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## PLANNING THE SHRINKING CITY. SOME NOTES ON REVERSIBILITY IN TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.

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### HIGHLIGHTS

- Overview of urban shrinkage, worldwide and in Italy, and the necessity for rightsizing the shrinking cities.
  - Explore the possibility for reversibility of urban planning residues.
  - Connections and relations between the themes of territorial government, zero net land take, territorial or urban regeneration and environmental sustainability.
  - Current environmental crisis as an "opportunity" for de-urbanization in shrinking territories.
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### ABSTRACT

The contemporary city is currently experiencing a transition between a phase of growth and expansion and one of stasis or decline in most of the urban contexts of economically developed countries. This transition is also connected to the urban shrinkage phenomenon which arose at the beginning of the century, due to the economic and demographic crisis, and is radically changing the consolidated city' shapes and uses. The aleatory nature of material and immaterial manifestations of an occurrence like urban shrinkage and the inadequacy of a planner's "tools", when facing the challenge to work on the city at loss, leads to identify the flexibility of urban plans as one of the most suitable and structural response to this type of city's condition. In such a context, the contribution aims to investigate how reversibility in urban planning, it is intended not only as the change of an object' state from its current state, but also as the possibility of the object's return to its prior state before a certain event occurred as in the case of "downgrading" from urban to non-urban uses.

Through a comparative examination of the regional legislative framework, the article outlines the main aspects of reversibility of urban planning in the Italian context, eventually highlighting some attention points.

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## 1. THE PHENOMENON OF URBAN SHRINKAGE

Conditions and forces shaping the urban environment have dramatically changed since the beginning of the 21st century: the globalization, the massive increase of migration and the informal growth, the transformative effects of new technologies, the impact of climate change and the awareness of resource scarcity, combined with the dramatic increase of inequalities, all have affected the dynamics of urban growth while leading to a radical reconsideration of the urban planning discipline, which is traditionally oriented toward regulating urban development. While in 1800 only 2% of the world's population was settled in cities (Oswalt & Rieniets, 2006), today it has reached 55% and it is predicted that by 2050 the 2/3 of the world's population will live in cities and the percentage of urbanization will rise to 68% with the proliferation of megacities (UN, 2018). However, considering the uneven geographic distribution of growth, many territories in the Western area are experiencing a phase of degrowth, to the extent that it affects the urbanization and land transformation, which rapidly progressed for centuries, and now faces a time of crisis, named internationally as "urban shrinkage". The phenomenon is defined as a factor that characterizes urban areas in which a population loss – temporary, permanent or episodic – occurs or has occurred, while simultaneously undergoing a transformation of the economic base, showing the signs of a structural crisis (Pallagst, 2008; Plöger, 2012; Wiechmann & Pallagst, 2012; Wolff, 2011; Martinez-Fernandez et al., 2011). As an urban phenomenon, shrinkage is based on different processes of demographic, economic and social transformation, which may have different impacts in terms of reach and duration. In economically developed countries, the main causes of urban shrinkage are recognized, mainly from the international research "Shrinkingcities®" as demographic decline, suburbanization, peripheralization, deindustrialization, and post-socialist changes (Oswalt, 2005; 2006; Oswalt & Rieniets, 2006). Generally, it is possible to consider the shrinkage as strongly linked to processes of economic transformation of the local productive system, associated with high unemployment rates and urban environment degradation caused by the massive departure of inhabitants and the resulting abandonment of the residential

stock (Plöger, 2012) leading, in some cases, to the contraction of the city's physical landprint. However, population loss is not the only indicator to define this complex phenomenon (Crisci et al., 2014), even less to describe its consequences on the city. The most noticeable and frequent manifestations of the urban shrinkage also include impoverishment of urban functions, creation of urban voids given by the abandonment of housing and workplaces, leading to underutilization of existing services and infrastructure, divestment of public services. Such transformations bring on cities and territories a profound change in the spatial distribution of functions and population, consequently the urban morphology is no longer compact. Despite the transversality and globality of the phenomenon, it takes on different manifestations depending on the contexts where it occurs. Although shrinkage is usually associated with very striking manifestations (e.g., Detroit, Tokyo, New Orleans) caused by the collapse of a specific industry or by environmental disasters, where the causes have a different nature, as in the Italian context, urban shrinkage can manifest itself in a more "silent" and multidimensional way<sup>1</sup>. As a phenomenon related to the crisis of the post-industrial city, domestically it took this feature only in a few specific localities (e.g., Turin, Genoa); however, in the rest of the Italian territory the causes are mainly found in a variety of inter-related processes connected to: demographic decline, population aging, decreasing fertility rates and permanent immigration, growing youth migration, abandonment of "inner areas", mass tourism connected with loss of resident population due to the increasing amount of temporary dwellers (e.g., Venice, Florence, Capri, Cinque Terre). In Italy, the downward trends of the past two decades mark a line compared to the long-range prospects assumed as development base in urban planning in a certain time frame: the old-generation urban plans (PRG) implementing the national Law number 1150 (1942) "Urban Planning Law", were made based on the population and construction trends at the time of planning and on growth projections, that over time proved to be overestimated compared to the real urban development dynamics. But the accelerating drop in the Italian resident population led to a stage of demographic crisis for the first time in the last ninety years (ISTAT, 2020), and this brought a setback for the city's extensive expansion, which was the outcome of the very planning system that fostered it.

To this specific national feature is added a further matter because, while the need for new built-up areas is decreasing, strongly emerges from the analysis data the dual and opposite relationship between population loss and land take. Despite the significant reduction in demand for housing, facilities and public works, land take never stopped, as confirmed annually in the reports from SNPA, National System for Environmental Protection (Munafò, 2020, 2021, 2022).

## 2. THE NECESSITY FOR RIGHTSIZING THE SHRINKING CITY

Given the complex cause-and-effect system outlined above, cities are more and more often considered as a bundle of issues to be solved, rather than as fragile organisms to be guided, fostered and shaped (Burdett, 2018), but to do so requires a turnaround, not only in terms of types of solutions to "solve problems", but also towards a reformulation of the post-growth paradigm. All the experiences along these lines are set in the framework of a theory known as "rightsizing" or "wise shrinkage" depending on the geographical areas of reference. It was defined internationally (Wiechmann & Pallagst, 2005; Pallagst, 2010; Ryan, 2012; Dewar & Thomas, 2013), once people started to address and react to the phenomenon, as the "right size" shrinking cities should take on. This is a direction for design experiences on shrinking territories which focuses the attention away from the so-called growth paradigm to a "sizing paradigm" (Vegter, 2017) or literally to a right-sizing one. This does not exclude the possibility of pursuing a reductionist approach, abandoning the long-established idea of city development as urban growth alone. Urban shrinkage, by generating a severe shock in the city, brings significant consequences in terms of changes in settlement patterns, procedures to deal with the declining city, methods for re-orienting the shrinking system. However, many attempts to respond to the shrinkage issue, as observed both nationally and internationally, are often unrelated to urban planning in favor of extemporaneous or demonstrative experiences (Calace & Rana, 2022). The Italian debate on these topics is in its early stages (Cassatella, 2021) and in many cases continues to assume real estate restoration and valorization as the only answer to

the urban crisis (Peverini & Caramaschi, 2021). Moreover, it is a condition in which all the metamorphoses affecting the contemporary city, due to their rapidity, generate a loss of confidence in traditional tools of territorial government. Yet, the absence of an instrument capable of orienting choices within the rightsizing domain – potentially driven by economic reasons – and evaluate their impact as well as maximize their benefits, can come to generate inequalities and imbalances on the territory, increasing the risk of a crisis in the equilibrium system necessary for territorial government (Calace & Rana, 2022). Although operating in uncertainty is a cardinal condition of urban planning (Ferraro, 1991) if the plan defines long-term matters, such as land use and its development capacity, it appears inadequate to cope with the rapidity of contemporary changes, as well as to meet the new urban needs arising from the current crisis dynamics. If normative rigidity is still seen as a necessary condition for the implementation of a plan (D'Onofrio & Trusiani, 2016) that pursues the common interest, this leads to the necessity of keeping plan decisions and its implementation projects also inflexible over time. However, the assumption that socioeconomic changes do not significantly affect the adequacy of plan projections is recently losing solidity, leading to the opening toward a more fluid form of urban planning (Balducci, 2011). From this perspective, the necessity to address, in a twofold sense, the broad theme of flexibility in urban planning strongly surfaces among the variety of action modalities to deal with a shrinking city: firstly, as the capacity to modify the plan starting from various kinds of mutable conditions – economic, political, cultural, social – in the short-to-medium term, characterized by contraction or rarefaction of urban settlements; secondly as the possibility to reverse plan decisions according to the mentioned occurrences. Although in Italy the debate about a way of planning oriented to face these challenges (Indovina, 2017) has been open for a long time, in many cases it is struggling to reach its applicational dimension, breaking from the paradigm of urban planning as design of urban expansion. In fact since the established analytical constructs, as well as the theories commonly accepted so far, often prove to be ineffective or totally unsuitable – while trying to act on different contexts by applying traditional tools systematically and not critically would constitute an error of method (Bourdin,

2013) – it becomes essential to find the right angle to approach specific situations, in other words to ask the right questions. The relationship between conceptual and operational dimensions, in which planning of any territory takes place, can be complex even considering the necessity of converting problematic conceptual operations into rules structuring the plans. The difficulty is greater in a country like Italy where the technical capacity constitutes such a significant part of urban plans and where a publicistic and norm-dependent culture prevails (Pasqui, 2001). In light of the emerging urban issues and new citizens' needs, there is an attempt to face the challenge of conceptual evolution of planning tools today; nevertheless, by acknowledging the necessity of making effective changes in daily practice, legislators and administrators often fail to adequately meet the demand for change, with the exception of a few virtuous contexts. From this perspective, the challenge for urban planning – as it applies today to complex and unstable context like shrinking territories – is to suggest a response that adapts to the complexity itself of the current condition and allows the maximum margin for adjustment to uncertainties. Within the broad concept of flexibility applied to urban planning, which is widely debated in the literature, by observing urban contraction, the aim is to explore reversibility, particularly the reversibility of urban planning residues, intended not only as a change in the state of the reversible object from its present state, but also as the possibility for the object to return to its prior state, before a certain phenomenon occurred, as in the case of 'downgrading' from urban uses to a rural, naturalistic or agricultural condition.

### 3. THE REVERSIBILITY OF IN URBAN PLANNING: SOME EXPERIENCES IN ITALIAN REGIONAL LEGISLATION

The concept of reversibility is commonly associated with the possibility of reviewing past choices (Barthe, 2010) and, in this sense, the option of reversibility in the urban field implies a continuous process of transformation and is opposed to the permanence of the city, of its spaces and uses, developing its capacity to adapt to different situations. Reversibility applied to urban planning requires constant interaction between individual and

collective actors and centers on the need for a constant evaluation of the sequence of changes, also calling for a constant dialogue between planning acts and practices, including social and economic ones. Moreover, reversibility also opens up the possibility of reaching spatial configurations different from the initial one and unknown at the time of plan drafting (Pradel, 2013). During this process, every transition from one spatial configuration to another is actually a relevant phase, even if transient or reversible, depending on the nature of the transformation itself. Because of the distribution and variety, functions are re-organized and also related to their spatial appropriation modes and the transitional time assumes relevance in itself. For this reason, urban reversibility can be defined as a principle that expresses the tension between metamorphosis and permanence that manifests itself through the passage between two states of the same phenomenon (Pradel, 2013). It is precisely the configurations assumed in the transitional phase that foster a more fertile reflection on reversibility, since the city's configuration at instant T both depends, or originates, in its previous configuration and will come to affect the future configuration, starting from the conditions that occur in the path between the states. In such a process, planning assumes great importance, as holds the role of orienting the decisional path, whether top-down or bottom-up, for the reuse of the space or the evolution of the former built environment with its uses. This requires for a space to be organized in a certain way to express itself as useful for the local community and for the city users in general, who remained 'orphans' of an urban function that used to dominate a certain part of the city up to a certain moment. The topic of the reorientation of urban transformation (and urban plans) leads to a change in the approach traditionally associated with the normative and regulatory aspects of planning. At the local level it opens to the possibility of reversibility of land uses, especially on those lands declared buildable by a general urban plan but never developed. They later become relevant in shrinking contexts, for the evaluation of urban planning in force as "planning residue". The re-classification of these areas – in particular peri-urban and extra-urban areas, targeted in the past because of optimistic projections of urban growth – allows to physically operate by modification or containment of the urban

form. This prevents the urbanization of "virgin" lands based on the decreased need for new expansions and allotment, while also encouraging the use of areas within the consolidated city, in most cases already affected by urban shrinkage. Although circumstances in Italy are still far from allowing large-scale experimentation, some regions have started reform plan processes, beginning with new urban planning laws with a marked emphasis on issues such as sustainability of urban settlements or stopping land take. These laws, later incorporated by territorial or strategic plans, led some first virtuous local governments to conduct interesting experiences in the field of reversibility of land use decisions in planning processes, even if by different ways of implementation and in accordance with the visions assumed by the specific regional normative. Currently, the link between the reversibility of urban plans decisions and the territories is constituted by the laws on territorial government and land take. Precisely the attention to the topic of containing land take led several regions to update previous regional urban planning laws or to promulgate new ones, showing a strong sensitivity of some contexts to this issue. As much as over the years this attention increased as well as the emphasis on the principles of land preservation and limitation of urban development, it did not always lead to fueling the debate on reversibility; therefore, only a small sample of regional experiences will be analyzed below<sup>2</sup>.

An early experience in this sense came from Lombardia with the regional Law number 12 (2005) "Territorial government law" which was followed by regional Law number 31 (2014) "Dispositions for the reduction of land take and the redevelopment of degraded land" later amended and supplemented by regional Law number 18 (2019) "Simplification and incentive measures for urban and territorial regeneration and also the rehabilitation of the existing built heritage [...]" and regional Law number 13 (2020) of normative review. The breadth of the contents of these laws has structured a rather rich and articulated scenario in which are identified the pillars of territorial government: the reduction of land consumption, territorial and urban regeneration, environmental sustainability with particular reference to the saving of territorial and environmental resources. This offers the opportunity to steer local planning toward the direction of containing urban expansion and conse-

quently to make further implementation of urban planning decisions reversible or conditioned to the real territorial needs or even more decisively to open to the possibility of voiding existing residues. The regulatory framework identifies the regional plan "Piano Regionale Territoriale" (PRT) as the tool that defines strategies, methods and indicators for the containment of land take. It allows new land development only for proven technical-economic unsustainability to regenerate or redevelop already built-up areas; public interventions or interventions of public interest are not affected by the maximum thresholds. In addition, there are organs such as the "Permanent Observatory of Territorial Planning" which has the task of monitoring the level of soil consumption as well as the state of unused (open or built-up) space throughout Lombardia. Each municipality – according to what is defined in the overarching levels of planning and in particular following the criteria and parameters established by the PRT and incorporated in the provincial plan "Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento Provinciale" (PTCP) – sets out maximum limits in the general plan "Piano di Governo del Territorio" (PGT). It also supervises by laying binding conditions on new transformations – such as the obligation to draft a "Land take map" for urban plan variants or new public and private interventions – or encouraging practices in the field of sustainable development as well as rewarding their implementation.

A further regional experience of great relevance in the national scene comes from Emilia-Romagna, whose regional Law number 24 (2017) "Regional discipline on land protection and land use" – as amended and supplemented by several laws on legislative modification – sets the goal of containing urban expansion, encouraging the sustainability evaluation of urban plan decisions in force and promoting urban regeneration or redevelopment of buildings as a priority. One of the pillars of the law is the goal of "zero net land take" by 2050 in line with the European Commission's Directives contained in the "EU Soil Strategy for 2030" as a part of the European Green Deal implementation. To achieve this goal, the law sets an upper limit for "consumable land" equal to 3% of the urbanized land area, which is allowed only for projects able to support sustainable development and increase the territory's attractiveness and competitiveness; interventions for public works, settlements of regional or strategic importance, expansions of existing productive areas, public

urban settlements or related to urban regeneration interventions are excluded from the limit. Territorial governmental actors (e.g. Large-scale authorities, Metropolitan City municipalities) may allocate differential limit of land take values to local authorities and accompanying the operation with land equalization measures. The regulation also provides, as a support mechanism, a system of urban incentives such as economic contributions, differentiated urban standards and waiver to Ministerial Decree number 1444 (1968), procedural simplifications, access to a Register of properties available for regeneration, promotion of temporary uses, participated architectural design competitions calls. Furthermore, on agricultural areas, it is allowed the demolition of buildings no longer functional for agricultural or productive activity as well as those related to it, disused or in the process of being disused; the re-naturalization of the site and its adjacent areas; the possible relocation of building rights to other sites within the urbanized area properly identified by the urban plan in order to improve the environmental and landscape quality of the rural territory. To guarantee the quick and uniform application throughout the territory of the provisions determined by the regional law, it promotes the adjustment of existing urban plans to the land take limitation measure by the end of the transitional period and also provides during the same period for constant periodic monitoring to verify the observance of established limits and their state of implementation. As a result, first cuts in urban planning residues are occurring during the transitional phase already through 'variants of reduction' or building rights freezing until their decadence with the adoption of the general plan "Piano Urbanistico Generale" (PUG). At the end of the first transitional phase – postponed for one year by regional Law number 3 (2020) on legislative modification – all the regional urban expansion residues held in pre-existing urban plans were frozen to reduce land take by decreasing the "urban load" in cities while awaiting the complete revision of the general urban plans. Furthering the intention of administrators – driven by the landowners' initiative, known from previous exploratory calls – to act in a reductionist way over urban planning residue, Emilia-Romagna introduced principles of land preservation from the unexpressed building rights of former urban plans that constitute a

surplus over the real needs of the territories. Lastly, there is the case of Veneto region, where the regional Law number 4 (2015) "[...] Dispositions on the subject of territorial government and regional protected areas" and in particular Article 7 "Green variants for the reclassification of buildable areas" (as clarified by the Circular of the President of the Region number 1 (February 11, 2016) determined the possibility for municipalities to annually request manifestations of interest from those entitled to apply for the reclassification of buildable areas, in order to remove the building potential granted by the urban plan in force and make them unbuildable. Urban planning variants are allowed if consistent with the purpose of containing land take and after evaluating the relationship with existing urban plan and the congruity in location and size of the areas to be reclassified. In fact, the reclassification of areas must not jeopardize the feasibility of urban plans nor public interest agreements and must not affect already built-up areas or areas that have expressed, even partially or indirectly – by volume transfers or building credits – the building capacity. Despite the adjective "green", municipalities can determine new classifications from the list of destinations already provided by the general urban plan in force, consistent with the urban planning context. The new urban instruments that together constitute the level of general planning: "Piano di Assetto del Territorio" (PAT) and "Piano degli Interventi" (PI), permit, by implementing the regional Law number 11 (2004) "Territorial government regulations and in matters of landscape", different designations from those of "Z.T.O." provided by the Ministerial Decree number 1444 (1968). This allows greater flexibility in the destinations but excludes the possibility of generic classifications or indications referable to the so-called "white zones" or areas awaiting functional destination. This also brings to an update of the re-dimensioning of the conforming plans, PRG or PI, for quantities of standards and territorial services areas considering the building quantities erased due to the approval of the green variant, then of the different urban capacity of the plans themselves. The possibility of reclassifying buildable areas by returning the involved lands to agricultural or natural use through green variants makes it possible to reverse the urbanization process, fighting land take and contributing to the preservation of the environmental values of the territory.

#### 4. SOME CRITICAL NOTES

By placing the transience of scenarios and spatial configurations as the center of the discussion – referring to the transition between the city's historical time and the city of another time (Basualdo, 1994) – it can actually provide the basis for the construction of a long-term scenario by successive "calcifications" of the urban organism, obtained through summation of a short-to-medium-term transitions series. The analysis of the case studies presented in these notes reveals how the demand for flexibility in urban planning – a theme debated in Italy since time immemorial, but most intensely since the mid-1990s in conjunction with the reformation of the urban plan's structure and the separation of its contents – have been enriched and declined by the dimension of reversibility. In addition, several issues have emerged in recent years specifically related to the urban settlement crisis outlined here, mainly due to the rising issues of environmental crisis and land take. This implies that the principle of sustainable development can be understood today as a valuable ally not only to integrate the environmental dimension and resource preservation into planning, but also to reorient the choices and techniques of urban planning and city re-design. However, assuming reversibility as a possible outcome – in the complex equation that is the resolution of the urban ongoing crisis – has led reversibility itself to assume a central role in the matter of (sustainable) development of territories. For these reasons it is necessary to draw attention on a few issues (Rana & Calace, 2022). First, there is the risk that, in the name of the renewal processes of the discipline and of planning itself, cities embrace entirely fluid forms of planning (Balducci, 2011), focused on managing the ramifications of scenarios, which may lead to losing control over the strategic system dimension. A second point is to consider that reversibility cannot be the ultimate goal of the planning action (Vidal, 2013), even less the sustainable development of territories can be carried out by producing reversible decisions or solutions. Instead, it is necessary to perpetuate the original role of planning itself, granting the common interest, also by these types of practices. A third point concerns the temptation to equate reversibility with the ephemeral or temporary (Gwiazdzinski, 2013), which falls instead into a different type of intervention: the family of tac-

tics and Tactical urbanism. In the name of reversibility, there is an increasing amount of circumstances involving the provisional and "on hold" solutions for which no one can predict the duration or determine their success *a priori*, yet increasingly used to manage territories with less risk and less cost rather than to test the citizens' response to the structural changes in the city.

#### 5. CONCLUSIONS AND WORK HYPOTHESIS

From a certain point onward urban territories have been built and re-shaped through urban plans, thus based on a logic of irreversibility, yet the city is historically mutable which means it is essentially reversible (Andres, 2013). This is evident in the existence of multiple disused or abandoned urban areas, testimonies of past uses and functions outdated for various reasons, which are suitable for a new urban role through functional reuse operations. So as part of a long-standing dispute between a rigid and change-resistant conception of space and the aptitude to adapt and modify urban structures inherited from the past, the urban territories of our everyday-life have evolved and conformed as we see them today. However, cities' decline nowadays threatens to bring with it a decline in urban values and meanings, which is also strengthened by the inability to consider long-term goals when defining punctual and non-systemic practices and actions. This may lead to eclipse the need to develop a vision for the future, undermining the role and importance of urban planning, especially in shrinking environments. In shrinking contexts, it is also necessary to consider that the possibility of land reuse may not occur, leading to consider de-urbanization or land use downgrading of areas subject to urban plans: e.g. from urban uses to natural uses, with agricultural or environmental function for ecosystem service supplies. On this note, the current environmental crisis and the pressing necessity to mitigate the impacts of ongoing changes and to preserve landscapes and environments supports the hypothesis that the de-perimeteralization of areas should be pursued. Sustainability in this sense constitutes not only the means for environmental issues to fully enter urban planning, but also becomes the focal point for redefining plan content associated with strictly urban issues and potentially reorienting the very design of the city.

The reflections outlined arise from a research, still in progress, based on the thesis that one of the main manifestations of the post-growth paradigm is the urban shrinkage, and that the phenomenon in the Italian case has its own specific connotation involving both its manifestations and approaches to redirect the transformation processes. The complexity and territorial diversification of the shrinkage manifestations, combined with the inertia to changes rooted in planning processes and tools, requires to frame different intervention methods in shrinking cities, while not forgetting the specific features of each territory, calling for an *ad hoc* consideration. In this perspective, it seems appropriate to underline that the comparative reading of regional experiences and their respective normative frameworks as presented in this article, so far, does not provide an exhaustive coverage of the "hot topic" of reversibility of urban planning residues. On the contrary, it is necessary, given the reference background, to examine the implementation of these laws through urban planning at the local level. The different regional normative contexts provided a fertile ground for experimentation in the field of reversibility of urban plans or even abrogation of existing building rights. Vice versa, and as happens very often, they originated through the consolidation of an experimental type of urban planning that dealt with such issues within specific experiences. Even if the demand for de-zoning is usually pursued by landowners and does not concern the achievement of the common interest – such as respecting the principle of containing land take, that comes from increasing fiscal pressures caused by the structural economic crisis – some territories are currently working towards the city's rightsizing. In fact, some virtuous municipalities have drafted or are currently drafting planning documents that highlight a new idea of the plan – by designers, administrations and communities that collaborate for its construction – contributing to the definition of new processes of shaping the urban plans themselves. To this end, an investigation about how territorial government laws are implemented in local contexts, may provide an opportunity to produce a necessary review on the effectiveness of all the measures and programs already put in place to control the first symptoms of the urban shrinking condition. Often they moved towards punctual urban regeneration interventions, ignoring the necessity to intervene systemically on a fragile territory, also trying to focus on a new role of urban planning.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed discussion on the topic, refer to Calace, F. & Rana, A. (2022), p. 115-128).

<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed discussion on the topic of regional legislation on land take, refer to the Dossier from Senato della Repubblica investigation (Iannetti & Minichiello, 2019).

## ATTRIBUTIONS

All the parts of this paper have been discussed and approved by all the authors. However, the §§ 1, 3 and 4 are by Alessandra Rana; the §§ 2 is by Francesca Calace; and the §§ 5 is by both the authors.

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