



Big infrastructures effects on local developments The case of Naples Metropolitan Area

Effetti inattesi delle grandi
infrastrutture sullo sviluppo locale.
Il caso dell'Area Metropolitana di Napoli

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Preface

This research aims to clarify the consequences generated by regional infrastructures strategies on local city growth. Do regional infrastructure strategies activate transformation processes at a local level? And may these processes generate virtuous rules for local development in bottom-up transformations?

To answer at these questions, in my opinion, the Metropolitan Area of Naples represents an interesting case study. In these area, and due to the lack of Institutions, the processes, object of this work, are clearly visible: a coexistence between "top-down" projects and "bottom-up" transformations is highlighted.

In 2010 Naples lies on a huge conurbation: the high-way infrastructures reduced the distance, increasing the accessibility of the region but without building a clear relation with the surroundings; as a consequence, the city sprawls, messing up the previous rural structure. At the same time, the industrial areas produced visible fractures on the configuration of the territory.

The different technologies produced physical changes in the Metropolitan Area, as well as in citizens life style. We are trying to understand, here, the relations between this two dynamics in order to measure the influences and forecast the transformations.

An important fact is that nowadays and worldwide, we are assisting to the replacement of the industrial sector with global services and transport; commercial activities are transforming the landscape, finding their location in places that have well defined characteristics: big plots, high visibility, global connectivity and easy accessibility. In Naples they have been established in the same area where agriculture, industries and residential suburbs have already layered. Even though, here, they symbolize territorial references: "land-

Questa ricerca descrive in modo critico-storiografico le conseguenze generate dalle strategie di localizzazione delle infrastrutture di scala regionale sulla crescita urbana locale. In particolare mi sembra interessante chiarire, in questa sede, se le strategie di infrastrutturazione regionale inneschino processi di trasformazione a livello locale e se questi processi possano, a loro volta, generare un sistema di regole virtuose di sviluppo "dal basso". Il caso studio preso in esame è l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli. Amministrativamente non costituita, essa viene spesso fatta coincidere con i limiti della Provincia; sebbene, nel suo uso quotidiano, sia possibile individuare un'area di influenza che comprende anche parte delle Provincie di Caserta e Salerno. Questa definizione di confini più labili nasce dalla considerazione che il territorio è il risultato di una serie di processi, naturali e di antropizzazione; conseguentemente, esso non può essere definito in maniera statica: deve essere, al contrario, interpretato attraverso tali processi e gli usi che se ne fanno. Uno studio dell'evoluzione dell'area in oggetto, in un arco di tempo che va dal 1906 al 2006, sottolinea come, ad ogni stadio di innovazione tecnologica, così come ad ogni trasformazione socio-economica, sia corrisposta la definizione di nuovi spazi di scambio e di interazione. Il territorio dell'Area Metropolitana di Napoli restituisce una chiara sovrapposizione dei diversi livelli susseguitisi nel tempo e conferma la teoria secondo cui la città sale: essa cresce nella dimensione, per espansione, e nello spessore, per stratificazione. Nel 2010 la città di Napoli si estende su un'enorme conurbazione: la costruzione di una fitta rete autostradale ha ridotto le distanze, migliorando l'accessibilità a tutto il territorio regionale, ma senza costruire una relazione chiara con il contesto; la conseguenza di questo fenomeno è la realizzazione di un continuum urbano che si adagia lungo gli assi a scorrimento veloce, polarizzandosi in corrispondenza delle uscite. Le aree industriali rappresentano delle fratture in questo sistema. La recente ristrutturazione del settore industriale, sta provocando una nuova trasformazione dovuta alla rilocalizzazione delle attività commerciali e logistiche, queste ultime, a Napoli, hanno trovato posto lungo gli assi di distribuzione a scorrimento veloce. Parallelamente a queste macro-trasformazioni calate sul territorio, si rilevano trasformazioni di grana più fine che si rapprendono in alcuni nodi urbani, rappresentazione concreta di un processo di sviluppo "dal basso". Questi luoghi rappresentano opportunità di futuro sviluppo. A livello metodologico, sono stati messi in evidenza alcuni pattern di crescita dell'Area Metropolitana, attraverso un lavoro di rilettura storiografica del territorio che ha portato alla redazione di mappe tematiche ed alla realizzazione di indagini fotografiche. Le conclusioni ottenute attraverso questo processo di ridisegno grafico e fotografico sono state supportate dalla consultazione di testi sullo sviluppo urbano in generale e sulla crescita della città di Napoli in particolare.

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marks" (Lynch, 2006). New infrastructure have to been built in order to support this renewed uses of the territory. If the city can be described "as points of articulation and of translation between different extensive layers of the multi-scaled urban 'cake'" (Read, 2007) it will not be astonishing to discover, in Naples Metropolitan Area, new peripheral commercial centralities on the trucks of an old roman street. This synergy, raised in some urban nodes, is the result of a slow bottom-up process. Meanwhile, as the opposite top-down development, and as a consequence of the industrial sector reorganization, faster global dynamics create "new centralities" producing effects at the local scale and increasing the fragmentation. Moreover, it must be taken into account that these layers and processes are not only restricted to physical networks but they are shaped also by economical and social interactions, and that a network is always global and local in all its points (Latour, *Nous n'avons jamais été modernes. Essai d'anthropologie symétrique*, 1991). From a methodological point of you, a first interpretation of the city growth has driven to the compilation of thematic maps and photographic reports. The information, learned through the graphical and photographic process, were supported by a theoretical approach about both urban development in general and Naples growth in particular.

Naples Metropolitan Area

Naples Metropolitan Area (NMA) is nowadays a conurbation built up as a constructed expansion around some historical urban centers which concerns the territory of more

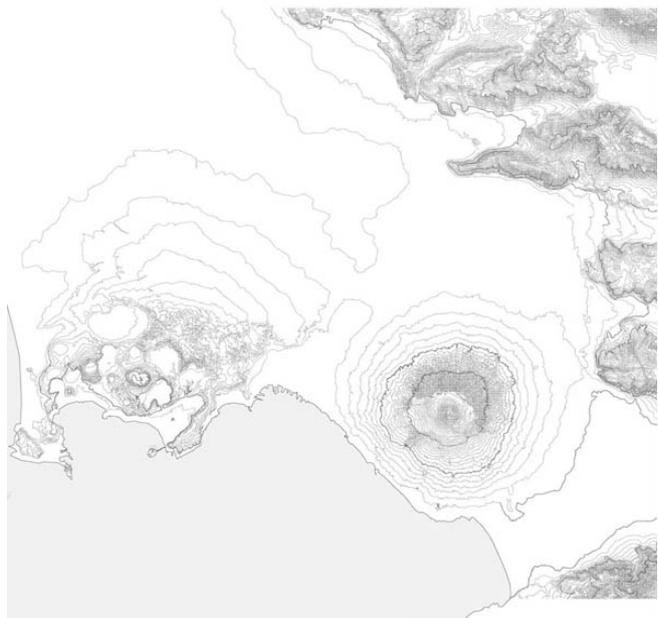
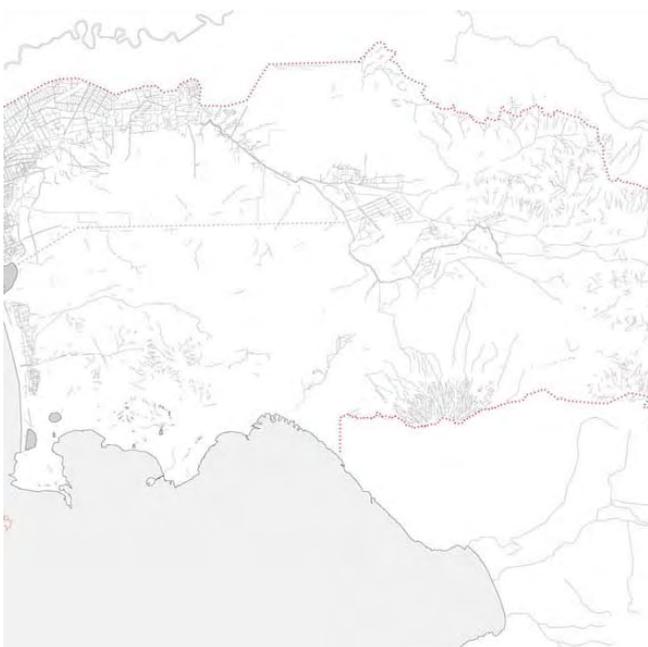
provinces and occupied a big part of the plane "*Campania Felix*". This essay is a critical promenade through different phases of the city expansion, directed to discover some principles that has driven its transformation. The research period goes from 1906 till 2006; the research area is 50Km x 50Km, including some areas that are not officially part of NMA however they correspond to the distribution of the work power and to the work structure.

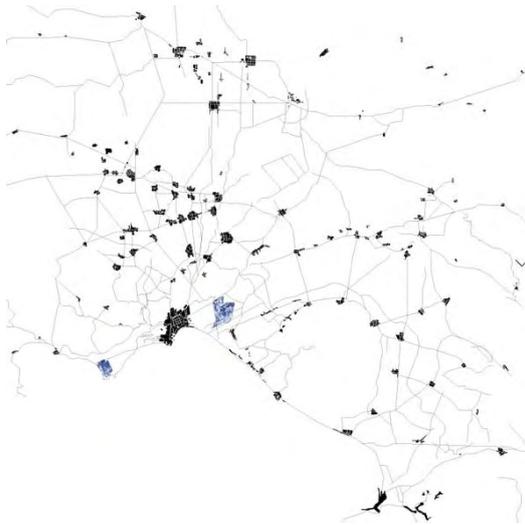
The topographical conditions of the region strongly influenced the morphology of the city and its province, urban development started close to the coast between two volcanic areas: on the East side the "*Vesuvius*" and the "*Monte Somma*" while on the West the "*Campi Flegrei*"; nowadays those two still represent a natural border for the growth of the city.

In the North, which is the lowest area of the Province, lied a valley crossing by river Clanio, whose frequent flooding generated a wide wet-land; this phenomenon prevents the growth of the city through this direction. The lack of archeological rests supports the idea that the phenomenon of inundation limited the expansion of settlements in this area (Fatigato & Formati, 2006); the villages developed at a distance of 10Km from the water course in order to avoid the flooding.

This natural conditions supported the development of an urban configuration formed by one central city on the coast line and several isolated hamlets connected by a main streets system, along a predominant direction North-South. The hamlet was an agglomeration of rural houses, part of a territorial organization designed for the cultivation of the land. Historically diffused in the Neapolitan country-side, it

Topography map of Naples: morphology and hidrography.

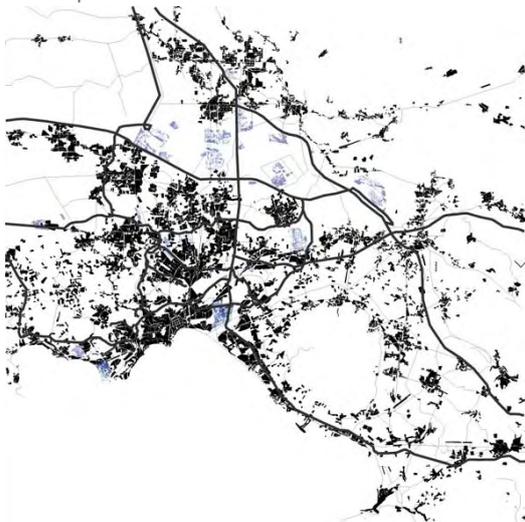




Urban development in NMA: 1906



Urban development in NMA: 1956.



Urban development in NMA: 2006

was localized in all Campania Region, in the immediate suburbs of Naples as well as close to the cities of Caserta and Capua crossing the actual border of the Province (Belli & Russo, 2005).

At the beginning of the XVII Century, a campaign to reclaim the wet-lands started, bringing to the construction of a complex pipe system the "*Regi Lagni*". The result was the generation of an extremely fertile territory, the production center of Campania Felix, and the improvement of the connections between the city of Naples and the hinterland.

First industrial development coexisting with agricultural morphology

At the beginning of XX Century, looking at a map of the city, it was still possible to recognize the historical structure: Naples was the most dense spot of the Region, lied on the coast and squeezed between two mountainous natural areas; while on the North of the city, were localized both the networks of historical nucleus originated from the hamlets and the cities of Caserta and Capua separated by the agricultural plane.

As main reasons of the permanence in the configuration, we have to consider the fact that the economy of this area and, as a result, its morphology was still based almost completely on the agricultural system. The villages were generated by an expansion around the hamlets. Traditionally, in this part of the Country, the farmer used to work in fields and to live in town (Rizzo, 2008); for that reason, and until land was used for farming, it has been possible to preserve a balance between building areas and natural ones. Definitely we can affirm that urbanization of country-side in South Italy is a recent phenomenon.

At the same time some industrial areas started to be developed on the edge of the city, exploiting the left-over land between the building area and the natural limits. The first one on the East was localized along the coast-line and crossed by the first train line in Italy, the one that goes from Naples to Portici (1839). Meanwhile, in 1861 Italy became a whole Country and the Realm of Naples, that has always been an autonomous realm, started to be part of it. The new politic system encouraged the development of industrial sector in the South and promoted the connection between this part of the Peninsula and the North. A train line connecting Naples to Rome was built (1908), both, sea and rail transport, supported the development of the industry. A second industrial area was established on the West, the Italsider in Bagnoli and simultaneously new worker neighborhoods were built. At this time Naples boasts the leadership as the biggest Italian merchant fleet.

Despite all the efforts made for the improvement of industrialization in South Italy, the land revenue still exceeded the industrial one (Benevolo, 2006). This was

the result of a silent agreement between Northern industrial bourgeoisie and Southern land-lords (Puntillo, 2008) after industrial revolution. In particular, instead of empowering endogenous resources, such as agriculture or sea transport, trying to encourage forms of cooperation between local stakeholders, the land-lords preferred to keep the property of the land and, as a consequence, the revenue; at the same time they supported an industrial development based on the transformation of exogenous resources. As a consequence, the agricultural system maintains a medieval structure not anymore cost-effectively, while the imported industrial sector was deeply transforming the territory.

Modern Industrialization and infrastructures planning

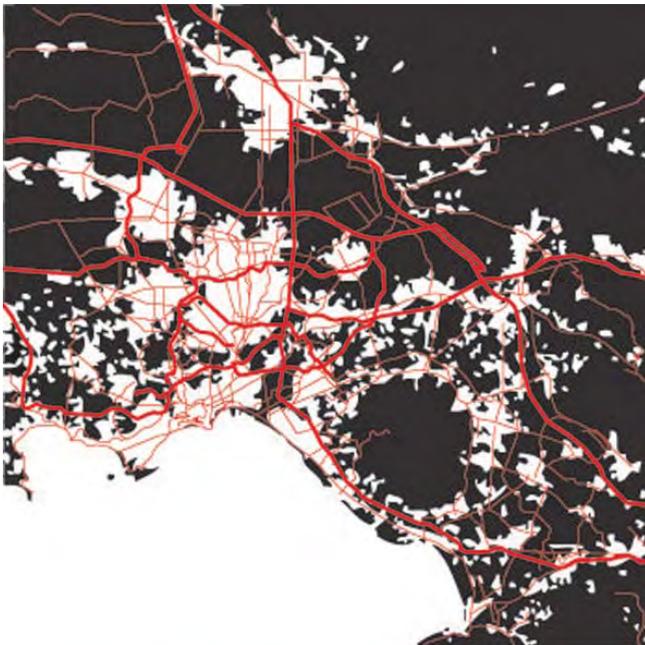
During the second part of XX Century, after WWII, new lines of development were overlapped on the previous ones. Some changes were established in the productive structure as well in the transport system; they influenced the life style of inhabitants and started a process of densification that generated one of the highest dense Metropolitan Area in Italy. In 1967 the ASI (Areas for industrial development) designed a regional plan for the localization of few industrial districts. The master-plan forecasted the concentration of production in some spots and the development of big



Urban/Industrial development related to infrastructure in NMA in 1906 and 1956.



infrastructures in order to improve both the accessibility of the areas and the connection with the other parts of the Country and, at the same time, to facilitate the transport of raw materials and end-products. Some elements characterized the productive areas: they had a large superficial extension and they were localized very close to high-way junctions, although they kept certain distance from the city centres. In most of the cases, they were fenced in order to control the access and to consent a more safe development of productive activities. The plan defined seven industrial agglomerates: Caivano (293 ha), Urban/Industrial development related to infrastructure in NMA in 2006.



Acerra (268 ha) e Nola-Marigliano (388 ha) along the axe Aversa-Nola near to the border with Caserta Province; Giugliano (113 ha) e Arzano (80 ha) in the North-West area; Pomigliano d'Arco (301 ha) in the North-East; and finally, closer to the Province of Salerno, the industrial area of Foce del Sarno (66 ha). Three of the industrial areas were located on the agricultural plane, the same land rescue to the water in XVII Century and still not urbanized.

In spite of sea and rail transport, a new policy based on road haulage was actuated; it required the displacement of productive sector from the water front, where it has been localized at the beginning of the century, to the hinterland. The trucks start to be used as main means of transport: assisted by a capillary fast-way network they could easily join all directions; as a consequence, the need of high-ways increased and lots of motorways were built in order to simplify the connections: first of all, the A1 connecting Naples to Milan (1964); more locally the A56 "*Tangenziale di Napoli*", an orbital high-way around Naples, which was completed in 1977, going in direction East-West at an average distance of 3 Km from the sea; the industrial master-plan of the 1967 defined also the "*Asse di Supporto*", a free-way connecting the urban settlement with the industrial areas, it runs as well in a direction East-West. The investments made to improve infrastructure in Italy in the second part of XX Century are also expressed by the fact that since 1960, 208 Km/year of high-ways were constructed, more than Germany (170 Km/year) and France (127 Km/year). This progress happened at the expenses of public rail transport. Moreover, in November 1980, an earthquake destroyed a big part of Campania Region, the operations that followed for the reconstruction accelerated the aforementioned process. Some special interventions were planned in order to answer quickly to the problem of housing requirement. This interventions aimed as well to strengthen the existent communication network in order to improve the accessibility to the region. A new high-way was built: the "*Asse Mediano*", which drives in direction East-West in an intermediate position between the Asse di Supporto on the North and Tangenziale di Napoli on the South. The imposition of new connective spaces drove the following expansion of the city. Until this moment Naples Region was organized, as described before, in a multi-polar system connected by a thick street network having a predominant direction North-South. From this moment on several motor-ways with a direction East-West, parallel to the coast line, were built; despite their original nature (they had been planned to increase productive activities) they represent nowadays the main way of transport for the inhabitants in the metropolitan region and they are used for everyday commuting. As far as they connect existing polarities, they represent a propeller element for the development of new centralities.

Residential sprawl

In spite of the big effort spent in a regional infrastructure development, it is evident the lack of a regional housing planning. Looking at the growth of the urban settlements on a regional level, it is underlined that the most important expansion of urban phenomenon took place after 1961. In fact, between 1861 and 1961, the urbanized area only increased twofold in 100 years, growing from 9,2988 Km² to 20,200 Km²; instead in 2000, 40 years passed by, it reached 92,988 Km² ¹. This

phenomenon of spatial expansion of the city does not correspond to an effective growth of the population. As said before, in 40 years, the urban extension has been almost 400%, while population augmented only 20%. Undoubtedly is what we can define a "growth without any developments" (Lanzani, 2003). At the same time while the built area expands, the population starts to spread. The data collected by the Census in 2001 registered a dislocation of the inhabitants from the Capital to the municipalities of the second ring, during the decade 1991-2001². This data confirms a dynamic common to other



New infrastructural landscape.



European cities: an urbanization of the countryside occurred: the urban population raised; besides, it decreased in the centres and moved to the suburbs.

This practice defines a new pattern of growth, exemplified in an urbanization of the voids between the old settlements; this pattern is a consequence of the change in the characteristic of relevance by location: geographical position has been replaced by relational hierarchy. At this point we assist to a revolution in the dynamic of growth; the more accessible areas become the more attractive ones and the junctions are the new centers of development, as they represent an access point to the distribution network (Ezquiaga, 2008). At the beginning of urban phenomenon residential areas start to grow in continuity to the ancient centers; afterwards and as a consequence of the diffuse infrastructure supply, new territories are accessible and available for being built; the urban phenomenon sprawls everywhere and it is formed by an apparently accidental aggregation of autonomous urban facts. A considerable part of the new constructions comes up of an illegal apportionment. Recent data say that, in 1994, 63.513 constructions have been built without planning permission³. The illegal developments in NMA are supported by the laissez-faire of the administration and reinforced by the presence of criminal organizations. Consequently in the last century the extension of urban settlements enlarged, taking the space belonging to agricultural fields or the one predestined to public space and services. The result is that nowadays Naples is counting 3.059.196 inhabitants living across a territory of 1.171.13 km² and reaching a density of 2698 inhabitants/km². Besides, the distribution of the inhabitants in the region is unequal, the highest



New infrastructural landscape.



New infrastructural landscape.



concentration is on the coast, close to the city of Naples, and on the plane while phenomena of depopulation are taking place in the mountains the "Appennino"⁴.

According to Andrea Branzi "we are assisting now to a phenomenon that can be comparable to the transformation happened in European cities during Napoleon campaigns; ecclesiastical goods were suppressed, caused a great number of convents, abbeys, and Carthusian monasteries to enter the market and later to be transformed into arracks, prisons and schools" (Branzi, 2006). This transformation is nowadays occurring to our territory: traditional functions are dispersed in new spaces creating more fluid relations. This process of transformation is even more evident in a city like Naples, "as porous as its stone" (Benjamin, 2007)⁵ and, consequently, straightforwardly transformable from its own citizens. Furthermore, the lack of both a general planning process and a regional control, allow economical dynamics to being more readable in territorial changes.

New infrastructural projects

Nowadays three projects of public transport will influence the development of NMA. The International Airport in Grazzanise, the High Speed Train Station in Acerra "*Napoli Porta*" and the Regional Subway "*Napoli Nord*".

They are drawing a new assessment for the region. They suggest a model of development based on three axis that, going in a direction North- South, infiltrate the city. Starting from the West is possible to highlight a global axe, that will connect Grazzanise airport to the city center, passing by

Big infrastructural project in NMA. 2006.



the coastal development of Campi Flegrei; after that, and in a more centric position compared to the region, the line of the subway from Naples to Caserta; finally, the third one, that will be necessary to connect the city center to the High Speed Train station. Respectively they could be characterized as a global/leisure axe, the one that coasts the sea-line; a service axe that corresponds to the needs of everyday commuting and last an administrative axe that will connect the "*Interporto Campano*", the High-Speed Train station, the CBD and the Central Station.

Clearly those axis will underline new directions for further developments and, as a consequence, will probably cause a reinforcement of the transversal connections East-West in charge of the link between this regional episodes and the citizen's everyday mobility. They will start a process of deformation in the territorial accessibility model. Subsequently, they will also suggest a new life-style for inhabitants.

Dynamics of contemporary expansion

New life style: city of homogeneous island

During the second half of XX century, the policy to implement industrial activities and housing developments generated, on the other hand, spontaneous dynamics of growth in a local level. The industrial settlements established in the suburbs, close to some preexistent city centers, nonetheless these two urban entities do not communicate, they coexist (Rem Koolhaas, 1995).

The industrial areas are definitely disconnected from the surrounding environments and completely autonomous in their way of functioning, although they are globally well connected. The presence of motorways and the proximity to the junctions allow, on one hand, the transport and the relation with the other centers of production and distribution and, on the other hand, the daily commuting for the employees. They were created to facilitate manufacturing expansion in the South of Italy, still at this moment, they function as closed environments providing common services and facilities for enterprises.

Nevertheless, they represent a fracture for territorial development, creating islands out of the urban scale. This fragmentation is both physical and social. Actually these areas are separated from their closest context but, at the same time, they generate new detached territorial relations, based both on the changes occurred in productive activities (from agriculture to industrial sector) and in the easiest everyday commuting, indispensable to join the work places. Essentially, while they represent a drass for inhabitants who live close, they signify the space of everyday life for people who work on it.

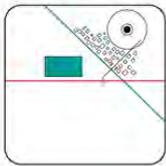
A transformation in citizens life style starts: a population completely composed by farmers abandons its occupation in the countryside in favour of a more metropolitan life style. They used to be peasants and live in rural villages in direct relation with the land they work for; suddenly they started to be employees in the industry or in the services (Arminio, 2008) and to live far from the places where they used to work. This transformation was possible thanks to the improved and faster mobility network.

New city scale: the regional city

The set of changes occurring to Neapolitan region has to be interpreted as an adjustment of scale in the definition of the city: "the traditional unit typical of peasant life, namely the village, has been transformed absorbed or obliterated by larger units; it has become an integral part of industrial production and consumption. (...) The urban fabric grows, extend its

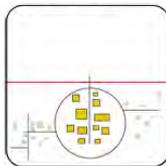
Principles of development in NMA. Commercial Boxes.

3.metropolitan area | commercial islands



Principles of development in NMA. Homogeneous islands.

2.industrail city | homogeneous productive areas



borders, corrodes the residue of agrarian life" (Lefebvre, 2003). The construction of fast communication network accelerates the dispersion of the rural village and determines the formation of the metropolitan city. We can affirm that, when a system of rapid transportation can access to a larger territory within the same time consuming as usual, the scale concerning a city is altered. Therefore is substantial to recognize that the efficiency and the speed of urban mobility bring a city to a regional scale.

The territory resulting from this process is a territory where the classical laws of distribution and proximity of the vital functions have completely changed; in other words, is what Boeri defined a city of distant relationship (Boeri & Basilico, 1998). In this city accessibility is more important than geographical position because the distances are measured in times instead of meters. As a result, the city scatters around, generating new residential neighborhoods without improving their autonomy; "this dynamic authorize the creation of urban peripheries even kilometers far from the mains urban centers" (AA.VV., 1990). Furthermore, if we consider the huge amount of illegal constructions built in the region, we can say that the effect of this process is a self-constructed city, almost entirely residential, with an evident lack of services and public space⁶.

New patterns of development: commercial boxes as peripheral centralities

At the present time we are assisting to the replacement of the industrial sector with global services and transport; commercial activities are transforming the landscape, finding their location in places that have well defined characteristics: big plot, high visibility, global connectivity and easy accessibility.

Whereas the industrial areas in the country-side were built in contrast to the historical centres and to the traditional use of the land, they create a flourishing working environment for the inhabitants without matching against the original nucleus. The commercial boxes, instead, represent new centralities competing against the traditional city centres for social life and leisure interest. They are moving the cores of activities from the old centers to new external peripheral centralities, generating a new kind of public spaces. This policy is spatially translated in the invention of new typologies of construction and of semi-public spaces, in the deployment of a dynamic of control obtained through the use of fences and a feeling of "security". The shopping mall symbolizes the essence of the city more than the city itself, of which it is a perfect representation.

From a programmatic point of view, the shopping mall establishes a closer relation with the context rather than the industrial areas; actually they replace the substantial

lack of services and public spaces and become part of citizen's everyday life.

Once more the presence of fast mobility infrastructure is a fundamental element in the development of commercial patterns: "immobilized in space (and time) they continually facilitate forms of urban and global mobility" (Graham, 2009). An example is the "Asse Mediano". It represents at the same time a driving element for urban development and a linear attractor for shopping centers. Its basin of use is constituted of 11 municipalities with a total population of 430.941 inhabitants; the connection with the surrounds is made through 16 junctions, while along its path nine shopping malls are localized. It sets-up a new principle of development for the Metropolitan region. More in detail, the establishment of an Ikea store along its path, in the outskirts of Afragola (63.777 inhabitants), determined a deformation in the direction of growth of the urban settlement. The commercial hub represents an attractor for the city development and it stretches the city in its direction. After Ikea was built, a new neighborhood, almost completely made of small three-floor buildings, has materialized. In addition, some changes emerged also in the lifestyle. Ikea is localized between the high-way and the cemetery, far from the centre, in the suburbs. This place was not considered part of inhabitant's everyday life, unless in some special occasions. Nowadays is not rare to meet young boys going everyday to Ikea football fields to play; nevertheless no side-walk were planned in order to join them. Therefore, and relating to the land management, a question occurred: how is it possible to build a lively interface between the global shopping centers and the local settlements?

The Asse Mediano system.



The risk of this urbanism based on mobility networks is the generation of a city that Koolhaas has defined "generic": a city realized with the evacuation of public realm, the one Lefebvre describes as the specific urban layer; a city where the only possible activities are commercial⁷. A city built for car and highways where the condition of being a passenger is becoming universal.

New city thickness: metropolitan local nodes

The urban is the material left-over of different technologies overlapped. While the urban settlements enlarge, the previous elements layered with the up-coming technological solution: this is the reason why the historical center has kept its importance in the distribution of the city; in Naples, where everything overlapped and stratified (Benjamin, 2007), this phenomenon is quite clear.

No city planning can explain the importance of a secondary road in the development structure of the region. With the improvement of faster infrastructure network, such as motorways and rail-roads, this street system, characterized by lower capabilities and slower connectivity, could have been abandoned, although this never happened. On the contrary, the link between the city center and the faster mobility infrastructure was carried out by the secondary street system which became a place for activities that need both local users and global connections.

First of all, we have to consider that, in a previous configuration of the city, this road was the margin between two isotopic elements⁸. As a consequence, it was the space that collected all the functions that the city expelled.

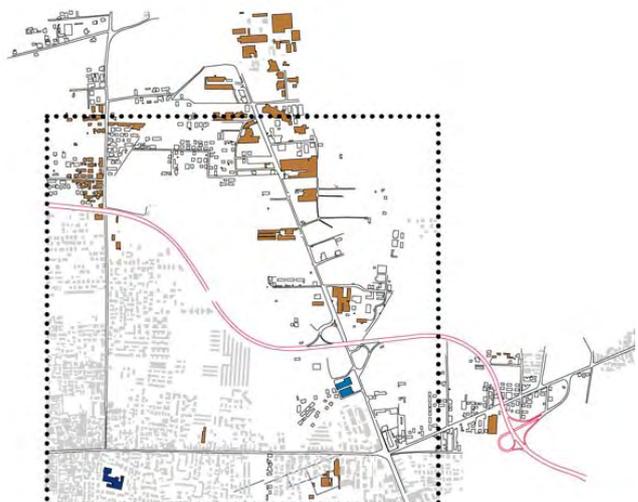
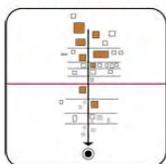
Moreover, a network is always global and local in all its points (Latour, 1991). In fact, to be efficient, a network needs to be connected to local users. For example, a telecommunication net, such as a telephone line, is useless if it lacks the plug-in to local devices. Converted to a territorial dynamic, this process explains why the elements that connect a global networks to the local environment are advantaged. A high-way without junctions lose its main function because it misses the plugs to local users. Hence, the city elements that work as connectors become linear attractors in the development of the region, magnetizing the uses that require big amount of space and fast connections.

Currently, as the need for residential building raised even more in the suburbs, this streets become attractors also for residential expansion; as a consequence, and in a parallel process to the commercial building development, also new housing typology are built. The landscape is characterized by a first line of commercial boxes all along the street; these are advertisement buildings, whose blind façades are made of promotional panels. The street sky-line is finished with a continuous, multi-color fence, interrupted by the entrances to the shops. The second line is being progressively occupied by residential buildings. Different typologies are developed: single family houses or ateliers, housing complexes fenced with private garden and facilities. Anyhow, this constructions are almost completely disconnected from the street and in most of the cases illegal.

Therefore, we can affirm that space is not structured equally. The concentration along some specific streets

Principles of development in NMA. Linear attractors.

1. agricultural city | linear attractors



demonstrates that is the way a place is connected to other places that decides the way it can be used, as a result we can say that the location of a place is defined always more by its relation rather than its position on the map (Stephen Read, 2010). Some places are chosen as important nodes; some are bypassed. Urbanity can be operated by designing this space. Definitely urbanization means a way to organize and manage material resources.

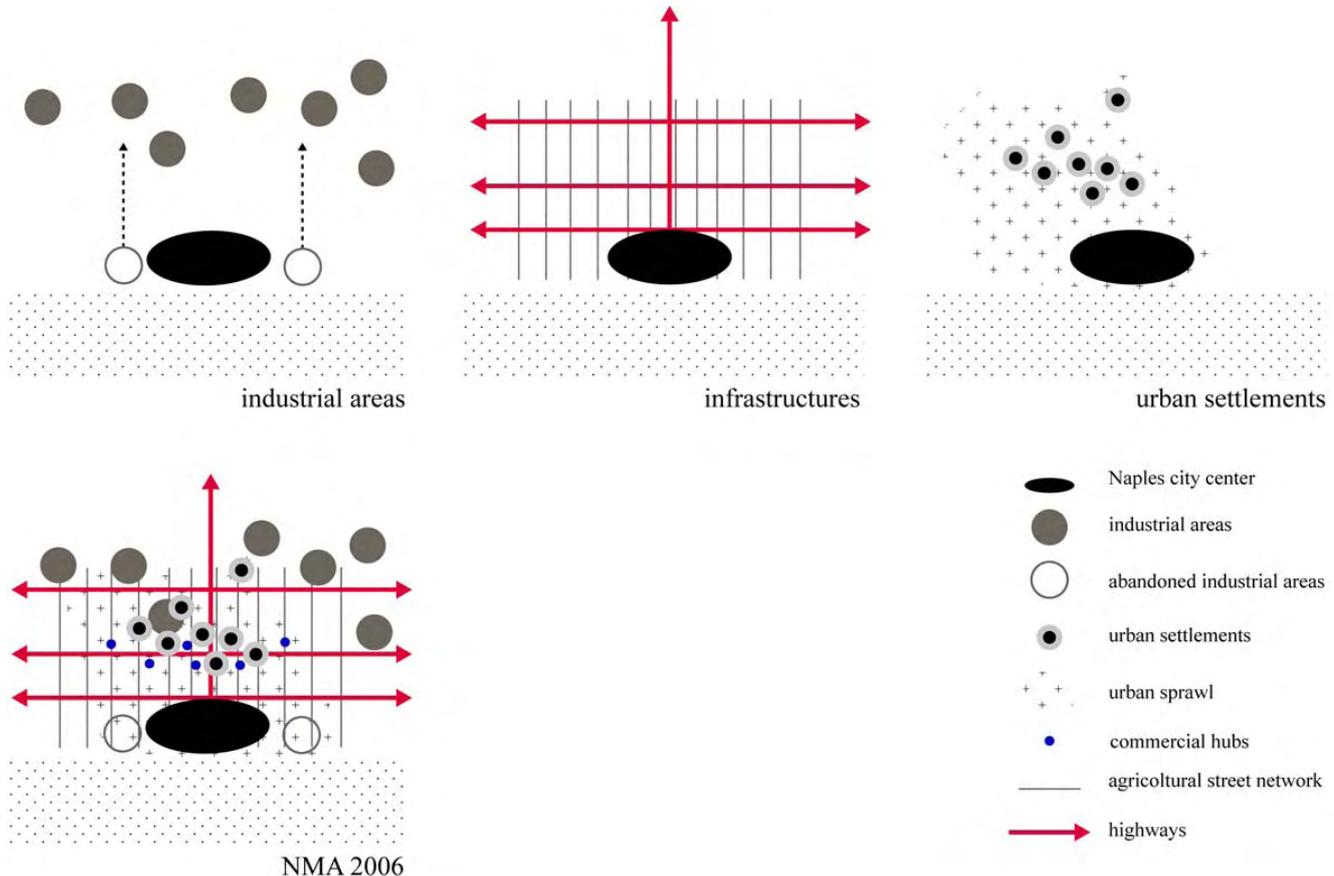
Conclusion

Finally it is clear that some main reasons, both global and local, influence the development of Naples Metropolitan Area. First of all the morphological conditions of the city, which is located between the sea and two volcanic areas, as well as the presence of the wet-lands in the north part of the province, have been the basis for the first urban development. As a consequence of this conditions an entire part of the mud flat was free from urbanization till last century; therefore, and as it has been formerly rescue to the water, it was possible to establish there several industrial areas, which were also easy to be connected through the construction of a capillary highway network. The new

highway network changed the structure of the region. While the ancient agricultural structure followed a direction North- South, the high-way network lays parallel to the coast line in a direction East-West, and creates, actually, two rings around the city centre. At the same time it increased the accessibility to the region, allowing to a larger number of inhabitants to move further: the urban phenomenon is everywhere. These networks are also the place where shopping malls establish, as they ensure all the requirements: big plots, high visibility, global connectivity and easy accessibility. In this areas the malls replace the substantial lack of services and public spaces and become part of citizen's everyday life.

As a parallel process the secondary street network is progressively changing status, they are ready for new users. Observing the distribution of productive activities and services at a regional scale, it is possible to identify a new geography of local hubs, localized in the transitional points between the national level and the regional one. Some nodes rise as new centralities, places where different activities overlap in a historical continuous process. Though the process of spontaneous localization engenders clear rules in the expansion of the Metropolitan Area as result of a slow territorial self-construction development.

Principles of development in NMA. Synthesis.



The city generated from this processes is made of homogeneous islands (home, work, leisure, productive activities, specialized areas) where citizens can move faster crossing the same space for different uses. The metropolitan area results as a collective societal construction generate by the overlapping of different individual actions, even not planned.

If it is possible to affirm that territorial landscape is not yet consider from citizens as a public heritage, and so it is often appropriated and transformed according to the user's needs, therefore the case of Naples is emblematic. It shows, in an extremely clear way, how some territorial rules influenced the everyday life of inhabitants generating some unplanned effects and how, following a parallel process, inhabitants can adapt territorial strategies in order to respond better to their own needs.

Notes

- ¹ www.risorse.info.
- ² GC_Napoli Censimento 2001.
- ³ Architetto Immacolata Apreda, consultant for PTCP Naples.
- ⁴ www.areeurbane.apat.it/site/_files/INU/Napoli.
- ⁵ Besides Walter Benjamin said about Naples here "everywhere there is space able to become theatre for new, unexpected circumstances. (...) There is no situation that appear formed as always, no form declare its way to be like this and not different" (Benjamin, 2007).
- ⁶ The lack of collective services and green spaces in Campania reaches 4.000 hectares (Di Gennaro, 2008).
- ⁷ In "The Real Meaning of Consumer Demand", Lebow wrote : "Our enormously productive economy demands that we make consumption our way of life, that we convert the buying and use of goods into rituals, that we seek our spiritual satisfactions, our ego satisfactions, in consumption. The measure of social status, of social acceptance, of prestige, is now to be found in our consumptive patterns. The very meaning and significance of our lives today expressed in consumptive terms. The greater the pressures upon the individual to conform to safe and accepted social standards, the more does he tend to express his aspirations and his individuality in terms of what he wears, drives, eats- his home, his car, his pattern of food serving, his hobbies. These commodities and services must be offered to the consumer with a special urgency. We require not only "forced draft" consumption, but "expensive" consumption as well. We need things consumed, burned up, worn out, replaced, and discarded at an ever increasing pace. We need to have people eat, drink, dress, ride, live, with ever more complicated and, therefore, constantly more expensive consumption. The home power tools and the whole "do-it-yourself" movement are excellent examples of "expensive" consumption".
- ⁸ Henry Lefebvre made a distinction between Isotopies: as place of identities and heterotopy. Between them there are place that are cuts/sutures. "Urban space as a whole was heterotopic compared with rural space until the reversal that began in the sixteenth century in Europe, which resulted in the invasion of the countryside by the urban fabric" (Lefebvre, 2003).

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