to change the use of a specific area. In addition, the memoranda of understanding signing is the preliminary step towards the approval of the content of the so-called "Territorial Valuation Unitarian Programmes" –P.U.Va.T.–, as described in the case of Bologna.

profits derived from the regeneration project, i.e. the economic benefits gained by the selling in the real estate market. Analysing the various memoranda of understanding signed in several Italian cities starting from 2014 –such as the one implemented in Turin (Vv. Aa., 2014c: 7)– it can be seen the following. The amount of this percentage proportionally depends on the time that elapses between the memoranda of understanding signature and the corresponding programme agreement approval. If the signature of the latter is reached in less than one year, the percentage will be 15%; otherwise, it will be proportionally lower, being up to 5%³⁴¹. This is why City Councils feel encouraged to modify the General Master Plan by the allocation of the most profitable uses to the areas to be regenerated. The aim is to obtain more profit in order to deal with the public debt and the financing cuts the Local Administrations usually suffer.

Generally speaking, the regeneration of military properties, insofar as they constitute a specific public-owned property, should be considered as an opportunity to respond to the citizenship needs. Nevertheless, the old Defence installations are managed as “capitals in land”, becoming suitable areas to undertake profit-oriented operations in the real estate market. Thereby, the relationship Agents-Legislation create appropriate mechanisms, such as the memoranda of understanding, according to the territorial strategies derived from the urban sprawl model. To sum up, all this responds to the logic of capital.

Strategies of centrality and the production of ‘social reproduction spaces’

What are ‘social reproduction spaces’?

As argued by Álvarez Mora (2015: 15-18), the social reproduction space allows the “social groups” to satisfy their needs in a certain urban space. Indeed, the social reproduction space is the suitable base to develop –or better said, to reproduce– the social life. So far, these groups require a specific space to the extent that they also contribute to its production-reproduction.

At the beginning, the social reproduction space par excellence refers to

³⁴¹ Furthermore, if too much time elapses between the signing of the memoranda of understanding and the programme agreement, the former may be reiterated, although in several cases the memoranda of understanding is made invalid and replaced with new ones (see the cases of Milan, Rome and Turin).

the inherited “residential spaces” of the Traditional City. The superposition of the social reproduction space with the traditional urban space is the reason of the “complexity” of spaces. In fact, the residential areas are multifunctional as they are located in the historic city. The activities and equipment that the social reproduction spaces have accumulating throughout their history –especially their characteristics and the connection between them–, is what really determines the degree of “complexity”. Yet, the social reproduction spaces are places with a high degree of “compactness”. Overall, this is the reason why they are usually identified with the historic centres, where a rigorous economic and social mixture is consolidated over time. To sum up, these spaces are places where compactness and complexity coexist. These characters contribute to conform the social reproduction space as a spatial category.

In general, these spaces can be both “popular” and “bourgeoisie-intended”. Besides, keep in mind that they are places where social, economic, and spatial conditions were originally created to make life possible for all the social classes, from the poor to the rich. Nevertheless, the passing of time saw a fundamental change: the original conditions of the social reproduction spaces were the main cause of a process of socio-spatial possession-dispossession by the upper class. Now the analysis explains the popular and bourgeoisie characters.

On the one hand, it can be argued that the “social reproduction space” par excellence is identified with the popular class needs. The condition of “social complex space” means an inter-class meeting place, heterogeneous, creator of a socialised wealth, where its inhabitants can satisfy their needs without having to move to other parts of the city. Synthetically, according to this vision, the popular social reproduction space can be identified as a “city” (Mumford, 1961).

On the other hand, the bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction space is a place conceived as a high quality “social space”. Here the rich is settled far away from all those activities that “contaminate” the high-profile space according to the city’s spatial segregation patterns. Following this trend, it can be pointed out that the bourgeoisie social space does not identify the city as such, since its residents conceive its habitat as a refuge in the urban environment. In fact, this kind of space is conceived as a segregated space.

Fundamentally, the bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction space is

marked by segregation and exclusivity, being inevitably related to the patterns of the disaggregated urban development model. In fact, this space derives from the social and spatial decomposition of the traditional city by a specific zoning with the aim of reorienting the historic centre's functions as "areas of centrality". Consequently, the original spatial "compactness" distinguishing the city at its beginning is transformed in a "zoning space", namely the "segregated city". For this reason, the existence of a popular social reproduction space identified with the primitive "traditional city" constitutes a threat insofar as it prevents those urban interventions allowing the accumulation of capital. Hence the logic of capital searches for the transformation of the popular character of the space via the expulsion of the low-income class, as well as their activities. Fundamentally, such strategy is an indispensable tool for the capital to create a new "area of centrality".

In this framework it is observed that the strong opposition between the popular and bourgeoisie manifestations of the "social reproduction space" is only a consequence of two opposite ways of conceiving the urban rent. This contraposition derives from the city-making process and it is produced depending on the conflict of interests for the use of the space between the low-income and bourgeoisie classes, so on the use assigned to a certain urban space. Actually, the duality is the following. On the one hand, who aimed to regulate/manipulate the city for their satisfaction, thus trying to maximize the urban rent. On the other hand, who protests and fights to defend the "use value" that allows the habitability of a city. It is worth highlighting what Italo Calvino (1974: 35) argues in his book "Invisible cities". Here the Italian intellectual divides the city into two species: *«those that through the years and the changes continue to give their form to desires, and those in which desires either erase the city or are erased by it»*. In essence, this is a distinction between those who forcefully claim the 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1968), and those who, on the contrary, wager to dismantle the 'city as oeuvre' through urban transformation operations. Consequently, the second position search for cancelling any element of social cohesion and complexity that fulfils their "desires" (Stein, 2019).

In this framework, if considering the awareness of the middle and working classes living in the cities – here referring to the specific cases of Italian cities analysed in chapter 4– with no sufficient presence of urban equipment and facilities, the conflict is the following. On the one hand, it is observed the low-

income demands for the preservation and improvement of the popular qualities of a specific urban environment. On the other hand, every study case deals with urban intervention whose sole objective is to eliminate the popular social reproduction space in order to make the profit-oriented regeneration possible.

Broadly speaking, the urban renewal- and regeneration-driven turnaround implies the distortion of the collectively built environment to implement new high-quality functions to materialise the ‘city as product’³⁴². Hence, the dilemma between one desire and another is directly related to the life and death of the city, to the vindication of the central spaces by the popular class to satisfy their primary needs –the life–, or their surrender to the capital demands –the death.

In this sense, the nature of the Defence real estate assets should boost a specific way of building the city as they are public-owned properties, i.e. “commons”. Once their abandonment takes place, military installations should be managed to prioritise the citizenship demands. Why? Simply on account of their nature: they are part of an inherited urban artefacts hosting civic functions responded to the military defence of the territory. The existing military artefacts should be considered ones of the most appropriate assets to host activities useful for the most part of the population, even housing. This approach would face the recovery of the popular social reproduction spaces in order to guarantee, at least, the class struggling against the “segregation”.

Urban development and “social space”

a) The “complexity” and “compactness” of the “social space”. The implication of military areas in this type of spaces, or as promoters of new urban categories

The city «is a temporal succession of different cities, alternately just and unjust. But what I wanted to warn you about is something else: all the future Berenices

³⁴² These are the opposite positions of the New York City’s architect Robert Moses and the local activist Janet Jacobs. The former –known as the “Master Builder of New York City” (Christin and Balez, 2014)– brought together a group of agents –such as banks, unions, employers, bond insurers, insurance companies, and so on– who had great political influence in the decision-making process in order to achieve the proposed urban renewal objectives. In contrast to this strong group, the Canadian sociopolitical Jacobs was the leader of a local coalition to stop the new remarkable urban renewal projects to carry out in New York between the 1950s and 1960s, including the Lower Manhattan Expressway. In Spain, a similar situation took place by the popular resistance movements against the Barcelona’s Ribera Plan between the late-1960s and early-1970s (Solà-Morales i Rubió et al., 1974).

are already present in this instant, wrapped one within the other, confined, crammed, inextricable». As stated by Italo Calvino (1974: 163) on the “fair and unfair city”, it can be deduced how the fair and the unfair are the respectively metaphorical expressions of the ‘city as product’ and the ‘city as oeuvre’. Going into more detail in the analysis of the coexistence between both fair and unfair city, Italo Calvino refers to the example of Berenice. In this city, the writer discovered a *«tiny spot that is spreading like the mounting tendency to impose what is just through what is unjust, and perhaps this is the germ of an immense metropolis»* (Calvino, 1974: 162-163).

Basically, the interpretation of this metaphor refers to the capitalist city’s urban development behaviour, as well as the way the popular social reproduction spaces’ transformations take place in the metropolis. The “unfair” is personified by the spatial expressions of the ‘city as product’. So the unfair is juxtaposed with the “fair” –the ‘city as oeuvre’– showing a sharp contrast. This juxtaposition creates new patterns of spatial development changing spatial relationships in the metropolitan territory. This dynamics affects the land value and consequently displaces the weak class and dismantles the historical urban fabric created and consolidated by the community. The juxtaposition changes the compactness and complexity of the existing urban environment to create bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction spaces.

A similar mechanism can be seen in the case of the role that urban development plays over military installation and the existent popular social reproduction space. The new functions assigned to the Defence’s assets considerably depend on the way the city-making process is carried out. For instance, at the beginning Rossani barracks in Bari was about to be regenerated into a new profit-driven space. First, this idea should have taken place when the installation was still a Defence-owned asset. The purpose was the creation of an underground car park and an interchange in line with the 1985 urban project sought to create a “new centrality” around the Bari’s Central Railway Station. Second, following the 2013 Baricentrale competition, the local-owned barracks should be turned into a new “city of culture”, with the incorporation of a “green lung” and an underground car park. However, the new functions under construction –i.e. an urban park, public services such as the “Urban Center”, the new Academy of Fine Arts and various local sports structures– respond to the

local popular social demands. In fact these new uses appear to be properly shaped by the citizens of Bari starting from the 2014 unauthorised occupation.

With respect to Rossani barracks, despite the attempt to the urban sprawl model to shape the regeneration, eventually it did not take place due to the (re)appropriation of the old military installation. Effectively, Rossani barracks turned into a place of “opportunity, protest, struggle, and vindication” by the citizens (Álvarez Mora, 2015: 17). So far, this fact contributes to partially sort the urban problems affecting the local residents’ quality of life out. Here the “complex” and “compact” condition of the “social space” takes place as Rossani barracks is required by the citizens to continue inhabiting its surroundings. In fact, the low-income population’s poor condition constrained them to keep living near the barracks so as not to move to other parts of the city. Therefore, as claimed by Signorile (2014), Rossani barracks can be recognised for its integrity, for its resistance to being manipulated, and for its capacity to stir and to rebel against the attempts to manipulate and alter it.

On the contrary, in the case of Turin, the regeneration of La Marmora barracks is configured as a new high-end residential and tertiary space, the so-called “Place of Arts” for the upper middle and upper class. According to the designer Carlo Ratti (2017), this regeneration *«aims to establish a new community made up of local residents, students, and temporary workers, and digital manufacturing laboratories»*. So far, this project is taking place in a neighbourhood that, since the late-19th century, has been distinguished by its strictly bourgeoisie character, being a space for a privileged elite, an island within the Turin’s metropolitan territory.

As demonstrated in the case of Bari and Turin, it can be observed a clear difference between the types of equipment, exclusive and popular, that the military areas assume at the time of developing new social reproduction spaces. On the one hand, the purpose of Rossani barracks’ urban regeneration project is to respond to the lack of public urban services of different types, such as green, sports facilities, library, and so on. On the other hand, the regeneration of La Marmora barracks aimed to strengthen the segregation in the city, thus boosting the bourgeoisie character of the neighbourhood. This occurs in spite of the great pressure exerted by the local associations, such as the occupation of La Marmora barracks by *Terra del Fuoco* in 2015. The new functions of this barracks do not

reverse a consolidated trend in Borgo Po, which corresponds to a process of bourgeoisie “social reproduction”. On the contrary, the regeneration impels the exclusivity of the space and this fact implies the displacement of the less profitable social and economic functions –those one related to the popular social reproduction space– for the logic of capital towards other territories of the metropolis.

b) The role of military areas in the decomposing process of the original “spatial complexity”.

As the analysis already pointed out, great military properties should be carefully studied to understand whether or not they can be used for public purposes, i.e. for community services and facilities. Nevertheless, the decision-making process about their alienation for their subsequent regeneration often follows the logic of capital in order to take advantage of the differential ground rent.

The nature of this profit-oriented strategy is usually a consequence of the speculative pressure exerted by specific real estate and financial promoters to shape the urban development around the military areas. Above all, this pattern is what hugely contributed to create the most suitable conditions to undertake a decomposition of the initial “spatial complexity” of the urban fabric where the great military properties were located. Consequently, this dynamics leading to the decomposition of the original “complexity” drives the urban regeneration processes.

As a matter of fact, Flaminio’s and Bolognina’s urban regeneration relied on the social and spatial decomposition that was being promoted there. The aim was to eliminate their condition of “complex” and “compact” neighbourhoods, since these “spatial categories” are in contradiction with the “simplicity” required by the urban regeneration project. The socio-economic mixture is a typical character of the “non-dominated” spaces³⁴³: this produces the complexity these spaces present. The elimination of this character lays the foundations for a new space, this time “dominated”, responding to the capital interests. Otherwise, in Turin’s Borgo Po the consolidation of the existing centrality deals with the social reproduction of the local bourgeoisie, avoiding the emergence of social housing

³⁴³ As Fogli (2016) and Scandurra (2015) underlined, respectively, for the cases of Flaminio and Bolognina.

and new functions to meet the demands of the poor. For instance, according to the 2016 research carried out by Falletti (2016a), this emergency should be tackled urgently. In the whole metropolitan city of Turin, 18,611 families wait for the assignment of a social housing unit.

In the light of these considerations, it seems obvious to ask the following question: how should the “regenerations” of military areas be undertaken in order to materialise “social reproduction space” for the low-income class? The answer is pretty clear. The citizen-led action and its political struggle, as well as the Local Administration’s decision-making process, are the key elements to promote, implement and make real those urban functions related to the popular social reproduction spaces. These functions –such as social housing, small-scale retail, urban gardens, new bicycle lanes, pedestrian zones and parks–, would take the place of the dismantled and abandoned military artefacts. So far, the nature of this kind of regeneration would disassociate the former military areas from a profit-oriented process of spatial production, such as happened in the following cases. First, in Bari, citizen-led initiative contributed to change the City Council mind to reverse the profit-oriented use of the military installation. In fact, in 2014 the local population’s illegally occupation of the abandoned Rossani barracks’ spaces helped to highlight the issues of popular urban life’s quality. In this way, a solution for the uncertain situation of these “waiting spaces” was provided. Actually, Rossani barracks can be understood as a typical example of the long-lasting-led abandonment strategy in the logic of capital until the best occasion for the entrepreneur to intervene to carry out a more profitable “future business”. Nevertheless, the final result was different for the aforementioned reasons. Second, in Belluno, the City Council’s decision-making process sought to meet the social needs via a change of approach in the regeneration of Piave barracks. In fact, from 2013 the City Council steered a new process taking into account the socio-economic needs of the poor according to the Modification of the General Master Plan’s contents.

c) The relocation of the military areas and the formation of “new centralities”. The city-making process as a determining factor.

Historically speaking, it is a matter of fact that the real estate practice on former military installations has mostly opted for relocating the military activities in

peripheral positions. Consequently, this mechanism promotes new urbanisations following the patterns linked to the logic of capital. Several examples show these trends, such as the Milan's Parade Grounds (Uberti, 2015) and the materialisation/displacement of many military settlements in Turin (Cadeddu, 2008). The relocation of military installations generates new urban transformations corresponding to the creation of new "social spaces". Yet, these are spaces created mostly for the bourgeoisie than for the middle- and low-income class. Basically, the redevelopment project belongs to clearly speculative procedures, thus producing economic benefits linked to the urban disaggregation, such as demonstrated in the case of La Marmora barracks in Turin.

These capitalistic-city-driven dynamics meant the reconversion of military functions in new high income residential areas. Fundamentally, these kind of procedures are a typical practice in the Italian reality, even in the late-19th century. For instance, between 1889 and 1897, the creation of the 116,500-m²-low-cost-land Military quarters in Milan aimed to relocate barracks previously located in more central position— and to create a new bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction space in place of the demolished military settlements (Poli, 2016: 9). Looking at more recent regeneration processes, such as La Marmora barracks in Turin, the provision of a wide range of high-end residential spaces for the upper class do not need the same "complexity" such as required by the popular social reproduction spaces. On the one hand, the city's equipment and services, insofar as they meet the social needs, constitute the fundamental urban components of the complex and compact traditional space. On the other hand, the same does not happen for the bourgeoisie-intended social spaces. In this case a higher level of income allows a use of the city that is not necessarily conditioned by the "proximity" to such equipment and services. The upper class can satisfy their needs in other places than the residential neighbourhood of Borgo Po as they can easily afford the displacement respect to the low-income class. The poor needs complexity and compactness to satisfy their needs. This is why Borgo Po can be assumed as a monofunctional space for the bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction. Thus, the presence of new emblematic public spaces, such as the about 100-metres-long-and-80-metres-wide rectangular-shaped "Place of Arts", is contemplated to provide a recreational area for the new residents, which will

be installed in the old military buildings. Or, rather, to the upper class already installed in Borgo Po.

To sum up, complexity is something that cannot be projected or simply inserted into any urban space. On the one hand, the “complexity” requires a historical-shaped long process, one of the *sine qua non* conditions for the existence of popular class residential spaces. In fact, complexity is the essential factor capable to develop and maintain the popular social reproduction spaces over time.

Social reproduction spaces in the framework of Urban Planning

a) Planning the social space, or reorienting its original meanings? The role of Urban Planning in the definition of the urban social space

The materialisation of the military installations aims to satisfy collective needs, specifically those related to national defence. However, once these activities cease to be useful for reasons of “functional obsolescence”, these areas are privatised via their selling in the real estate market. In fact, military great properties are positioned in very attractive locations for the development of specific “urban rents”. In order to extrapolate the maximum monetary surplus, specific institutional mechanisms formalise such procedures of privatisation, the latter being based on the Urban Planning guidelines.

The casuistry of the chapter 4 shows a very precise dynamics according to which the Urban Planning guides and decrees the materialisation of the profit-driven space. Here I claimed that this is the factor that really boost the creation of income-producing assets, nor the characteristics of these installations, or their presumed vocation as real estate assets with an “economic value”. In this sense, as the old military artefacts located in strategic positions are claimed by the real estate business, some questions arise. Is it possible to convert the military installations in the social reproduction spaces to improve the sense of “collectivity”? When it comes the time to collect the historical “collective memory” of the city as a proper entity, what should be the role assumed by Urban Planning when implementing new “social spaces” in a speculative-driven context? If the objective is to recover the “social spaces”, would it be enough the urban

planning's indications to create new urban equipment conforming new social reproduction spaces via urban regeneration project? Here, one more issue is express based on the assumption that the popular social reproduction spaces are the product of a collectivity-led historical process, so being the result of a continuous life that takes place over time. Can it be argued that a popular "space" arises spontaneously as the answer to the action of the population located there, the latter doing nothing but continuously produce-reproduce their living conditions? In this sense, is it possible to plan the social reproduction space?

Clearly, the answer is no. Urban Planning can allocate a space for the popular class. Nevertheless, in order to this space to really materialise, it is necessary to count on the presence of a population having the capacity to make possible the creation and maintenance of a suitable environment to satisfy their needs.

Basically, on the one hand Urban Planning can implement the regeneration of specific military installations with the aim to promote popular social reproduction spaces. It is worth remarking that this can be possible as long as in the intervention area the existence of an urban "collective memory" keeps guaranteeing the permanence of a popular space. In contrast, on the other hand it is much more common that Urban Planning strengthens the upper-class-shaped "social spaces". In order to do so, it is enough to supply the intervention area with specific equipment which do not require an immediate proximity to the "habitat". In this way, the attempt is to make life impossible for the low-income class. For instance, in Turin's Borgo Po the bourgeoisie presence is reaffirmed through the urban project to regenerate La Marmora barracks. Effectively, the characteristics of the habitat projected there –such as the 120/140 housing units, the Place of the Arts, the co-working spaces, the craft laboratories, and the retails– are types of equipment not designed to realise the "proximity". Only the Italian Resistance Museum could be the exception, being the only popular social reproduction space since its presence reflects the historical memory derived from the collectively-shaped city-making process of Turin.

Another common choice taken by the Urban Planning is to sanction the change in the social and economic composition of the context where the military activities were located. This transformation can be even promoted by the owners of the military land. Hence, the status of a popular social reproduction space of a

specific urban area can become, in turn, a profit-driven space. For instance, this is what is observed in Rome's Flaminio. The current transformations in this neighbourhood are based on a precise urban policy aiming to improve Flaminio's quality via new high quality facilities. Nevertheless, this is not contributing to the recovery of the pre-existing popular social reproduction space. Actually, the new functions –i.e. the Auditorium, the MAXXI Museum, the Music Bridge and the temporary activities located in some of the S.M.M.E.P. buildings– are designed solely for the use of the upper class.

This is how the failure of Urban Planning, specifically of a certain urban planning practices, can be argued taking into account the arguments exposed, under different nuances, by Giuseppe Campos Venuti (2010a) and Leonardo Benevolo (2012). Both authors underline how Urban Planning is not capable of resolving the social and economic distortions caused by the capitalist city's mode of production. Their common point of view is the following. Urban Planning is unable to face an alternative capable of producing a "fair and equitable city", i.e. a city for all. Indeed, this is also demonstrated by the thesis' analysis, which shows the supremacy of the 'city as product' over the 'city as oeuvre'.

Therefore, can be claimed the failure of Urban Planning as a discipline, insofar as it does not guarantee the "right to the city"? Basically, such affirmation finds its *raison d'être* in the following mechanism. Urban planning determinations, i.e. those ones derive from the Plans, affect the supply of services and equipment for environmental, economic and social improvement, and with the aim of extending the benefits to all inhabitants. Nonetheless, this goal is configured –or better said, is manipulated– as a policy to realise the logic of capital in the real estate market, which makes such noble purposes impossible to realise. An exemplary case is given, once again, by the role assigned to the activities programmed in the urban regeneration project implemented in Flaminio. In fact, these activities are not open to the general public, but only to a certain part of the population. For instance, the use of the Bridge of Music is the most dramatic expression of what can be understood as a "lost city". Despite the organisation of high quality "social events" on the pedestrian route of the bridge –such as open-air dinners, photographic sessions, filming of advertisements, and so on– the lower part of the bridge is undergoing a process of degradation due to the "activities" established there. Actually, the latter undermine the objective to

improve the environmental quality of the Tiber riverfront³⁴⁴. The dualism between the pedestrian and the lower parts of the Bridge puts into evidence a capital-led renunciation to strengthen collective interests in favour of the private ones. The idea of the public does not disappear, but it is simply put at the service of particular interests.

*b) Planning the “regeneration” of military areas as “social spaces”:
between the “exclusive” and the “popular”.*

As aforementioned claimed, Urban Planning is more about to create profit-driven space than popular social reproduction space; above all, Urban Planning stimulates the creation of spaces related to the interests of bourgeoisie. In this sense, it can be asked the following. Can it be possible, starting from the Urban Planning, the management of military areas’ urban regeneration in order to produce popular forms of life? Can Urban Planning develop the capacity and the political will to channel the popular social demands? In the metropolitan cities under analysis –such as Bari, Bologna, Milan, Rome, and Turin–, several local social movements against the hypothetical transformations of the Ministry of Defence old properties are observed³⁴⁵. Yet, these forms of manifestation and rebellion against the Urban Planning guidelines do not usually be converted into any appreciable results. On the contrary, the side effect of such actions is usually the attribution (appropriation?) to the owners of a specific right strictly linked to the real estate developer-financial capital’s interests. The “right” they assume is to create a city in accordance with their desires, very far from those others corresponding to the collectivity.

Referring to the creation of popular social reproduction spaces, only in the case of Rossani barracks the social demands overcame the large urban project promoted in the frame of the Urban Planning policies. So far, the citizens’

³⁴⁴ This assertion derived from the author’s personal experience and interviews with local residents during specific fieldworks in 2017 and 2018.

³⁴⁵ The occupations observed in the analysed case are two. First, Bari’s self-managed social centre “*Ex Caserma Liberata*” is occupying the Rossani barracks starting from February 2014 (<https://www.facebook.com/Excasermaliberata/>). Second, the Turinese association *Terra del Fuoco* (<http://www.terradelfuoco.org/>) occupied the La Marmora barracks in 2015 from 18 April to 12 November. Other cases of occupation not analysed in the thesis are the following. “*Làbas*” association occupied the Masini barracks in Bologna from 13 November 2012 until 30 August 2017 (<https://labasbo.org/chisiamo/>). In Milan, the anarchic group “*Pirati di Rho*” occupied the Goffredo Mameli barracks from 13 to 30 March 2015. In Rome, the group “*Coordinamento Cittadino di Lotta per la Casa*” –Citizens’ Coordination of Home Struggle– (see <https://www.facebook.com/PortoFluvialeRecuperato/>) is occupying the former Porto Fluviale barracks is occupied since 2 June 2003.

concerns for the ancient military site contributed to radically change the situation. At the beginning this urban void was conceived as a proper income-producing asset³⁴⁶, then a new approach searches for the materialisation of new popular social reproduction spaces. This change allows the old barracks to become the headquarters of public services already mentioned, being made possible by the local population demands. Surely, the occupation of the completely abandoned and degraded spaces of the barracks was the trigger event to change the situation. The legalisation of this form of “re-appropriation” was realised through a mechanism of “participatory planning” (Comune di Bari, 2018a), boosting specific social practices expressed by the temporary occupation of such urban void. This regeneration process began by the provisional reuse of buildings and open spaces of the old barracks, being a real social experiment out of the Urban Planning instruments. Basically, the aim was to curb the abandonment and degradation phenomenon creating, in turn, a place of inclusion and socialisation.

Another very similar initiative is being carried out within the Piave barracks' area in Belluno. Here, the triggering element to reverse the situation of abandonment was the City Council awareness of the local social needs after a careful reflection on the possibilities of reusing the old military installation. This evaluation highlighted the unnecessary of a profit-oriented and real-estate-market-driven operation of urban regeneration for reasons related both to the global economic crisis and for the low profitability that may generate this type of action. Based on this, the Local Administration decided to open the barracks to uses responding to the population needs. The instruments used to hand over some of the buildings to the local associations were the agreements established between the City Council and the associations. Gradually, all buildings are being occupied. Despite several difficulties, such as the public financing of the operation, the regeneration process began in 2014. In the end, the local community of Belluno is being given a place to fulfil part of their desires so as to improve the social quality of life. The City Council's choice to attribute a public-

³⁴⁶ Actually several proposals for the barracks redevelopment emerged starting from the Quaroni-designed 1976 General Master Plan, passing through the 1985 urban project for the creation of a new central area, and the 2012 Baricentrale urban project. In 1976, the attempt aimed to create a new high-density residential settlement, while the 1985 General Master Plan Modification sought the creation of an underground and an interchange car park in line with the new role assigned to the Central Railway Station. This proposal was confirmed in 2006 within the Urban Regeneration Programme P.R.U.S.S.T.; eventually, the 2012 the urban project called *Baricentrale* searched for an underground car parks and new functions, such as “city of culture” and green areas.

owned asset to the community with an affordable price drove the creation of a new popular social space. In light of this situation, Urban Planning redefined the new use of the Piave barracks by the modification of its own prescriptions. Essentially, the great differences observed between the bourgeoisie-intended and popular social reproduction spaces and the profit-driven spaces have to do, probably, with the implementation of social-shaped temporary actions. Actually, the decision to implement this kind of initiative contributed to carry out some “alternative experimentations” of (re)using the former military installations.

Broadly speaking, it is seen how the processes of urban regeneration involving military areas, whether to create income-producing spaces or bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction spaces, have no other objective than providing great economic benefits as fast as possible. The demonstration of such dynamics relies on the cases of Bologna, Milan, Rome, and Turin, where the owners of the old military installations are private, i.e. the Investment Funds. On the contrary, an opposite approach shows the creation of the basic conditions so that low-income class can reproduce its own habitat and lifestyles. Here, in order to boost a project at the service of low- and lower-medium- income population, it is necessary the City Council takes decisions in contradiction with the current profit-oriented strategies of the Urban Planning policies.

The management of areas of centrality as social reproduction spaces

The casuistry shows a dichotomy regarding the property of the military assets. On the one hand, the maintenance of the property in the hands of a public entity, such as the City Councils. On the other hand, its privatisation through the mechanism of the property transfer from the Ministry of Defence to the State Property Agency, and from the latter to the Real Estate Investment Funds. Essentially, the privatisation of the former military installations is a typical dynamics of the capitalist city building process. Above all, such mechanisms rely on the economic profitability of the urban regeneration strategies established by the Urban Planning.

By contrast, it is seen how the property transfer to City Councils is more related to the creation of social spaces for citizens. Such transfer to the local-

owned assets is the result of a long normative journey, which is lasting usually more than thirty years. At the beginning, the alienation operations aimed to create new income-producing assets, such as in the case of the Bari's Rossani barracks. However, the difficulty of carrying out speculative projects –even for reasons derived from the 2007-2008 financial crisis– was evident. However, several types of agreements among the public agents involved in the management of military areas aimed at developing alternative actions to overturn this situation. Occasionally, the Agents resigned in front of the impossibility of obtaining a significant economic benefit derived from the “regenerations”. On the most general level, the failure of this strategy is mostly due to the unfavourable location of the military installations to undertake speculative-driven operations. Consequently, after 2007-2008 crisis, some of the agreements were the result of new urban policies elaborated by the public agents. The new approach usually results in the materialisation of new popular social reproduction spaces to meet the population needs and to improve the quality of the areas they inhabit. Actually, it is important to remember that this lack of quality is the result of the extensive urbanisation the Italian cities suffered in previous decades, without providing the necessary equipment and services. In this sense, the classification of the casuistry analysed is the following:

- A first case refers to the attribution of the Piave barracks to Belluno's City Council. The property transfer was the final act of the conflict between the Local Administration and the Ministry of Defence, solved also through the intermediation of the Public Property Agency. This fact refers to the conflictual relationship between the City Council and the military, as the latter did not respect the obligations derived from the corresponding contract to rent the Piave barracks' area. This specific type of case can refer to the creation of any type of space;

- A second case refers to the property transfer derived from an exchange used as a triggering element to start the regeneration of the military installations. In some case, the exchange regards far-reaching urban transformation operations to materialise profit-driven spaces. For instance, the property transfer of the Rossani barracks to Bari's City-Council-owned assets was the result of an agreement to promote the exchange in 2008. The Local Administration ceded the Russian Church and the Palace of the Prefecture to the State Property Agency,

receiving in exchange the Rossani barracks plus more than 13 million euros to invest in its regeneration;

- Eventually, the third case regards the property transfers via the procedure of the so-called “federalism state property”. When all the profit-oriented attempts promoted by the state actors fail, there is no other remedy than transferring the military installation ownership to the territorial entities, which are generally the City Councils. By doing this, the latter are charged with the task to give the former military sites to civil society. This opens an uncertainly scenario for regeneration both at a decisional and economic level, even calling into question the City Council’s capacity to elaborate the project. Possibly, such situations deals with strategies of centrality with no future, especially in the case where small-scale municipalities are involved, such as Ceggia and Oderzo.

Strategies of centrality ‘with no future’. Abandonment and marginalisation as strategy.

In the capitalistic city building there is a third form to materialise the “centrality” along with the creation of profit-driven spaces and social reproduction spaces: it is the long-lasting abandonment of military areas. The perpetuation in time of the abandonment implies the degradation of the workmanship. Here a specific characteristic is observed. The ancient military artefacts are waiting for the agents possibly interested in taking charge of their restitution to civil society during an indefinite time period. The uncertainty that reigns over military spaces with no future is reflected, in turn, in the lack of specific policies and strategies both in the Urban Planning documents, and in the Legislation. This lack of precise ideas is also showed by the political will of the Agents involved in the management military assets. It is worth highlighting that these casuistry respond to one of the many contradictions of the capital, above all, in its way of proceeding to the city-making process. Such contradiction is the failure when it comes to implement profit-driven strategies to create new “areas of centrality” based on Defence real estate assets.

To sum up, the strategies of centrality with no future and their effects in the surrounding areas of the military installations lead to the perpetuating state of abandonment. The “endless” abandonment is intended as one more mechanism

of the city's mode of production, being related to the random dynamics of the relationship among the urban development model, the Urban Planning practice and the interrelations between the agents in charge of the management of military installations.

What does the “abandonment” and “degradation” of military areas without any alternatives imply?

This casuistry is quite different from the creation of income producing spaces, in which the “abandonment” and “degradation” of military artefacts is conceived as a strategy allowing real-estate-led “new opportunities” to undertake far-reaching urban projects. Taking into account the military installations of Ceggia and Oderzo, it is observed that the “abandonment” they are subjected to is the result of a “strategy without strategy” to find a possible new use. What remains after the abandonment is the abandonment itself. In this sense, it is noticed that abandonment takes place due to neither a specific ponderation about the future, nor even based on a foreseeable speculative action. As a result, it is demonstrated that abandonment is the strategy for the future of installations.

The production and perpetuation of the abandonment is creating a new type of landscape, defined by Gilles Clément (2007) as “third landscape”. Such landscape presents itself as a wide range of residual spaces whose materialisation derives from the abandonment of a previously exploited area. To better understand this casuistry, it can be referred to Doron (2000: 255) suggestion when analysing the so-called “dead zone”, in its meaning as “zones of transgression”. The casuistry under analysis faced with the re-appropriation of old abandoned military areas –in a state of total ruin– by nature. The latter is in charge of their “reconstruction” by creating eccentric and exotic spaces, becoming a mixture between ruins and wild nature within the context it is located. Taking into account the case of Ceggia, it can be argued that the strategies of “abandonment without alternatives” are related to the appearance of waste, whether urban or peripheral, from previous private or public uses. This is one of the consequences of the capital-oriented (in)decision on the future of the spaces subjected to abandonment-degradation-ruin. In this way, the re-appropriation of

these sites by nature take place as the only possibility after the abandonment (fig. 72).

Fig. 72. Ruins of Ceggia's logistics base, being absorbed into the spontaneous vegetation.



Source: photograph by F. Camerin (2017).

Other causes of the appearance of these type of spaces have to do even with the setting in motion of their own “regeneration”. Rethinking a large property of urban land coming from a previous military use afterwards in a state of abandonment, perhaps in ruins, does not only mean tackling issues concerning it as a closed enclosure. It is also a question of implementing an idea for its restitution to civil society, which is supposed to have an impact on the economic and social structure of the area where the former military site is settled. Thus, the regeneration should respond to a very precise social demand, even having repercussions on the future evolution of other sectors of the city, especially if they are small municipalities. These cases are presented in the analysis by the examples of Ceggia and Oderzo, respectively of 6,110 and 20,659 inhabitants, which territorial surface is 22.10 km² and 42.35 km².

Basically, the long-lasting abandonment of military areas leads to a deterioration of their open spaces and building, which implies at least two consequences. Firstly, such a situation may be the best way to deliver the

management of these “urban pieces” to the financial capital, so selling them in the real estate market. The entrepreneur, who is surely not concerned about the historical-collective values of the military heritage, will set in motion a radical change of this “common good” to deliver it to a consumer economy. The consequences of this dynamics –such as the privatisation of what would be a common good, the increasing level of traffic, the destruction of the urban historical heritage, the displacement of the low-income population, and so on– are hardly considered within the entrepreneur’s decision-making process. Additionally, while abandoned military facilities are waiting for a new use, they can be used to resolve future emergency issues, whether military or not. Among them, the reception of migrants stands out, being generally generating a partial reuse, thus keep the regeneration project of the whole area in stand-by. For instance, this is the case of the Zanusso barracks in Oderzo³⁴⁷. As Italo Insolera (1989: 667) argues, basically the Ministry of Defence shows a certain propensity to abandon some of its areas but, at the same time, to maintain them as its own assets in order to face the future Armed Force’s needs³⁴⁸.

Excluding the case in which the Ministry of Defence again uses its previously abandoned facilities for military purposes, it can be argued the following hypothesis. The state of never-ending abandonment and degradation constitutes a concrete way of proceeding with the capitalist city production. Effectively, the “waste” can be constituted not only as a “waiting” asset, but also as the expression of a city under construction, i.e. intended as a “margin of the city” or as a “non-existent city”. Thus, this waste can be involved in the urban development process to proceed with its regeneration. If this dynamics takes place, it can create a new use aimed at propelling either the ‘city as product’ or the ‘city as oeuvre’. The bet for one of the two options implies the cancellation of the other.

³⁴⁷ See the inquiry of the Italian television programme “*Striscia la Notizia*” (https://www.striscialanotizia.mediaset.it/video/una-caserma-molto-c-a-r-a-_25493.shtml).

³⁴⁸ Recently, the Ministry of Defence promoted the so-called programme “Green Barracks” (Esercito italiano, 2019) to regenerate several installations for military purposes. Among others, the programme includes Trieste barracks of Casarsa della Delizia and the military compound “Parade Ground-Artale barracks” of Piacenza. Both installations could be considered to be in a phase of “abandonment with no future”, being the object of several research works in the field of the urban studies. For more information on these cases, see respectively Fabris and Camerin (2017) and Infussi and Pasqui (2010).

Urban development and heritage degradation. The role of military areas in this process

It can be argued that the consolidation of abandoned spaces “without alternatives” over time implies the declaration of several high-degraded great properties as “ruins”. Consequently, they assume a characteristic of being difficult to reuse until this condition leads to their demolition and definitely disappearance. Relating this process with urban development, i.e. the way of proceed to the city production, it is observed a cause-effect relationship. As the time goes by, the behaviour of military areas is double as the latter can be reused via “regeneration” either as income-producing spaces or as social reproduction spaces.

The first behaviour shows clearly “speculative” connotations. In this sense, the regeneration of the abandoned military areas may be subjected to a “strategy of centrality” aiming to reconvert them into predominantly profit-driven spaces. Basically, the abandonment is forced as a basic and unavoidable process of this strategy in order to reach this objective. For these reasons, a previous and induced abandonment may be the “safe bet” in terms of real estate activity leading to materialise new “central areas”, being strictly relied on the differential ground rent generated by such abandonment. To sum up, this behaviour is a clear manifestation of the capitalistic city.

In light of this trend, the “not knowing what to do” strategy implies the submission of the Ministry of Defence’s redundant assets to the mechanism of the real estate market. The commons behaviour of the agents is based on the assumption that hopefully there will be always an entrepreneur interested in launching a regeneration project. For instance, the whole series of State-led sales by public auction to which the military areas have been subjected to during the last three decades demonstrates that public actors have faith in the real estate market’s mechanisms³⁴⁹. Also, the sale regards the installations located in agricultural territory, such as the launching zone of Ceggia, being the object of two public tenders to proceed with its sale in 2009 and 2010. Despite the aim of carrying out new tourist activities, eventually the asset was not sold given the disinterest shown by the real estate developer-financial capital.

³⁴⁹ The last one is the selling of 40 of the Ministry of Defence-owned assets whose value reaches 160 million euros (Ministero dell’Economia e delle Finanze, 2019).

The outcome of this behaviour could not be more evident. According to the capitalistic city-making process patterns, the territorial gradual urbanisation –in this case referred to Italy– creates the bases starting from which undertaking concrete urban regeneration projects on the former military settlements. How a better starting condition that operate a regeneration of such voids subjected to a process of degradation, abandonment, and even ruin? Nevertheless, the choice to continue betting for an unlimited urban development, which meant putting the old military assets on the real estate market, did fail. Actually, according to the report by Corte dei Conti (2017: 30), the 1997 alienation programme generated only 28% of the expected income, corresponding to 205,473,524.23 euros on the total amount of 723,039,658.73 euros. Moreover, 2007 Finance Act generated from the regeneration operations a total amount of 249 million euros until 2016, totalling 12.5% of the expected 2,000 million euros foreseen by the legislation (Corte dei Conti, 2017: 52).

By contrast, the second behaviour deals with the bet for the creation of popular social reproduction spaces from the high degraded military heritage. The case of Oderzo is valid as a reference. Following the City Council's urban policies, the out-of-the-city-centre old Zanusso barracks was chosen to be a new "cluster for services and collective equipment", i.e. the new Carabinieri headquarters, plus open spaces and public green. This decision resulted from the consequence of urban sprawl development: the latter set up a territory generally lacking the suitable functions to satisfy the low income class needs.

In Ceggia and Oderzo it is observed that the reuse of great military properties as income-producing assets is not considered a practicable for reasons related to their current "peripheral location". As a matter of fact, this spatial condition blocks these areas from being regenerated by new functions of "excellence" (GAL Venezia Orientale-ANCE Venezia-CRESME Associazione, 2006; Comune di Oderzo, 2015: 3-7). Nonetheless, this marginal position may be the best condition for undertaking new profit-oriented projects in the future, such as the creation of specific bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction spaces.

Therefore, if the basic conditions for profit-oriented investments to carry out by real estate developer-financial capital do not exist, the only strategy may be to provoke the abandonment, waiting for more profitable opportunities. From these observations, it can be deduced that the underuse, emptying, and

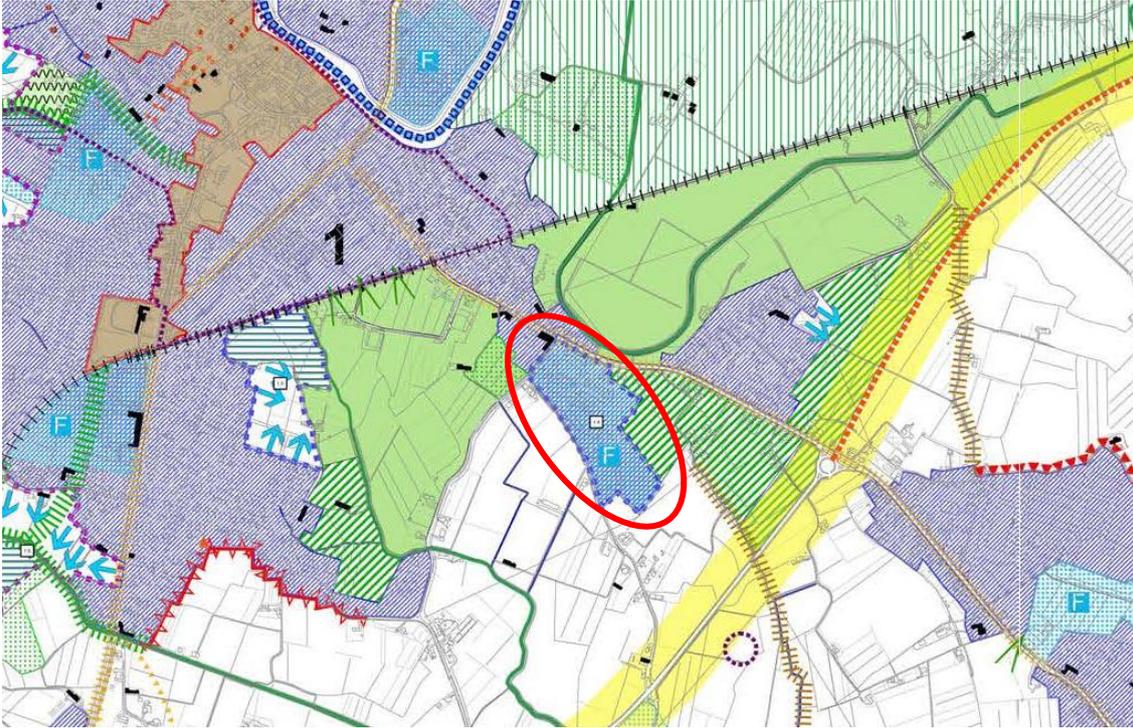
abandonment rises as one more profit-oriented alternative to extrapolate new economic benefits from the great military property.

The role of Urban Planning in the marginalisation, degradation, abandonment, and futurelessness of the military installations in the city.

Military settlements, when made redundant by the Ministry of Defence, are classified by the Urban Planning instruments as “abandoned” and/or “areas to be transformed/regenerated”. By doing this, Urban Planning postpones the “regeneration” guidelines for such underused or abandoned areas (fig. 73).

Taking into consideration the materialisation of the profit-driven spaces and the social reproduction spaces, it is seen that Urban Planning is conditioned by the logic of urban development. Depending on this, Urban Planning proposes the military installations abandonment and their subsequent transformation. The same dynamics is observed in the case of military installations with no future too. As Doron (2000: 260-261) claimed, the postponement of the General Master Plan decisions is a fundamental strategy of the Urban Planning system. The “no action” is an act of “future planning” on the dead zone. Thus, if the old military properties were not involved in the urban development dynamics, neither does Urban Planning develop a clear strategy to implement a real project of reuse as profit-driven spaces. The responsibility of Urban Planning in the marginalisation, degradation, abandonment, and absence of future of a military installation shows signs of ambiguity when it comes to proposing its reuse. In turn, this situation responds to the indecisions of the actors involved in its management.

Fig. 73: The Zanusso barracks' area is included among the “strategic intervention areas” for “territorial-scaled common services” (in the red circle).



Source: reelaboration of the map of Comune di Oderzo (2008b).

In the cases of Ceggia (Comune di Ceggia, 2007: 16) and Oderzo (Comune di Oderzo, 2018), the Urban Planning instruments exclude, a priori, new industrial, commercial, and residential uses. Effectively, in both municipalities is claimed that the location of the great military properties is incompatible with the creation of income-producing assets to house attractive functions in the real estate market. Thus, this choice of the local Urban Planning deals with the citizens' demands as the latter are assumed as a critical issue to solve by the City Council. Nevertheless, this happens only once the impossibility of a “speculative” regeneration is demonstrated.

Ceggia's and Oderzo' great military properties did not be involved in the “urban development”, or better said, the city-making process. This dynamics led them to currently not occupy strategic places in order to undertake a “profitable” reconversion, so their future will be subject to random factors rather than a precise urban strategy.

When it comes to establish the new use of such military areas it is observed a behaviour by Urban Planning, which is similar to what happens in the case of profit-driven spaces. It is the typical vagueness of Urban Planning: the

indeterminacy leaves a wide margin of manoeuvre to the real estate developer-financial capital. Consequently, the latter can “freely” act to achieve its objectives to the detriment of those others demanded by the middle- and low-income class.

A specific case of vagueness by Urban Planning is found in the mechanism called “public consultation” (Camerin, 2018). Actually, several military installations present the suitable characteristics to launch a strategy of centrality with no future, so they are about to be involved in such mechanism. Apparently, public consultation may appear to be a “virtuous” action to include citizens, as well as national and international real estate agents, in the decision-making process to rethink a former military site. Nevertheless, what can be deduced from the public consultation is the lack of ideas about the new uses of the military installation and of future urban scenarios and visions at the local scale. Thus, it is recognised the incapacity of providing real reuse alternatives in a situation of uncertainty regarding the long-standing abandonment of some military installations. As a matter of fact, from 2015 none of the public consultations have yet given rise to any reuse project, since the evaluation of the future scenario made by the involved Agents is based on a financial-led approach linked to urban development mechanisms.

The Legislation does not manage. Legal vacuum, or administrative shortcomings, in the failure to regenerate some military areas

Legislation can be possibly recognised as one of the responsible of the creation of spaces of centrality with no future. No matter which Italian government promoted the Law, they just failed in the attempt to regenerate the Defence’s assets. The Laws succeeded each other and create a sort of legislative “chaos” since the late-1980s. Over time, various institutional bodies highlighted more than once the weaknesses of the Legislation, as well as the inter-institutional conflicts occurred during the implementation of the proposed operations (IV Commissione Difesa, 1999; Corte dei Conti, 2003 and 2017). Two main factors contributed to the materialisation of a strategy with no future for military installations. On the one hand, the gradual superposition of Laws, Legislative Decrees, Decree Laws, and so on during the last three decades. On the other hand, the continuous change

of financial objectives and the uncertainties of the institutional roles among the actors involved in the management of procedures.

For instance, paying attention to the procedures to which the military installations of Ceggia and Oderzo have been subjected to, it can be seen how the objectives of State Agents and Territorial Entities are entirely different. The inclusion of redundant military installations in several programmes – such as the 1997 alienation procedure, modified on several occasions; the “Country Value” programme promoted by Law no. 296/2006; the federalism state property; the European programmes for the regeneration of former military sites, and so on – did not lead to any concrete results. By contrast, what happened was the long-lasting abandonment. Once the closure of military assets took place, the inability of the Ministry of Defence to plan a scenario for returning them to civil society in accordance with Urban Planning practice led to the consequent deterioration of these properties. Moreover, the continuous measures of cut public expenditure since the late-1980s presents a double effect. On the one hand, they limit the speculative approach to the regeneration actions but, on the other hand, also contribute to slow down the operations to create popular social reproduction spaces by local City Councils.

Conclusions. Towards a new definition of urban regeneration

The interpretation of the strategies of “centrality” linked to the “regeneration” of great military properties allows to argue the effects of the real estate developer-financial capital on the city. From these reflections it can be deduced the following.

First, to clarify a position taken by the author of the thesis and its director, Alfonso Álvarez Mora, on the basis of the study carried out. Second, taking into account the wide range of references published in the field of urban studies on the theme of “urban regeneration” in Europe, it is observed a lack in the approach of this practice. In effect, urban regeneration is approached as a heterogeneous process, not always well defined³⁵⁰, that acts on a bigger scale than the single

³⁵⁰ As recently underlined by Rusci (2018: 13-36). Even the legislation does not always clarify this concept, as urban regeneration can correspond to any type of real estate operation to increase the “quality” of a specific territorial area. For further information of the Spanish and Italian case, see respectively Gaja i Díaz

building. According to this, a clearer, more concise and more specific definition could be proposed based on the materialisation-abandonment-regeneration of the Italian great military properties. Particularly, this definition aims at highlighting the relationship between the “urban regeneration” practice and its spatial and socio-economic repercussions.

According to the existing literature, “urban regeneration” and its conceptual evolution towards the so-called “integrated urban regeneration” (Istituto Universitario de Urbanística, 2010), can be understood as a specific type of “urban policy” implemented since the last third of the 20th century. Among the existing references³⁵¹, if taking into consideration the work edited by Leary and McCarthy in 2013, which aspires to be a kind of manual on the concept and practice of “urban regeneration”, the latter is usually defined as follows: *«urban regeneration is area-based intervention which is public sector initiated, funded, supported, or inspired, aimed at producing significant sustainable improvements in the conditions of local people, communities and places suffering from aspects of deprivation, often multiple in nature»* in which *«there may well be a significant role for the private sector, voluntary sector or community enterprise»* (Leary and McCarthy, 2013: 9). Nevertheless, this definition does not clarify some fundamental aspects, which seem essential to realise the analysis of the urban regeneration processes. Above all, these lacking aspects are the social and spatial repercussions derived from strategies of centrality and their close link with the production of new urban spaces, such as the income-producing assets, the social reproduction spaces, and the abandonment with no future.

In the case of the Italian great military properties, the strategy of “urban regeneration” is undoubtedly related to the creation of the “centrality effects”. Among such “effects”, it can be argued that the most noteworthy is the one derived from the materialisation of profit-driven spaces. In general, the income-producing spaces take the place of the popular social reproduction spaces, the latter struggling for its survival. Thus, the operations of urban regeneration aim to transform the former Defence-owned assets into “controversial” territorial settlements. This means that “urban regeneration” is promoted in those areas

(2015) on the contents of the 2013 “Law on Urban Rehabilitation, Regeneration and Renewal” and Passalacqua, Fiorito, and Rusci (2019) on the Italian situation.

³⁵¹ Other references worth being cited are Roberts and Sykes (2000); Couch, Fraser and Percy (2003); Aparicio Mourelo and di Nanni (2011); and Castrillo et al. (2014).

inhabited by a low-income class, being considered as “areas of opportunity” in financial and real estate terms. This is the case of no-central zones of the cities. Milan’s Baggio area, as well as those “dysfunctional areas” from the point of view of “urban rent” which do not generate profits, but can generate them by specific urban regeneration actions, such as Flaminio, Bolognina, and Borgo Po. Such way to intend the great military properties affects even the popular social reproduction spaces occupying relatively central positions with respect to the historic city centres. As demonstrated in the case of the Rossani barracks in Bari, the military installation presented since the mid-1970s a high chance to end up becoming a new income-producing asset.

Despite of this trend, other cases highlights a lack of alternative for the regeneration of the military installations, creating a condition of perpetual abandonment with no future. According to the urban sprawl model patterns, this situation is understood as mechanisms creating “expectations” for a future not yet visible and predictable, such as the cases of Ceggia and Oderzo.

In the analysed cases, the process of abandonment-regeneration was approached by betting on a city understood as an “interchangeable product”; by contrast, the exceptions are the cases of Bari and Belluno. In these two cities the not profit-oriented strategies contributed to create proper popular social reproduction spaces.

In addition, based on the work I elaborated in collaboration with Álvarez Mora (2019), it can be affirmed a specific character of the urban regeneration. In fact, the great railway and industrial properties’ urban regeneration project are arguably a variable of the “urban renewal” process transforming the city during part of the second half of the 20th century. According to this, it is possible to verify the following hypothesis in comparison of what happened in the case of the abandoned industrial and railway areas. The great military properties’ urban regeneration projects are focused towards the improvement of the urban conditions of a specific zone for a certain type of population –the rich–but displacing others inhabitants –the poor– towards the marginal zones of the city. Actually, the Agents involved in the management of former military assets propose their regeneration in order to create income-producing spaces with the aim of exploiting the areas where the old Defence’s artefacts were located. Additionally, the legislation supports such dynamics by promoting specific

administrative procedures to strengthen a “speculative economy”.

Based on these considerations, now I try to answer to the following questions. What is the real meaning of “urban regeneration”? What are the most outstanding aspects of the territorial effects of this practice? Therefore, how can the urban regeneration practice be defined?

Firstly, it is argued that the “urban regeneration” is the product of a recent historical evolution of the “urban renewal” practice’s patterns. Actually, the original effects of the destruction-construction actions of the central zones of the cities implied a brutal displacements of the low-income classes, creating, as a consequence, precise socio-territorial inequalities.

Secondly, urban regeneration can be defined as a way of planning the city by sectors. This approach supposes the elimination of the general “urban policies” aimed at governing the city as a whole towards a clear commitment to the “urban project”. Thus, the latter becomes a basic frame to proceed with the management of the city transformations. In this way, urban regeneration projects gradually modifies and replaces the determinations of the General Master Plan. A convincing evidence of such assumption refers to the study cases of Bari, Bologna, Milan, Rome, and Turin.

Thirdly, urban regeneration can be understood as an instrument of Urban Planning responding to the demands of high-income class. They control the political power, so imposing their interest in the way to carry out the city building. In this way, both public and private urban agents promote a whole set urban regeneration actions aiming to promote the real estate developer-financial capital’s interests overshadowing the social demands. Such dynamics means the creation of new spaces of high economic and real estate performance, the so-called income-producing spaces.

Fourthly, it is important to remark that urban regeneration has a huge impact on the economic and social components of a specific space, providing it with a sustainability-oriented habitat aiming to improve the quality of the urban sector under regeneration. This argument is the most repeated in the existing scientific literature. In any case, the urban regeneration commitment drives the functional changes of the city: such action is powerfully expressed by the elimination of the “conflict zones”. This dynamics takes place not so much to solve the proper contradictions of the area to regenerate, but to move them to other

places in the city.

To sum up, resuming the way I analysed and dealt with urban regeneration, I argue that the latter can be seen as a capitalist-city-production-oriented mechanism which steer the “social-spatial segregation” of the capitalist city. In fact, urban regeneration makes it irreversible. Also, this consolidates the competitiveness between cities and territories to attract more investments and create, in turn, more inequalities.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS.

The concept of “Great Property” in an urban context as a starting point

“Great Property” is a term expressly coined for the writing of this thesis. It aims to explain the role of a specific property-activity in the European city-making process.

On the one hand, Great Properties can be defined as “land surfaces” – also as urban plots– demanded by activities that consume a large amount of space to develop as such. For instance, they are industries, military installations, railways, and so on, in addition to others which need such space in order to meet the population’s basic needs. The latter are “urban facilities” –i.e. equipment– such as hospitals and health institutions, and religious, educational, commercial, and political-administrative centres.

On the other hand, a Great Property is “capital in land” as it is capable to work as a merchandise due to its “exchange value”. Therefore, from this thesis’ point of view, speaking of Great Properties means both dealing with a large possession of land and with its capacity of exchange in the real estate market.

My analysis deals with the Great Property starting from its implications within the city-making process. These properties can also manifest themselves without being linked to a concrete activity, namely without being the support of specific productive processes. Though in some cases great properties fulfil their original role as income-producing spaces, the involvement of specific entrepreneurs would be necessary if they were to achieve urban development-led objectives –which are related to the city-making process. These entrepreneurs are obviously related to the real estate developer-financial capital and manage urban development following a series of patterns established to achieve the goals of the urban development and the city-making process.

There are two ways to achieve these goals. The first one would consist on the entrepreneurs renting the great property, thus becoming a “tenant”. This fact would allow them to exercise a specific economic activity settled on the rental property. The other option would be acquiring it, thus being “landowners”. By doing this, they would be able to undertake specific real estate actions thanks to

their purchase, also possible in the case that the original activity had become functionally obsolete.

In this sense, the urban-territorial-shaped Great Property is understood in its pure state, namely in its condition of “capital in land”. The Great Property is effectively used as “merchandise”, which presents “exchange value” as a “guarantee” even to undertake several types of stock market and financial activities beyond the purely real estate ones. These assumptions derive from – and are verified by– analysing the Great Property’s spatial repercussions in the city-making process where the city is intended as “capitalist city”.

Specifically, my analysis has dealt with the urban regeneration processes undertaken in Barcelona’s Poblenou and in Bilbao’s Ría riverfront (chapter 2). Both can be interpreted as the primordial large regeneration of post-industrial land which have established a specific path followed by other European cities like the Italian ones. And, more specifically, the analysis has focuses on the repercussions of the “materialisation-abandonment-regeneration” process of Italian Defence-owned assets. In this sense, I have studied the relationship between “urban development models”, “Urban Planning”, and the Agents involved in the management of the aforementioned process. The Italian military installations are the central reference for the thesis, since they are an “exemplary” case of the typical dynamics of the capitalist city mode of production (chapters 3, 4, and 5). Through these case studies, I have demonstrated how the management of the Great Property expresses the considerable contradictions of the capitalist city, i.e. the conflict between the ‘city as oeuvre’ and the ‘city as product’.

The role of the great property in the city-making process

The preliminary hypothesis is based on a reflection on the role played by the great property in the European city-making process during the 20th century, taking into account, in turn, its repercussions in the early 21st century. This process highlights a series of phases, stages, and diverse historical moments determined by a specific spatial component. Namely, these moments are the “construction-materialisation of the urban space”, its “dismantling-abandonment”, and, finally, its “regeneration”. When these three phases take place in the same space

successively over time, there is an accumulation effect that recreates, by spatial juxtaposition, a whole series of phenomena. The final result would explain the historical city-making process tackled by this thesis.

In a preliminary moment, the great property contributes to the construction-materialisation of those activities which need to consume a large amount of land. Basically, certain productive activities like leisure or national defence among others are strictly linked to a large property of land in order to be carried out. Among other issues, the analysis highlights the great property's "location" as a key element to understand the genesis of ground rents, both absolute and differential, in the frame of the capitalist mode of production. In fact, the consequent large urban regeneration processes would derive from the extrapolation of the ground rent and its use by real estate developer.

A certain activity linked to a great property having developed for a considerable amount of time causes the evolution of the city to go alongside of it, particularly in what it refers to its growth and development. Here the second moment starts to materialise. This dynamic derives from the involvement of the great property in the process of functional obsolescence affecting the object-activity located there. This is the first step in redesigning its (re)use so as to extract more value, i.e. more "rent" from its possible new functions. In short, I have here observed that the interests of capital impel, in some way, the dismantling, abandonment, emptiness, and ruin of the artefacts identified with these properties. It is not an overstatement to say that the activities installed there –such as those associated with mobility, industry, defence, education, traditional grocery shopping, and so on – totally disappear. Instead, they move to other parts of the territory, generally more peripheral ones, in line with the urban development patterns. Apparently, it looks like the aim is to turn the places they leave into "new income-producing spaces".

It is a matter of fact, this process of "abandonment and dismantling" of high-space-consuming activities is another phenomenon involved in the city-making process. It is not a turning point, it is not a retreat: it rather is a process showing its own logic.

The gradual underuse which leads to the definitive abandonment of large properties of land including the artefacts built there can be fundamentally understood as an essential and unavoidable phase of the process of the capitalist

city building. The speculative-oriented delay of the great property regeneration process is fundamental for fulfilling its successful outcome. If the economic conditions do not allow to undertake the operations of “renewal-regeneration” in a short period of time, it is quite common prolong the state of abandonment. The more this paralysis lasts, the more the degradation of the built and open spaces will be, which inexorably leads to a “declaration of ruin” with the consequent –and convenient– disappearance of the urban historical heritage.

As a culmination of this process, the great property is dispossessed of its original activity –one generally linked to the Fordist mode of production– opening the way to abandonment and, successively, regeneration. On top of that, the great property faces a third type of process –the most recent one– in the context of the city-making process, i.e. urban regeneration. The commitment to regeneration has no other objective than the creation of new “urban spaces for economic benefits”. The speculation on the possible new land value derived from the great property’s differential ground rent leads to the detriment of the original social reproduction spaces. As observed, through this third moment, urban regeneration operations aim to re-create the capitalist city.

The classification of the Great Property

Among the several activities linked to great properties, my analysis essentially highlights the land possessions identified with industrial, military, and railway installations. The materialisation and persistence of such activities over time is the result of their necessary interdependence in the frame of the compactness and complexity of the Fordist mode of production. Precisely because of this condition, these properties can be included within a certain type of capital, i.e. the “landowner industrial capital”. Such type of capital, which includes the great industrial, military and railway properties, is simultaneously “producer” and “owner”. Such characteristics allow these properties to be subject to relocalisation processes which make the “capital in land” they possess profitable. This process is so greatly supported in order to proceed with the modernisation of their facilities, even to reconvert them into other productive sectors. The condition of owning industrial “capital in land” is what basically allows the landowner to carry out these kinds of actions. That is why the analysis emphasises the importance

of these types of activities-properties in the European capitalistic city-making process.

Overall, despite the thesis' scope especially focused on industrial, military, and railway areas, the analysis must take into account other activities whose spatial materialisation requires a large amount of space. The analysis presented the need to deepen the knowledge on these other activities because they are illustrative of the presence of specific popular or bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction spaces, or a mixture of the two. These are markets, large commercial spaces, administrative institutions such as offices of public entities, educational facilities such as schools and universities, religious facilities such as convents, monasteries, and churches; public parks, and so on.

1. The great industrial properties' role in the transformation-end of the Fordist city

The city's industrial activities settlements contributed to launching the first socio-spatial disaggregation of the traditional city, as well as the creation of specific industrial zones where the working class housed and worked. Once the urban development model evolved from the compact city to urban sprawl, via disaggregation, industrial installations changed their status. Such transformation aimed to promote new profitable functions for the global economies and to enhance the real estate market at a greater territorial level. In general, the new uses were linked to tertiary activities, leisure time, and consumerism in order to contribute to the creation of new "areas of centrality" towards a materialisation of the "city as product". The abandonment is induced and the urban regeneration imposed: both of them are based on a passive Urban Planning practice, as well as on the fleeting interaction between public and private actors.

Such dynamics allowed to undertake urban renewal and regeneration actions, which scarcely took into account the existing social, economic, and urban values, as the cases of Barcelona and Bilbao demonstrate. Overall, a process strongly linked with "social class appropriation" can be observed. On the one hand, a new urban environment has been created for high-income classes. On the other hand, the working class has been displaced from the old industrial neighbourhoods –i.e. strategic places for the logic of capital–, this because of the disappearance of the existing urban fabric. Both phenomena contribute to the

creation of new urban spaces for economic benefit, insofar as they make the materialisation of new areas of centrality possible.

In short, as the end Fordism arrived and the city expanded into non-urbanised peripheral territories, the large industrial properties, along with the railroad, were the first to leave and make space for the new opportunities responding to the global economic demands.

2. The role of great railway properties in the extension of the traditional city and in inter-territorial exchanges

Railways and railway stations have worked as promoters of the urban expansion and transformation of cities within the framework of the fordist socio-economic model in order to fulfil the interests of capital in concrete historical moments. The territorial effects of such transformations have been the expansion of the city and the consequent creation of new “areas of centrality” in- and out-of-the-city-centres. The presence of the railway contributed to enhancing the Fordist city’s industrial-productive activities. Furthermore, as the urban development model reached the “territorial dispersion” phase in parallel with the consolidation of private transport, the transformation of these great properties had a profound impact on the city’s urban renewal-regeneration.

The transition to post-Fordism meant a change for railway installations, which until then had been closely linked to urban centres. Their location has become strategic for the creation of new areas of centrality in the context of the dispersed city, as they are profitable opportunities in the real estate market.

Privatising such public-owned properties has important consequences. With the railways’ induced obsolescence, urban transformations were forced in order to enhance the model of the city as product in detriment of the ‘city as oeuvre’. Such process is similar to what happened with the industrial properties. Industries and railway facilities have always shown a rigorous interrelation as the existence of the former supposed the presence of the latter, and vice versa. This Fordist society mutual relationship was forcefully reverted in order to change the territorial conformation of a certain urban environment. In addition, such modification has also supposed a key factor in promoting the abandonment of military areas that, in turn, depended on industry and railways for the production of weapons and the mobility of troops.

3. The great military properties: from national defence to an opportunity for urban and territorial regeneration

Why have I focused my analysis on Italian military installations? Why specifically Italy?

As a matter of fact, the abandonment-regeneration of such areas is configured as a historical process expressing a specific aspect of the production-reproduction of the urban space. Having this as a starting point, some considerations regarding the process of late abandonment to which military settlements were subjected to can be discussed. First, it is worth highlighting the typical dynamics affecting military properties in the frame of the capitalist city starting from the late 19th century up to date. At that time such areas were central in terms of location due to the needs of national defence; following the patterns of urban development, they were gradually incorporated into the city-making process. Military properties were effectively utilised as merchandise in order to generate new urban spaces; they were therefore displaced from centre to periphery.

Second, from the 1970s onwards, the military areas began to follow the patterns of railway installations and industries. “Military regeneration” emulated the “industrial and railway regeneration” though happening later in time because the military firmly resisted abandoning their properties. The factors pushing towards urban regeneration were urban development patterns and the international geopolitical changes which had a great spatial influence on the dismantling-abandonment of Defence’s assets.

The Italian case constitutes an outstanding one as it shows a series of tendencies surely happening in other European states as in all of them the Ministry of Defence owns a huge quantity of land.

Starting from the late 1980s, in the international context large military land started a process of disposal and regeneration. Italy represents a territorial context where such properties were originally located in the peripheries or in some cases even in central zones. As a matter of fact, such favourable location contributed to their gradual underuse, and functional obsolescence as mechanisms leading to regeneration for the fulfilment of other functions according to the logic of real estate developer-financial capital.

In this sense, I have observed the urban agents-led speculative dynamics managing the military properties, specifically those patterns which depend on the proposing actor, such as the Ministry of Defence, the State Property Agency, local public administrations, real estate developer-financial capital, and so on.

The strategies adopted by the actors involved were channelled by legislative tools and Urban Plans. In light of this situation, urban regeneration took place aiming to create new profit-driven spaces which adopted the form of areas of centrality. It does not matter whether these strategies are now in place or not. The important thing is that they already defined a specific guideline to follow, choosing the model of the 'city as product' in detriment of the 'city as oeuvre'. To sum up, this is one of the most outstanding devices utilised within the capitalist city-making process in order to manage socio-spatial segregation.

4. The Great Property as the base for quality activities consuming a large quantity of space. Urban regeneration as objective

Specific activities established in large properties of land are the expression of society demands and serve to guarantee the urban life of the citizens. Such properties hold specific activities in order to provide the popular social reproduction spaces whose quality guarantees the creation-recreation of the 'city as oeuvre'.

For instance, such activities can be administrative, providing the adequate spaces for the needs of the state or the local public administrations; training facilities which carry out cultural and educational activities; religious sites that foster religious beliefs; markets as consumption centres near the local populations; museums, civic centres, and so on.

It is worth noting that the quality of well-equipped urban areas can be interpreted as a good opportunity to undertake future urban renewal-regeneration actions. In this sense, I observed two dynamics.

First, the presence of a good system of equipment (such as parks, infrastructure system, and so on) has been the excuse for realising a social cleansing of specific urban sectors by means of the declaration of a hypothetic social marginalisation and carelessness of the existent urban space. In this case, I have observed that the good quality of popular social reproduction spaces derives from their socio-spatial bases. Such bases were those that fostered a

transformation creating new activities linked to the phenomenon of centrality. Such modification have led to a social change benefitting the high class; this would mean an exclusive use of the former popular social reproduction spaces. For instance, Milan's Baggio zone presents such characteristics –i.e. equipment for medium-low- and low-social classes and social marginalisation– enabling the emptying of the Baggio warehouses-Parade Ground in order to create new profit-oriented spaces.

Second, and by contrasting with the previous dynamics, there are certain zones which do not present adequate conditions to create popular social reproduction spaces. Such areas were previously characterised by the presence of industrial, military, and railway activities but then they were managed to boost new high quality functions for the upper class. This is the leitmotiv observed starting from the second half of the 19th century-City Extension process and the realisation of new areas of centrality, whether the latter were residential or aimed to host new global economies-fostered activities. For instance, Bolognina neighbourhood shows such trend because its urban regeneration process aims to create a new residential centrality intended as a bourgeoisie-intended social reproduction space.

By way of conclusion

The research carried out within this thesis definitely opens up a new path to explore in the field of international urban studies. It is about understanding the capitalist city through the role of the great property, specifically the military one in the Italian case.

Firstly, among the achievements, I have developed a methodological approach aimed at meet the thesis' goals, being created following the research approach and hypotheses. Such methodology refers to the comprehension of the triple and indivisible process of "construction-abandonment-regeneration" of artefacts-functions which a great property needs in order to exist. In this way I have planned a path to tackle the capitalist city-making process. The methodology is not indifferent to the thesis, but created in its context; therefore, it does not proceed from "universal approaches" outlined separately from the

phenomenon investigated. I would say that «*each academic work requires its own methodology*».

Secondly, I remark the contributions achieved by the state of the art on the issue analysed (chapter 1) by taking up and extrapolating some considerations from the scientific analyses carried out in the field of urban studies. This study permits the extrapolation of precise considerations regarding the way to understand the processes of “construction-abandonment-dismantling” of military installations. In chapter 1 I have formulated some critical-interpretative reflections and extend them to other disciplines other than urbanism or architecture. Such considerations contributed to create a basic ideological support on which to carry out unprecedented and detailed studies on the behaviour of the Great Property in the capitalist city-making process.

And, last but not least, I would like to highlight the application of the analysis to the military great properties of Italy. The urban narratives of eight Italian municipalities –i.e. Rome, Milan, Turin, Bologna, Belluno, Bari, Oderzo, and Ceggia– has allowed me to cover a whole series of case studies. The interpretation of such casuistry provides with a clear and convincing framework for understanding the process of construction-abandonment-regeneration of the Italian city starting from its Defence assets. Despite the fact that the Anglo-Saxon way of carrying out the case studies implies an adequate comparison, the approach of my thesis “rebels” against it, since I consider it superficial in some cases. By contrast, my study proposes a more in-depth analysis when it comes to achieving the objectives of the research. This makes the thesis even more original and involved in the explication of the European city-making process.

Open paths to set in motion new research

Among the issues not addressed in this thesis, I would like to mention the ones which would deserve special attention for further research in the future:

1. A census of the military presence in Italy at local, supra-municipal, and territorial scale in order to reach the objective to discover the total presence in the whole State. It would be an unprecedented work in the field of urban studies, which has not been carried out by the public institutions in charge of the management of the public real estate assets, including the military ones. This type of analysis should be undertaken as well as a study on the territorial effects

of regulations, both at a state and regional level, thus interpreting them in order to understand their effective capacity to carry out regeneration projects. Though the thesis cites regulations on the disposal of military property, this is a task that goes beyond the scope of the research.

2. In strictly connection with the preceding point, it would be necessary to make a comparison between the Italian case and other European countries, such as Germany, France, Spain, and the United Kingdom. The aim would be the understanding the ways the management of military premises have been carried out after their official abandonment. The analysis from an urban history perspective should always be based on the patterns established in chapters 3, 4, and 5, all of which accompanied by the legislation developed in each country.

Glossary of acronyms and abbreviations

- A.I.S.U.: Italian Association of Urban History (*Associazione Italiana di Storia Urbana*)
 A.N.C.I.: National Association of Italian Municipalities (*Associazione nazionale comuni italiani*)
 art.: article (*articolo*)
 C.D.P.: Cassa Depositi e Prestiti
 D. D.: Directorial Decree (*Decreto Direttoriale*)
 D. L.: Decree Law (*Decreto Legge*)
 D. Lgs.: Lgs. D. Legislative Decree (*Decreto Legislativo*)
 D.M.: Ministerial Decree (*Decreto Ministeriale*)
 D.M.E.F.: Italian Ministry of the Economy's Decree (*Decreto del Ministero dell'Economia e delle Finanze*)
 D.P.C.M.: Prime Minister's Decree (*Decreto del Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri*)
 F.a.t.e.: From army to entrepreneurship
 F.C.: Football Club
 F.I.A.T. : Italian Car Manufacturer of Torino (*Fabbrica Italiana Automobili Torino*)
 F.I.F.A.: *Fédération Internationale de Football Association*
 F.I.V.: real estate investment fund belonging to C.D.P. (*Fondo Investimenti per la Valorizzazione*)
 G.U.: Official Journal (*Gazzetta Ufficiale*)
 HQ-LAND.SOUTH.: Headquarters of the Allied Land Forces Southern Europe
 I.A.C.P.: Independent Public Housing Institute (*Istituto Autonomo Case Popolari*)
 I.G.M.I.: Italian Military Geographical Institute (*Istituto Geografico Militare Italiano*)
 I.N.C.I.S.: State Employee Housing National Institute (*Istituto Nazionale Case Impiegati Statali*)
 Inv.im.it: asset management company of the Italian Ministry of Economy and Finance (*Investimenti Immobiliari Italiani Sgr S.p.a.*)
 I.U.A.V.: Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia
 L.: Law (*Legge*)
 L.R.: Regional Law (*Legge Regionale*)
 Mi.B.A.C: Ministry of Heritage and Cultural Activities (*Ministero dei Beni e le Attività Culturali*)³⁵²
 M.i.s.te.r.: Military and industrial sites reuse
 M.I.U.R.: Ministry of Education, University and Research (*Ministero dell'Istruzione dell'Università e della Ricerca*)
 N.A.D.G.E.: Nato Air Defence Ground Environment
 N.A.T.O.: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 O.G.R.: workshop for trains (*Officine Grandi Riparazioni*)
 P.A.T.: Structure Plan in Veneto Region (*Piano di Assetto del Territorio*)
 P.G.M.: Metropolitan General Master Plan (*Plan General Metropolitano* in Spanish)
 P.G.T.: Territorial Government Plan in Lombardia Region (*Piano di Governo del Territorio*)
 P.O.C.: Local Operative Plan in Emilia-Romagna Region (*Piano Operativo Comunale*)
 P.R.G.: General Master Plan (*Piano Regolatore Generale*)
 P.I.: Operative Plan in Veneto Region (*Piano degli interventi*)
 P.I.R.U.E.A.: Integrated Programme for Urban, Building and Environmental Rehabilitation (*Programma Integrato di Riqualificazione Urbanistica, Edilizia e Ambientale*)
 P.R.U.S.S.T.: Urban Regeneration Programme in Veneto Region (*Programmi di Riqualificazione Urbana e di Sviluppo Sostenibile del Territorio*)
 P.S.C.: Local Structure Plan in Emilia-Romagna Region (*Piano Strutturale Comunale*)

³⁵² Until 12 July 2018 it was called Mi.b.a.c.t., Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism (*Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo*).

P.U.Va.T.: Territorial Valuation Unitarian Programmes (*Programma Unitario di Valorizzazione Territoriale*, from 2012)³⁵³
R.A.P.U.: Italian Network of Urban Plans (*Rete Archivi Piani Urbanistici*)
R.F.I.: Italian Railway Network (*Rete Ferroviaria Italiana*)
R.O.C.: Regional Operation Center
R.U.E.: Building Regulations in Emilia-Romagna Region (*Regolamento Urbanistico Edilizio*)
S.C.A.T.: Ceirano Society Car Manufacturer of Torino (*Società Ceirano Automobili Torino*)
S.E.T.A.F.: Southern European Task Force
S.g.r.: investment management company (*Società di gestione del risparmio*)
S.p.a.: public limited company (*Società per azioni*)
S.r.l.: limited liability company (*Società a responsabilità limitata*)
Sta.ve.Co.: Fighting vehicle factory (*Stabilimento veicoli da combattimento*)
U.E.: European Union
U.K.: United Kingdom
U.P.I.M.: Italian chain (*Unico Prezzo Italiano Milano Grandi Magazzini*)
URB.ACT: Urban Action Europe
U.S.A.: United States of America

³⁵³ From 2007 to 2011-2012 it was called P.U.V. (*Programma Unitario di Valorizzazione*).

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

CATEGORIES

Basic bibliographic references.

In-depth analysed texts and documents.

Consulted bibliographical references.

Texts and documents studied and recognised as scientific supports to the thesis.

Bibliographical references that have not been decisive in the elaboration of the thesis.

Bibliographical references not incorporated into the thesis, but which have been taken into account as reference.

In each of these bibliographical categories, I consider the following themes:

- The construction of the 'Capital City'. Theories and interpretations.
- Great Property and its influence on the city-making process.
- Urban and Territorial Planning.
- Urban Renewal and Regeneration.
- Management of public real estate (including military), disposal, and commons.
- Processes of abandonment, ruin, and dismantling of industrial, railway and military heritage.

Basic bibliographic references.

- The construction of the 'Capital City'. Theories and interpretations.

Campos Venuti, G. (1967). *Amministrare l'urbanistica*. Turín: Einaudi. In Spanish: Campos Venuti, G. (1981). *La administración del urbanismo*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili.

The book is the first major publication by the Italian town planner aimed at analysing the problems affecting cities and territories in Italy in order to define an alternative way of planning. This alternative should be formulated either with respect to what has been theorised until then in the framework of the rationalist urbanism, or to avoid the speculative and parasitic effects of the urban Ground rent.

Campos Venuti, G. (1978). *Urbanistica e austerità*. Milán: Feltrinelli. In Spanish: Campos Venuti, G. (1981). *Urbanismo y austeridad*. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores.

The author proposes an "austerity-led" reform for the Italian urban planning, city and territory in the framework of a more general process of renewal and transformation of Italian society itself. The relaunch of a democratic urban planning should be based on the five safeguards (public, social, productive, environmental, and programmatic) which could represent the programmatic and symbolic manifesto of the so-called "reformist urbanism".

Della Seta, P. and Salzano, E. (1993). *L'Italia a sacco. Come negli incredibili anni '80 nacque e si diffuse Tangentopoli*. Roma: Editori Riuniti.

The authors investigate the causes and effects of the phenomenon of deregulation in Italy, the latter being a process which gradually led to the capitalist "appropriation" of the Italian city in the late 20th century. This practice still plays a fundamental role in the Italian city-making process.

Lefebvre, H. (1968). *Le droit à la ville*. Paris: Anthropos.

The French philosopher and thinker reflects on the purpose of urban society, emphasising the city, particularly its central areas, as a place for the life of citizens and not only as a commodity that real estate developer-financial capital appropriates to satisfy their needs, thus displacing the weaker population from the centre to the periphery.

Lefebvre, H. (1974). *La production de l'espace*. Paris: Anthropos.

In this philosophical essay, Lefebvre investigates and clarifies the concept of 'production of space' and its appropriation by capitalism. In particular, Lefebvre points out that the reproduction of the relations of capitalist production occurs in space and by space.

Leira, E., Gago, J. and Solana, I. (1976). Madrid: cuarenta años de crecimiento. *Ciudad y territorio*, 2-3, 43-66.

By taking into account the specific case of Madrid, the authors explain the rapid growth of the capitalist city, which leave empty spaces to be successively exploit. The analysis shows that politics and housing policy have been strongly marked the urban growth.

Lipetz, A. (1974). *Le tribut foncière urbaine. Calculation du capital et propriété foncière dans la production du cadre bâti*. Paris: Maspéro. In Italian: Lipetz, A. (1977). *La rendita fondiaria nella città: circolazione del capitale e proprietà fondiaria nella produzione edilizia*. Milán: Feltrinelli.

The French economist contributes to the explanation of the spatial development of contemporary capitalism in Europe. It is the best book read for the thesis on the application of the concept of absolute and differential ground rent.

Marx, K. (1894). *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy .Volume III. The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole*. New York: International Publisher. Retrieved from

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Capital-Volume-III.pdf>. In Spanish: Marx, K. (1973). *El Capital. Crítica de la economía política*. México: Edición del Fondo de Cultura Económica (1946, 8th edition).

In the third volume of “Capital”, the importance of two chapters of the Part VI of the book is highlighted, namely chapter XXXVII “Transformation of Surplus-Profit into Ground-Rent -Introduction” and chapter XLV “Building Site Rent. Rent in Mining. Price of Land” for the understanding of the mechanisms behind the production processes of urban land.

Stein S., 2019. *Capital city. Gentrification and the real estate state*. London-New York: Verso.

The book analyses how capitalism and real estate developer-financial capital shape the city taking into consideration the case of United States. The manuscript can be interpreted as one of the most noticeable recent basic references for interpreting the possible consequences of the mode of production of the European capitalist city.

Vieille, P. (1973). *Marche de terrains et société urbaine*. Paris: Maspéro. In Spanish: Vielle, P. (1975). *Mercado de terrenos y sociedad urbana*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili.

This book is one of the most outstanding works on capitalist urbanisation that better transfers Marx’s analysis of ‘land rent’ into the construction of a new knowledge about ‘urban rent’.

- Great Property and its influence on the city-making process.

Aguilar, I. et al. (Eds.) (1980). *Las estaciones ferroviarias de Madrid. Su arquitectura e incidencia en el desarrollo de la ciudad*. Madrid: Colegio oficial de arquitectos de Madrid.

The book’s editors study the role of railway stations in the city-making process, focusing on the case of Madrid. This study relates their materialisation, abandonment, and transformation in the context of urban renewal processes affecting the built urban environment characterised by the presence of such large properties.

Baccichet, M. (Ed.) (2015), *Fortezza FGV. Dalla guerra fredda alle aree militari dismesse*. Monfalcone (Gorizia): Edicom.

The research clarifies the scope and complexity of the processes of construction and abandonment of military premises in Friuli-Venezia Giulia Region. The book shows the connection between the strategies of military materialisation to a

specific policy, perhaps the latter not explicitly expressed. In a completely opposite way, the analysis demonstrates how the phenomenon of abandonment moves on a totally improvised, not to say anarchic, level.

Crimi, L. (Ed.) (1990). *Strutture militari e territorio. Atti del convegno di studio*. Cortina d'Ampezzo (Belluno): Regione del Veneto.

The book gathers a series of essays from different fields of studies focused on the issues related to the military presence in the Veneto Region. One of the most remarkable aspects of this work is the declared need for an inter-institutional coordination aimed at reconciling the objectives of the Defence with the urban and territorial reconfiguration based on military premises.

Devoti, C. (Ed.) (2018). *Gli spazi dei militari e l'urbanistica della città. L'Italia del Nord-ovest (1815-1918). Storia dell'urbanistica n. 10/2018*. Roma: Edizioni Kappa. Retrieved from https://www.storiadellacitta.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Militaria_light_72.pdf

It is one of the most exhaustive studies carried out on the relationship between great military properties and the Italian city-making process between the 19th century and the first part of the 20th century, specifically focused on the northwestern part of the country.

Mas Hernández, R. (2003). *La presencia militar en las ciudades. Orígenes y desarrollo del espacio urbano militar en España*. Madrid: Catarata.

The analysis is carried out from the point of view of Spanish geography. The book deals with the way military logic and strategies affects the city-making process and the design of urban space between the mid-19th century and the military rebellion of 1936. Most specifically, the study regards the repercussions of the military presence in the organisation of the Spanish cities, plus showing a strong projection up to the date of publication of the book.

Vv. Aa. (1989a). *Esercito e città. Dall'Unità agli anni Trenta. Atti del Convegno di studi (Perugia, 11-14 maggio 1988). Tomo I, Tomo II*. Roma: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici.

Both books regard an important part of the Italian history. Volume I relates the role and function of the Army in the national urban context between 1861 and 1930 by means of the focus on social, economic, and urban history. Volume II, entitled "Military Settlements and Urban Transformations", analyses the part of military artefacts in the processes of urban transformation. The second book points out the changes occurred in the urban transformation of 24 cities characterised by an extensive presence of military settlements. The intervention of Italo Insolera "Insediamenti militari e trasformazioni urbane" (pp. 663-675, "Military premises and urban transformations") is the most outstanding for the purpose of the thesis.

- Urban and Territorial Planning.

Apur (1987). *L'aménagement de l'Est de Paris. Paris Projet n. 27-28*, Paris: Apur.

The monographic issue of the magazine published by the Paris Urbanism Agency clearly highlights the strategies for "cleaning up" the existing social and economic fabric in order to undertake the urban renewal plan/programme for the eastern

part of Paris. The particularity of this Plan/Programme is the regeneration of great property-capitals in land to create new areas of centrality.

Benevolo, L. (2012). *Il tracollo dell'urbanistica italiana*. Bari-Rome: Laterza.

Leonardo Benevolo's book critically analyses the evolution of the urban planning discipline in Italy in the post-WWII period. The author highlights the close relationship between two factors, i.e. urban planning and state and regional legislation, and the perverse effects of deregulation processes on the Italian cities.

Campos Venuti, G. et. al. (Eds.) (1985), *Firenze per una urbanistica della qualità*. Venecia: Marsilio.

The book relates the progress of the Florence 1985 General Master Plan which critically updates the proposals of the previous 1962 Plan according to the approach of the reformist urban planning. This was a new way of tackling the urban transformations to be carried out in Florence.

Campos Venuti, G. (Ed. Oliva, F.) (1991). *L'urbanistica riformista. Antologia di scritti, lezioni e piani*. Milan: Etaslibri.

The book exposes the disciplinary, civil, and cultural commitment of reformist urbanism by means of an anthological approach to the research carried out by Campos Venuti throughout his career. The research comprises several issues, such as the studies on the structure of the real estate regime, the critical review of the rationalist urban plan, and the ecology to be included in the decision-making process.

Campos Venuti, G. and Oliva, F. (Eds.) (1993a). *Cinquant'anni di urbanistica in Italia 1942-1992*. Bari-Rome: Laterza. In Spanish: Campos Venuti, G. y Oliva, F. (Eds.) (1994a). *Cinquenta años de urbanística en Italia 1942-1992*. Madrid: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Boletín Oficial del Estado.

The book is the main practical and theoretical manual for an in-depth analysis of all the vicissitudes in Italian urbanism since the promulgation of the Italian General Town Planning Act no. 1150/1942. It also analysed the transformations which have affected the Italian society and their territorial repercussions, both in urban and peripheral areas.

Oliva, F. (1984). *Il modello dell'urbanistica alternativa*. Milán: Franco Angeli.

The book follows the "Campos Venuti, G. and Oliva, F. (Eds.) (1978). *Urbanistica alternativa a Pavia*. Venice: Marsilio" on the Pavia 1976 General Master Plan, which is one of the most emblematic examples of the alternative urbanism model whose strategies tend to combat distortions of the extrapolation of the urban ground rent.

Ricci, L. (Ed.) (2001). Il nuovo piano di Roma/The new urban plan for Rome. *Urbanistica*, 116, 41-212.

The section of the magazine "*Urbanistica*" edited by Laura Ricci comprises the contents of the new General Master Plan of Rome, which manifests itself as a sort of "reformist alternative" to urban deregulation.

- Urban Renewal and Regeneration.

Álvarez Mora, A. (1978). *La remodelación del centro de Madrid*. Madrid: Ayuso.

The manuscript clarifies and analyses the process of urban renewal and functional, structural, and social change which affect the central areas of the Spanish capital. The author shows the process of tertiarisation of Madrid's urban centre by means of the study of urban planning and an unprecedented way of carrying out some case studies of urban renewal already finalised at that time.

Álvarez Mora, A. (1979). *Madrid. Las transformaciones del Centro-Ciudad en el Modo de Producción Capitalista*. Madrid: COAM.

The book interprets the urban transformation affecting the historic city of Madrid, this characterised by an "appropriation" process conducted by large landowners belonging to the real estate developer-financial capital. The analysis shows that the cleaning up through urban renewal operations means put the urban historical heritage into the real estate market.

Álvarez Mora, A. and Camerin, F. (2019). La herencia del urban renewal en los procesos de regeneración urbana: el recorrido Renovación-Regeneración a debate. *Ciudad y Territorio. Estudios territoriales*, 51(199), 5-26.

The paper looks at the correlation between the processes of urban renewal began in the United States in the late 1940s and the more recent processes of urban regeneration in Europe, particularly in Spain and Italy.

Bagaeen, S. and Clark, C. (Eds.). (2016). *Sustainable Regeneration of Former Military Sites*. London-New York: Routledge.

The most outstanding international reference on urban regeneration projects on the ground of abandoned military sites. Nevertheless, the book shows the lack of partiality of this study so this book can be intended as a first essay in order to deepen the issues it faces.

Campos Venuti, G. (1987). *La terza generazione dell'urbanistica*. Milan: Franco Angeli.

The manuscript analyses the history of Italian town planning in the second half of the 20th century through an original methodology of reading and interpreting the general master plan. This methodology recognises three different types of plan (corresponding to the First, Second, and Third generations, focusing above all on the latter) in relation to the evolution of the social, economic, and cultural context of the Italian society.

Solà-Morales i Rubió, M. de, et al. (1974). *Barcelona: remodelación capitalista o desarrollo urbano en el sector de La Ribera oriental*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili.

The book puts into evidence the conditions of the urban renewal process in Barcelona with a special emphasis on the so-called "Ribera Plan" and "Redevelopment Contra-plan" against the logic of capital. The book's contents revealed the symptom of what was happening at that time in the context of the capitalist society-fostered new conformation of the city.

- Management of public real estate (including military), disposal, and commons.

Gaeta, L. and Savoldi, P. (Eds.) (2013). *Orientamenti per la gestione del patrimonio immobiliare pubblico*. Milan: Società Italiana degli Urbanisti.

The work highlights some of the most critical and emerging issues in the management of public real estate in Italy, such as the alienation of cultural and military assets, through a critical review of various case studies.

Quarta, A. (2016), La riconversione delle caserme dismesse: nuovi paradigmi per la proprietà pubblica. *Rivista critica del diritto privato*, 34(4), 609-624.

This paper deals with the alienation and regeneration of Italian barracks intended as public property. This work stands out for being one of the best updated references on the relationship between the national regulation and the territorial government on the subject of military assets.

Parlato, S. and Vaciago, G. (2002). La dismissione degli immobili pubblici: la lezione del passato e le novità della legge n. 410, 23 novembre 2001. *Quaderni Ricerche per l'economia e la finanza*, 8, 1-26. Retrieved from https://www.ref-e.com/downloads/q8_ref.pdf

This paper is one of the first and most outstanding studies published on the legislation regarding the management of the Italian public real estate assets. This research points out the most relevant factors which led to the failure of the past experiences, such as the overlapping of Laws, the lack of knowledge about public real estate current characteristics, and the absence of good practices to manage such assets.

Signorile, N. (2014). *Diario Rossani. La difesa dello spazio pubblico e la privatizzazione della città*. Bari: Caratteri Mobili.

The book emphasises the process of privatization and reconquest of the public space of the city by means of the citizens' actions. The author refers to the specific case of abandonment-dismantling-regeneration of the former Rossani barracks in Bari, which represents one of the most emblematic current example of the contradictions of the capitalist city's mode of production in the Italian city.

- Processes of abandonment, ruin, and dismantling of industrial, railway and military heritage.

Commissione IV Difesa (1999). *La dismissione dei beni immobili della Difesa nell'ambito della ristrutturazione delle Forze Armate. Indagini conoscitive e documentazioni legislative n. 21*. Rome: Camera dei Deputati-Servizio commissioni.

The research carried out by the Italian Parliament's "Committee IV Defence" between 1997 and 1999 highlighted the main issues of economic, urban, territorial, and social nature in the context of the regulations on the disposal the Italian Armed Forces assets.

Fiorino, D.R. (Ed.) (2017). *Military Landscapes. A future for military heritage. Atti del convegno*. Milan: Skirà.

It can be considered a manual of the management of abandoned military areas gathering a wide casuistry at international level, being the final product of the international conference that took place in Sardinia in June 2017.

Santarossa, A. and Scirè Risichella, G. (Eds.) (2016). *Un paese di Primule e caserme*. Pordenone: Cinemazero.

It represents the most important work carried out at regional level (specifically, in Friuli-Venezia Giulia Region) on the phenomenon of military abandonment. The book includes a specific research under the point of view of architecture, urban planning, and multimedia (photographic and film). The manuscript also offers a wide range of real solutions for the reuse of military premises, referring to three different scenarios research based on ecological, tourist, and energy network at regional scale.

Storelli F. and Turri F. (Eds.) (2014), *Le caserme e la città. I beni immobili della Difesa tra abbandoni, dismissioni e riusi*. Rome: Palombi.

This book represents the most extensive territorial research carried out in Italy in the field of urban and architectural studies in Italy. It analyses in depth the case of Italian barracks belonging to the Army and their construction and disposal process, but above all it focuses on their regeneration from an architectural rather than an urban planning point of view.

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Álvarez Mora, A. (Ed.) (2013). *Políticas urbanas aplicadas a los conjuntos históricos: logros y fracasos. Hacia una propuesta de rehabilitación urbana como alternativa al modelo inmobiliario extensivo*. Valladolid: Instituto Universitario de Urbanística de Valladolid.

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ANNEX I. REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE PROCESSES OF CONSTRUCTION-ABANDONMENT-REGENERATION OF GREAT MILITARY PROPERTIES IN ITALY

Laws regarding the materialisation of the Ministry of Defence assets

- Royal Decree of 7 July 1866, no. 3036 “*Per la soppressione delle Corporazioni religiose*”, articles 11, 18, 20, and 21. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/1866/07/08/066U3036/sg>;
- Royal Decree of 21 July 1866, no. 3070 “*Che approva il Regolamento sulla soppressione delle Corporazioni religiose e sull’asse ecclesiastico*”, art. 30. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/1866/07/23/066U3070/sg>;
- Law no. 15 August 1867, no. 3848 “*Per la liquidazione dell’asse ecclesiastico*”, art. 7. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/1867/08/20/067U3848/sg>;
- Royal Decree of 22 August 1867, no. 3852 “*Che approva il Regolamento per l’esecuzione della Legge sulla liquidazione dell’asse ecclesiastico*”, articles 73, 74, 75, and 88. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/1867/08/24/067U3852/sg>;
- Bill no. 331/1987 presented in the Chamber of Deputies “*Proposta di Legge n. 331. Programma decennale per la costruzione di apprestamenti infrastrutturali delle forze armate*”.

Laws regarding the disposal of Ministry of Defence assets.

- Bill no. 148/1972 presented in the Senat of the Republic “*Disegno di legge n. 148 del 6 luglio 1972: Dismissione di immobili militari ed assegnazione di fondi per il potenziamento delle Forze Armate*”. Retrieved from <https://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/DF/279315.pdf>
- Law no. 47/1981 “*Modifiche ed integrazioni alle leggi 18 agosto 1978, n. 497, e 5 agosto 1978, n. 457, dirette a facilitare l’acquisizione da parte del Ministero della difesa di immobili da destinare ad alloggi e servizi per le Forze armate. G.U. 7 marzo 1981, n. 66*”. Retrieved from http://www.edizionieuropee.it/LAW/HTML/23/zn46_08_41a.html;
- Bill no. 306/1987 presented in the Chamber of Deputies “*Proposta di Legge n. 306. Nuova disciplina del trasferimento di uso di aree demaniali a fini pubblici e sociali e norme per la programmazione delle costruzioni militari*”

- Law no. 662/1996 (1997 Finance Act) “*Misure di razionalizzazione della finanza pubblica*”, art. 3.112 and 113. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/1996/12/28/096G0686/sg>
- Law no. 127/1997 (1998 Finance Act) “*Misure urgenti per lo snellimento dell'attivita' amministrativa e dei procedimenti di decisione e di controllo*”, art. 17.65. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/1997/05/17/097G0161/sg>;
- Law no. 448/1998 (1999 Finance Act) “*Misure di finanza pubblica per la stabilizzazione e lo sviluppo*”, art. 44. Retrieved from <http://www.parlamento.it/parlam/leggi/98448l02.htm>;
- Law no. 448/1999 (2000 Finance Act) “*Disposizioni per la formazione del bilancio annuale e pluriennale dello Stato (legge finanziaria 2000)*”, art. 4.11. Retrieved from <https://www.camera.it/parlam/leggi/99488l.htm>;
- Law no. 388/2000 (2001 Finance Act) “*Disposizioni per la formazione del bilancio annuale e pluriennale dello Stato (legge finanziaria 2001)*”, art. 43.7, 43.8, 43.9, 43.10, 43.11, 43.14, 43.16 and 43.17. Retrieved from <https://www.camera.it/parlam/leggi/00388l.htm>;
- Law no. 410/2001 “*Conversione in legge, con modificazioni, del decreto-legge 25 settembre 2001, n. 351, recante disposizioni urgenti in materia di privatizzazione e valorizzazione del patrimonio immobiliare pubblico e di sviluppo dei fondi comuni di investimento immobiliare*”. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2001/11/24/001G0471/sg>;
- Law no. 326/2003 “*Conversione in legge, con modificazioni, del decreto-legge 30 settembre 2003, n. 269, recante disposizioni urgenti per favorire lo sviluppo e per la correzione dell'andamento dei conti pubblici*”, art 27.13, 27.13-bis, 27.13-ter, 27.13-ter-1, 27.13-ter-2, 27.13-ter-3, 27.13-quater, 27.13-quinquies, and 27.13-sexies. Retrieved from <https://www.camera.it/parlam/leggi/03326l.htm>;
- Law no. 133/2008 “*Conversione in legge, con modificazioni, del decreto-legge 25 giugno 2008, n. 112, recante disposizioni urgenti per lo sviluppo economico, la semplificazione, la competitività, la stabilizzazione della finanza pubblica e la perequazione tributaria*”, art. 14-bis. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2008/08/21/008G0155/sg>;
- Lgs. D. n. 85/2010 “*Attribuzione a comuni, province, città metropolitane e regioni di un proprio patrimonio, in attuazione dell'articolo 19 della legge 5 maggio 2009, n. 42*”. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2010/06/11/010G0108/sg>;
- Law no. 191/2009 (2010 Finance Act) “*Disposizioni per la formazione del bilancio annuale e pluriennale dello Stato (legge finanziaria 2010)*”, art. 1.189,

1.190, 1.191, 1.192, 1.193 and 1.194. Retrieved from [https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/gunewsletter/dettaglio.jsp?service=1&datagu=2009-12-](https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/gunewsletter/dettaglio.jsp?service=1&datagu=2009-12-30&task=dettaglio&numgu=302&redaz=009G0205&tmstp=1262864296938)

30&task=dettaglio&numgu=302&redaz=009G0205&tmstp=1262864296938;

- Lgs. D. n. 66/2010 (“Ministry of Defence Code”) “*Codice dell’ordinamento militare*”, articles 307 and 314. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/dettaglio/codici/ordinamentoMilitare>;

- Decree-Law 201/2011 (converted into Law no. 214/2011) “*Disposizioni urgenti per la crescita, l’equità e il consolidamento dei conti pubblici*”, art. 27.2 and 27.12. Retrieved from [https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/gunewsletter/dettaglio.jsp?service=1&datagu=2011-12-](https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/gunewsletter/dettaglio.jsp?service=1&datagu=2011-12-06&task=dettaglio&numgu=284&redaz=011G0247&tmstp=1323252589195)

06&task=dettaglio&numgu=284&redaz=011G0247&tmstp=1323252589195

- Law no. 135/2012 “*Testo del decreto-legge 6 luglio 2012, n. 95 (in supplemento ordinario n. 141/L alla Gazzetta Ufficiale - serie generale - n. 156 del 6 luglio 2012), coordinato con la legge di conversione 7 agosto 2012, n. 135 (in questo stesso supplemento ordinario alla pag. 1), recante: ‘Disposizioni urgenti per la revisione della spesa pubblica con invarianza dei servizi ai cittadini ((nonché misure di rafforzamento patrimoniale delle imprese del settore bancario.))’*”, art. 23-ter. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2012/08/14/12A09068/sg>;

- Law no. 98/2013 “*Conversione in legge, con modificazioni, del decreto-legge 21 giugno 2013, n. 69, recante disposizioni urgenti per il rilancio dell’economia*”, art. 56-bis. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2013/08/20/13G00140/sg>;

- Decree-Law no. 91/2013 (converted into Law no. 112/2013) “*Testo del decreto-legge 8 agosto 2013, n. 91 (in Gazzetta Ufficiale - serie generale - n. 186 del 9 agosto 2013), coordinato con la legge di conversione 7 ottobre 2013, n. 112 (in questa stessa Gazzetta Ufficiale alla pag. 1), recante: «Disposizioni urgenti per la tutela, la valorizzazione e il rilancio dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo.»*”, art. 6. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2013/10/08/13A08109/sg>;

- Decree-Law no. 66/2014 (converted into Law no. 89/2014) “*Testo del decreto-legge 24 aprile 2014, n. 66 (in Gazzetta Ufficiale - serie generale - n. 95 del 24 aprile 2014), coordinato con la legge di conversione 23 giugno 2014, n. 89 (in questa stessa Gazzetta Ufficiale alla pag. 1), recante: «Misure urgenti per la competitività e la giustizia sociale. Deleghe al Governo per il completamento della revisione della struttura del bilancio dello Stato, per il riordino della disciplina per la gestione del bilancio e il potenziamento della funzione del bilancio di cassa, nonché per l’adozione di un testo unico in materia di contabilità di Stato e di*

tesoreria.»”, art. 24. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2014/06/23/14A04717/sg;>

- Law no. 190/2014 (2015 Finance Act) “*Disposizioni per la formazione del bilancio annuale e pluriennale dello Stato (legge di stabilità 2015)*”, art. 1.374. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2014/12/29/14G00203/sg;>

- Law no. 208/2015 (2016 Finance Act) “*Disposizioni per la formazione del bilancio annuale e pluriennale dello Stato (legge di stabilità 2016)*”, art 1.635(a), (b) and (c). Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2015/12/30/15G00222/sg;>

- Lgs. D. no. 175/2016 “*Testo unico in materia di società a partecipazione pubblica*”, art. 4.3. Retrieved from [https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2016/09/08/16G00188/sg.](https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2016/09/08/16G00188/sg;)

Laws regarding the regeneration of Ministry of Defence assets.

- Law no. 296/2006 (2007 Finance Act) “*Disposizioni per la formazione del bilancio annuale e pluriennale dello Stato (legge finanziaria 2007)*”, articolo 1.259, 1.260, 1.261, 1.262, 1.263, 1.264, and 1.265. Retrieved from https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/atto/serie_generale/caricaDettaglioAtto/originario?atto.dataPubblicazioneGazzetta=2006-12-27&atto.codiceRedazionale=006G0318&elenco30giorni=false;

- Law no. 164/2014 (Law “Unblocks Italia”) “*Conversione in legge, con modificazioni, del decreto-legge 12 settembre 2014, n. 133, recante misure urgenti per l’apertura dei cantieri, la realizzazione delle opere pubbliche, la digitalizzazione del Paese, la semplificazione burocratica, l’emergenza del dissesto idrogeologico e per la ripresa delle attività produttive*”, art. 26. Retrieved from <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2014/11/11/14G00176/sg;>

Lists of Ministry of Defense properties to make redundant.

The lists published by the Italian state starting from Law no. 662/1996 have identified the assets to make redundant according to diverse regulations. The lists often overlapped with each other, thus cancelling, modifying or integrating, previous regulations provisions. The lists published from 1997 onward are the following:

- “potentially alienable” assets, drafted by the Ministry of Defence in accordance with Law no. 662/1996 (D.P.C.M. 11 August 1997, published in the G.U. no. 234 of 7 October 1997, and D.P.C.M. 12 January 2002, published in the

G.U. no. 77 of 2 April 2002) and Law no. 488/1998 (D.P.C.M. 12 September 2000, published in the G.U. no. 228 of 29 September 2000) and others³⁵⁴;

- Properties handed over by the Ministry of Defence to the State Property Agency, which determines the declassification from “military assets” to “available State assets”. The Decrees are the following: D.M. 28 February 2005, published in the G.U. no. 141 of 20 June 2005 according to Law no. 326/2003, art. 27; D.M. 27 February 2007, published in the G.U. no. 155 of 6 July 2007 according to Law no. 296/2006, art. 1.263; D.M. 25 July 2007 published in the G.U. no. 293 of 18 de diciembre de 2007 according to Law no. 296/2006, art. 1.263; D.D. no. 13/2/5/2010 of 8 September 2010, published in the G.U. of 8 January 2011 according to Law no. 133/2008, art. 14-bis; D.D. no. 88/2/5/2012 of 24 August 2012, published in the G.U. no. 13 of 16 January 2013 according to Law no. 135/2012, art. 23 ter;

- State-owned properties proceeding from the Ministry of Defence to be managed by the State Property Agency, from the Ministry of Defence. The Agency, through the Decree, authorises the sale of the properties to private agents. It is the Decree of 20 December 2013 published in the G.U. no. 2 of 3 January 2014 in accordance with Law no. 248/2005, art. 11-quinquies;

- Italian Ministry of the Economy’s Decree aimed to the sale of former Ministry of Defence-owned properties to real estate investment funds. Such assets were previously transferred from the Defence to the State Property Agency through other Decrees. The Decrees for the sale of these assets to the real estate investment funds are the following:

1. Decree for the sale to *Cassa Depositi e Prestiti* (F.I.V. fund). They were the Decree of 20 December 2013 published in the G.U. no. 2 of 3 January 2014; the Decree of 19 December 2014 published in the G.U. no. 302 of 31 December 2014; and Decree of 21 de diciembre de 2017 published in the G.U. of 2 January 2018. All of them were published according to Law no. 248/2005, art. 11-quinquies;

2. Decree for the sale to *Inv.im.it.* (fund “i3-Sviluppo Italia 8 Quater”). They were the Decree of 13 May 2016 published in the G.U. no. 130 of 6 June 2016; the Decree of 16 September 2016 published in the G.U. no. 240 of 13 October 2016. All of them were published according to Decree Law no. 98/2011 art. 33³⁵⁵;

- Lists published in the frame of the state federalism property. A first phase regarded the art. 5 of Lgs. D. no. 85/2010, which specifies the properties to be

³⁵⁴ The other lists are the following: the D.P.C.M. of 20 October 2003 (G.U. no. 277 of 28 November 2003), el D.P.C.M. of 27 February 2004 (G.U. no. 173 of 26 July 2004), el D.P.C.M. of 4 de mayo de 2007 (G.U. no. 151 of 2 July 2007), and D.P.C.M. of 9 November 2007 (G.U. no. 13 of 16 January 2008).

³⁵⁵ Successively amended and integrated by art. 23-ter of Law no. 135/2012 and by the articles 14 and 56-bis of Law no. 98/2013

excluded from the process of attribution to local authorities (art. 5.3)³⁵⁶ and the ones that can be transferred within the programme (art. 5.4)³⁵⁷. The second phase refers to the Legislative Decree no. 69/2013, art. 56 bis³⁵⁸;

- Lists published according to the art. 26 of Decree Law no. 133/2014, by the following State Property Agency's Decrees: the Decree of 24 December 2014 published in the G.U. no. 4 of 7 January 2015; the Decree of 20 July 2015 published in the G.U. no. 182 of 7 August 2015; and the Decree of 21 December 2015 published in the G.U. no. 301 of 29 December 2015;

- Lists published according to the "*Federal Building*" programme of Decree Law no. 66/2014³⁵⁹;

- Lists of military areas contained in the report of the Italian Ministry of the Interior in the framework of the 2016 programme for the "reception of migrants" (Ministero dell'Interno, 2016: 61) and the lists of the Prefects for the establishment of reception centres;

- The Ministry of Defence's Decrees to enable the property transfer from the military assets into the state-owned assets (<http://www.gazzettaufficiale.biz/emittenti/elencoEmittente22.htm>).

³⁵⁶ Through the note no. 0001242 P-4.23.2.6 of 9 March 2011.

³⁵⁷ To be enacted within 26 June 2011. However, the Ministry of Defense provides only a provisional list that has never become an official document, disregarding the provision of federalism state property.

³⁵⁸ From the beginning of 2015 until January 2016 the State Property Agency published every month the progress of the procedure. However, the documentation is no longer available on the web and there is no reference to any Ministry of Defence's lists of assets to be included in the federalism state property.

³⁵⁹ The list of properties included in the "*Federal Building*" has been published within the report of the State Property Agency (Agenzia del Demanio, 2017: 10-13), being updated the following year (Agenzia del Demanio, 2018: 11).

**ANNEX II. MAPS REGARDING THE PROCESSES OF
CONSTRUCTION-ABANDONMENT-REGENERATION OF THE GREAT
MILITARY PROPERTIES DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4**

The consolidation of the existing centrality: Guido Reni barracks in Rome and the strengthening of arts and cultural leisure activities of Flaminio neighbourhood

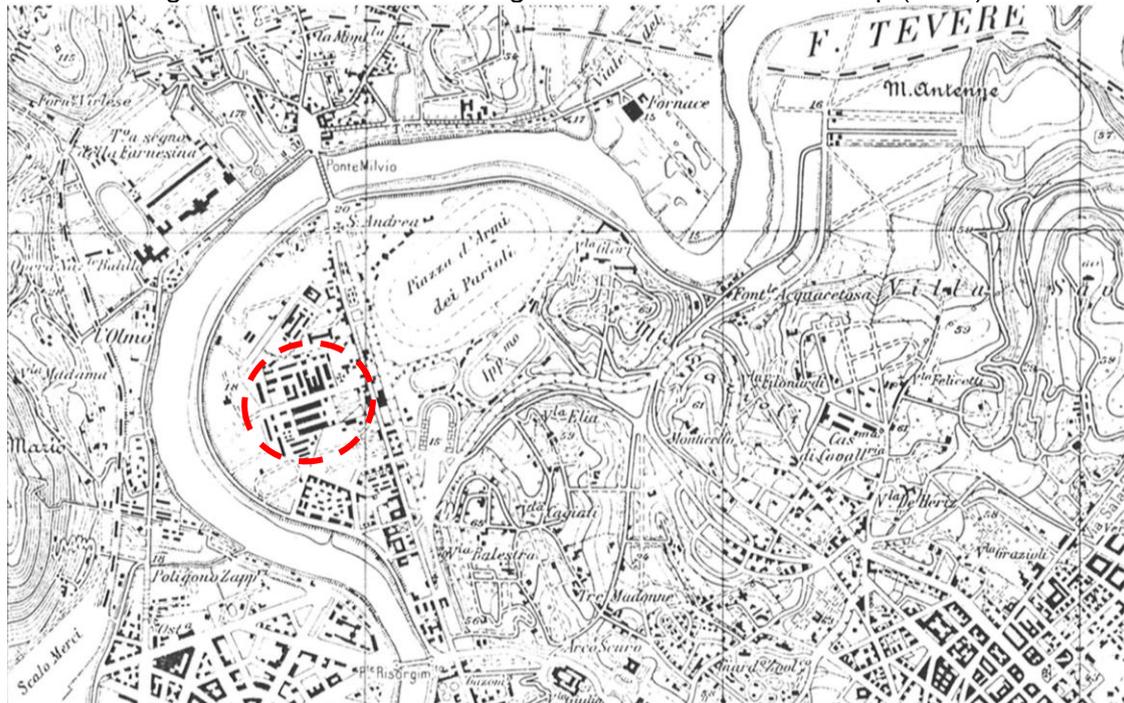
- *Materialisation-construction*

Fig. 1: Geologic map of Rome's outskirts, 1893.



Source: Roma Capitale (2011: 11).

Fig. 2: I.G.M.I.³⁶⁰ Istituto Geografico Militare Italiano's map (1925).



Source: Roma Capitale (2011: 11).

- Abandonment-dismantling/regeneration

Fig. 3: orthophoto (2001).



Source: Google Earth (2020).

³⁶⁰ The Military Geographical Institute is the Italian Army's geographic supporting office and also the national cartographic authority (<https://www.igmi.org/>).

Fig. 4: orthophoto (2019).

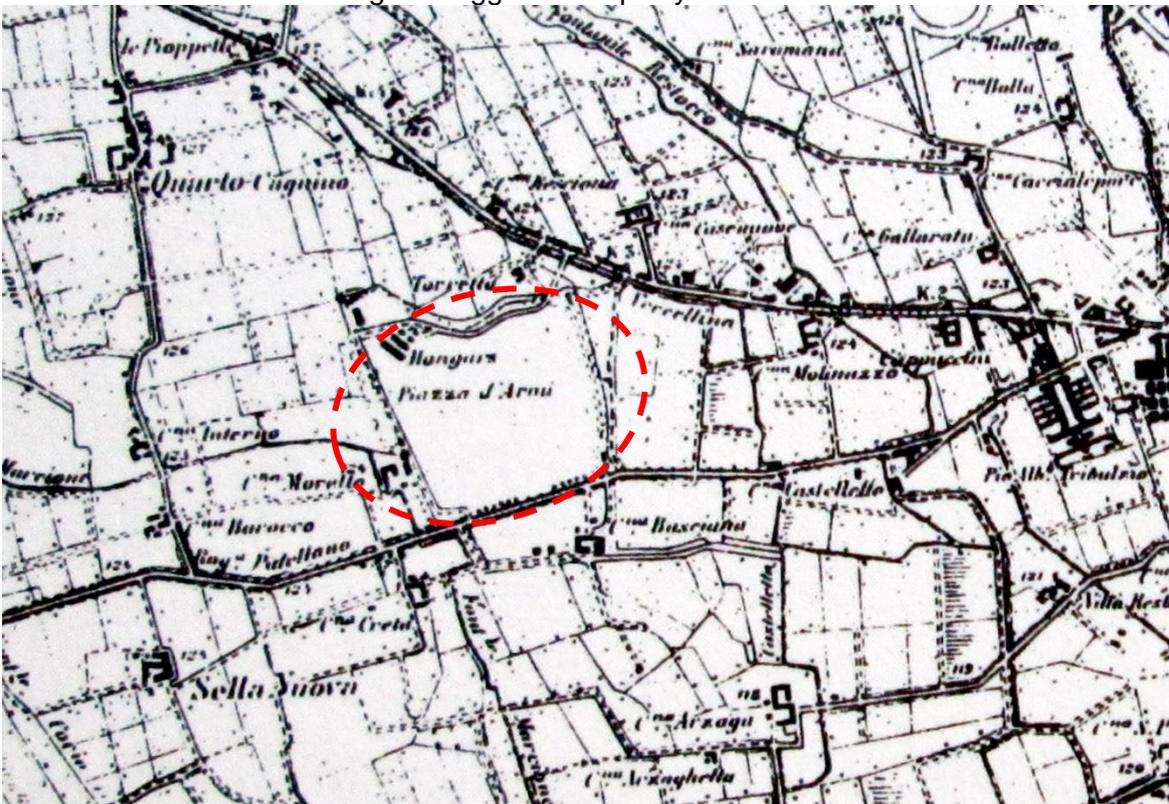


Source: Google Earth (2020).

Military properties and “new areas of centrality”. The case of the Parade Ground in Milan

- Materialisation-construction

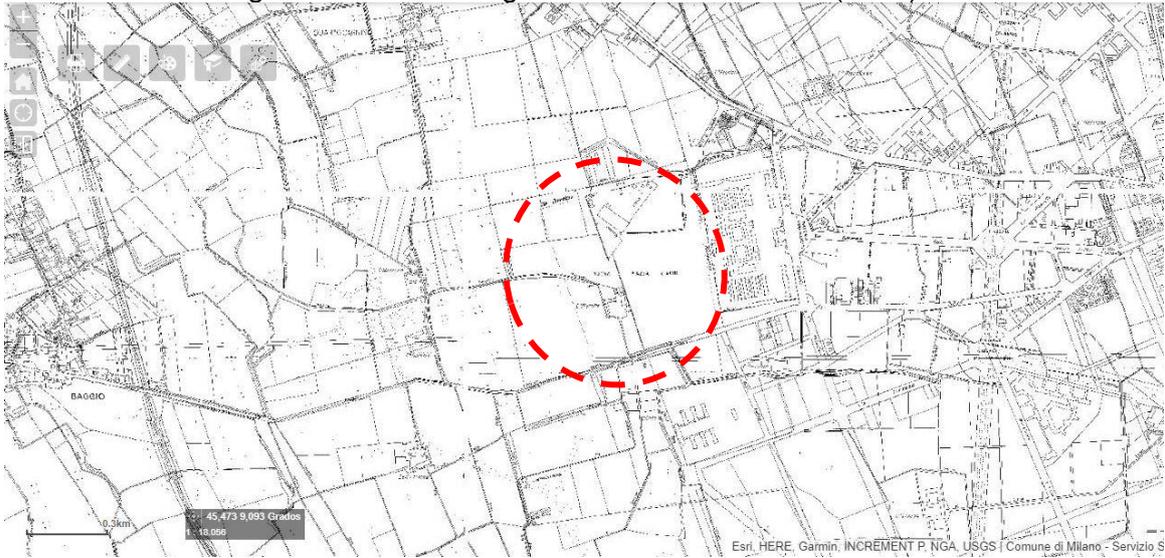
Fig. 5: Baggio municipality in 1914.



Source: Istituto Geografico Militare Italiano, *Carta Topografica d'Italia*, sheet 45, 1914.

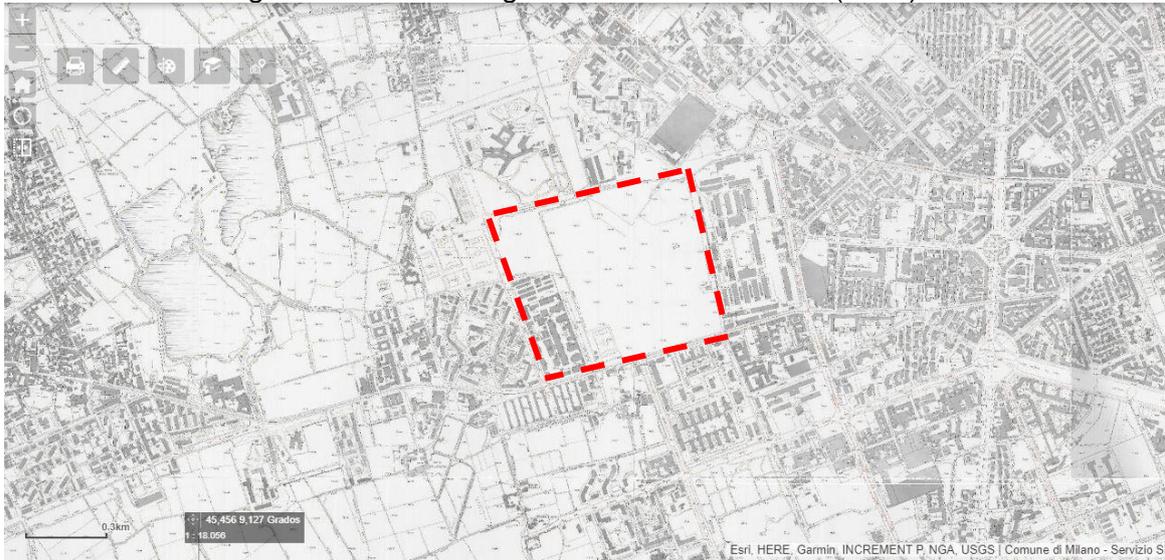
Retrieved from http://www.giorgiouberti.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/4_TERRITORIO.jpg.

Fig. 6: the surroundings of the Parade Ground (1930).



Source: <https://geoportale.comune.milano.it/geoviewer/>.

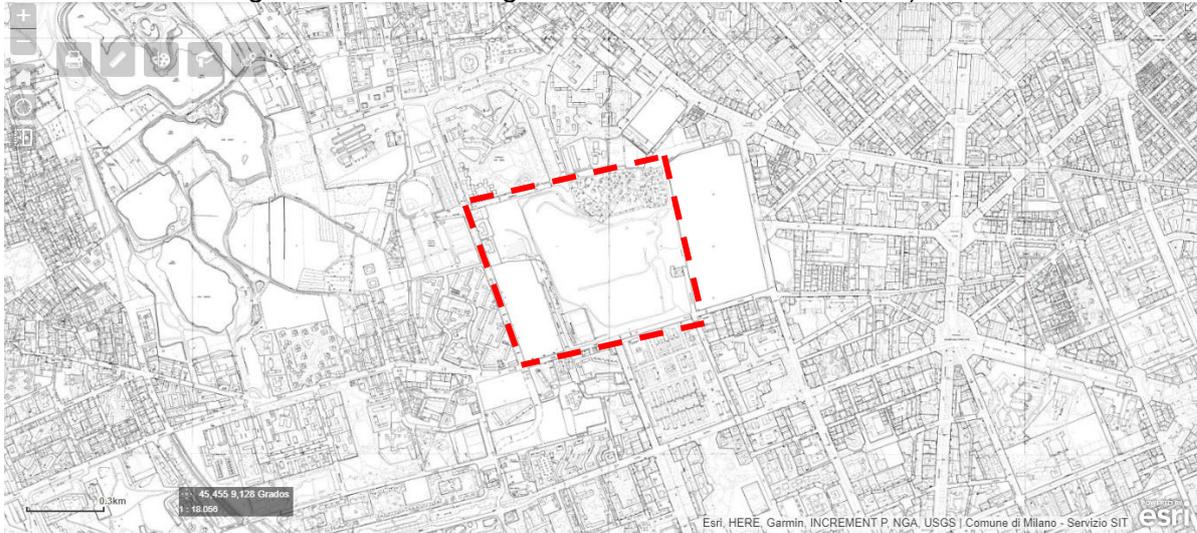
Fig. 7: the surroundings of the Parade Ground (1965).



Source: <https://geoportale.comune.milano.it/geoviewer/>.

- *Abandonment-dismantling*

Fig. 8: the surroundings of the Parade Ground (1990).



Source: <https://geoportale.comune.milano.it/geoviewer/>.

- *Regeneration*

Fig. 9: orthophoto (2019).



Source: Google Earth (2020).

Fig. 11: orthophoto (1943).



Source: <http://sitmappe.comune.bologna.it/fotostoriche/>

- *Abandonment-dismantling*

Fig. 12: orthophoto (1971).



Source: <http://sitmappe.comune.bologna.it/fotostoriche/>.

Fig. 13: orthophoto (1989).



Source: <http://sitmappe.comune.bologna.it/fotostoriche/>.

- *Regeneration*

Fig. 14: orthophoto (2003).



Source: Google Earth (2020).

Fig. 15: orthophoto (2019).



Source: Google Earth (2020).

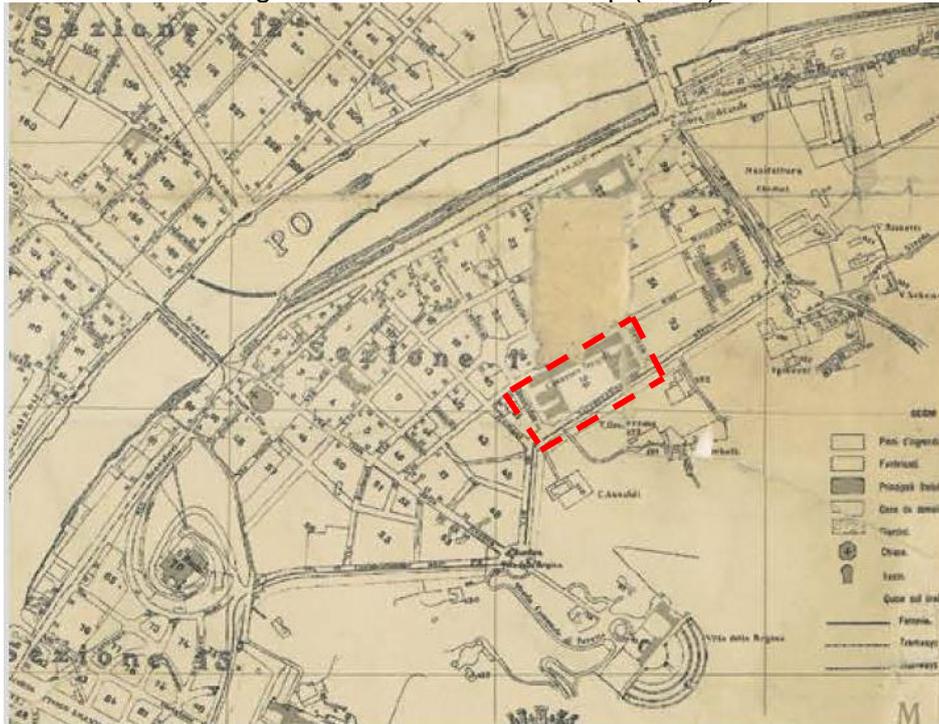
Turin. Existing residential centralities and military installations. The regeneration of La Marmora barracks and the reinforcement of the bourgeoisie character of Borgo Po
- Materialisation-construction

Fig. 16: Extract of Turin's map (1866).



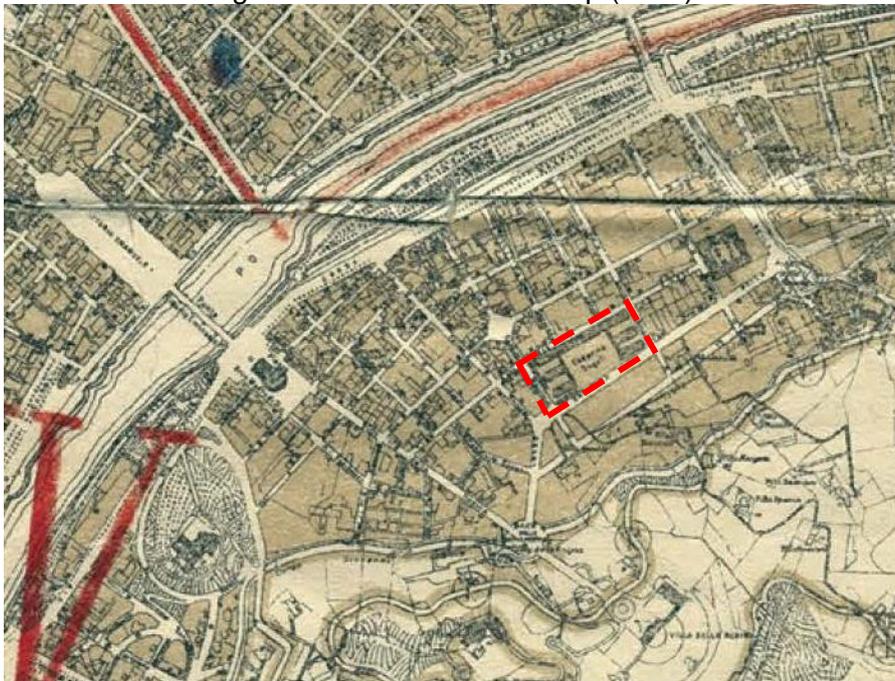
Source: Rabbini A. (1866). *Mappa originale del Comune di Torino, detta "Catasto Rabbini"*. Florencia: ASTO, Riunite, Finanze, Catasti, Catasto Rabbini. Retrieved from Davico et al. (2014: 196).

Fig. 17: Extract of Turin's map (1900).



Source: Ufficio Municipale dei Lavori Pubblici (1900). *Carta Topografica del Territorio di Torino con l'indicazione dei Piani Regolatori e degli Ampliamenti*. Retrieved from Davico et al. (2014: 197).

Fig. 18: Extract of Turin's map (1915).



Source: Ufficio Municipale dei Lavori Pubblici (1916). *Pianta di Torino coll'indicazione dei due Piani Regolatori e di Ampliamento rispettivamente delle Zone piana e collinare adottati dal Consiglio Comunale nel 1913, colle Varianti approvate successivamente sino al Maggio 1915*. Retrieved from Davico et al. (2014: 198).

Fig. 19: Extract of Turin's map (1935).



Source: Servizio Tecnico Municipale dei Lavori Pubblici (1935), "Pianta di Torino coll'indicazione dei due Piani Regolatori e di Ampliamento rispettivamente delle Zone piana [...] e collinare [...] aggiornati colle Varianti deliberate successivamente sino a Giugno 1935". Retrieved from Davico et al. (2014: 198).

- *Abandonment-dismantling/regeneration*

Fig. 20: orthophoto (2019).

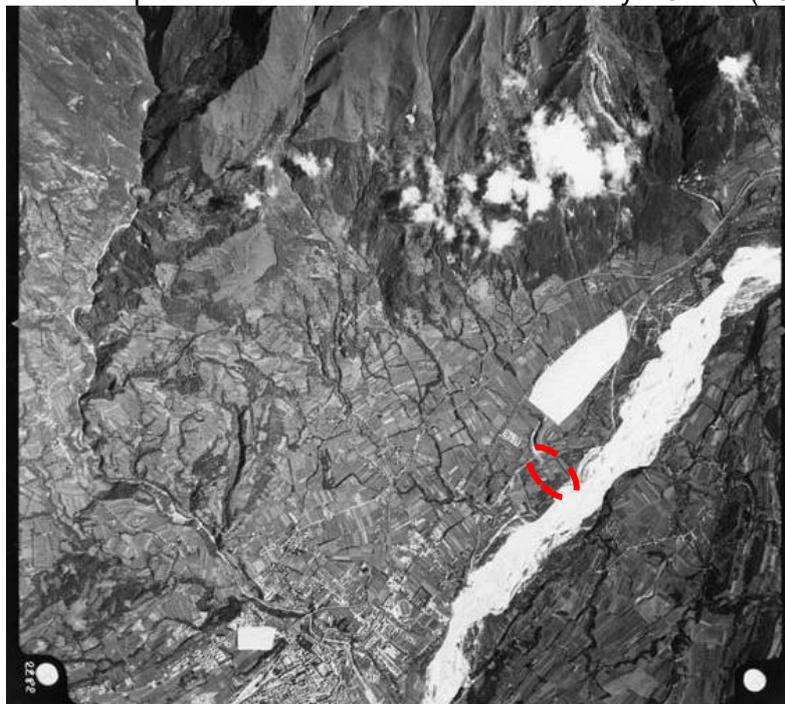


Source: Google Earth (2020).

The regeneration of great military properties on the margins of objectives linked to “economic centralities”. The case of the “Piave” barracks in Belluno

- *Materialisation-construction*

Fig. 21: orthophoto of Belluno’s Eastern outskirts by I.G.M.I. (1961).



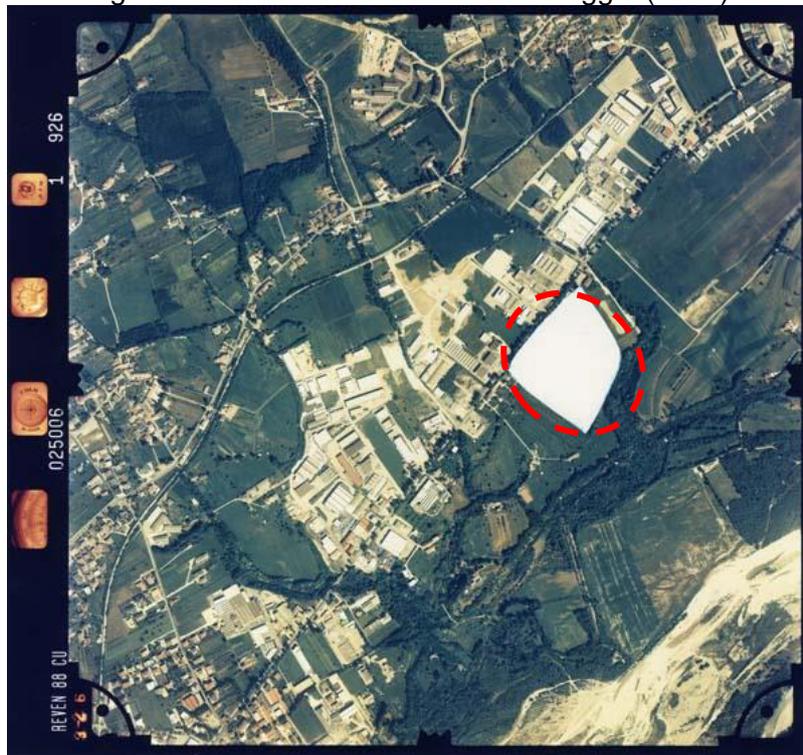
Source: <https://idt2.regione.veneto.it/>.

Fig. 22: Belluno's Eastern outskirts (1982).



Source: <https://idt2.regione.veneto.it/>.

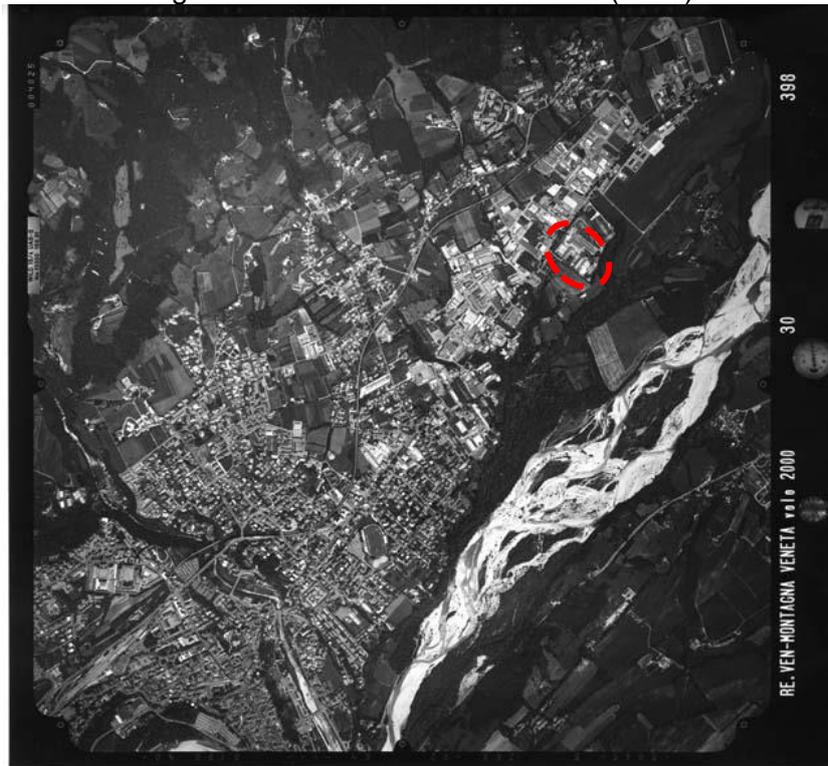
Fig. 23: a focus on the district of Veneggia (1987).



Source: <https://idt2.regione.veneto.it/>.

- *Abandonment-dismantling*

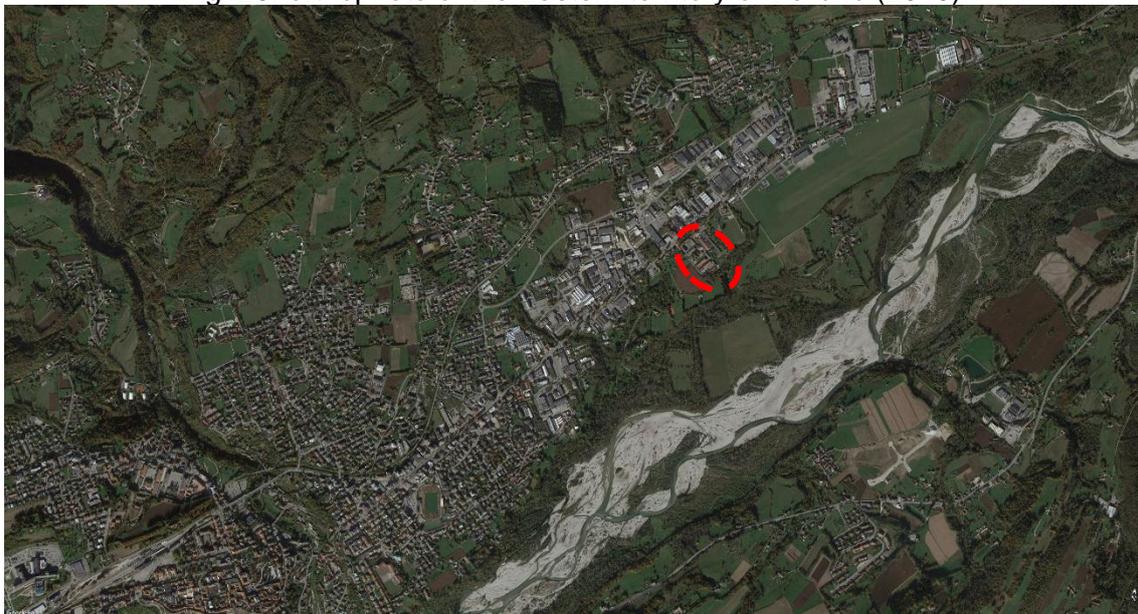
Fig. 24: Belluno's Eastern outskirts (2000).



Source: <https://idt2.regione.veneto.it/>.

- *Regeneration*

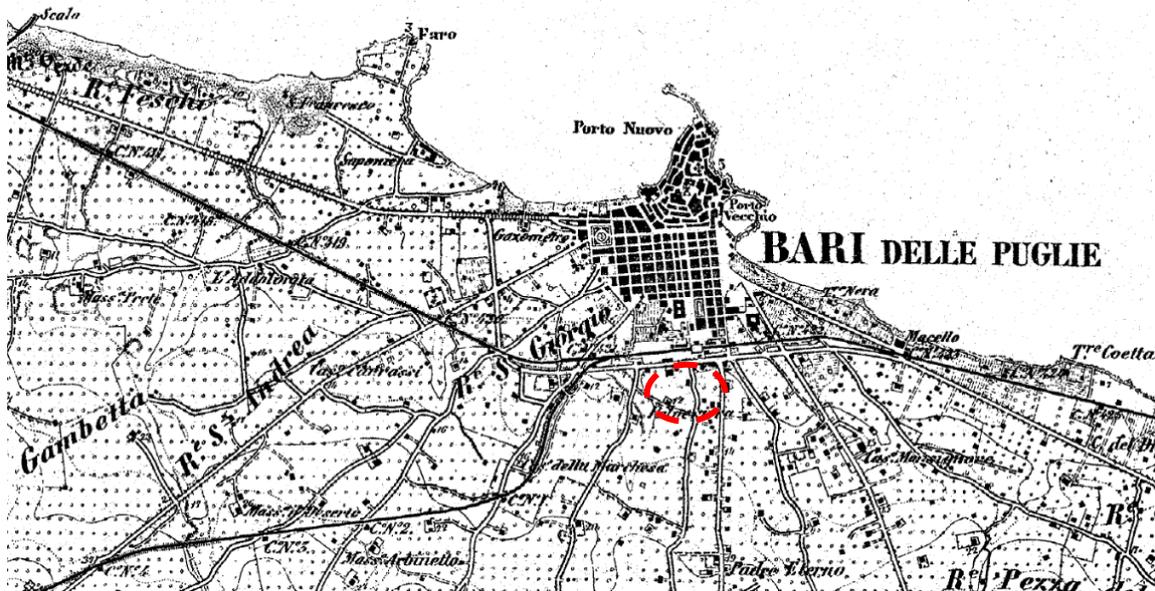
Fig. 25: orthophoto of the Eastern territory of Belluno (2019).



Source: Google Earth (2020).

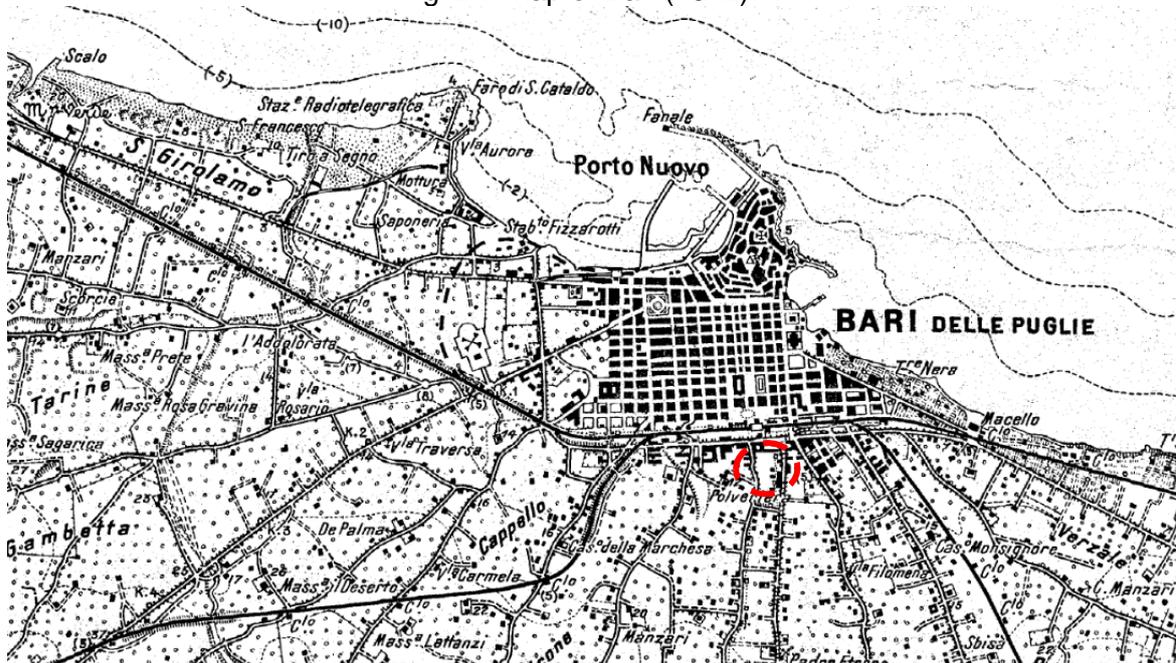
“Occupations” in contrast with the capitalist objectives. From “real estate squandering” to an alternative of “qualitative austerity”. The case of Rossani barracks in Bari
- *Materialisation-construction*

Fig. 26: map of Bari (1874).



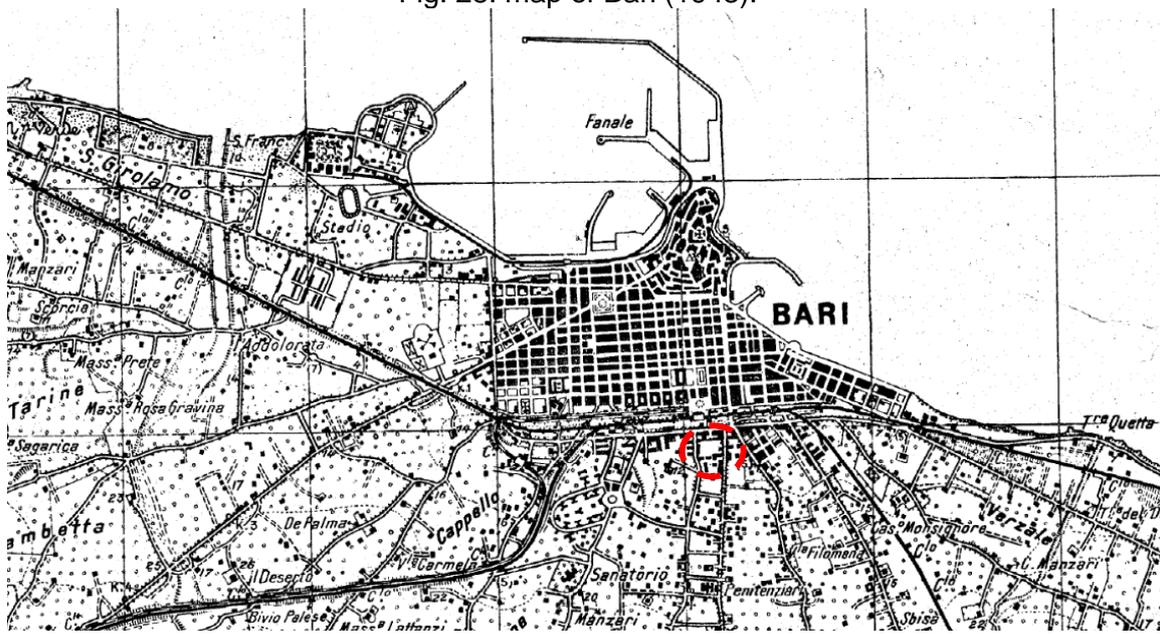
Source: <https://www.comune.bari.it/web/edilizia-e-territorio/cartografie-storiche>.

Fig. 27: map of Bari (1912).



Source: <https://www.comune.bari.it/web/edilizia-e-territorio/cartografie-storiche>.

Fig. 28: map of Bari (1943).



Source: <https://www.comune.bari.it/web/edilizia-e-territorio/cartografie-storiche>

- Abandonment-dismantling

Fig. 29: map of Bari (1971).



Source: <https://www.comune.bari.it/web/edilizia-e-territorio/cartografie-storiche>.

- *Regeneration*

Fig. 30: orthophoto of Bari, 2019.

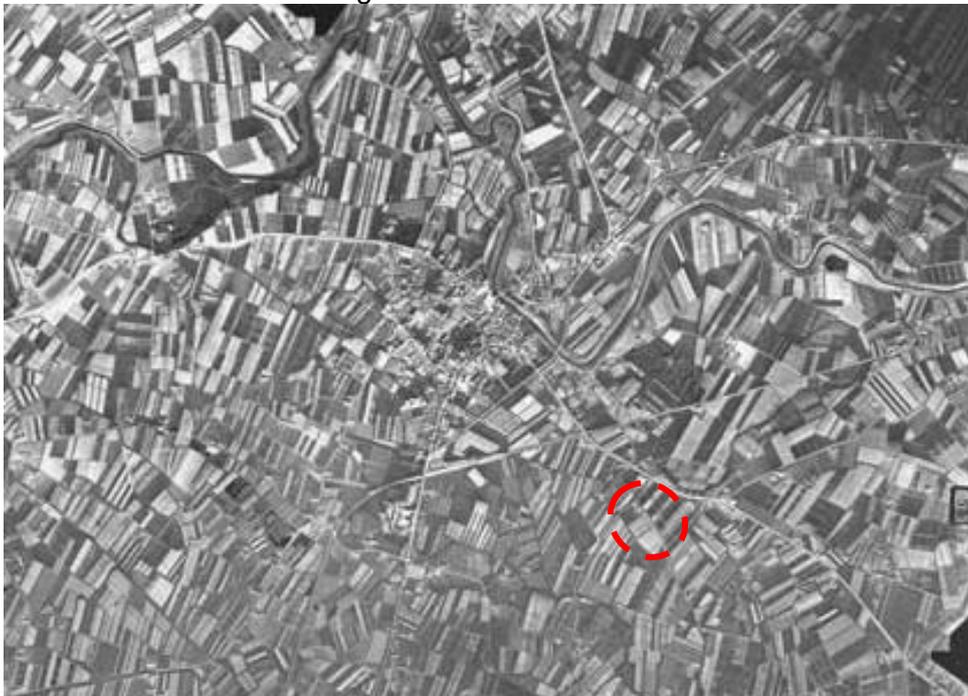


Source: Google Earth (2020).

**The use of great military properties for humanitarian emergencies: the case
of Zanusso barracks in Oderzo**

- *Materialisation-construction*

Fig. 31: Oderzo in 1954.



Source: <https://idt2.regione.veneto.it/>.

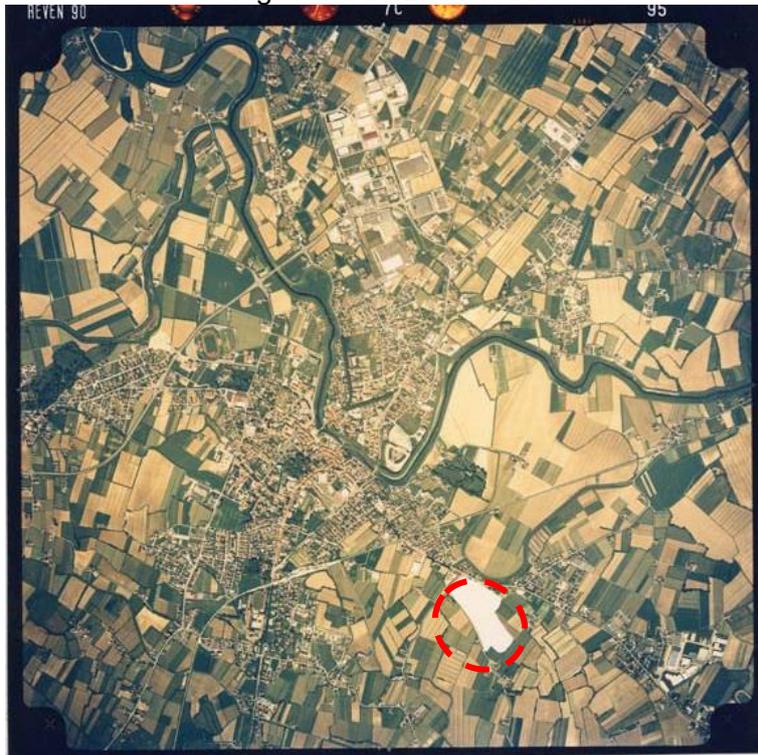
Fig. 32: Oderzo in 1983.



Source: <https://idt2.regione.veneto.it/>.

- *Abandonment-dismantling*

Fig. 33: Oderzo in 1990.



Source: <https://idt2.regione.veneto.it/>.

- *Regeneration*

Fig. 34: Oderzo in 2018.

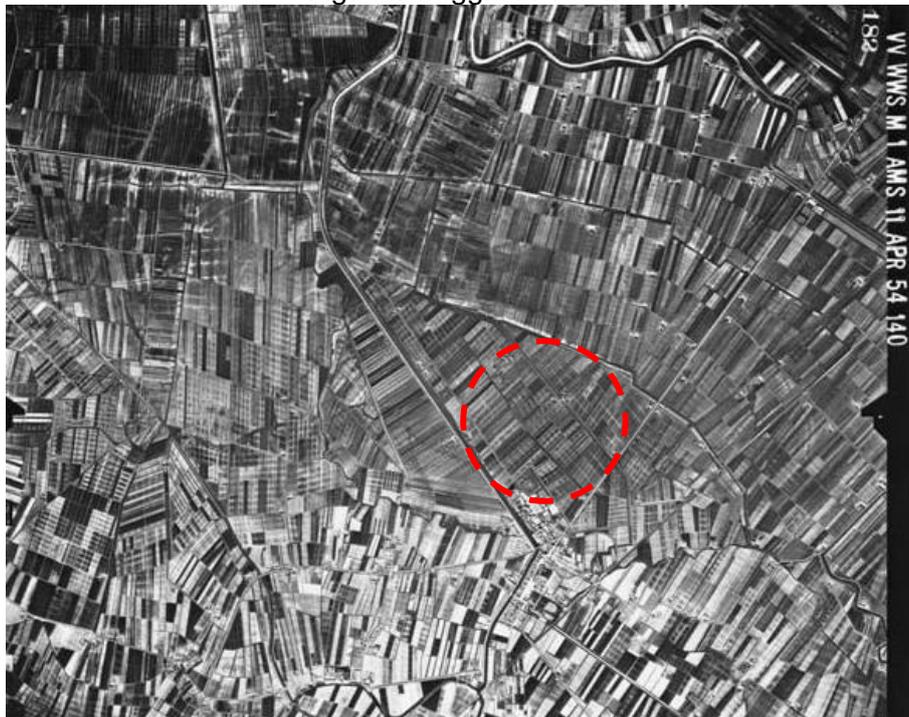


Source: Google Earth (2020).

Open issues for the regeneration of great military properties located at the margin of consolidated centralities or in a situation of expectation. The military bases of Ceggia (Venice)

- *Materialisation-construction*

Fig. 35: Ceggia in 1954.



Source: <https://idt2.regione.veneto.it/>.

Fig. 36: Ceggia in 1983.



Source: <https://idt2.regione.veneto.it/>.

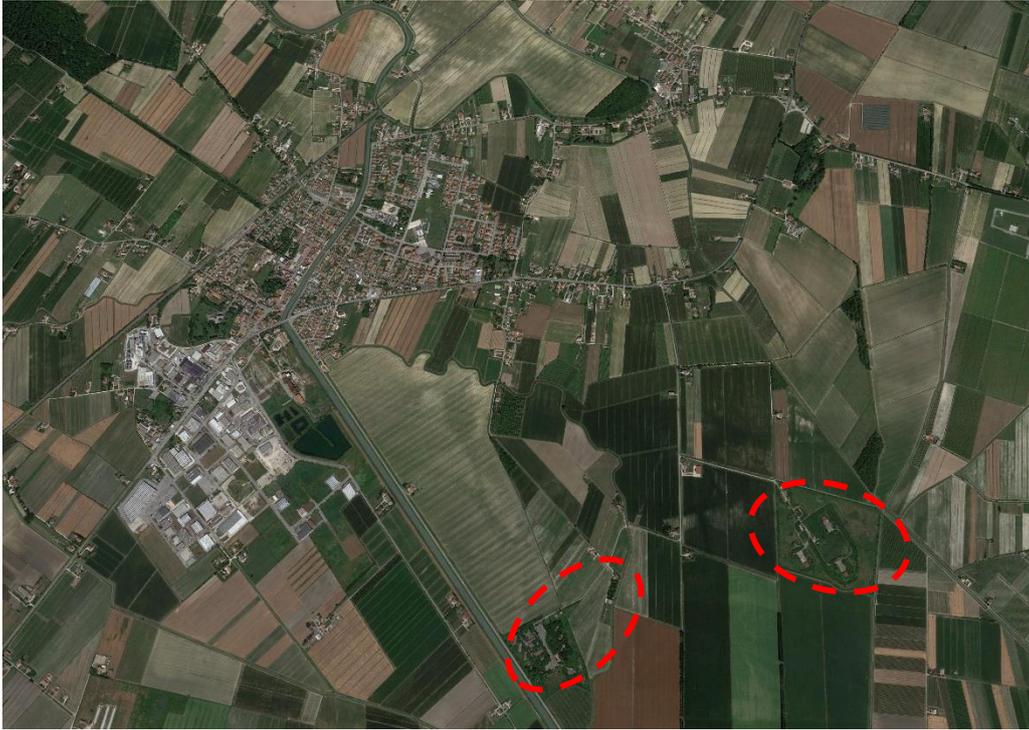
Fig. 37: Ceggia in 1990.



Source: <https://idt2.regione.veneto.it/>.

- *Abandonment-dismantling/regeneration*

Fig. 38: Ceggia in 2018.



Source: Google Earth (2020).

