Smart Technologies, Back-to-the-Village Rhetoric, and Tactical Urbanism:
Post-COVID Planning Scenarios in Italy

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ABSTRACT

This viewpoint article is aimed at critically scrutinizing both institutional and bottom-up narratives about post-COVID planning scenarios in Italy. Through a critical multimedia discourse analysis, the article tries to deconstruct the most recurring narratives about the future of cities in Italy, particularly those interlacing smart city rhetoric with alternative models of settlements and "soft" planning micro-actions, in order to highlight both conflictual perspectives and new potential paths to follow for a more inclusive tech-led urban development.

KEYWORDS

1. INTRODUCTION

Italy was the first Western country to be heavily affected by Covid-19 after the first Chinese outbreak, particularly the northern regions which are traditionally more densely urbanized and interconnected in a wider network of global flows (Murgante et al., 2020). Apart from the consequences in terms of health and emergency management, mainstream discourses have been early monopolized by the need to reconsider the ways of moving, using, living and working in the cities, particularly those characterized by high levels of anthropic stress, pollution and wide commuting catchment areas (ie. Milan, one of the most affected cities in the country). As a result, several scholars, professionals, institutional actors, cultural associations and citizens have put a new emphasis about the urgency to completely transform urban planning models and practices.

On the one hand, the "back-to-the-village-movement" has been invoked as a privileged settlement model which should lead to the reconceptualization of the relation between urban centres and rural/periurban areas. Small towns and villages ("borghi" and "paesi" in Italian language) are the veritable pillars of the traditional urban settlement in Italy, although they have been increasingly abandoned over the years. This process of depopulation has been particularly harsh in the so-called "inner areas", the most marginalized ones according to a classification based on the travel distance from centers providing essential services, namely in the fields of education, health and transport. These areas are

at the core of a government-led strategy of territorial cohesion, the *National Strategy for Internal Areas*, launched in 2014 (Urso et al., 2019).

On the other hand, discourses about post-Covid development of bigger cities have been focused on practices of tactical urbanism, which includes a set of "soft" micro-actions at the neighborhood level in order to temporarily broaden bike and pedestrian routes. These proposals have been strongly supported both by some local governments and bottom-up associations or civic committees.

Both perspectives are strictly intertwined with smart technologies, insofar as small towns should be better equipped to support new forms of smart working and technology-driven services, while tactical urbanism should be integrated with tech infrastructures and software (e.g., infomobility apps) to increase its effectiveness in times of pandemics. Obviously, these are very hopeful viewpoints, since the levels of digital divide (both in terms of technological infrastructures and of socio-cultural digitalization) are still very high in the country.

Through a multimedia discourse analysis based on a variegated set of information sources, the research aims at deconstructing the main narratives linking new technologies and planning which have been recently shaping post-Covid planning scenarios in Italy. In so doing, the research aims at categorizing them according to their typology, the actors involved, and the practices/models which they are based on, in order to evaluate their aims, potentialities and critical aspects.

So, the article is organized as follows: the next section deals with the theoretical frame; the third briefly retraces both the history of urban settlement in Italy and the evolution of digitalization and smart models and practices in planning strategies; the fourth paragraph deals with the discourse analysis about post-Covid planning scenarios; the final section includes discussion and final considerations.

2. POST-COVID SMART AND TACTICAL (ANTI)URBANISM: POLICIES, PRACTICES AND RHETORIC

Over the last decades, several cities at the global scale have developed sustainable-oriented agendas through a variegated repertoire of strategies, policies and practices. Cities are regarded as the most appropriate "living workshops" to analyze the increasing interaction among ICT's, local sustainable development, bottom-up participation and urban planning (Certomà et al. 2015).

Among the numerous theoretical and operational paradigms, particularly two "mantras" have fostered discourses on urban planning, notably during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Embedded at the opposite poles of two urban planning visions, but at the same time paradoxically converging, the Smart city framework and, more recently, Tactical Urbanism have been transversally mobilized to envision new forms and functions of contemporary cities.

2.1. A New Smart Era, Towards a Growing Securization?

As far as smart urbanism is concerned, over the last years it has become a buzzy word in urban planning strategies at the global scale. Variously labelled also as "intelligent", "wired", "cyber", "sensient" city (Kitchin, 2014; Kelley, 2014), the first approach to smart city was a top-down one, entailing a vision of a government-driven and technology-enabled development (Giffinger et al. 2007, Caragliu et al., 2011). As Cohen puts it (2015), the most recent approach is a "citizen co-created" Smart City which should promote social inclusion through citizens' tech-mediated empowerment. Nevertheless, this last perspective too is based on a transversal and ubiquitous rhetoric, often exploited for branding exigencies (Söderström et al., 2014), insofar as not always technologies entail a bottom-up participatory democracy, ending up to foster new social and cultural polarizations (Aru et al., 2014). What is more, several EU smart cities experiences are supported by new forms of marketization triggered out by unprecedented assemblages of neo-liberal governance (Cardullo, Kitchin 2018).

As a matter of fact, strategic discourses about the (neoliberal) efficiency of smart urbanism often mobilize a top-down tech-mediated citizenship by incorporating an increasingly pervasive technocratic urban governance where citizens seem to be reduced to human sensors (Goodchild, 2007) or sensing

nodes (Gabrys, 2014). This mirrors the growing corporatization of "technological lock-ins" in cities that have embedded digital systems and infrastructures into their urban fabric, insofar as they are used for regulatory entrepreneurial effects (Harvey, 1989). These processes are increasingly incorporated within the hybrid neoliberalization waves that have been remodeling urban development for more than thirty years at different scales (Peck et al., 2013).

So, on the one hand, smart urbanism is based on the integration of digital technologies with buildings, urban areas, infrastructures and people to achieve a greater effectiveness in managing local service demand (in the fields of health, mobility, energy and so forth) by optimizing urban governance and developing new forms of social interaction and community-building (Silva, 2013). On the other hand, it is increasingly represented as a ubiquitous urban "panacea" for the growing number of controversial issues faced by contemporary cities, often without problematize the new forms of exclusions and polarization, contested identities and hegemonic powers that smart urbanism can foster both *within* and *between* cities (Paradiso, 2013).

In particular, during the pandemic and in the post-emergency phase, as Kitchin puts it (2020), existing and new "surveillance" digital technologies have been deployed to increase and integrate traditional measures of quarantine enforcement, such as contact tracing and symptom tracking, pattern and flow modeling, movement monitoring and social distancing measures.

Technologies are embedded in an emerging pandemic biopolitics, which regulates public and private spaces by producing new spatialities: "more than that though, their technocratic, algorithmic, automated nature can shift the governmental logic from surveillance and discipline to capture and control (Deleuze, 1992), wherein people become subject to constant modulation through data-driven systems in which their behaviour is directed explicitly or implicitly steered rather than (self) disciplined" (Kitchin, 2020, 9).

2.2. Tactical Urbanism: A (Temporary?) Strategy for More Sustainable Cities

Apart from technology-driven solutions, several discourses and practices during the recent pandemic have mobilized alternative sustainable strategies to tackle with social distancing needs, such as Tactical Urbanism.

In a fast spreading planetary urbanism, Harvey (2014, 29) argued that "we are [. . .] in the midst of a huge crisis —ecological, social, and political—of planetary urbanization without, it seems, knowing or even marking it." Following this, Brenner (2017) highlighted that inherited paradigms of urban intervention, ranging from the postwar state-led modernist programs to neoliberal entrepreneurial market-led agendas of 1980's onwards, are no longer viable to face the current extreme pressure cities have to deal with.

In this context, tactical urbanism is often seen as a theoretical and analytical framework to lead emergent urban design experiments in several contemporary cities, which should entail bottom-up appropriation of urban space. It includes a variegated repertoire of sustainability-oriented actions at the local micro-scale, in a relatively circumscribed space such as a neighborhood or even a street, which underpin immediate interventions for issues viewed as urgent by their proponents. Extremely flexible and open-ended "open source"-based, the actions are often spontaneous and unplanned, based on a grassroots vision of do-it-yourself urban restructuring which presents itself as an alternative to state-led comprehensive plans or market-led neoliberal policies.

Synthetically, tactical urbanism includes bottom-up low cost small-scale actions producing ecology-driven changes – often in a temporary manner - into urban environments.

At the beginning, it was labelled as "guerilla urbanism", "pop- up" urbanism" "city repair" or "Do it yourself –DIY-urbanism", seen as a tool challenging government-led big scale projects by engaging citizens to urban actions, such as turning car parking spots into temporary parks provided with potted plants, deck chairs, tables or painting playground style lines onto the pavement. It was first theorized by an urbanist and planner, Mike Lydon (2011, 2012), heading the New York City Streets Plan Collective, whose main aim was to advocate for high-quality public spaces, believing

that the key to reverse "the harmful effects of suburban sprawl is to promote compact, walkable, mixed-use neighborhoods" (2012, 1).

More recently, these small-scale, low cost and temporary actions have been increasingly promoted by professional urbanists and institutional actors who tend to seek out flexibility of land use planning and territorial governance. This shift from top-down long-term big-scale urban planning to small scale participatory urban micro-actions is also due to the austerity regime underwent by several urban agendas. It often arises in a context of a widening territorial governance crisis in cities where both state-led and market-led interventions have systematically failed, particularly in providing basic public goods (Brenner, 2017).

Thus, owing to the failure of several master planning strategies to respond to the inhabitants' social, cultural and economic exigencies, tactical urbanism strategies have been recently implemented with the aim of exploiting the relational aspects of territorial planning and management. However, analyzing the pedestrianization of Time Square in New York, Wohl (2017) remembers that rather than arguing the point of those opposed to the program (such as local business owners), city government simply experimented the project on-the-field and later gathered data, according to which the intervention "led to less congestion, shorter travel times, less accidents, more pedestrians, and eventually upped Times Square into the top 10 of world's most valuable retail destinations' (Hämäläinen, 2015). Rather than being truly participative, government –led tactical urbanism is often based on a narrative of bottom-up participation, which is often activated just after the roll out. As a result, "especially in light of the stridently anti-planning rhetoric that pervades many tactical urban interventions and their tendency to privilege informal, incremental, and ad hoc mobilizations over larger-scale, longer-term, publicly financed reform programs, it seems reasonable to ask in what ways they do, in actuality, engender any serious friction against the neoliberal order, much less subvert it" (Brenner, 2017, 132).

So, the broadly affirmative and acritical discourses about the inherent social sustainability of tactical urbanism should lead to an in-depth scrutiny.

As it will be explained in detail in the following paragraphs, both technology-driven planning solutions and neighborhood-level micro-actions belonging to the tactical urbanism thematic umbrella have been widely mobilized in several discourses about post Covid-19 planning scenarios in Italy.

3. URBAN SETTLEMENTS MODELS IN ITALY: FROM HISTORICAL EVOLUTION TO CONTEMPORARY DYNAMICS

The historical transformation of Italian urban system can be seen as one of the most relevant spatial representations of upsetting socio-economic and cultural processes which have transformed the country over the centuries. Particularly in the post war age, settlement models were shaped by push and pull factors underpinning the booming industrialized economy, which fostered both the growing demographic "concentralization" in increasingly urbanized central poles and the parallel demographic decline of rural areas, punctuated by little towns or *borghi* (Lanzani, 2003).

Short, medium and long range migratory flows amplified the gap between rural and urban areas, as well as the growingly disadvantaged southern regions and the booming industrialized northern ones. Since the early seventies, the petroleum shock-driven economic crisis together with the booming building sector inverted the urban model towards a tangle of suburbanization and peri-urbanisation processes, this last particularly relevant over the last two decades owing to urban sprawl (Dematteis, 1999; Memoli, Governa, 2014; Istat, 2017).

According to the triplex Eurostat Degree of Urbanization Model (EEA, 2009), which identifies densely populated areas (cities), intermediate density areas (towns and suburbs), thinly populated areas (rural areas)[1], urbanization levels, trends and dynamics in Italy are extremely polarized in two conflicting settlements models.

On the one hand, 22 million inhabitants, equal to 1/3 of the total population (36.6%), live in the main urban poles. Particularly 1 million inhabitants live in the main four functional urban areas,

calculated according the work/commuting catchment area (Turin, Milan, Rome, Naples), equal to almost 20% of the total population (Istat, 2017).

On the other hand, 53% of Italian municipalities (4,261), home to 23% of the Italian population (13,540,000 inhabitants), which covers 60% of the national territory, are classified as "inner areas" according to different degrees of marginalization ranging from peripheral to ultra-peripheral. This "peripherality" has been calculated according to the travel distance from the main service provision centres in the field of education, health, culture and so forth, and it is mirrored by a repertoire of socio-demographic characteristics, such as: demographic decline and population ageing, farm abandonment, unused land due to lower productivity, scarce or low-quality services, digital divide and so on. However, old settlement processes and related cultural heritage, extremely variegated natural systems and rich multilayered anthropic landscapes make inner areas full of resources which potentially can act as drivers of local development. As a result, since 2014 the National Strategy for Inner Areas has been launched, articulated in a series of pilot projects in order to promote internal territorial cohesion and reverse demographic decline by creating jobs opportunities, fostering social inclusion and promoting socio-economic opportunities through a multi-fund approach (EU and national funds) and participatory cooperative perspective engaging local communities.

While small villages and rural areas are increasingly suffering from the demographic decline and the loss of opportunities, notably in the so-called *Mezzogiorno* (the Southern regions), in the most advanced urban contexts of the northern regions cities are veritable innovation hubs, where several technology-driven smart projects have been successful implemented over the last years.

According to the 2019 ICity Rate, the smartest cities in Italy are mainly concentrated in the Northern regions, driven by Milan notably in the fields to economic robustness, sustainable mobility and digital transformation[2]. On the contrary, a still harsh digital divide splits the country in two parts, where the southern regions and/or rural-marginal areas suffer from socio-economic difficulties and still enduring gaps in terms of innovation and digitalization (*Agenda Digitale*, 2019; *AgCom*, 2019[3]).

4. NARRATIVES ABOUT POST-COVID PLANNING EXIT STRATEGIES IN ITALY

During the pandemic and just after the loosening of the lockdown, several discourses at the institutional and informal level have been structured along a post Covid planning strategy which has to take into account some emergency-led issues such as: social distancing, wide and comfortable pedestrian public spaces, technology-driven solutions, urban green and temporary soft planning micro-actions.

With the aim of critically scrutinizing top-down and bottom-up discourses about post-Covid planning strategies in Italy, the method includes a multimedia discourse analysis (Lee, 2004; Waitt, 2005) based on a variegated set of information sources, in order to deconstruct the main narratives linking new technologies and planning. The discourses were categorized according to the informational sources[4], typology, and the actors involved, as shown in Figures 1, 2 and 3.

First of all, several discourses mobilize a tech-mediated urban development as a strategy of territorial rebalancing, between: main urban cores and their surrounding rings; urban centres and rural villages; and finally between northern and southern regions. According to the Smart Working Observatory of Milan Polytechnic University and the Ministry of Labor, in April 2020 almost 600.000 employees were "forced" to shift to smart working due to lockdown. This huge experiment of smart working transition at the national level was regarded as a test to broaden its diffusion even in the post-Covid phase and consequently promote new forms of settlements far from the main urban centres. This vision fostered the smart enthusiasm mantra of big corporations which envision a further strengthening of smart solutions at the urban level, notably in territorial control and monitoring (already grown in 2019, insofar as 60% of smart city investments in Italy were destined to safety and control) (*ibidem*).

Smart city mantra is mobilized in terms of the "right to the wired city" or, even more in detail, the right to the "broadband city". Both big corporation/high tech companies (ENI, IBM, and so forth) and institutional programs (*Agenda Digitale Italiana*) identify in the tech-driven infrastructures a

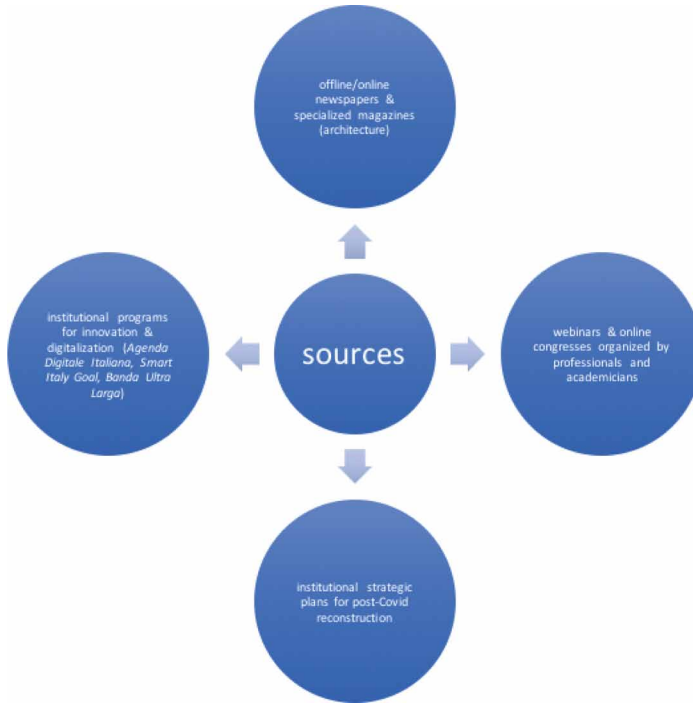**Figure 1. Sources for discourse analysis**
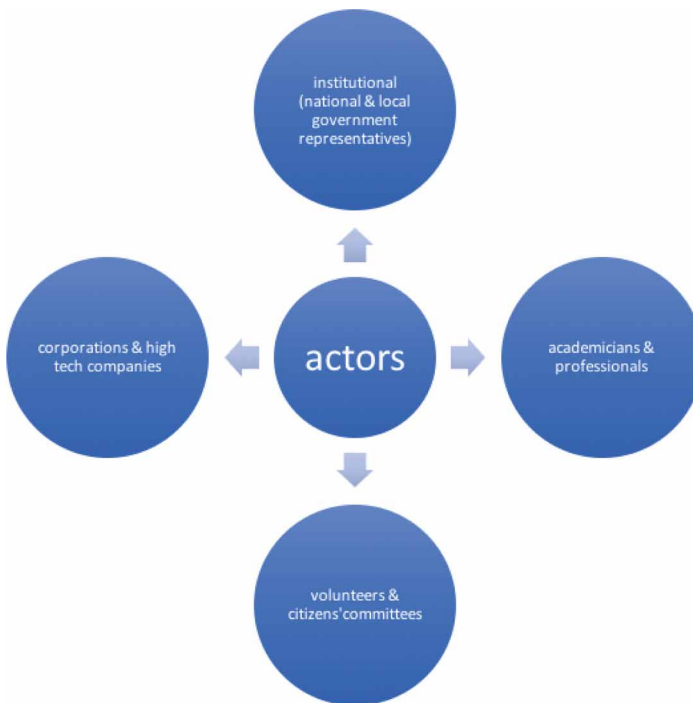

Figure 2. Actors

Figure 3. Discourse's typology

strategy to reduce territorial gaps through the digitalization of high value and basic services as well as new forms of public/private collaborative networks. In particular, according to *Agenda Digitale*, the "new normality" means reconverting every city into a Covid-free smart city platform, intertwined with other smart platforms through a variegated set of actions/instruments: digitalization of mobility infrastructures, infomobility apps to avoid gatherings, high service broadband connections, control and monitoring services to avoid gatherings and tracking contagion services, digitalization of public services (particularly health and waste) and digital engagement of citizens through e-participation and social networks in order to persuade them to download *Immuni*, the official tracking app adopted by the Italian government.

Finally, technology-led development is regarded as a comprehensive strategy to reduce territorial gaps even at the sub-national level. The *South Working program*, supported by a group of young professionals belonging to the international association *Global Shapers*, promotes new forms of territorial rebalancing trough smart working. According to this proposal, professionals should be allowed to work for companies located in the northern regions while living in southern cities, where the cost of living is lower.

Another narrative stream mobilizes tactical urbanism as a soft temporary and low cost strategy to improve urban resilience through micro-actions at the neighborhood level, following exogenous examples: Barcelona superblocks, a system of 30 zones and pedestrian/cycling routes developed within the ecosystemic urbanism framework in several urban crossroads; and "15 minutes Paris", the urban planning program promoted by the Parisian mayor in order to support a vision of a city where every service is accessible within a brief walking or cycling distance.

This vision, firmly supported by a variegated repertoire of actors ranging from urban planners, star architects, environmental associations to citizens' committees[5], is linked to a new emphasis put on public space, often provided with green infrastructures, as a regulatory democratic instrument. This view envisions new forms of collaborative networks at two dimensions: the first one includes

the neighborhood and even condos level, with the pervasive privatization of common spaces halfway between public and private (such as condos courtyard and gardens). The second one is related to the long-entrenched relations between urban cores and rural villages which, according to some star architects like Stefano Boeri, should be "adopted" by the main metropolitan centres to promote different forms of commuting networks based on smart working. The same vision, where the back-to-the-village rhetoric is intertwined with a new emphasis on public spaces, is further corroborated by another star architect (Massimiliano Fuksas) who advocates for the digitalization of rural villages in order to make them more attractive from the residential standpoint, by exploiting the (supposed) bigger "authenticity" if compared with urban centres[6]. This perspective is also drenched with the "crisis of the urban" mantra, renovated from its original '70's forms and redeveloped in several discourses which promote a system of ecological infrastructures/corridors connecting urban centres and rural villages.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Although it is undoubtedly necessary to rethink the relations among new technologies, urban settlements, mobility and urban life, some controversial issues have emerged from the discourse analysis.

First, as far as the tech-mediated urban planning is concerned, although tracking systems can be useful to monitor contagion, nevertheless there are contradictory elements. Digital tools tend to emphasize the tendency to over-responsabilize citizens and the related escalating moralization of urban government which exploits, through a wide repertoire of regulatory policies and instruments, the ideal of the reliable citizen in charge for collective needs that institutional actors do not satisfy any longer. Citizens' hyper-responsabilization demonstrates an inherent contradiction of the neoliberal shift which, on the one hand, has increased the impact of pervasive governmental strategies, but on the other hand endows the active and engaged citizen with duties and responsibilities in terms of planning, security, control (Graziano, 2017). As Curran and Gibson (2012) put it, new technologies are not neutral nor they are used in a political and social vacuum: their forms, aims and claims are shaped by already existing hegemonic powers and tend to reproduce more or less evident forms of creeping authoritarianism.

Furthermore, the narrative of a "digital resilience", furthered by high tech companies and institutional actors, reinforces the need of strengthening public-private "collaborative" networks, which actually could disguise a growing corporisation of contemporary cities through tech-mediated infrastructures.

Secondly, public spaces are at risk of being progressively swallowed up by different forms of more or less evident privatization. For instance, several star architects support the view of widening *dehors*, without any taxation, both for restaurants and even for shops, theatres and cultural spaces, reshaped by a new urban "prossemic". The growing disneyfication and festivalization of the urban mirrors the progressive downsizing of socializing "free" spaces. This view is linked to a utopian perspective which should reconnect urban centres with rural villages through an "adoption" system, without specifying which the instruments, tools and funds should be. Moreover, the emphasis put on the supposed "authenticity" of rural villages is clearly fostered by a rhetoric well known also in urban contexts (as shown by Zukin, 2008), often mobilized in tandem with new neoliberal waves of territorial restructuring.

Several detractors accused this rural nostalgia as being a "toxic rhetoric" insofar as on the one hand it could foster new forms of urban sprawling and unsustainable peri-urban settlements and, on the other, reinforces long-entrenched visions of territorial valorization through exogenous human and economic resources. Over the last years this mythology of regeneration of marginal/rural areas has been driven by tourism-led renewal programs. Owing to the ongoing critical phase of tourism worldwide, the "smart rediscovery" of small rural towns seems to disguise the same contradictory

rhetoric of "let's-repopulate-rural-areas" mantra by over-evaluating the demiurgic role of technologies. This is particularly evident with the *South working* project, which over-emphasizes the role of new technologies in reducing territorial gaps without taking into account the advantages of face-to-face interactions, well known by the geography of innovation (Bathelt, Turi, 2011) nor the socio-economic implications this program could entail (such as new forms of gentrification in southern cities whose residential attractiveness – and consequently real estate market values - could abruptly increase).

As far as tactical urbanism is concerned, Mould (2014) highlights how the first pioneering forms of tactical urbanism, stemming from local communities' desire to reconfigure their own urban spaces, have been recently defenestrated by a new vision that transformed it into a veritable "brand", encompassed in neoliberal post-recession policies.

Loyds, one of the first pioneers of Tactical urbanism, explicitly referred to the "young and well educated people" moving into "once forlorn, now walkable neighborhoods" (quoted in Mould, 2014, 532), by aligning to an evident gentrification mythology. Various actions, ranging from guerrilla gardening to pop-up retail, have been packed into a global capitalism-friendly narrative which has neutralized the originally insurgent, subversive and anti-hegemonic nature of tactical urbanism, growingly incorporated into mainstream urban agendas (Daskalaki, Mould, 2013). So, although tactical urbanism is an effective "soft" strategy to tackle with urban critical aspects, nevertheless it should be critically problematized, since "despite its origins in community-led, activist, unsanctioned and even subversive activities, tactical urbanism is becoming (if it is not already so) co-opted by prevailing neoliberal development agendas" (Mould, 2014, 529), often used by local government as a substitute of big scale urban redevelopment plans in post-2008 recession era and, now, for post-pandemic urban planning.

Thus, as Baron (2019) puts it, tactical urbanism concurs in spatializing democratic values into public spaces trough a variegated repertoire of sustainable-oriented strategies. However, green-based tactical urbanism can also reproduce a discursive space which often polarizes local debates, by underpinning different and even contrasting social representations of public space.

To conclude, the Covid-19 pandemic will probably give new opportunities of rethinking the city trough a tech-mediated planning strategy which should overcome the hyper-trophic "technologism", the long-entrenched dialectic between the urban and the rural, and the over-emphasized mythology of the rural as the most authentic place where to live. As the discourse analysis has highlighted, strategies for an inclusive, sustainable and fair post-covid urban planning should be anchored to a new human-centered smart development, where new technologies should act as drivers of innovation, without being regarded as the sole panacea to tackle with old and new controversial issues and challenges that contemporary cities have to face.

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ENDNOTES

[1] High: densely populated areas with a density higher than 500 inhabitants/km^2 and a total population of 50,000 inh.; Medium: areas not belonging to the above-mentioned areas, with a density higher than 100 inhabitants/km^2 and a total population of more than 50,000 inh.; Low: remaining areas not classified in the above-mentioned categories.

[2] https://www.forumpa.it/citta-territori/icity-rank-2019-milano-firenze-e-bologna-sono-le-citta-piu-smart-ditalia/, retrieved 09/07/2020.

[3] https://www.agendadigitale.eu/cultura-digitale/il-digital-divide-culturale-e-una-nuova-discriminazione-sociale/, retrieved 09/07/2020.

4   In detail, the main sources are the following: newspaper and magazines, with a key-words research (*Repubblica*, *Corriere della Sera*, *Che-fare*, *Il Sole 24 ore*, *Il Digitale*, *Huffington Post*, *Internazionale*, *Linkiesta*, *Abitare*); press releases, manifestos and interviews retrieved from architectures' studios websites, professional associations, labs (*Stefano Boeri Architetti*, *Massimiliano Fuksas Architetti*, *Ordine degli Ingegneri*, *Ordine degli Architetti*, *RiAgiTa Lab*); citizens' committees (*Genitori AntiSmog Milano*); environmentalist and civic associations (*Legambiente*, *Bike Italia*, *Mobilita.org*); documents retrieved from the website of institutional programs (*Agenda Digitale Italiana*, *Smart Italy Goal*, *Banda Ultra Larga*) and corporations, high tech companies, research centres (*ENI, ENEA, LUmiForInnovation*); official strategic plans developed by national and local government (*Stati Generali per la Ripartenza*, *Milano2020*); cultural/counter-cultural and bottom up associations websites/facebook pages (*MiRiconosci*, *Archinumi*).

5   It is supported by several local municipalities (in Milan) *Genitori AntiSMog Milano*, a civic association promoting 30 zones and tactical urbanism in some Milanese neighborhood; environmental/activist associations such as *Legambiente*, *Bike Italia*, *Mobilita* and so forth.

6   Both star architects have officially supported their views during the "Stati Generali", a series of official meetings promoted by the national government with professionals, intellectuals, academicians to plan the post pandemic "restart program".

APPENDIX: SOURCES FOR DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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https://www.ansa.it/ansa2030/notizie/infrastrutture_citta/2020/06/09/fase-3-boeri-dalle-periferie-urbane-ai-borghi_f7368f3f-fae6-4710-b324-03f291daf7fe.html

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https://rep.repubblica.it/pwa/intervista/2020/04/20/news/coronavirus_boeri_via_dalle_citta_nei_vecchi_borghi_c_e_il_nostro_futuro2-254557453/

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http://www.vita.it/it/article/2020/04/17/smart-working-con-il-coronavirus-e-raddoppiato/155064/

http://www.genitoriantismog.it

https://mobilita.org

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https://www.bikeitalia.it/2013/07/18/comuni-italiani-a-30-kmh/

https://www.lumi4innovation.it/smart-city-in-italia-verso-nuovi-modelli-post-covid-19/

https://www.lumi4innovation.it/covid-19-e-smart-city-in-italia-sperimentazioni-in-atto-e-scenari-futuri/

https://www.agendadigitale.eu/smart-city/le-smart-city-per-il-post-covid-ecco-le-leve-per-ripartire/

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