

# Tensions between Top-Down and Bottom-Up Processes in the Renewal and Regeneration Interventions in Naples

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*Abstract* - This paper provides some insights contributing to the governance processes toward the creation of a future urban agenda of the city of Naples. In line with this purpose, the paper focuses on the phenomenon of urban renewal and regeneration and how top-down or bottom-up processes interact through the shaping of empty spaces, here generically defined urban voids. The transformation processes that would affect urban and social processes inevitably have to face up with some tensions that consist of claims about a range of socio-spatial “rights to the city” (Lefebvre, 1996). It is, more generally, the right to experience the spaces of the city, to feel part of them, to feel themselves responsible for them, and above all to manage these spaces. However, the set of urban and social conflicts, which generally involves citizens, inhabitants, movements, governments, but also other institutions, generate specific clusters that fight on oppositional goal in the ultimate aim of revealed or undermined the legitimacy of local city governance. In this sense, urban and social conflicts can be both understood as a negotiation of authority, prevalence, and strength of the images of cities and the development trajectories that emerge from the vision assessed by the different groups that experience the city life. Since Naples is a large and complex metropolitan city - transgressive and full of conflictual dynamics - it is difficult to talk about its dynamics in manage the local governance of spaces and way of experience life in these spaces. Taking into account this reflection, with the intent to understand some complex phenomena that modify appearance and character of the city space, the aim of this paper is to give a sense, a shape and a dimension to specific urban and social processes that directly affect local city governance. These phenomena are renewal and regeneration experiences - both in urban and social sense - linked to the actions of a multiplicity of actors that implements top-down and bottom-up interventions on the city space interact through the shaping of empty spaces here generically defined urban voids. For return the considered complexity, this study uses a visual methodology to investigate the fragmented space of mining behind the analysed processes. The implemented technique goes through the collection of data on renewal and regeneration processes by mapping these starting from a series of interviews to key informers involved in these processes and from them particular perception of events, dynamics and use, reuse and meaning attributed to the city space. Through this technique, it is growing a general spatial reasoning about the images of the city that the multiplicity of local actors has in mind. What arise from this way of reasoning are contrasting and very different points of view of city perceived as fragmented in many specific sections affected by dissimilar degree of urban void connotation. The collected result allows us to conceptualize a typological scheme of future development trajectories for the city. In addition, a step forward to the constituted typology is to go in depth on a

specific part of the city, in order to understand more closely the local dynamics shaping local governance: the Old Town. After the presentation of this specific case, what it is reached are open questions rather than real conclusions that helping in shape the research lines on which forthcoming attention is needed in the desire to develop a more articulated discourse aimed at creating a Future Urban Agenda for Naples. Moreover, all these elements can become useful instruments through whom it can be possible to learn from the urban and social conflicts and dynamics, from the practice of governance and from the struggles of everyday urban and social life.

*Keywords:* Naples, Renewal, Regeneration, Brown-Field, Social-Field, Mapping Actions, Development Trajectory, Future City Vision

## I. INTRODUCTION

Since Naples is a large and complex metropolitan city - transgressive and full of conflictual dynamics - it is difficult to talk about its dynamics in manage the local governance of spaces and way of experience life in these spaces. The transformation processes that would affect urban and social processes inevitably have to face up with some tensions that consist of claims about a range of socio-spatial “rights to the city” (Lefebvre, 1996). It is, more generally, the right to experience the spaces of the city, to feel part of them, to feel themselves responsible for them, and above all to manage these spaces. However, the set of urban and social conflicts, which generally involves citizens, inhabitants, movements, governments, but also other institutions, generate specific clusters that fight on oppositional goal in the ultimate aim of revealed or undermined the legitimacy of local city governance.

In this sense, urban and social conflicts can be both understood as a negotiation of authority, prevalence, and strength of the images of cities and the development trajectories that emerge from the vision assessed by the different groups that experience the city life. Taking into account this reflection, with the intent to understand some complex phenomena that modify appearance and character of the city space, the aim of this paper is to give a sense, a shape and a dimension to specific urban and social processes that directly affect local city governance. These phenomena are renewal and regeneration experiences - both in urban and social sense - linked to the actions of a multiplicity of actors that implements top-down and bottom-up interventions on the city space interact through the

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The collected result allows us to conceptualize a typological scheme of future development trajectories for the city. In addition, a step forward to the constituted typology is to go in depth on a specific part of the city, in order to understand more closely the local dynamics shaping local governance: the Old Town. After the presentation of this specific case, what it is reached are open questions rather than real conclusions that helping in shape the research lines on which forthcoming attention is needed in the desire to develop a more articulated discourse aimed at creating a Future Urban Agenda for Naples. Moreover, all these elements can become useful instruments through whom it can be possible to learn from the urban and social conflicts and dynamics, from the practice of governance and from the struggles of everyday urban and social life.

## II. ACTIONS ON URBAN VOIDS AS NEW OBJECTS OF CITY'S DYNAMICS

As previously mentioned, in order to look inside the conflictual city's dynamics, renewal and regeneration processes become of fundamental importance. Nevertheless, the concepts of renewal and regeneration, inside this broader context, take on very different meanings in urban and social studies depending on the object or action.

The concepts to which we will refer can be positioned along a continuum between a form of renewal and a form of regeneration. The renewal is founded on territorial development, aiming to fill the urban voids or, at least, to reconvert pieces of the city (with interventions that lead to a spatial transformation from a physical perspective). The regeneration, however, absorbs the sense of relationship and the request for the improvement of life quality - intrinsic to the urban system dimension - aiming to an integrated and integral development process (with interventions that aim at fundamental change in ways of living in the space and into the space that involve a spatial transformation from a social perspective).

In both cases, despite an explicit reference to direct interventions in urban locations - whether intended in their

physical, relational, or social sense - these concepts relate to the need to intervene on urban voids, understood as places in which the identity and functional connotation have gradually eroded, while these places are configured as public spaces. It is probably for this reason that the actions of top-down urban renewal and regeneration are not free from particular resonances, often generating conflicts and oppositions, as they go beyond the effective range of a single policy and the individual interventions. They bear a strong symbolic value that involves locations that are related to the sphere of the everyday life and are thus incorporate ways of life and personal biographies.

This particular space connotation can be enhanced by a further distinction between different types of areas of renewal and regeneration processes, characterized by the emptying of functions, identity, property, and people, resulting in full-title urban voids

*1. Urban Blight in Brownfields Land* is the result of an industrial past such as an old industrial site, or of specific functions with a great impact on the environmental quality of the urban system, such as a landfill. These locations need environmental 'de-contamination' and new functional destinations that can be 're-used' for generating new social and economic impacts.

*2. Abandoned and Derelict Areas are Social Fields* (While it is undeniable that the term social field refers to narrowly limited areas, they can be conceived as an aggregation of urban voids characterized by function with a mainly social character, i.e. former schools, hospitals, administration offices, etc.) that are socially and physically deprived, areas where social functions (local administrative offices) and gatherings (schools and parks) were formerly located, or sites with historical, economic, and cultural significance; these locations have persisted despite neglect, physical deterioration, and an altered identity. The link between the place and people is severed, resulting in a changed character. Together, these factors generate disaffection and rejection and can erase the place's symbolic importance.

All these implications are very strongly manifested when the scale of the city that under investigation is extensive (as for a metropolitan city) and very complex, just as for the city of Naples.

In fact, for an urban system, as it may be understood Naples's city de facto (Calafati, 2013), reflect on renewal and regeneration processes involves a debate on the policies and development trajectories pursued by invoking renewal and regeneration actions. These actions are not easy for those who administer, live in, or study the city.

Already Becchi in the 1989 recalled the image of Naples as an embarrassing mosaic. On the one hand, the city evokes a sequence of problems; on the other hand, it intertwines identities, activities, spatial conformations, and changing/storage dynamics. In fact, Naples as well as a lot

of big and complex cities in the world - is a city that cannot be captured in a single city model but must be understood as both an economic and a social system. Naples is not a structured city; it is not only an industrial city; it is not even just a market town; it is not the capital; it is not only the administrative, financial, or cultural centre. Naples is the result of a contradictory multiplicity that justifies the most

irreconcilable interpretations. It is the sum of several cities, one inside the other, and balance is found through the ability to capture the new identities while keeping the well-adjusted socially static nature. It has a sort of pathological immutability that reproduces itself in the ideal ambition to never fill the useful void that can assume different meanings, depending on the situation in which it is recalled (ibidem).

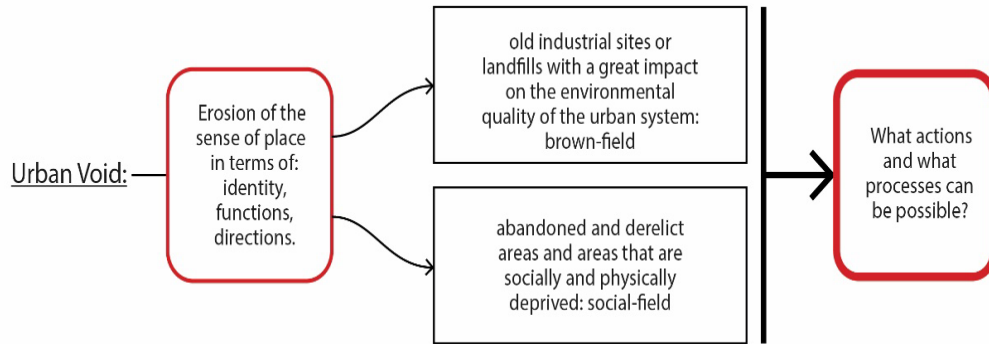


Fig. 1 Urban voids and different kinds of involved areas

Considering the local territorial situation, Naples, for its characteristics, its shape and its history, can be understood as a privileged laboratory for the study of urban development (Russo, 2012) and economic and social evolution. The particular blend between complexity of the urban and social fabric gives rise to the idea of giving a shape to the renewal and regeneration actions put in place in the city, re-conceptualised by the processes that are triggered and the responses to them. Many scholars have investigated from different perspectives and generally confined to the boundary of the discipline - the meaning and the mode of operation of renewal and regeneration strategies that have been implemented in these areas of Naples. Therefore, reconstructing the processes of renewal and regeneration means referring to both top-down and bottom-up interventions.

The former, understood like top-down public or mixed public-private partnerships, refers to operations of urban renewal that aim at changing territories by producing economic and productive impacts on brownfield land. For instance, in this study, the port area, the ex-refinery, and the industrial-manufacturing areas in East Naples, the former steel factories in West Naples, the Bagnoli, Pisani, or Chiaiano's landfills in North-West Naples, and the physically deprived areas of the Old Town, were identified as particular kinds of urban voids.

However, these operations have frequently neglected the issues concerning their impact in terms of territorial and social development, leaving space for actions on the physical locations to other operations that are not guided by the local administration but are instead born out of the work of committees (of citizens and within the industrial sector) and neighbourhood organizations (from associations' movements to coalitions). These can be considered bottom-up processes, not necessarily politicized or funded, which

clearly shows the wide margin of action that the city generates itself. In this paper these actions are called urban regeneration.

Social regeneration, though, involves actions that are bottom-up, mostly self-organized and self-managed, such as actions implemented by grassroots urban and social movements through direct interventions to address social problems (like housing, social exclusion, integration, education, culture, but also legality, safety, and socio-spatial degradation, La Trecchia, 2013). It aims to change urban locations that are primarily identified as social fields. In this sense, in this study in Naples two mainly social fields were identified: the Old Town, understood in a broad sense, is increasingly in trouble because of the degradation; the North Naples area - including the urban suburbs of Secondigliano, Scampia, and Miano - was affected by an undoubtable physical decay, but even more by a cultural degradation consisting of a lack of security and legality.

Nevertheless, because of the particular state of decay and degradation which constantly threatens, these two areas are also the subject of interventions designed and conducted by the local government and the private social sector in a more typical top-down style. The complexity of the local realities made it difficult to immediately perceive and understand the impacts related to territorial development that aimed to act primarily on the quality of life, not only in terms of economic and productive development but in a broad sense. Therefore, these types of actions assume the connotation of social renewal.

The intervention strategies can be divided by priority (Transformative intervention on physical and spatial fabric and Transformative intervention on social fabric) and implementation styles (guided and top-down processes and self-managed bottom-up processes), as summarized in the following chart.

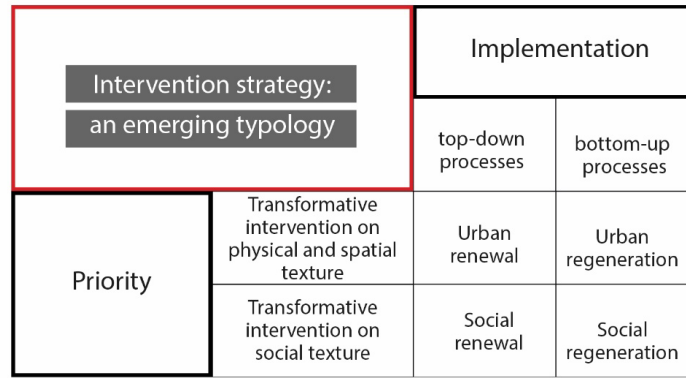


Fig. 2 Intervention Strategy: an emerging typology

The relationship between spatial forms, understood as space morphology, and actions, understood as urban and social processes, investing the same places were also reinterpreting. In fact, one of the aims of this paper is to explore of the way in which the multiplicity of existent dynamics - the expression of a different meaning and use of the open and public space - is able to indicate possible trajectories for these territories. In this perspective, the emerging drawing becomes both the instrument and method by which we try to represent the questions that are posed by the city in its current form.

### III. INVESTIGATION OF URBAN VOIDS AND CITY DYNAMICS IN A COMPLEX CITY

The general objective of this exploratory study is to investigate the different impacts of renewal and regeneration actions in Naples and the actors' responses that arise from these. More precisely, the study focuses on the urban and social dimensions, favouring a descriptive and visual perspective from those who experience life in the city. Considering the continuity and discontinuity with which these investigated phenomena occur, this study will reflect on the processes implemented by local actors and the reactions of inhabitants to these processes. In particular, an opposition was used in order to explain some emerging differences in managing with the issues related to the city space connoted as urban void: Neapolitan brownfields - West and East Naples - and Neapolitan social fields - the Old Town and the North of Naples. This opposition is useful in the development of a debate devote to create functional knowledge paths to the conscious, concerted, and inclusive development of new urban and social processes drawings in the city, but also in order to identify a precise locations and models of city dynamics.

A new drawing and a spatial reasoning emerge as the core elements of the presented study. So much so that the useful information for the reconstruction of the different local actors imagined maps of the interventions profiles and development trajectories of the city were collected through

1. *Participant and Pro-Active Observations* in collective discussion events about the city (such as the ones

organized by the new political, popular project 'Massa Critica')

2. *Unstructured and In-Depth Interviews with Key Informers* involved in both urban and social renewal and regeneration processes. These sources were from the local administration (top-down processes), urban and social movements, citizens and inhabitants, associations, organizations, and third sector cooperatives (bottom-up processes).

The element that distinguishes the collection of information in both methodological moments was the use of sectorial maps of the city (one for each identified field). These maps were originally made in previous documentary reconstruction and have gradually been enriched with the information collected from the field until they are saturated with indications of renewal and regeneration processes and the actors involved. Key informers were asked to draw their own vision of what happens in the city, reasoning in a spatial and visual way; this was made possible through the use of the elaborated sectorial maps.

Due to the dynamicity and complexity of the involved phenomena, this study is rather like a photograph of a precise moment in the history and equilibrium of the city.

### IV. TENSION IN THINKING AND IMAGING THE FUTURE: THE EMERGING IMAGES OF THE CITY(S)

City and society, by definition unstable, constantly redefine the relation between places and actors, generating frequently critical circumstances that are addressed by only temporary solutions. The unexpected and uncontrolled social conditions and lifestyles build new geographies and centres. The activities of divestitures, degradation, reuse, abandonment, and land use, continuously blend materials and relationships and create a new image of the city that looks like chaos. The complexity of existing phenomena requires rethinking the methods of describing the city and defining a new grammar of representation closer to the contemporary space, materials, actors, and relationship. Obviously, this process itself passes through experiences of renewal and regeneration.

Using the four intervention strategies defined above (urban renewal, social renewal, urban regeneration, and social regeneration), the areas subject to these strategies (brownfields and social fields), and the visual methods discussed for uncovering a new drawing of the city, it is possible to classify the findings in the context of Naples. This not only highlights what happens in specific sections or contexts of the city, but also overlaps the different strategies. Two general maps of the city were produced.

The first laid out the areas of interest where the renewal and regeneration initiatives promoted by the public administration were focused (fig. 3). These included abandoned and degraded areas, in a socio-spatial sense, and sites of historical, economic, and cultural interest. The following five areas were particularly important.

1. *Western Naples* (fig. 6) is a typical example of brownfield, where the main redevelopment projects are located, such as the ex-Italsider of Bagnoli and the area that hosted the offices of NATO and Mostra D'Oltre Mare (a site of economic and cultural interest). Many projects promoted by the local government and interventions by the public sector (framed as urban renewal strategies) are focused in this area. These projects include reclamation, conversion, and re-functionalization of these pieces of the city.

2. The *landfills and the natural and urban parks areas* (fig. 7), also these identified as brownfields, stretch from Pianura to Chiaiano, passing through the natural reserve of the Crater of Astroni and the Urban Park of Camaldoli. The local government has planned few renewal actions here,

although this area is problematic due to environmental quality issues and to a strong urbanization linked especially to the never evaded phenomenon of unauthorised development. (These areas require a strategy halfway between the urban renewal and regeneration strategies.)

3. Northern Naples (fig. 9) is a social field that includes the areas most affected by neglect and physical and social degradation. Scampia, Secondigliano, and Miano are such areas. The local government has several projects in these areas related to legality, security, mobility, infrastructures, housing, and renewal actions on the physical and social sides. (These are framed as urban regeneration strategies.)

4. The *Old Town* (fig. 10) is a social field (which is understood in this context in an enlarged way as a site of historical, economic, and cultural interest). The local government is working on renewal projects that involve several lenders, such as the Old Town UNESCO World Heritage Site, historic building (Sirena) recovery projects, and the redevelopment of specific pieces of the city (the Cardarelli area, the Hospital of the Poor, Piazza Mercato, etc.). (These are framed as urban renewal strategies.)

5. *Eastern Naples* (fig. 8) is another brownfield, on which the focus returns to being that of ex-industrial diminished areas, but unlike Western Naples, the intervention of the private sector and business associations is more marked. The interventions planned for this area include reclamation, conversion, and re-functionalization. There are also projects promoted by the local government, such as the Urban Renewal Port Area Naples East. (These are framed as urban renewal strategies.)

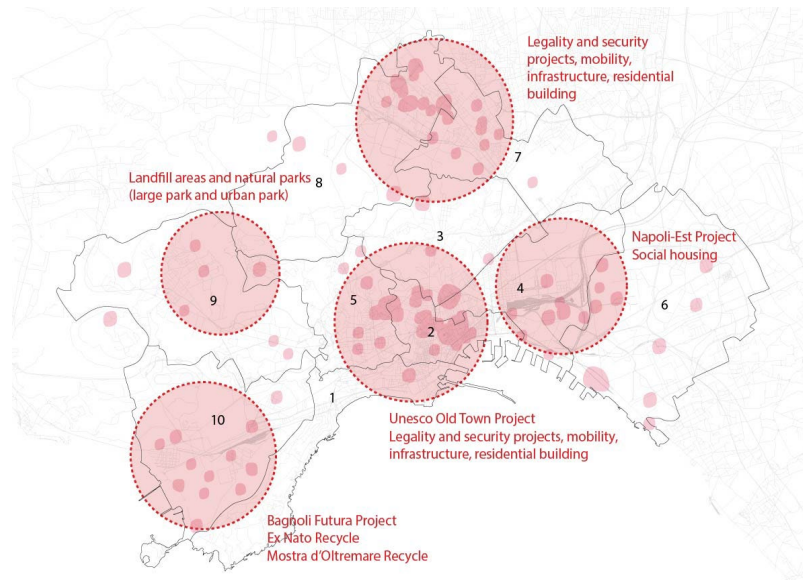


Fig. 3 Renewal and regeneration initiatives promoted or co-participated by the public administration and sensible areas (produced by arch. Anna Terracciano)

In this first grouping of highlighting interest and intervention areas of the city it is still possible to detect two oppositions between projects and future city visions that the implemented or planned interventions leave wide open.

The former opposition appears between West and East of Naples. The first area more tied to a project whose responsibility is above all of the public sector, and only secondarily, it can be also driven by the private sector. In

this area the evolving development trajectory points to the strengthening of the entire area and only after to its revitalization. The second area, already emerging as a strong blend of public and private interests, show a development trajectory strongly geared to the revival and renewal of the identity of the place.

The second opposition is perceptible between North of Naples and the Old Town. In the first area prevail the interest to social recovery and the need to emerge from difficult, degradation and entrapment situations that in this part of the city have had extensive development over time. In the second area prevail, however, the interest in the physical recovery and the construction, upgrading and care of a showcase for the entire city, where, though, remain relevant many social issues.

But how will the city react to these top-down methods? To answer this question, a second map was drawn to include the spontaneous bottom-up regeneration interventions. Overlapping the previously highlighted five areas with the responses given by the social substrate (fig. 4), three macro classes emerge.

1. In the two areas classified as former industrial areas, or brownfields, the focus is on the actions developed by two coalitions that locally improves actions of squatting with socio-cultural purposes, sometimes in a position of open opposition to local government. In Western Naples, these are strongly linked to problematic territorial conversion; in Eastern Naples these are more linked to the general problem of neglect and physical and social degradation. Moreover, in this area are it can be identified the actions of entrepreneurial committees that are at the heart of the design in Eastern Naples

because they determine the development direction much more than public actors. In Western Naples, instead, these private committees operate in cooperation with the public administrative project and do not replace it. (This is framed as a strategy between social renewal and regeneration.)

2. In the area of Northern Naples and in the landfills and the natural and urban parks areas (the first identified as a social field and the second as brownfield), regeneration actions are promoted and carried out by citizens' committees, cultural associations, social promotion organizations, and other third sector actors. Projects often combine the volunteer work of committees with the more structured work of associations and are often funded with public funds. This action mode consolidates the relationship of these actors with the territory on which they operate. It involves wide and shared participation projects that are not only devoted to the improvement of the city, but also to determining the measures that are most appropriate for it. (This is framed as a strategy of social renewal.)

In the Old Town area (a social field) the actions of regeneration are very different from those in the rest of the city. Here the focus is on disused, neglected, and degraded spaces. Urban and social movements are therefore the main actors in the implementation of regeneration actions that on the release of these spaces based a good part of their struggle (framed as a social regeneration strategy). However, these movements conduct squatting with socio-residential, socio-cultural, and artistic purposes, claiming the right to the city and various other social rights which a large part of the city's inhabitants were gradually deprived (households, income, common goods, the quality of the spaces, etc.).

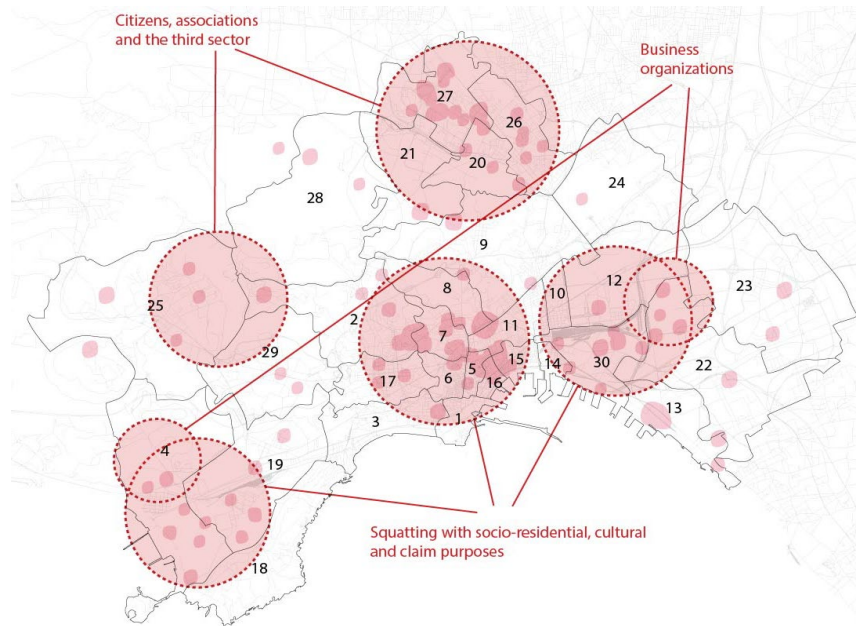


Fig. 4 Bottom-up and spontaneous regeneration processes (produced by arch. Anna Terracciano)

The considerations that come from this preliminary reconstruction led to focus on the individual framed areas to understand in depth the deployment of the actors and the type of actions that they put in place in order to clarify the complex city's mosaic, the expressed needs, and also those that are silently to emerge. In a certain way, renewal and regeneration processes can be framed in this context in a latourian sense as actants elements (Latour, 2005). These elements can be interpreted as something that changes the conditions of living, both for the individual and for the community, because they act on these conditions showing the power to produce, on the one hand, positive and dynamic effects, on the other, they are capable to affect the conditions of inequality related to the possibility of being involved in the general process of development trajectories and future idea of the city.

This is much more evident in the Gabellini concept of resilience (2013) for whom the future of the city depends on the capacity of adaptation to the great changes taking place in conjunction with the phases of growth and decline that pass through it (environmental, climatic, economic, and social crisis, and so on), by those who live the city but also by the city itself. In this definition, the concept of growth as improvement is linked to that of development as also a decrease that leaves space of reasoning on the consequences that this progress drags with itself.

The new form of the contemporary city - in many ways also adopted by the idea of the urban system that emerges from the analysis of Naples - takes on the characteristics of ecological, productive, sustainable, mixed for functions, uses, practices, identities, that move the city within eco/bio existential horizons of degrowth (Mantini, 2013, p.9) and that seek balance between economic growth, natural resources and human rights. Renewal and regeneration processes, in urban and social sense, have to be understood also as cultural and political processes. This means looking at the city as a whole integrated of places, people, practices, and, therefore, generally conceived as a territorial government that does not leave disappointed the expectations of all parties involved.

In this reasoning it is evident a conflictual matrix that moves the renewal and regeneration actions. A distinction can be made between urban and social conflicts. The former are growth around some choices as urban policy, land use planning, allocation of services and goods in the urban space, and are most often raised by the inhabitants of a connoted and circumscribed space; the latter are born between the great forces that move the social fabric (as in the contrast between capital and labour, development and sustainability, etc.) or between the forces that generate mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, thus raised to general levels and then adapted to local contexts. However, in the study on Naples, it is roughly impossible to distinguish what type of conflict moves the organization of local renewal and regeneration actions. Reference could be made in this context, though, to the concept of local

mobilisations based on urban conflicts (Vitali, 2007a) with which we refer to a class of organized collective action in which the actors involved raise local issues in order to make them public and to cause interaction with the authorities towards the pursuit of shared goals.

In them the decision-making mechanism does not necessarily involve all participants but causes intentional collective action; this allows to abandon the conception of pro-active citizenship and recover that of mobilization understood as the ability of self-organization in the effort to reverse relations of authority and take charge, take responsibility, and empower themselves to collective action (ibid, p.11). The essential characteristics of the mobilization concerns the territoriality, the public nature of the raised problems, the common goals or projects, so differ from social movements as they do not necessarily require identification processes, strong solidarity, or networks of stable relationships.

Following the analysis of Vitale (2007b), the mobilizations as defined can be divided into three categories.

1. Contestation of public or private actors choices, as in the case of East Naples and West Naples.
2. Claim especially of collective goods and services with a conflictual character, more similar to what happens in the Old Town and in the Landfills and the Parks area.
3. Production with a non-conflictual character and with more practical than claiming aims, as it is in the case for North Naples.

The simultaneous or sequential nature of these categories into reality is much more common than their ideal-typical presence, so the Old Town can be classified as a place with mobilization of claim, production, and contestation, West and East Naples as place of mobilizations first of all of contestation and then of claim, while, due the offer of partnership and public support, the less conflictual and more productive remains the approach of the actors in North Naples. Not all the mobilizations, however, lead to the structuring of urban movements. Looking at the distinction proposed by Diani and Bison (2004) and used by Vitale (2007b), many mobilizations see as protagonists many coalitions, with dense networks, weak identity character and orientation more or less conflictual, thus after to pursue their goal they tend to lose relevance.

However, when to be leaders of the protest there are social movements, that also have a dense network, but with a strong conflictual approach and strong identity character, the transition to the formation of urban and social movements for the defence of the territory is almost automatic. There are several organizations, citizens, workers of the social sector, activists, militants, that constitute these kinds of movements developing together the sense of solidarity and identification that goes beyond individual objectives and involves political and moral values (Vitale, 2007b). If in the coalitions may be collocated the

regeneration actions in the Landfills and the parks areas or in the North of Naples, the character of movements is most markedly in West Naples, in East Naples and in the Old Town.

A multiplicity of social actors (more or less institutional, more or less collective) act on the citizens places system which, at the same time, are increasingly the subject of informal appropriation and reuse practices, including misuse at the limits of legality. Such complexity and variety of conditions hardly delineable, ends up drawing another city, almost comparable to that physical one, but perhaps more real than the latter. «In a society where differences are more and more multiplied, the research work on the city space and its use, to an urban dimension as well as to the metropolitan scale, cannot however be limited to the appropriation and/or claims of the existing one.

Very often the city space is the result of social status overlapping and stratifications, diverse backgrounds and identities that demarcate the material or symbolic border, and so ends up to be populated by new tracks, signs and symbols depending on the perspective through the city are described. Places in which insurgent planning practices (Sandercock, 2004) and resistance practices to imposed models, in the persistent require of liveability, demonstrate the existence of cities questions and urban policy still unresolved or far from the profound social and spatial transformation» (Terracciano, 2016, p.19, our translation).

The theme becomes to represent and tell a still unpublished contemporary condition in its complexity, as in Naples as elsewhere. The role of this contribution is to give a dimension and a representation to otherwise expressed questions that need of new policies and more generally of a new urban vision, inside the building of a method and of a new way of looking at the city in its metropolitan dimension.

When the representations of future directions for the city are all considered - including top-down and bottom-up processes, actors, areas of interest, and interventions - it is possible to see differences in the deployment of renewal and regeneration operations. While cities change, they simultaneously create in themselves new spaces and places that do not arise from large urban projects but arise from the folds of everyday life. One of the purposes of this research is to investigate the existing conditions in order to identify possible development trajectories and thus orient the direction of progressive and inevitable change. Therefore, these representations are the travel maps and the routes that introduce different geographies from the past (Viganò, 2013), because they demonstrate the direction of larger changes that go beyond the immediately observable and perceptible spatial conditions.

It becomes essential to adopt a contextual, relational, and dynamic approach, that put in interrelation actors, conflicts, and contextual factors. Therefore, below we will try to briefly define the profiles of the five pieces of the city at the centre of the renewal and regeneration actions in order to move a further step towards the deep understanding of the dynamics that run through them and the future ideas that may emerge from them. In particular, there was superimpose the two previous maps (fig. 3 and fig. 4) and there was locating on these actors, areas of interest and interventions (fig. 5). So, in addition to the map of the city of Naples, five sectorial maps of the investigated areas (maps also used in data collection) were produced. These maps will be described in more detail in future publications. Here we will trace the designs and pictures of emerging city and its possible future trajectories. Subsequently, we will give a zoom on a specific city's area: the Old Town because of the emerging conflictual and participatory characters of the actions put in place in it.

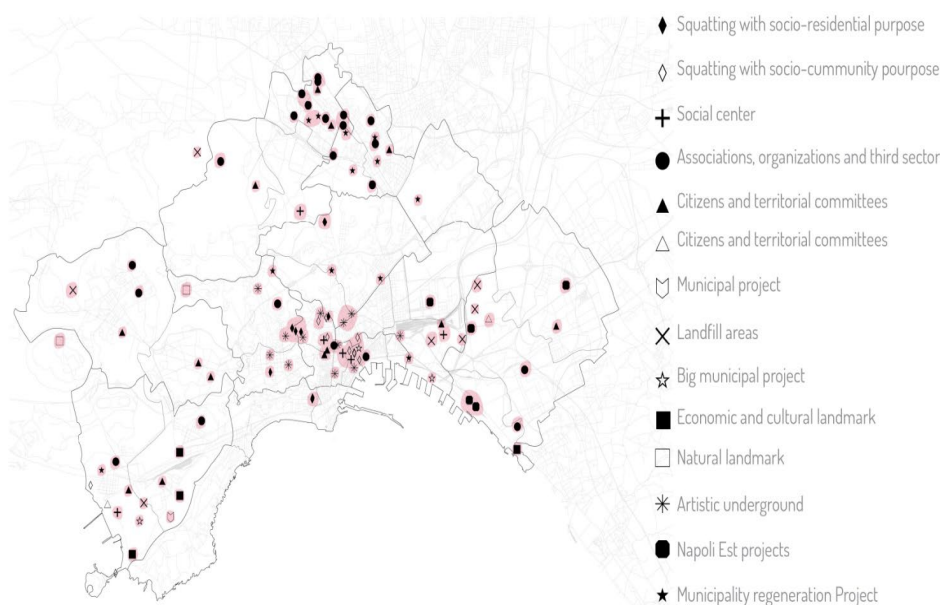


Fig. 5 Overlapping between renewal and regeneration intervention maps (produced by arch. Anna Terracciano)



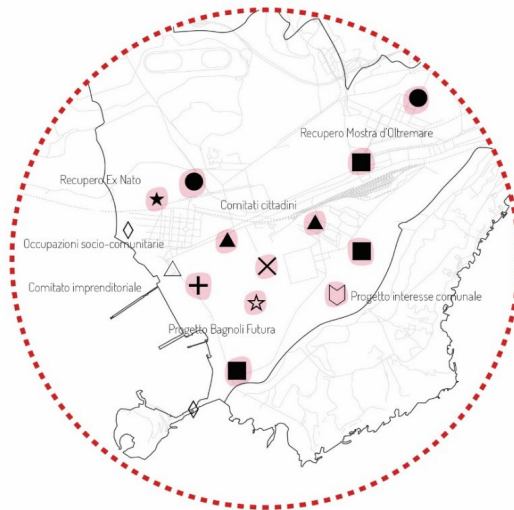


Fig. 6 Western Naples (produced by arch. Anna Terracciano)

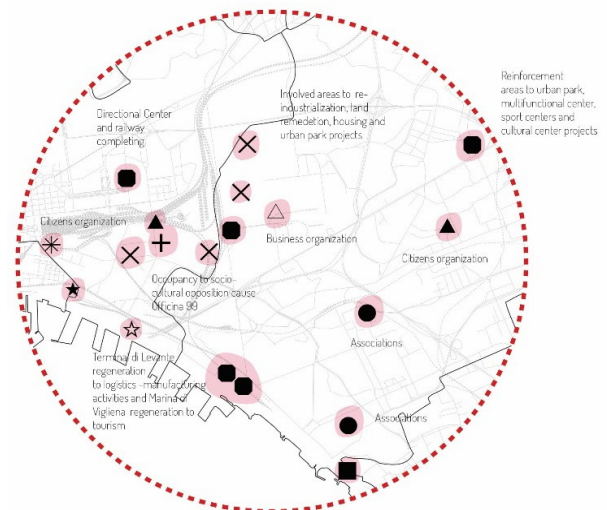


Fig. 9 Eastern Naples (produced by arch. Anna Terracciano)

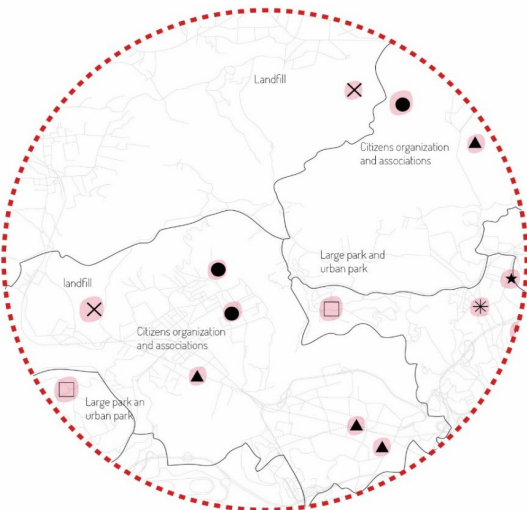


Fig. 7 Landfill areas and Natural Parks (produced by arch. Anna Terracciano)

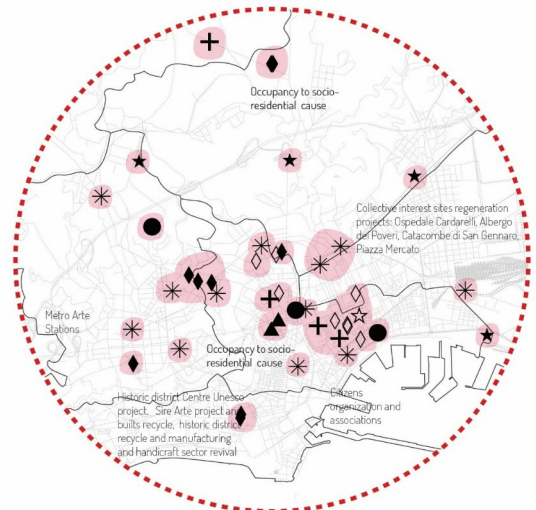


Fig. 10 The Old Town (produced by arch. Anna Terracciano)

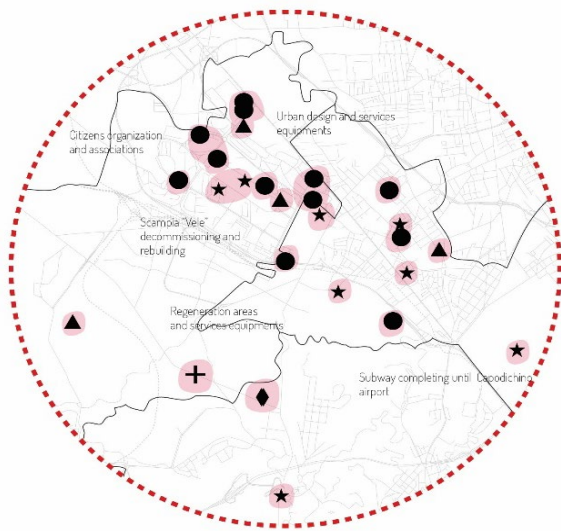


Fig. 8 Northern Naples (produced by arch. Anna Terracciano)

In the processes implemented by local actors, in the citizens' responses to these processes, and in the local governance structure of renewal and regeneration processes it is possible to trace elements that will be useful in understanding the trajectories and emerging strategies for each identified area. In fact, in the analysis of the interactions between public policies, local business, political forces, and civil society interventions, five models emerged.

*1. Urban and Social Revitalization for Western Naples* requires a concerted and shared growth that is led by the public actors but that also listens to inhabitants, citizens, coalitions, and urban and social movements. A new social narrative that can enhance the identity of the area must be constructed. Such an identity must include not only productive vocations, linked to the former industrial sites, but also those related to a culture of the sea (which has been removed from the memory of the city), and those related to the exhibition and artistic culture. The emerging sophisticated strategy is that of a participatory and integrated local development, where the private sector can

accompany and contribute to the public projects and address the demands expressed by the social substrate, since what this piece of city need is above all a strengthening and, only after, a raise strategy.

2. *Territorial Regeneration and Social Re-Activation* for the landfills and the natural and urban parks areas need an identity and physical redefinition that can create a sense of affection among the people who live there and will motivate a community of sharing. The absence of public programming, the persistence of illegal activities, the lack of services, and the predominant activation of the third sector, suggest that the strategy for this part of the city should be linked to relational development and to a general reactivation of institutions and inhabitants to build a local critical vision.

3. *Awakening and Social and Institutional Empowerment for Northern Naples* can be used in designing the future image of this area to link forms of empowerment and moral duty. The public design, which is markedly territorial and lacks a proper focus on recipients, must also listen to the local volunteer sector that works to build forms of active citizenship. The long history of difficult situations, degradation, and entrapment in that part of the city has all resulted in a situation that needs significant social recovery. A strategy of development and social transformation may make it possible to remove the causes of disaffection due to the physicality of this area for who live there, working also on the recovery of places identity and openness to new possibilities for both places and people.

4. *Re-Spatial-Attention and Urban Empowerment* should be used in Eastern Naples, where the development projects will

most likely be controlled by private interests. The interventions are aimed at the transformation of the physical nature of the sites in order to increase competitiveness and attractiveness, making a vast and progressively depersonalized space the new growth engine of the city. This economic and territorial development strategy would be driven by the private sector and attended by the public sector. Here, regeneration and renewal have to contend with complex integration and social problems that remain closed in places and that still don't have adequate forms of expression in the city.

5. *Re-appropriation, Claim, And Social Innovation* are suggested for the Old Town. Here the focus is split between the construction of an attracting shop window, with an essentially physical recovery and re-appropriation by those who live there. The inseparability of renewal and regeneration urban and social processes is obvious in this part of the city. Cooperation between public and private, civil society and politics, is necessary here and it is shown in the some implemented interventions. The strategy that emerges is that of a multi-directional and multi-actor development in which each actor has their own share of responsibility, leading to growth and exchange paths that are also collective, synergistic, and inclusive, open to different interests and ideas.

These five models reveal five ideas of the city jointly to five ideas of recipients of renewal and regeneration operations. These are, respectively: a City of Inhabitants for Western Naples; a City of the Associations for Landfills and urban and natural parks areas; a City of the Citizens for Northern Naples; a City of the Entrepreneurs for Eastern Naples; and a City of the City for the Old Town.

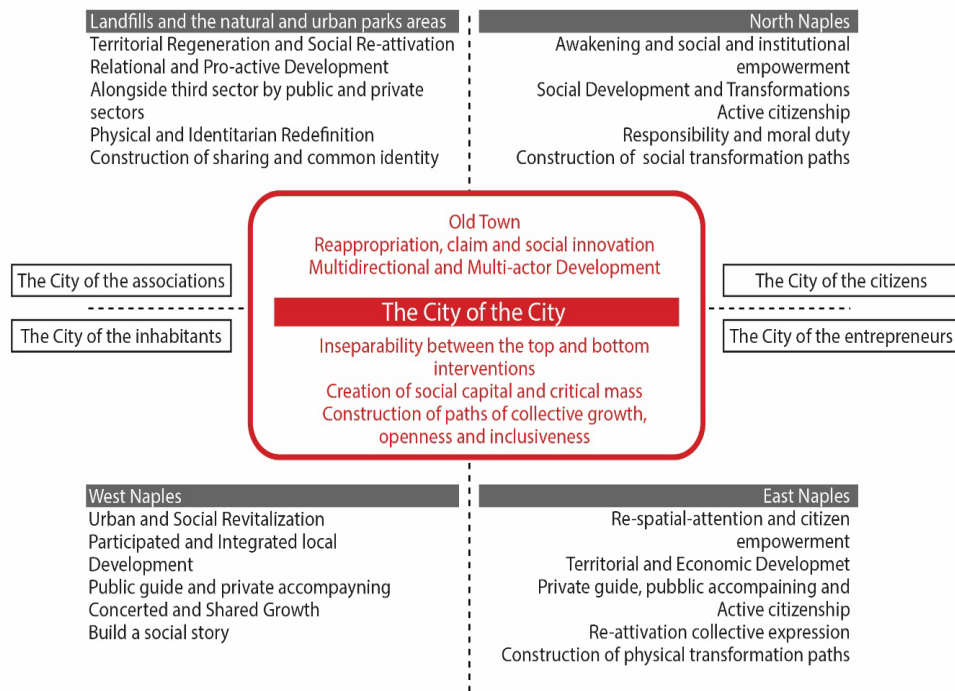


Fig. 11 Development models for the City

A non-organic response confirms the impossibility of reasoning on a single trajectory of development. Naples has been - and remains - elusive and changeable, but perhaps it is precisely these characteristics that will shape its future. The people in the analysed territories have expressed their needs. It is clear that although these areas are currently urban voids, they cannot be considered empty. Brown and social fields require different interventions, but what matters is not how these interventions start, but rather the projected destination. Therefore, to return the voids to the urban system they must be filled with objects, bodies, meanings, identities, people, actions, and experiences of life. They must be used as public and physical spaces. Urban transformation must be intertwined with social transformation, each influencing the other to create experiences of daily life that slowly settle and grow in memory. A collective identity and ideas that substantiate the possible trajectories of development will eventually emerge. It is clear that a single unique image of the investigated urban system is impossible. Furthermore, there is a substantial overlap and integration of brownfields and social fields. Design interventions in only one direction are, therefore, inadmissible. Actors and actions of renewal and regeneration that are focused on the physical transformation of either the urban dimension or the social one must work together. A successful effort requires synergy and a system that shifts the attention from individual objects or areas to the more inclusive concept of development declined on the total urban system.

#### **V. GOING INSIDE THE URBAN AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS: THE OLD TOWN OF NAPLES**

In this section a zoom was made on the part of the city that most showed an aptitude to recover the dynamics of conflict in view of the definition of growth and development paths that pass through the renewal and regeneration interventions: the Old Town.

As first element of classification, this part of the city can be defined as social field because it suggests to be an urban space on which for a long time it has insisted abandonment, physical deterioration and breaking of the identity link between place and people in that place, up to completely empty them of their symbolic importance, social functions, and vitality that once connoted them. Urban voids, in spatial and symbolic sense, in which the progressive physical degradation is accompanied by phenomena of moral and social decay. This cause the reject by the people how live in these spaces developing in them a feeling of alienation from a space within which they experience disorientation and incoherence being free from bodies, relationships, sense. On these places, as previously seen, a social and urban jointly change is desirable. A change that born from regeneration actions - guided or promoted from below - in order to give back to the urban void the characteristic of space for the existence. A process that does not look merely the quality of the container, but that look also to the quality of the content, more or less relational, in it. New roles are attributed to the

empty spaces in the way in which they can become once again collective heritage, places that belong to the memory and on which is possible to project the future. Therefore, the interventions carried out on these areas cannot be exhausted in the physical transformation of the space but are aimed to transform or regenerate the identity as a whole. Although it is undeniable that the expression social field references to narrowly limited areas, the Old Town can be imagined as aggregate of empty space with an urban void connotation in the social sense. Pieces of the city a time full of life and activity that now experience the process of abandonment and disuse until being removed from memory. This means to experiment a separation from the stream of urban life remaining for long time invisible, so, in order to return visible, they need to undergo a progressive process of common involvement. In this new use it is possible to see the transformation of the urban meanings of the space (Castells, 1983). But, as we shall see, there are various processes that accompany emptying and re-acquisition of meaning as well as different are the answers provided by government and citizens in opposing to it.

The urban voids of the Old Town are voids that arise from neglect, bad governance, lack of specific interests on this area. What mostly affect this area is not the crime - although it is well known its widespread dissemination also in the city centre - or the supposed moral degradation, but rather the physical degradation resulting from situations of abandonment. Besides the Old Town is also a site of great historical, economic, and cultural significance in the middle of the public spotlight for the perpetrated in time inability to really enhance the possibilities it offers. As the showcase of Neapolitan urban system, this is the richest area of urban renewal public projects ranging from the “Great Old Town UNESCO World Heritage Project”, or rehabilitation projects of historic buildings (Sirena) and renewal of specific parts of the city (as Cardarelli area, hospital of the Poor, Piazza Mercato, etc.), or enhancement project related to the provision of infrastructure and new spaces for art (as for the project Underground Stations of Art). This last series of interventions led to an effect of general redevelopment of the surrounding spaces, often followed by pedestrian of the areas involved returning the same spaces to a public green and socializing connotation.

The effect of these interventions is also visible in the improvement of the surrounding urban fabric for which property values was growing jointly to a decreasing of urban and social degradation (Gavagnuolo, Cascetta, 2014). It means, in fact, to pay attention on non-places, as suggested by Augé (1993), that can be defined by contrast to the anthropological place which is characterized by the social bond and a collective history. This kind of place is identity, relational and historical, it is space plus identity, on the contrary non-place is an area where individuality cross without getting into a relationship. So non-place is space without identity and only focused on the present, highly representative of our time, an expression of absolute insecurity, of temporariness, of transit, and of a lonely

individualism pushed to an obsessive consumption (Desiderio, 2010, p.1). The idea of Underground Station of Art overturn this definition returns the space of passage a new identity and life space, a space for art and for new relationships. Through to familiarize the population with the contemporary art with these stations it will points to a much broader goal, the redevelopment of large urban areas of degraded risk. Interventions designed on the city and for the city in a traditional top-down style and often, aiming to raise the urban, historical and environmental quality, lose attention on the direct needs of those who live in this area and of those who from it has experienced or experiences social exclusion.

Perhaps, may be is this one the crucial point that helps to explain why it is precisely in this area that was born the mainly experiences of self-management, self-welfare and re-appropriation of the most significant public spaces of the city. The set of observed actions that take place on this area are connoting not for the engine of active citizenship, but for the political engine, the claim, the strong opposition to the administrative operate, the desire to become the voice of the collective discomfort often unspoken or masked towards the protection of rights that go from housing to occupation, from the claiming of public spaces to the improvement of the quality of life and sociality. A demand of a general “right to the city” in the heart of a complex urban system. Urban and social movements take charge of implementing the regeneration actions that on the release of disused or abandoned spaces based a good part of their struggle resulting in squatting with socio-residential, socio-cultural, or artistic purposes. These are actions really aimed to social regeneration that behind the direct opposition to the public administration and through the emergence of a political component creates a pattern of action that passed beyond the individuals and becoming social glue and basis for collective action.

The Old Town, in the enlarged version that is proposed in this research, is both the epicentre of cultural life, the heart of the historic fabric, of the traditional and commercial craft activities, of the financial and production activities, but also of those typical ways of life developed in the “bassi” (a typical Neapolitan house that is located to the ground floor with one or two rooms and with direct access to the street), of the stereotypes and contradictions of the Neapolitan people. It is within this general ferment that is shaping the strong identity character of the area with the forms of belonging and affection that result from those who live there. The idea that this union that embraces styles and groups very different each other can be disfigured, crossed by voids of sense and of things, is the main reason for whom - from thirty years - in this part of the Old Town there was a proliferation of squatting with socio-cultural and communitarian purpose aimed at reclaiming and redeveloping the city’s social fields. Recently, these squatting were amplified thanks to some campaigns led by local activists of urban and social movements that have pointed to the combination of different demands, for example regarding

the right to housing, such as for the campaign ‘Magnammece ‘o pesone’ (literally ‘Let’s eat the rent’ rather than paying more than necessary), or relating to the right to release public spaces subtracted from the collective use, such as for the campaign ‘Scacco Matto’ (literally ‘Check mate’ to the govern of the city). In fact, one of the characteristics of the area is to have the highest number of squatted public spaces on condition of disuse, disputed or subject of speculation and alienation.

Without pretend to return an exhaustive census of all the spaces that were gradually released, to use the term that the same activists prefer to use to indicate the squatting of public spaces conducted in this area, these actions can be divided on the bases of the purposes that move the squatting: those with socio-residential purposes and those with socio-cultural and communitarian purpose. Among the former kind it is possible to classify the squatting realised in the Materdei neighbourhood and then spread around the Old Town. In particular, among the various experiences, can be include.

1. Squatting of classic social fields or, as it was previously said, spaces with social identity, such as former schools including the Schipa or Belvedere (now leaved).
2. Squatting of buildings with former public functions, such as the ASL (also named the waste building) or the Annona offices or Villa De Luca.
3. Squatting of private buildings taken away from property respite speculation as the building in the salita Arenella dubbed CROSS (Home and Income: Squatting Without Stop).

All these squatting give home to the unemployed, temporary workers, students, one-income or underclass families, mostly young and engaged in the activities of the campaign that has generated these actions (Magnammece ‘o pesone). These are not only squatting limited to the simple satisfaction of the need of home, but they pointing to the acquisition of the “right to the city”, to the public spaces, to the commons, to the participation, to the governance of urban space, and to new forms of welfare that explicit themselves in mutuality, in different forms of sociability and sharing of the conditions of the present as well as the vision of the future. These are squatting that point to a complete integration into neighbourhoods, that leave their doors open so that the change sought does not remain the preserve of only activists but can turn into an advantage for everyone. It is in function of this opening, rather than confine themselves to the statement of squatting with residential purpose, those who participate in these actions prefers to talk about social and residential purposes because what is returned to the neighbourhood are real social and urban regeneration measures: redevelopment and self-management of spaces, cultural and fun activities, political and participatory activities, become along with the bodies of the squatters, fills the empty urban spaces, or the so called urban voids.

The second type of squatting, however, while aiming to the liberation of the same objects, the social fields, vary the purpose which becomes fully socio-cultural and communitarian and the offering these realise of spaces are made not only for cover the need of a house but to be considered as a real social offer behind which it will find the foundation for the development of participation, self-organization, mutuality and self-welfare. These open spaces of sociability where 'create' something of common, that goes through culture, art, sports and care forms and leads to the emergence of a significant interaction between the original social function of places and the socializing function that slowly these spaces come to assume. United by self-financing, self-management and independence from institutional politics, in this type of squatting we can find,

1. Released spaces to return them to the different neighbourhoods by giving a mix of new social, cultural, educational, artistic and fun functions, but also offering new places and a very diversified set of social services (from social playgrounds to care activities and so on), as: the Scugnizzo liberato, a former juvenile prison named Filangieri; the Giardino liberato of Materdei, which was formerly a monastery; the ex-OPG Sant'Eframo, now called "Je so pazzo" that was previously a psychiatric hospital; the ex-Asilo Filangieri, former seat of the Forum of Cultures; the Santa Sede liberata, former Oratory of Santa Maria of the Faith or the Conservatory of Santa Faith; the cafeteria and the gym at Mezzocannone Occupato previously part of the university complex;
2. Disused spaces squatted by social centres for dissemination of culture and political participation, such as the SKA Social Centre; Insurgenza Social Centre; Zero81 Social Centre; Damm Social Centre (Diego Armando Maradona Montesanto coordination of Self-governing Multiple for neighbouring position between poor neighbourhood as Quartieri Spagnoli and rich neighbourhoods of the city as Vomero – Zone understood as areas composed by places and time); DADA or the Department of the self-managed alternative;
3. Public abandoned spaces self-managed by citizens and neighborhood committee, as: the Ventaglieri Park squatted by the Coordination of Social Park Ventaglieri (CPSV); the monument of San Giuseppe delle Scalze hosting the Committee of the Scalze; the rise Montesanto yard, next to the Cumana station dismantled from Montesanto Committee CO.MO.

All these spaces are associate with self-management and accountability mechanisms of the squatted places which are basically urban voids. Sometimes they are symbolic voids before than spatial voids (some examples are the former mental hospitals, prisons or monasteries squatted) where for long time have reigned only oppression, authority and imprisonment. Proper these places thanks to the actions from the bottom begun sharing, sociability and freedom spaces, places filled with activities and vitality, full of

people, objects and new meanings. These become the centre of attention and claim mainly for their double connotation: on the one hand, their central location with respect to the hub of city life and the possibilities that this offers; on the other hand, the dynamics of exclusion from this 'centre of life' that affects inexorably the most vulnerable categories (young people, students, temporary workers, but also people or households with low-income and that have to cope with difficult situations, etc.). The shared and participatory self-management practice is the basic principle that move the voids squatting, often making use of mutuality mechanisms such as the bank of the time that is exchange of time, services and relationship.

The ultimate goals become those of re-appropriation, openness, re-functionalization, and the constant use of the spaces with a popular consultation that passes through social activities, common and collective mobilization, practice of self-production of income, but also through the recovery and re-use of the spaces in question. It means return and open to all a public space in disuse that going to be squatted to fill the space requirement for each collective, solidarity, and support activities for the poorest and most fragile population categories.

This implies to intervene on a public space considered as marginal and socio-spatial uncomfortable area assuming its renewal and development to achieve a participative management and a shared governance model. The presence of sharing and socializing moments released by the logic of profit and commodification, the permanent social and political reflection, the constant clash of interests, practices, needs, and processes, leads to the development around these places of a systematic reasoning that ends up to investing the entire city.

The set of all these elements leads to a unique configuration in the heart of a complex metropolitan city, Naples. And it is precisely because of the complexity of the context in conjunction with the complexity of the renewal and regeneration processes both in top-down and bottom-up style to which the city is invested that it is possible to recognize the diversity of governance processes and the open possibilities of everyday life.

The forms of social relations, the events and the cultural initiatives implemented in these places generate shared interest that brings these places to become visible, to become part of the interest of many citizens who are starting to worry about these. The celebratory functions in these places bring to the emergence of their symbolic importance and their public function. In fact, many of the listed squatting actions are born with the explicit intention of renewal, recovery and regeneration of the spaces in the physical sense. This operation is aimed at returning to the neighbourhood an urban void characterized in the sense of social field to subtract it from the abandonment, neglect, absence of functions and roles that lead it to become part of the discourse around which constitutes the collective

identity of a place. However, to this objective it adds a diversified offer of services to the neighbourhood, to its citizens and to its inhabitants, such as local libraries, gym, social pitches, remedial courses, art workshops, musical experimentation, afterschool, theatre, language, and computer literacy classes, becoming in this way self-organized spaces for socializing, sports, art, culture, political discussion, information, and mutuality, that stand upon auto-production of income and creating new ways and visions of collective well-being and of the future.

It is an investment on the daily life of the people who promote the culture of mutualism and cooperation; it is a way to making the community, to feel part, to take part, which passes through the policy activation and openness to the sharing of territorial and social issues strongly connoted in the identity sense. In this part of the urban system these processes become an emblem of social regeneration path pursued in a purely bottom-up style. It is because these actions are born with protest intent and opposition to the institutions and their management of public affairs not limiting their actions to territorial issues only, that there are pursued social and moral change goals.

These goes beyond the people currently involved in the actions to configure the basis of social capital necessary for survival in time of these forms of self-management and re-inclusion of the spaces in a more general path of identity. This also thanks to the reticular organization and constant contact between the activists of conflicting coalitions, campaigns, urban and social movements, citizen committees and territorial coordination, that leave to the emergence of a structure with ability to reproduce itself over time even when strong may be the change of activists and militants since it is built on horizontal relations in sharp contrast with the hierarchies and the oppose party and power leadership (Montagna, 2007).

This attitude allows to go beyond representation, understood in its classical sense, initiating processes of social self-organization, direct democracy and widening the boundaries of social citizenship, in which disappears the distinction between representative and represented which generate identification and sense of community. These processes, as well defined by Montagna (2007), pass not only through the conflicting processes of urban and social movements but also through consensual organizational practices aimed at the production of public goods, collective and not commodified, a welfare process from the bottom that from invisible becomes progressively more and more part of the daily organization of the local social life.

It is in this feature that the squatting and the self-management actions on urban voids go through the transformation of these places in public spaces where the main activities taking social, cultural and political character, aimed at the re-appropriation of the right to the city well described by Lefebvre (1996).

## VI. PRELIMINARY INSIGHTS: THE ROLE OF CONFLICTUAL DYNAMICS IN THE CITY BUILDING PRACTICES

The reflections carried out try to read the relationship between the spatial forms, the urban and social conflicts and the generated phenomena in the renewal and regeneration processes that taking place in the city of Naples. At the middle of the held discussion there are conflicts born from the desire to released spaces and return them to the city and citizens who have been deprived of them. The 'city as a space conflicts' and 'city as a space of rights' are the two emerging visions. The management, not always transparent and conscious, of the city of Naples in conjunction with the structural problems that characterize it (the strong social and economic inequalities, especially youth unemployment, crime, environmental degradation, to name just a few) has led to the emergence of a series of claims which are followed by concrete actions taken from the bottom. The desire to define the role that urban and social conflicts generated by these actions have had in the current city building process but still on its future development trajectorie - the conclusions that can be drawn from the photograph realised in this article can open the scenario to new questions rather than providing any concluding lines.

1. Who owns the city?
2. Who has the right to decide which paths the city should follow?
3. Is the city an image reproduced through the different pieces of reality resulting from urban and social space using practices?
4. How can be possible enrich the top-down administrative interventions with an active listening of what people really want?
5. How is it necessary to process requests and bottom-up actions in order to obtain a set of coherent and persistent actions made by recognised practices?

More and more questions can be developed looking at Naples as a city pervaded by conflictual dynamics in solving the issues linked to the urban space use and its social connotation. What certainly the city need is concerted, shared and no-one-direction interventions (top-down or bottom-up) or with complementary aims (renewal or regeneration).

Indeed, what emerges from the preliminary reconstruction made in this paper is the need to understand the underlying reasons for the re-appropriation of the city's dynamic reading in the actions put in place in it the possible directions of policy aimed at ensuring the claimed right to the city. A right that didn't find a linear procedure to achieve it, but its growth in the local actions and can be read only in the concrete interventions of re-appropriation and release of the city abandoned and neglected spaces, as there was trying to do in this paper.

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